

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

**LCR Appendix Pages 1401-1500
(Part 14 of 19)**

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Appendix

Biographical Sketches of Known Spies with a Homosexual Orientation

Biographical Sketches of Known Spies with a Homosexual Orientation

The following brief sketches were written from sources in the public domain, mostly newspaper articles.

RAYMOND G. DeCHAMPLAIN, Master Sergeant USAF, age 39, was arrested in 1971 in Bangkok, Thailand, on charges of espionage and other military violations. At the time of his arrest, he had served in the Air Force for over 20 years. He was known among his coworkers as a homosexual, but they did not report his activities to the commanding officer. He was known as an incompetent worker and heavily in debt. He was married to a Thai woman who left him shortly after the marriage, ostensibly because of his sexual orientation. DeChamplain alleged that he had been blackmailed by Soviet agents. It was known that he had been introduced to a Soviet agent at a party in 1967, but it was not until four years later that he volunteered to engage in espionage. He delivered a large number of documents to the KGB for which he received \$3800. He was convicted at court-martial and sentenced to 15 years hard labor, later reduced to 7 years. Primary motivation: money.

LEE EDWARD MADSEN, Yeoman Third Class, USN, age 24, was arrested in 1979 on charges of selling classified documents. He had been assigned to Strategic Warning Staff at the Pentagon. He turned over sensitive documents to an undercover agent for \$700. He was quoted as saying to an investigator that he had stolen the documents "to prove that I could be a man and still be gay." He was sentenced to 8 years hard labor. Primary motivation: money, with a mix of ego-needs.

WILLIAM H. MARTIN, Intelligence Analyst, NSA, age 29, and BERNON F. MITCHELL, Intelligence Analyst, NSA, age 31, defected to the Soviet Union in 1960. They turned over detailed information concerning organization and structure of NSA and cryptographic codes. Primary motivation: unknown, probably a combination of financial needs and resentment of treatment of homosexuals in the United States.

JAMES A. MINTKENBAUGH, Sergeant, USA, age 45, was arrested by the FBI in 1965 for espionage. He had been recruited by Robert L. Johnson, Sergeant, USA. Both participated in providing information to the KGB on missile sites, military installations, and intelligence activities. Among Mintkenbaugh's assignments was spotting other homosexuals in the American community in Berlin. Johnson's wife tipped off the FBI. He was sentenced to 25 years hard labor. Primary motivation: money.

JEFFREY L. PICKERING, USN, age 25, mailed a five-page secret document to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C. He had been in the Marines from 1965 to 1973, then joined the Navy fraudulently using a forged birth certificate and a new name. Evidence suggests that he saw himself as playing a part in a spy thriller. He was sentenced to 5 years in prison. Primary motivation: money and ego-needs.

#75

**Successful Integration of Stigmatized Minorities
Into The U.S. Army**
**An Overview of Research Relevant To Personnel Policies
Concerning Sexual Orientation**

Prepared For
The United States Army Research Institute

by

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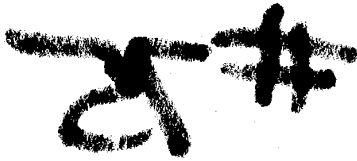


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Successful Integration of Stigmatized Minorities Into The U.S. Army

An Overview of Research Relevant To Personnel Policies Concerning Sexual Orientation

Executive Summary

This report reviews social and behavioral science research for the purpose of anticipating the practical implications of a possible change in Department of Defense (DOD) policy concerning military service by homosexual personnel. The report discusses the future challenges that the U.S. Army would face if current restrictions on gay personnel were to be lifted entirely, that is, if gay men and lesbians were to be allowed to enlist and serve in the Army with no prohibitions or restrictions placed on them other than those currently placed on heterosexual personnel.¹ It provides background information and identifies research questions relevant to designing programs for effectively implementing such a policy.

After briefly reviewing the history of the Army's experiences with racial integration and of military policy concerning sexual orientation, the report defines key terms and concepts. Individuals' sexual orientation encompasses not only their sexual conduct but also their closest personal relationships, their social roles and identity, and their memberships in larger communities. Because heterosexual identities and roles are desexualized whereas their

¹In this report, the terms homosexual and gay are used interchangeably to describe both women and men whose personal and social identity is based on their same-gender sexual orientation and identification with a community of like-minded individuals (e.g., gay people, the gay community). To emphasize that

homosexual counterparts are not, the same behavior can be regarded very differently depending on whether it is performed by a heterosexual or a homosexual. If the Army adopts a new policy in which the same standards of behavior are applied to gay and heterosexual personnel, it will be important to identify the best strategies for teaching personnel to understand which types of behavior and speech are considered sexual – and therefore should be kept private – and which types of behavior and speech are permissible in public settings.

Next the report provides an overview of current research on heterosexuals' reactions to gay people. Such reactions must be understood in terms of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. The relationships among these variables are indirect and often not very strong. Whereas a new Army policy concerning homosexual personnel will ultimately focus on behavior, understanding the social psychological processes that shape heterosexuals' attitudes and beliefs is important for fostering internalization of the policy's goals. Many heterosexuals have complex attitudes toward homosexuality, disapproving of homosexual conduct but opposing discrimination or denial of civil liberties to gay people. Compared to those with more favorable attitudes, heterosexuals with hostile attitudes toward gay people are more likely to be highly religious, older, less educated, from a rural background, from the Midwest or South, male, and authoritarian. They are likely to endorse traditional gender roles and express restrictive attitudes concerning sexual behavior. Perhaps most important, they are likely not to have had an ongoing personal relationship with a gay man or lesbian. Creating opportunities for heterosexual personnel to interact with an openly gay person may be one of the most effective strategies for

this category includes women, the term lesbian is frequently used as a counterpart to gay man or gay male, as in the phrase "lesbians and gay men."

fostering positive attitudes toward gay personnel.

The report then discusses empirical research relevant to anticipating the immediate effects of a new sexual orientation policy. Empirical data are currently available concerning at least three possible consequences of a policy change. Public opinion polls suggest that a new policy concerning sexual orientation would be opposed – at least initially – by a significant proportion of the civilian public. Similar opposition would probably be observed among active-duty Army personnel. However, it is not clear that negative attitudes toward a new policy would translate into behavior. Moreover, the extensive social science literature on unit cohesion suggests that introduction of homosexual personnel into units would probably not affect task cohesion, which is the type of cohesion related to performance. A new policy might have consequences for social cohesion, but probably would not affect a unit's ability to accomplish its mission.

Next the report compares and contrasts the categories of race and sexual orientation, and considers the implications of these similarities and differences for applying past race-relations research to a new sexual orientation policy. Race and sexual orientation are similar in that: (1) both are a basis for minority group status in U.S. culture; (2) members of racial and sexual orientation minorities both are subjected to prejudice by members of the majority; (3) for both groups, societal prejudice leads to differential treatment at the hands of the majority; and (4) new military personnel policies concerning race and sexual orientation have both faced considerable opposition. They are different in that: (1) race is usually a readily apparent attribute whereas sexual orientation is concealable; (2) race is more strongly linked to socioeconomic status in the United States than is sexual orientation; and (3) unlike some minority groups, such as African Americans, openly gay people are unlikely ever to constitute a substantial proportion of Army

personnel.

In the report's final section, research questions relevant to implementing a new sexual orientation policy are highlighted. These questions are:

- (1) What are Army personnel's current attitudes, beliefs, and perceived norms relevant to a new policy?
- (2) What are the specific target behaviors to be elicited from heterosexual and gay personnel?
- (3) How can the Army implement a uniform standard of conduct for all personnel, regardless of sexual orientation or gender?
- (4) What are the most effective sanctions and enforcement mechanisms for a new policy?
- (5) How can the top leadership most effectively signal its support for the new policy?
- (6) How can the Army best make lower-level leaders feel responsible for the behavior of their subordinates relative to the policy?
- (7) How can the Army best create opportunities for inter-group and interpersonal contact?
- (8) What factors would contribute to making the policy clear and simple?
- (9) How could a new policy best be framed in terms compatible with military culture?
- (10) How can the Army most effectively monitor and evaluate the policy once it has been implemented?

Introduction

This report reviews existing research from the social and behavioral sciences for the purpose of anticipating the practical implications of a possible change in Department of Defense (DOD) policy concerning military service by homosexual personnel (herein also referred to as gay men and lesbians or, collectively, as gay personnel). The report discusses the future challenges that the U.S. Army would face if current restrictions on gay personnel were to be lifted entirely, that is, if gay men and lesbians were to be allowed to enlist and serve in the Army with no prohibitions or restrictions placed on them other than those currently placed on heterosexual personnel. It provides background information and identifies research questions relevant to designing programs for implementing such a policy.

Although hypothetical, a dramatic policy change is not beyond the realm of possibility. At present, several legal challenges to current policy are proceeding through the civilian courts, and the U.S. Supreme Court is widely expected to review one or more of these cases within the next few years (for a review, see Jacobson, 1996). If the Court were to overturn current policy, the Army and other service branches would face the prospect of implementing a new, less restrictive policy, possibly with only minimal opportunities for advance preparation. The range of possible policy revisions that might be mandated by a Supreme Court ruling is wide, and it is not feasible to consider all possible scenarios in this document. Therefore, this report focuses on research relevant to preparations for the most sweeping change that might result from a Court decision, that is, complete elimination of any restrictions on military service by gay personnel. It is assumed that the insights gained from consideration of this possibility would be applicable to less sweeping policy shifts that the Court might dictate.

While addressing the research questions raised by such a change in policy, this report utilizes findings from the Army's past research on the integration personnel from racial and ethnic minority groups into its ranks. An attempt is made to identify strategies used successfully in the course of racial integration that might be relevant to effective implementation of a new policy concerning sexual orientation so that empirical studies can be conducted to assess their applicability.

This report does not argue for or against the suitability of lesbians and gay men for military service. For purposes of discussion, however, it will be assumed that any future scenario in which gay people are integrated into the military services will be premised on the finding that they are no less capable than heterosexuals of fulfilling their duties. It is also assumed that gay personnel will be held to the same standards of conduct – including standards concerning fraternization, sexual harassment, and public displays of sexual behavior – as heterosexuals. Consequently, it is assumed that the problems that might arise in the course of implementing a new policy will be related to other personnel's reactions to a gay or lesbian person, and not to the latter's sexual orientation per se.

Historical Background

Racial Integration

Since the birth of the Republic, government decisions have been made about who shall be permitted or required to serve in the U.S. military, and under what conditions. These decisions have frequently reflected society's attitudes toward its stigmatized minorities. Early in the Revolutionary war, for example, Black Americans were barred from service in the Continental Army. Similarly, Negroes were barred from military service early in the Civil War, despite the

eagerness of many Northern Blacks to volunteer (Stillman, 1968). Both policies were later reversed – when, respectively, the British began offering freedom to Black slaves who would join their side, and the Union Army faced a serious shortage of troops (Binkin, Eitelberg, Schexnider, & Smith, 1982; Foner, 1974; Stillman, 1968).

When they were allowed to serve, Blacks soldiers were treated differently from their White counterparts. Although led by White officers, they were segregated from White troops. When not in battle, they were often assigned to menial occupations in peripheral units. After the Civil War, for example, Blacks were assigned to distant outposts where they fought against Indians (Schubert, 1993). During World War I, most African-Americans were assigned noncombat duties and menial jobs, such as mess orderlies (Stillman, 1968). All-Black units were commanded by White officers, who typically considered such an assignment to be stigmatizing (Hope, 1979).

At the beginning of World War II, as in the past, personnel needs dictated that Black recruits be accepted for military service. Once again, Black enlisted personnel were segregated from Whites – usually led by Black officers – and placed in support roles. As the war effort progressed, however, the Navy experimented with integration of enlisted personnel, which was less expensive than maintaining combat-ready segregated units (MacGregor, 1981). By the War's end, more than one million African-Americans served efficiently in various service branches (Foner, 1974). Inter-racial conflict did not appear to be a problem in combat zones, although some tensions were reported in rear areas (Kauth & Landis, 1996). As Stouffer and his colleagues concluded in their social scientific study of the American soldier, events in World War II demonstrated that Blacks were effective fighters and that racial integration in the military

would not compromise unit effectiveness (Stouffer et al., 1949).

Nevertheless, racial segregation remained official government policy until President Harry Truman's historic Executive Order 9981, issued a few months before the 1948 election, which "declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin" (quoted in Binkin et al., 1982, p. 26). Following this order, the armed forces began slowly to institute a policy of racial desegregation. Desegregation proceeded slowly, however, and met with resistance (MacGregor, 1981).

As in past wars, the Korean conflict created a shortage of personnel and Black Americans helped to fill this need. Because of troop shortages and the high costs of maintaining racially segregated facilities, integration rapidly became a reality (Berryman, 1988; MacGregor, 1981). In 1951, integration of the Army was boosted by the findings from a study of the impact of desegregation on unit effectiveness of troops deployed in Korea (Bogart, 1992). The researchers concluded that racial integration had not impaired task performance or unit effectiveness, that cooperation in integrated units was equal or superior to that of all-White units, and that serving with Blacks appeared to make White soldiers more accepting of integration. By the end of the Korean conflict, the DOD had eliminated all racially segregated units and living quarters (MacGregor, 1981).

By the 1960s, the proportion of Black personnel had dramatically increased. Evidence remained, however, of both personal and institutional discrimination (e.g., Thomas, 1988). At this time, the DOD took new and stronger steps to combat racial discrimination, including housing and other types of discrimination in civilian areas near military installations

(MacGregor, 1981; Thomas, 1988). The DOD also established civil rights offices to monitor the treatment of minorities. Because of lack of personnel and resources, however, these offices were only minimally effective (MacGregor, 1981).

In the late 1960s, racial tensions resulted in violent confrontations between Blacks and Whites, significantly affecting morale (Foner, 1974; MacGregor, 1981; Thomas, 1988). As a consequence, the service branches instituted a variety of programs designed to address racial inequities and reduce interracial conflict. In 1971, the Secretary of Defense established the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI), which was later renamed the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI; Kauth & Landis, 1996).

In the quarter century since it was established, DRRI/DEOMI has developed and implemented a series of race relations and equal opportunity training programs with an evolving scope. Early efforts, for example, included extensive coverage of racial and ethnic minority history, as well as sensitivity training to the perspectives of minority personnel (Day, 1983; Thomas, 1988). Later programs focused less on attitude change and sensitivity training, and more on behavioral compliance with non-discrimination policies and regulations (Thomas, 1988). From 1971 to late 1992, DEOMI trained 12,352 recruits in race relations and equal opportunity issues (Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993).

Homosexuals and the U.S. Military

In contrast to its escalating efforts to promote racial integration (as well as its increasingly nonrestrictive policies concerning gender, which are not discussed in this report; see Binkin & Bach, 1977; Stiehm, 1989), opposition in the armed forces to admitting and retaining gay male and lesbian members has intensified since World War II. Historically, the military did not

officially exclude or discharge homosexuals from its ranks, although sodomy (usually defined as anal and sometimes oral sex between men) was considered a criminal offense as early as Revolutionary War times. Throughout U.S. history, campaigns have purged military units of persons suspected of engaging in homosexual acts (Bérubé, 1990; Chauncey, 1989; Murphy, 1988).

As the United States prepared for World War II, psychiatric screening became a part of the induction process and psychiatry's view of homosexuality as an indicator of psychopathology was introduced into the military. Instead of retaining its previous focus on homosexual *behavior*, which was classified as a criminal offense, the military shifted to eliminating homosexual *persons*, based on a medical rationale. In 1942, revised army mobilization regulations included for the first time a paragraph defining both the homosexual and "normal" person and clarifying procedures for rejecting gay draftees (Bérubé, 1990).

Homosexual Americans were allowed to serve, however, when personnel shortages necessitated it. As expansion of the war effort required that all available personnel be utilized, screening procedures were loosened and many homosexual men and women enlisted and served. This shift was temporary. As the need for recruits diminished near the war's end, antihomosexual policies were enforced with increasing vigilance, and many gay men and lesbians were discharged involuntarily. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, acknowledging a homosexual orientation barred an individual from military service (see Bérubé, 1990, for a comprehensive history of the U.S. military's response to homosexuality during the World War II era).

In the 1970s, however, a new movement emerged in the United States that pressed for civil rights for gay men and lesbians. The military policy was one target of this movement, dramatized

by the legal challenge to the policy mounted by Leonard Matlovich (Hippler, 1989). Similar challenges continued throughout the 1970s. Although largely unsuccessful, they highlighted the wide latitude of discretion allowed to commanders in implementing existing policy, which resulted in considerable variation in the rigor with which the policy was enforced.

In 1981, the DOD formulated a new policy which stated unequivocally that homosexuality is incompatible with military service (DOD Directive 1332.14, January 28, 1982, Part 1, Section H). According to a 1992 report by the Government Accounting Office (GAO), nearly 17,000 men and women were discharged under the category of homosexuality in the 1980s (GAO, 1992a). The Navy was disproportionately represented, accounting for 51% of the discharges even though it comprised only 27% of the active force during this time period. Statistical breakdowns by gender and race revealed that, for all services, White women were discharged at a rate disproportionate to their representation. Overall, White females represented 6.4% of personnel but 20.2% of those discharged for homosexuality (GAO, 1992b).

By the end of the 1980s, reversing the military's policy was emerging as a priority for advocates of gay and lesbian civil rights. Several lesbian and gay male members of the armed services came out publicly and vigorously challenged their discharges through the legal system. In 1992, legislation to overturn the ban was introduced in the U.S. Congress. By that time, grassroots civilian opposition to the DOD's policy appeared to be increasing. Many national organizations had officially condemned the policy and many colleges and universities had banned military recruiters and Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) programs from their campuses in protest of the policy (Kosova, 1990).

By the beginning of 1993, it appeared that the military's ban on gay personnel would soon

be overturned. Shortly after his inauguration, President Clinton asked the Secretary of Defense to prepare a draft policy to end discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, and he proposed to use the interim period to resolve “the real, practical problems that would be involved” in implementing a new policy (“Clinton acts,” 1993, p. A-1). Clinton's proposal, however, was greeted with intense opposition from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, members of Congress, the political opposition, and a considerable segment of the U.S. public.

After lengthy public debate and congressional hearings, the President and Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA), chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee, reached a compromise which they labeled “Don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue” (Friedman, 1993, p. A1 4). Under its terms, military personnel would not be asked about their sexual orientation and would not be discharged simply for being gay. Engaging in sexual conduct with a member of the same sex, however, would still constitute grounds for discharge (Friedman, 1993). In the fall of 1993, the Congress voted to codify most aspects of the ban. Meanwhile, the civilian courts have issued contradictory opinions, with some upholding the policy's constitutionality and others ordering the reinstatement of openly gay military personnel who were involuntarily discharged (Jacobson, 1996). These divisions of opinion within the judiciary make the policy a likely candidate for review by the U.S. Supreme Court. The outcome of such a review cannot be predicted. As noted above, however, the possibility exists that the Court would rule the current policy unconstitutional.

Definitions and Key Concepts

Before discussing empirical research relevant to sexual orientation and the Army, it is important to clarify some basic terminology and concepts. Under current DOD policy, a

distinction is drawn between homosexual behavior, or conduct, and homosexual status. The latter, absent homosexual conduct, is not grounds for discharge. Soldiers are not to be asked about their sexual orientation, and homosexuals can serve in the military provided that they keep their sexual orientation to themselves. Activities such as participation in gay rights parades and reading homosexual publications are permissible.

Homosexual conduct, however, constitutes a dischargeable offense. It includes not only same-gender sexual behavior – the definition commonly used by social and behavioral scientists (e.g., Herek, 1994a) – but also a servicemember's attempts to marry a person of the same gender and statements that demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts. This includes statements that one is homosexual. Such statements create a rebuttable presumption that one has engaged in or will engage in homosexual behavior (DOD Directive 1332.14, 1993).

Understanding the implications of the status-conduct distinction is important for understanding some of the issues likely to be raised in implementing a new policy. As explained below, the distinction between sexual conduct and the status of sexual orientation tends to be interpreted differently for heterosexuals and homosexuals.

First, it is useful to consider broadly the concept of sexual orientation. Although heterosexual and homosexual behaviors alike have been common throughout human history, the ways in which cultures have made sense of these behaviors and the rules governing them have varied widely. For at least a century in the United States and Europe, human sexuality has been popularly understood in terms of a dichotomy between two types of people: those who are attracted to their same gender (*homosexuals*) and those who are attracted to the other gender

husband and wife, and father and mother. Most heterosexuals experience their sexuality, their romantic and affectional relationships, and their social roles and community memberships based upon those relationships as a central component of who they are, that is, their sense of self or identity.

Public disclosures or affirmations of one's heterosexuality – for example, wearing a wedding ring, or displaying a photograph of one's spouse – are not commonly interpreted as statements about private sexual conduct. Rather, they identify an individual as occupying a particular role in society. These roles – husband or wife, father or mother – are largely *desexualized* (Herek, 1992a). That is, they are interpreted by others primarily as indicators of social status, obligations, and behaviors; they are not associated primarily or exclusively with sexual behaviors, even though they recognize private sexual conduct and, in the case of marriage, legitimize such conduct.

Like heterosexuality, a homosexual orientation is closely related to important personal identities, social roles, and community memberships. These identities and community connections are emphasized by the use of self-referent terms such as *gay* and *lesbian*. Homosexuality, however, is stigmatized in the United States. Whereas normal sexuality is equated with heterosexuality in U.S. culture, homosexuals historically have been regarded as abnormal and deviant, and have accordingly been stigmatized as sinners, criminals, and psychopaths (Sarbin, 1996). As detailed below, stigma persists to the present day.

Consequently, for homosexual persons to disclose or affirm their sexual orientation is to identify themselves as members of a stigmatized group. Moreover, because people are assumed to be heterosexual unless evidence is provided to the contrary (e.g., Herek, 1992a, 1996),

disclosing that one is homosexual requires an interruption of the normal flow of social interaction. Because the social roles available to homosexual persons are not desexualized as are heterosexual roles, an assertion that one has a same-gender partner or that one is gay is often interpreted primarily as a statement about one's private sexual conduct.

For many people, however, to be gay or lesbian is to assume a quasi-ethnic identity that represents membership in a larger community and is central to their sense of self. By stating "I am gay" or "I am a lesbian" or "I am a homosexual," an individual affirms that identity and community membership. Such affirmations are a critical component of the process of identity formation and integration of the identity with other aspects of the self, important components of psychological health (Malyon, 1982; Stein & Cohen, 1984).

Consequently, lesbians and gay men must choose between actively projecting a heterosexual facade (colloquially termed *being in the closet*), passively allowing others to assume that they are heterosexual, and explicitly disclosing their sexual orientation to others (colloquially termed *coming out of the closet*, or simply *coming out*). Because most gay men and lesbians regularly encounter new people who presume that they are heterosexual, coming out is an ongoing process. They must make daily choices about their level of disclosure to others.

Some gay men and lesbians structure their lives in such a way that their sexual orientation is common knowledge. They are often referred to as being *openly* gay or lesbian, because they do not rigorously restrict others' access to information about their sexual orientation. Although being openly gay might sometimes be accomplished through *going public* – that is, publicly disclosing their sexual orientation by coming out on a television program or in a newspaper interview (Lee, 1977) – it more often involves private conversations with friends and family

members. In addition, gay people sometimes allow their sexual orientation to become common knowledge by disclosing to several people and allowing normal processes of social interaction to disseminate the information. Another strategy is to convey information to others indirectly, for example, by mentioning that one attended a gay-oriented social function or by being seen with other people who are known to be gay.

A recent national survey revealed that approximately 45% of U.S. heterosexual adults who know at least one gay person first learned about the individual's sexual orientation directly from that person herself or himself (Herek & Capitano, 1996). Another 16% initially guessed or learned about it through a third party, but subsequently discussed it directly with the gay or lesbian friend or relative. Such disclosure almost always occurred in cases where survey respondents described the gay or lesbian individual as a close friend or immediate family member, rarely occurred when he or she was a distant relative, and occurred slightly more than half the time when he or she was an acquaintance or a casual friend. Thus, approximately 61% of American adult heterosexuals who know gay men or lesbians were told directly by at least one gay friend or relative about his or her homosexuality, with such revelations occurring more often in close relationships than in distant relationships. Conversely, the data also indicate that gay men and lesbians do not completely control information about their sexual orientation. In 32% of the relationships with a gay person reported by heterosexuals in the national sample, the respondent initially learned that the friend, relative, or acquaintance was homosexual through a third party.³ In another 30% of the relationships, the respondent initially guessed that the friend,

³ Respondents were asked to describe up to two relationships with a gay or lesbian individual. Note that the unit of analysis here is the relationship rather than the respondent.

relative, or acquaintance was gay (Herek & Capitano, 1996).

This discussion highlights some of the complexities of sexual orientation, and points out some important discontinuities between the experiences of heterosexuals and homosexuals. Under current DOD policy, military personnel are allowed to be open about their sexual orientation if they are heterosexual: They can wear a wedding band, tell others about their spouse, and be seen publicly with her or him. These behaviors are not regarded by others as sexual or as an inappropriate sexual display. Comparable conduct by a gay person, however, may be perceived by others as sexual. Thus, even if gay people are held to the same standards of conduct as heterosexuals (an assumption of this report concerning a future policy imposed by the courts), their behaviors may be interpreted differently. A member of the Army, for example, may be openly gay in that he has told his coworkers and supervisor that he is a homosexual. Even if he does not mention any aspect of his private sexual conduct, however, others may perceive his disclosure as an inappropriate flaunting of his sexuality, and may respond negatively. Some of the reasons for such responses will be explained in the next section.

In summary, individuals' sexual orientation encompasses not only their sexual conduct but also their closest personal relationships, their social roles and identity, and their memberships in larger communities. Because heterosexual identities and roles are desexualized whereas their homosexual counterparts are not, the same behavior can be regarded very differently depending on whether it is performed by a heterosexual or homosexual. If the Army adopts a new policy in which the same standards of behavior are applied to gay and heterosexual personnel, it will be important to identify the best strategies for teaching personnel to understand which types of behavior and speech are considered sexual – and therefore should be kept private – and which

types of behavior and speech are permissible in public settings. The next section of this report provides an overview of current research on heterosexuals' reactions to gay people, which sheds light on the cognitive and emotional processes involved in interpreting such speech and behavior.

Understanding Heterosexuals' Reactions To Lesbians and Gay Men

In the past 25 years, an extensive body of scientific knowledge has accumulated about heterosexuals' attitudes, beliefs, and conduct concerning lesbians and gay men. This literature offers insights that are applicable to designing research on heterosexual personnel's reactions to a new Army policy concerning sexual orientation and their behaviors related to it. Before reviewing the literature, however, it is important to consider the multifaceted nature of attitudes and beliefs in this realm, and their relationship to behavior.

Attitudes, Beliefs, and Behavior

Attitudes, prejudice, and opinion. The term *attitude* refers to an evaluative stance toward a person, group, idea, policy, or thing (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). In this report, it is used interchangeably with *opinion*. Attitudes are typically expressed along dimensions such as positive versus negative, or favorable versus unfavorable. The term *prejudice* is commonly used to refer to a negative or hostile attitude toward a particular social group.

Reactions to a new Army policy concerning sexual orientation inevitably would involve a variety of different attitudes. These include: (1) attitudes toward the *policy* itself, which may be affected by the policy's specific provisions, implementation procedures, and perceived implications for one's own situation (e.g., work load, living situation); (2) attitudes toward gay *people* which, in turn, can operate at multiple levels (e.g., attitudes toward gay civilians, toward

gay military personnel, toward gay Army personnel, and toward a specific gay coworker); and (3) attitudes toward *homosexuality* as an abstract concept and toward *sexual acts* between two men or two women.

Although these different attitudes will often be correlated, they also are likely to be independent from each other to some extent. For example, an enlisted man might personally condemn homosexuality on religious grounds, but express neutral attitudes toward gay persons, and hold positive attitudes toward a new policy because he believes that it is fair and that his religious beliefs are a matter of personal conviction and irrelevant to Army personnel policy. Alternatively, an officer might consider homosexuality to be a legitimate expression of human sexuality and hold generally favorable attitudes toward gay persons, yet oppose a new policy because she feels that it lacks sufficient guidelines for effective implementation and makes her own job more difficult.

Beliefs and stereotypes. Closely related to attitudes is the construct of *beliefs*. In general, a belief represents a probabilistic judgment that a particular phenomenon exists or that two or more phenomena are empirically related in a particular manner (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Of particular relevance to understanding heterosexual personnel's attitudes toward gay people is one type of belief: the *stereotype*. Stereotypes are relatively fixed beliefs about people based on their membership in a group or category. These beliefs are unrelated to the group or category's defining characteristics. The beliefs that all gay men are effeminate or are child molesters, for example, are stereotypes, whereas the belief that all gay men are primarily attracted to other men in their sexual and romantic relationships is not.

Stereotyping represents an undesirable outcome of an otherwise adaptive psychological

process. The world constantly bombards people with an overwhelming amount of sensory stimulation. Interpreting and responding to each separate item of information is beyond human mental capabilities. Yet individual survival depends on being able to detect important events in the environment, making reasonably accurate predictions about their personal relevance, and behaving accordingly. Consequently, people use a variety of strategies for judging the importance of information and integrating it with their past experiences. These strategies enable them to perceive the world as reasonably stable, predictable, and manageable (e.g., Snyder, 1981).

One such strategy is *categorization*, whereby an individual mentally groups different objects, including people, according to some shared characteristic. Once an object is grouped with others, a considerable amount of information about it can be accessed simply by recalling the category's defining features. A stereotype represents the inappropriate application of categorization to a social group (e.g., Hamilton, 1981). Stereotypical thinking causes an individual to underestimate or ignore the differences among members of a group, while exaggerating the differences between groups (Tajfel, 1969). In addition, stereotypes influence an individual's perceptions of the target: Under the influence of stereotypes, people's perceptions of the world tend to conform to their expectations.

Negative stereotypes are often – but not always – related to negative attitudes, or prejudice. People who are prejudiced against a group are highly likely to endorse negative stereotypes about the group, whereas people who are not prejudiced tend to reject stereotypes. But this is not always the case. Sometimes unprejudiced people believe cultural stereotypes about a group, and sometimes people with negative attitudes do not believe a particular stereotype.

Behavior, discrimination, and violence. Whereas the constructs of attitude, prejudice, belief, and stereotype refer to internal psychological processes, the term *behavior* refers to an individual's observable actions. A few categories of behavior are particularly relevant to the present discussion of a new personnel policy.

Discrimination is used here to refer to differential treatment of another individual because of her or his group membership. The group may be based on sexual orientation, gender, age, or – as in the following passage from a 1973 Army race relations training manual – race:

“Prejudice is derived from ‘pre-judgment’ and refers to a psychological phenomenon occurring within an individual. Racial discrimination, on the other hand, implies action. It refers to an objective difference in treatment. A person can be prejudiced without discriminating and can discriminate without being prejudiced. Someone’s prejudice doesn’t harm anybody until they do something on the basis of the prejudice – in other words, until they discriminate.” (Department of the Army, 1973, p. 10)

Discrimination can take a variety of forms, the most dramatic of which is physical violence against an individual because of her or his group membership. In the civilian world, violence based on a victim’s race or sexual orientation is widely referred to as a *hate crime* (Herek & Berrill, 1992).

Finally, verbal expression or speech is an important type of behavior and requires special consideration for several reasons. Speech is the primary behavioral mechanism through which personal beliefs and attitudes are expressed. Indeed, the constitutional right of expression of ideas is commonly referred to as freedom of speech. It is primarily through speech that an individual’s attitudes become known to others, including behavioral and social scientists. In the terminology of scientific research on attitudes and behavior, however, the spoken or written expression of attitudes and beliefs is not generally categorized as behavior in the same way as

acts of discrimination or violence. Consequently, research on attitude-behavior consistency (discussed below) has typically not included the spoken or written expression of attitudes to a researcher as a form of behavior (although more public expressions – such as declaring one’s opinions to a group of people – have been regarded as behavior). Verbal expressions of attitudes, however, have important consequences for successful implementation of a new policy, as discussed below.

The link between attitudes and behavior. A large body of social psychological research indicates that the relationship between attitudes and overt behavior is complex, difficult to predict, and often weak (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Indeed, some of the most widely accepted theoretical models of attitudes and behavior posit a weak causal connection between general attitudes and specific behaviors, and identify a large number of intervening variables that mediate the relationship (Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). In the model depicted in Figure 1, for example, the immediate antecedent of a behavior is the *intention* to perform it (this model is applicable to behaviors that are volitional to a substantial degree). Behavioral intentions, in turn, are determined by the joint influence of two other factors: (1) *attitudes toward the specific behavior* which, in turn, are shaped by beliefs about the behavior’s consequences and evaluations of the desirability or undesirability of those consequences; and (2) *subjective perceptions of social norms* concerning the behavior, which are determined by beliefs about whether specific individuals (e.g., friends, family, peers, supervisors) would approve or disapprove of the particular behavior, and the importance attached to approval by those specific others in the current situation. In addition to these factors, various *environmental variables* constrain or facilitate the behavior by providing

opportunities for it to occur, sanctions to punish it, resources to facilitate it, and skills that enable the individual to enact it. Besides their direct effect on the behavior, these variables also influence the actor's perceptions about whether or not she or he can enact the behavior which, in turn, affect behavioral intentions. General *attitudes toward targets* (e.g., attitudes toward gay people as a group) enter into the causal sequence as one factor among many others that affect beliefs and evaluations concerning the behavior's consequences, and beliefs and evaluations concerning others' approval.

Insert Figures 1 and 2 about here

Figure 2 applies this theoretical model to illustrate the role of attitudes toward homosexuality in determining a heterosexual soldier's refusal to work with a gay coworker. It is evident from Figure 2 that numerous factors in addition to attitudes toward gay people as a group influence whether or not the soldier will actually refuse to work. First, environmental factors dictate whether the soldier will even have the opportunity to refuse (which is possible only if a coworker is openly gay which, as discussed below, will be a somewhat unlikely occurrence), and will constrain such behavior through policies and sanctions. The feasibility of refusing to work will also be a factor (e.g., if the gay coworker's contribution is indispensable to completing the work at hand, the actor will be less inclined to refuse to work with her or him). The actor's intention to refuse will be shaped by evaluation of these factors, as well as by her or his attitudes toward enacting the behavior (based on evaluations of whether such behavior would have positive or negative consequences for the actor and for the unit) and her or his consideration of

social norms (whether significant others would approve or disapprove if the actor refused to work). All of these variables will be affected by the actor's general attitudes toward homosexuality, but also by her or his attitudes toward the specific gay coworker involved, the Army personnel policy, the Army as an institution, and the Army's mission. In addition, demographic characteristics and personality characteristics will have an effect.

Figures 1 and 2 are not intended to suggest that heterosexual personnel's attitudes will have no impact on their conduct in relation to a new policy. The model depicted in those figures, however, highlights the many additional variables that must be considered in trying to predict such behavior. In addition, the model illustrates the variety of factors – many of which the Army can directly control – that shape behavior. By incorporating sanctions and incentives into the policy and by communicating leadership's intention to enforce it, for example, the Army can control the perceived consequences of antigay behavior and social norms associated with it.

Changing attitudes, changing behavior. Despite the complicated linkage between attitudes and behavior, attempts to influence behavior often begin with an attempt to change attitudes, as illustrated by the multi-million dollar advertising industry in the United States (e.g., McGuire, 1985). It is important to recognize, however, that a persuasive message targeting attitudes must elicit a long chain of desired reactions before it effects behavior change. Some of the major links in this chain are detailed in Figure 3.

Insert Figure 3 about here

Consider the example of a persuasive message directed at heterosexual personnel that is

intended to instill obedience to the new policy and cooperation with gay coworkers. Before any persuasion can occur, the intended recipient must first notice the message, attend to it, take a sufficient interest in it to encode its content into memory, and understand it. Then the recipient must evaluate the trustworthiness and accuracy of the message and, if the message is judged to be credible, must then think about the message content. In this process, the recipient must generate a series of related cognitions concerning her or his own relevant attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, as well as those of important others (e.g., friends, coworkers, superiors, family). If, at this point, the recipient agrees with the message content (which is itself influenced by a host of factors related to the communicator, the message, the medium, the context, and the receiver's predispositions; see McGuire, 1985), attitude change can be said to occur. Several additional steps are necessary, however, before behavior change takes place. The recipient must acquire the skills needed to comply with the message if he or she does not already possess them. Then the recipient must have an opportunity to enact the new behavior and, in that situation, must be able to remember what he or she learned from the persuasive message and decide to act accordingly. This decision will be affected by the variables depicted in Figure 1. If the recipient does indeed act in accordance with the persuasive message, then behavior change has occurred. For that behavior change to endure, however, the recipient must consolidate the new behavior into an ongoing pattern (e.g., a habit) so that it is emitted in future relevant situations (McGuire, 1985).

The causal sequence can also be reversed: By changing behavior the Army might actually have an effect on personnel's attitudes. When individuals behave in a manner contrary to their own attitudes – especially in the absence of strong coercive forces– they often subsequently alter their attitudes to be consistent with that behavior. A variety of factors can be used to explain

such attitude change, including an individual's desire to reduce *cognitive dissonance*, an unpleasant state of arousal that accompanies perceived inconsistencies between attitudes and behavior (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). When individuals with negative attitudes toward homosexuality find themselves working with openly gay peers, they may reduce dissonance in a variety of ways, including by changing their attitudes toward homosexuals or toward the policy.

Given the likely weak correlation between attitudes toward homosexuality and heterosexual personnel's behavior toward gay people, should such attitudes even be considered in Army research? Attitudes are worthy of study for several reasons. First, although it is complex and affected by many intervening variables, the causal connection between attitudes and behavior does indeed exist. Attitudes are not *the* determinant of behavior, but they are *a* determinant. Second, understanding the correlates of heterosexuals' attitudes toward homosexuality will be useful for identifying the subgroups of personnel who – all else being equal – are most likely to comply with a new policy or resist it. Third, as noted above, expression of attitudes through speech is commonplace. Although an individual's words do not always predict her or his deeds, those words contribute to others' perceptions of social norms (which, as indicated in Figures 1 and 2, are important influences on behavior). Thus, the verbal expression of attitudes by one person may influence the behaviors of her or his audience. Finally, understanding the psychological processes associated with heterosexuals' attitudes and beliefs concerning gay personnel is likely to suggest strategies for eliciting behavior change based on *identification* (adoption of the target behavior because the individual regards it as consistent with her or his self-concept as a soldier) and *internalization* of the new policy (acceptance of it as congruent with one's own value system). These motives for behavior are more enduring and flexible than is

mere *compliance* with a policy as a result of external coercion, and require less vigilant enforcement (Kelman, 1961).

Public Opinion Concerning Homosexuality in the United States

The importance of regarding heterosexuals' attitudes toward homosexuality as multifaceted rather than monolithic becomes readily apparent when public opinion data are considered. Survey research with national probability samples indicates that many Americans have complex attitudes concerning gay people and policies related to homosexuality. In general, most Americans appear to regard homosexual conduct as morally wrong, but they also believe that gay people should enjoy basic civil liberties and should be protected from discrimination.

Figures 4 through 10 summarize longitudinal trends in public attitudes as measured by seven survey items. Four items are taken from the General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago. The remaining items are taken from the Gallup poll. In all cases, these were national surveys with large samples (usually at least 1000 respondents) drawn from the 48 contiguous states. The Gallup poll was conducted by telephone, whereas the GSS involved face-to-face interviews.

Rights of free expression. The GSS includes a set of three items concerning respondents' willingness to grant basic free speech rights to "a man who admits that he is a homosexual." Respondents are questioned about whether they would allow such a man to "make a speech in your community" or "teach in a college or university," and whether they would favor removing "a book he wrote in favor of homosexuality" from the public library. Support for these First Amendment rights in connection with homosexuality was relatively strong even in 1973 (see Figures 4 through 6). In that year, 61% would have allowed a homosexual man to speak, 47%

would have allowed him to teach in a college, and 54% would have opposed censoring a book that he wrote in favor of homosexuality. For all three items, increasing support for these rights is evident. By 1994, the proportions endorsing First Amendment rights regarding homosexuality had grown to 79% for speech, 71% for teaching, and 68% against censorship. The percentage of respondents opposing such rights showed a corresponding decrease.

Insert Figures 4, 5, and 6 about here

Judgments of wrong and right. Figure 7 shows the trend in responses to a GSS item concerning whether sexual relations between two adults of the same sex are “always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all.” To simplify the graphic depiction of the trend, the “wrong only sometimes” and “not wrong at all” responses are combined in Figure 7. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of these data is their consistency over time. From 1973 through 1991, the proportion responding “always wrong” remained fairly steady, in the range of 70% to 77%. The proportion responding “never” or “only sometimes” wrong varied between 19% and 23%. In 1993 and 1994, public condemnation of adult homosexual relations began to diminish slightly – 62% felt that it was “always wrong” – but a solid majority still regards homosexual behavior as wrong.⁴

⁴Any interpretation of this item must acknowledge the response bias invited by its wording; the question's phrasing strongly suggests that homosexual relations are wrong to at least some extent. Data from other surveys with differently worded items assessing the morality or homosexual behavior, however, are consistent with responses to the GSS item.

Insert Figure 7 about here

Acceptable lifestyle. The first item from the Gallup poll measured opinions about whether homosexuality should be considered an acceptable alternative lifestyle. As with the NORC question on whether homosexual relations are wrong, responses to this item have been fairly consistent over time (see Figure 8). By a margin of 17 points (51% to 34%), respondents did not consider homosexuality an acceptable lifestyle in 1982. In 1992, the margin was 19 points (57% to 38%), with roughly equal numbers of undecided respondents having shifted to a positive or negative response.

Insert Figure 8 about here

Employment rights. The Gallup poll also assessed attitudes toward equal employment opportunities. When asked generally about employment rights for homosexuals, the majority of respondents expressing support has grown substantially, from 56% in 1977 to 80% in 1993. The proportion opposing employment rights was initially a minority (33% in 1977), and decreased even further to 14% in 1993 (see Figure 9).

Insert Figures 9 and 10 about here

The public's support for employment equality for gay men and lesbians was less

enthusiastic when questions were asked about specific occupations (see Figure 10).

Nevertheless, support has increased steadily. Increases in support for equal employment opportunities range from six percentage points for the military to 14 points for salespeople and elementary school teachers. One of the most remarkable changes has been in the proportion of Americans who feel homosexuals should be hired as elementary school teachers: it has grown from 27% in 1977, when 65% were opposed and 8% undecided, to 41% in 1992, when 54% were opposed and 3% undecided.

Correlates of Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Homosexuality and Gay Persons

Empirical research has demonstrated that heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians consistently are correlated with various psychological, social, and demographic variables (for reviews, see Herek, 1984, 1991; Kite, 1994). These patterns suggest that some subgroups of Army personnel may be more or less predisposed to accept or resist a new policy.

Those most likely to hold unfavorable attitudes toward gay people are:

- (1) those who have not had close friends or relatives who are gay, or have not otherwise had personal contact with gay men or lesbians (Bowman, 1979; Glassner & Owen, 1976; Hansen, 1982a; Herek, 1988; Herek & Capitano, 1995, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Millham, San Miguel & Kellogg, 1976; Saad & McAneny, 1993; Schneider & Lewis, 1984; Weis & Dane, 1979);
- (2) those who are strongly religious, especially those who subscribe to a conservative or fundamentalist religious ideology (Alston, 1974; Bowman, 1979; Glassner & Owen, 1976; Hansen, 1982b; Henley & Pincus, 1978; Herek, 1987a, 1988; Irwin & Thompson, 1977; Larsen, Cate & Reed, 1983; Larsen, Reed, & Hoffman, 1980; Marsiglio, 1993;

- Nyberg & Alston, 1976; Seltzer, 1992; Weis & Dane, 1979; White, 1979);
- (3) those who are older (i.e., above 50 years) and those who have less formal education (Bowman, 1979; Dejowski, 1992; Glenn & Weaver, 1979; Irwin & Thompson, 1977; Nyberg & Alston, 1976; Seltzer, 1992; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1976, White, 1979);
 - (4) those who were raised or have lived for a substantial amount of time in geographic areas where negative attitudes represent the norm, including rural areas, and the Midwestern and Southern United States (Dejowski, 1992; Hansen, 1982a; Irwin & Thompson, 1977; Levitt & Klassen, 1974; Nyberg & Alston, 1976; Seltzer, 1992; Stephan & McMullin, 1982; Turnbull & Brown, 1977; Whitehead & Metzger, 1981);
 - (5) males (Herek, 1984, 1988; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Kite, 1984, 1994; Kite & Whitley, 1995).⁵

In addition to identifying these characteristics, past research suggests that Army personnel who manifest particular attitudes, values, and beliefs are more likely than others to hold negative attitudes toward homosexuality. These include:

- (1) support for traditional gender roles, that is, belief that a range of particular occupations, behaviors, and social roles are appropriate only for men or for women (Dunbar, Brown, & Amoroso, 1973; Dunbar, Brown, & Vuorinen, 1973; Herek, 1988; Krulewitz & Nash,

⁵ This sex difference apparently results in part from heterosexual females' greater likelihood of personal contact with openly gay people, which is strongly correlated with greater acceptance of lesbians and gay men (Herek & Capitanio, 1995, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993). This differential contact, in turn, may be a product of the strong linkage in American culture (and military culture – see Dunivin, 1994) between masculinity and heterosexuality, which creates considerable pressures (both social and psychological) for males to affirm their masculinity through rejection of that which is not culturally defined as masculine (male homosexuality) and that which is perceived as negating the importance of males (lesbianism). Because heterosexual women are less likely to perceive rejection of homosexuality as

1980; Kurdek, 1988; Laner & Laner, 1979, 1980; MacDonald & Games, 1974; MacDonald, Huggins, Young, & Swanson, 1973; Marsiglio, 1993; Millham & Weinberger, 1977; Weinberger & Millham, 1979);

- (2) the belief that being homosexual is a matter of personal choice, rather than a status or condition over which an individual has no control (Ernulf, Innala, & Whitam, 1989; Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Moore, 1993; Schneider & Lewis, 1984; Whitley, 1990);
- (3) restrictive or nonpermissive attitudes about sexual matters, or guilt or negativity about sexuality (Dunbar, Brown, & Amoroso, 1973; Dunbar, Brown, & Vuorinen, 1973; Ficarroto, 1990; Levitt & Klassen, 1974; MacDonald & Games, 1974; Minnigerode, 1976; Mosher & O'Grady, 1979; Nyberg & Alston, 1976; Weis & Dane, 1979);
- (4) high levels of *authoritarianism*, a pattern of personality traits associated with general intolerance for stigmatized groups (Altemeyer, 1988; Herek, 1988; Hood, 1973; Karr, 1978; Larsen, Reed & Hoffman, 1980; MacDonald & Games, 1974).

It must be emphasized again that these patterns are derived from correlational research with civilian samples. The demographic, social, and attitudinal predictors of servicemembers' general attitudes toward homosexuality have not been systematically studied. However, data from 1992-93 concerning Army personnel's attitudes toward allowing homosexuals to serve in the military indicated that male soldiers were more likely than females to oppose allowing gay people to serve, as were soldiers who did not have gay friends (Miller, 1994). Race, rank, education, religiosity, marital status, and parental status were not related to respondents' attitudes in this

integral to their own gender identity, they may experience fewer pressures to be prejudiced and, consequently, have more opportunities for personal contact with gay people (Herek, 1986, 1987a, 1988).

study.⁶ This survey did not assess general attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. It should also be noted that the demographic correlates of attitudes toward allowing gay people to serve in 1992-93 (when a ban on gay personnel was in place and the issue of changing the current policy was a topic of national debate) might not be the same as those for attitudes toward a new policy once it is actually in effect (e.g., by court order).

In addition to the possible effects of the variables discussed above, the extent to which any individual actually supports or opposes a new Army policy concerning homosexuality will also be influenced by a wide variety of situational factors (e.g., support or opposition to the policy among one's peers and superiors). Moreover, the extent to which individuals' attitudes toward a new policy actually affect their conduct will be affected by the actual procedures followed in the implementation process, as discussed below.

Underlying Motivations

Different heterosexuals hold negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men for different reasons. Empirical research on such attitudes indicates that they often provide psychological benefit for the individual, that is, the attitudes serve a psychological function (Herek, 1987b). As with Whites' attitudes toward Blacks (e.g., Katz, 1960; McClintock, 1958), two heterosexuals can have very different motivations for expressing what appears to be the same attitude toward gay personnel, or they can express opposing opinions yet share a similar motivation. Attitude change is most likely to occur when an individual's attitudes stop being functional. Four principal psychological functions have been identified that are directly relevant to understanding

⁶Miller (1994) reported data from surveys with nonprobability samples of Army personnel ($n = 1943$ servicemen and 1606 servicewomen) who were asked whether they agreed or disagreed that "Gays and

Army personnel's likely reactions to a new policy on sexual orientation (Herek, 1987b).

Experiential attitudes. Attitudes serving an experiential function assist the heterosexual individual in making sense of her or his past encounters or experiences with gay people. Personnel who have experienced positive interactions with a gay man or lesbian are likely to generalize from that experience and subsequently accept gay people in general. Other personnel might have negative attitudes resulting from their unpleasant experiences with gay men or lesbians. Whether favorable or unfavorable, experiential attitudes help an individual to make sense of past experiences and fit them into a larger world view, one that is organized primarily in terms of her or his own self interest.

Surveys with the civilian population indicate that only about one-third of American adults personally know someone who is openly gay (Herek & Capitano, 1995, 1996). Assuming that a similar proportion of heterosexual Army personnel have known a gay man or lesbian, most attitudes toward gay people among Army personnel necessarily are not experiential. For them, homosexuality and gay people are primarily symbols. Whereas attitudes toward people with whom one has direct experience function primarily to organize and make sense of those experiences, attitudes toward symbols serve different functions: They help people to increase their self-esteem by expressing important aspects of themselves – by declaring to themselves and to others what sort of people they are. Affirming who one *is* often is accomplished by distancing oneself from or even attacking people who represent the sort of person one *is not* or does not want to be. Three symbolic functions have been identified for heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

lesbians should be allowed to enter and remain in the military.”

Value-expressive attitudes. Attitudes serving a value-expressive function enable people to affirm their belief in and adherence to important values that are closely related to their self concepts. For one individual, expressing positive attitudes toward gay people may be a vehicle for expressing her personal values about tolerance of diversity and support for individual liberties, which might be fundamental to her perception of herself as an open-minded person. Another individual might express negative attitudes as a way of expressing her religious values. Opposing a new personnel policy might represent a way of affirming that she is a good Christian, for example, which is of central importance to her self concept. In either case, homosexuality *per se* is not as important as what it symbolizes, and the link between that symbolic process and the individual's core values.

Social-expressive attitudes. When attitudes serve a *social-expressive function*, communicating the attitude strengthens one's sense of belonging to a particular group and helps an individual to gain acceptance, approval, or love from other people whom she or he considers important (e.g., coworkers, friends, family). When gay people are perceived as the epitome of outsiders, denigrating them can solidify one's own status as an insider; the attitude serves a negative social-expressive function. When lesbians and gay men are regarded favorably by one's group (or are members of that group) and supporting them strengthens one's group affiliations, the attitude serves a positive social-expressive function. In both cases, the approval that is won through expressing these attitudes increases the individual's own self-esteem, which is of central importance to her or him. Sometimes an individual receives social support for her or his attitudes directly, as when others tell her or him that they agree with the attitude or that they accept and like the individual for expressing it. At other times, the support is indirect or imagined, as when

an individual experiences satisfaction from feeling that others would approve if they knew her or his opinion.

Ego-defensive attitudes. Attitudes serving an ego-defensive function lower a person's anxiety resulting from her or his unconscious psychological conflicts, such as those surrounding sexuality or gender. This function is summarized in the popular notion that heterosexuals who express antigay prejudice do so out of fear that they themselves are latent homosexuals. In the last 20 years, as antigay prejudice – often labeled *homophobia* – has been increasingly defined as a social problem, this explanation has become widespread (Herek, 1994b; Weinberg, 1972). Although it does not explain all prejudice against lesbians and gay men – or probably even the majority of such prejudice (Herek, 1987b) – the ego-defensive function appears to fit the actions of some people. For them, lesbians or gay men symbolize unacceptable parts of themselves, for example, “effeminacy” for some men, “masculinity” for some women. Expressing antigay hostility represents an unconscious strategy through which they can avoid an internal conflict by externalizing it – projecting it onto a suitable symbol apart from themselves. By rejecting (or even attacking) gay people, the defensive individual can deny that unacceptable aspect of him- or herself while also symbolically attacking it. Defensive attitudes are often expressed through strong feelings of disgust toward homosexuality or in perceptions of danger from gay people of one's own gender.

The functions of behavior. Although not empirically tested, the functional approach has also been proposed as a strategy for understanding heterosexuals' interpersonal behaviors toward homosexuals. Herek (1992b) described the ways in which hate crimes against lesbians and gay men might serve psychological functions similar to those served by attitudes and opinions. He

with ego-defensive attitudes, it reinforces cultural taboos concerning homosexual behavior and reinforces stereotypes of gay men and lesbians as threats to traditional gender roles.

Stereotypes About Gay People

As noted above, heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay people are often correlated with negative stereotypes about them. Such stereotypes can take a variety of forms. One of the most widespread stereotypes, for example, is that a homosexual orientation is inherently related to gender role nonconformity, such that lesbians uniformly manifest characteristics that are culturally defined as "masculine," whereas gay men manifest "feminine" qualities (e.g., Herek, 1984; Kite & Deaux, 1986, 1987). This belief is sufficiently strong that men and women whose behavior and appearance are inconsistent with cultural gender prescriptions are often labeled homosexual (Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Storms, Stivers, Lambers, & Hill, 1981), and that lesbians and gay men who violate stereotypical expectations, as many do, may actually be disliked (Laner & Laner, 1979; Storms, 1978). Consistent with the latter finding, a heterosexual who is perceived as being able to identify and label a non-obvious homosexual may subsequently be better liked by other heterosexuals (Karr, 1978).

Other stereotypes reflect cultural beliefs about outsiders in general. Adam (1978) documented some of the themes common to cultural images of gay people, Blacks, and Jews alike. These include being animalistic, hypersexual, overvisible, heretical, and conspiratorial (see also Gilman, 1985). Yet another ideology ascribes disease to all three groups. Just as being Black or Jewish was equated historically with mental illness (Gilman, 1985; Szasz, 1970), so was homosexuality officially labeled a mental illness by the American Psychiatric Association until 1973 (Bayer, 1987; Gonsiorek, 1991). In all cases, members of the out-group are portrayed as

both threatening and inferior to members of the dominant in-group.

Stereotypical thinking is difficult to overcome, even for people who have consciously decided that they do not wish to be prejudiced. The latter will probably feel guilty or uncomfortable when they realize that they have been thinking stereotypically about a particular group, but they do it nevertheless (Devine & Monteith, 1993). Stereotypical thinking is resistant to change for several reasons. First, the use of stereotypes appears to be fairly automatic when thinking about members of a social outgroup. In other words, using stereotypes is like a habit. To break the stereotype habit, one must break out of the automatic mental processes that one usually uses, and consciously take control of one's thinking. This requires cognitive effort. It also requires that one acquire new skills – one must learn new ways of non-stereotypical thinking (Devine & Monteith, 1993). For heterosexuals who harbor negative stereotypes about gay people, it is necessary to avoid the cognitive patterns associated with *selective perception* and *selective recall*. The former refers to selectively noticing behaviors and characteristics that fit with one's preconceived beliefs about gay people, while failing to notice behaviors and characteristics that are inconsistent with those beliefs (e.g., Gross, Green, Storck, & Vanyur, 1980; Gurwitz & Marcus, 1978). The latter refers to similar distortions of memory for past events (Bellezza & Bower, 1981; Snyder, 1981; Snyder & Uranowitz, 1978)

A second reason that stereotypical thinking is difficult to overcome is that people tend to use whatever information is most accessible to them when they are making judgments and decisions (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973). Stereotypical beliefs often represent the most readily available information about the members of a social outgroup. Finally, stereotypes persist because they tend to be reinforced by the other members of one's own group. Someone who

expresses a stereotypical belief is likely to be rewarded by the group (e.g., in the form of acceptance or liking), whereas someone who expresses a counter-stereotypical belief may be punished (in the form of disagreement, discounting, ridicule, or even rejection and ostracism).

In the event that Army personnel policy changes, there is a high likelihood that some heterosexuals will persist in thinking stereotypically about gay personnel (or personnel who are simply believed to be gay, regardless of their actual sexual orientation). Once they label a coworker, superior, or subordinate as homosexual, they will perceive her or him differently. They are likely to attend selectively to information that supports their stereotypes while ignoring information that contradicts those beliefs. They may draw negative conclusions about gay personnel's motives and actions without any basis for those conclusions. Even when the target individual's behaviors are completely inconsistent with stereotypes, those behaviors may be ignored. Alternatively, if the target individual is recognized as violating stereotypical expectations, she or he may be dismissed as an atypical case that is not representative of the larger population of gay people (Rothbart & John, 1985).

Influencing Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men

Because heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay people have complex cultural and psychological roots, are affected by a variety of social and psychological variables, and serve a variety of psychological functions, they cannot be changed through any one approach. Nevertheless, empirical research suggests that two types of experiences influence such attitudes.

First, exposure to an educational program about gay people and homosexuality has been shown to change heterosexuals' attitudes (Stevenson, 1988). Attitude change has been documented after general human sexuality courses (Cerny & Polyson, 1984), courses and

workshops on homosexuality (Anderson, 1981), lectures about homosexuality (Goldberg, 1982), lectures by openly gay people (Lance, 1987; Pagtolun-An & Clair, 1986), video presentations featuring gay people (Goldberg, 1982), videos ridiculing prejudice against non-gay minority groups (Goldberg, 1982), and exercises in which participants role-played being a gay person coming out to others (Serdaheley & Ziemba, 1984). The only strategy demonstrated to be counter-productive is exposing heterosexuals to explicitly sexual films or videos about homosexuality (Goldberg, 1982; Nevid, 1983), which may evoke discomfort, anxiety, and other negative feelings among heterosexual viewers (Mosher & O'Grady, 1979). Even this effect appears to be diminished by combining presentation of the sexually-explicit material with one or more other attitude-change strategies (Anderson, 1981; Cerny & Polyson, 1984).

Several possible reasons can be suggested for why educational programs and courses change attitudes. They may serve principally to provide factual information and refute stereotypes about gay people. Or they may provide an opportunity for developing positive feelings toward a specific gay person. Alternatively, they may create social norms that promote tolerance and discourage anti-gay prejudice, or they may simply cue participants to provide socially desirable (i.e., unprejudiced) responses to attitude measures regardless of their own true attitudes. Because the studies conducted to date have not investigated the social psychological variables involved in their interventions, it is not known which of these factors – if any – plays a role in fostering attitude change.

Care must be exercised in designing any intervention intended to change heterosexuals' attitudes concerning homosexuality. The previous discussion of stereotyping processes points to the limitations inherent in attitude-change strategies that simply provide heterosexuals with “the

facts” about gay people. Such strategies are likely to be undermined by selective perception, selective recall, and other cognitive processes that support stereotypical thinking. Informational strategies must directly confront these cognitive processes, e.g., by providing memorable examples of gay people that contradict existing stereotypes.

The functional approach to attitudes and behavior suggests that heterosexual personnel’s attitudes and conduct toward homosexuals often are motivated by underlying needs for self-esteem or social support. Thus, in order to effectively change a particular heterosexual’s attitudes, it is important to understand how that individual benefits from expressing her or his current attitudes. The most effective interventions will be those that make the target attitude highly beneficial to the individual, while making the undesirable attitude dysfunctional.

A second approach to changing heterosexuals’ attitudes – one that offers promise for addressing both cognitive and motivational issues – involves contact experiences. Creating opportunities for heterosexuals to interact with gay people is likely to influence the former’s attitudes, provided the interaction meets certain requirements. It should occur over an extended time period in a supportive environment where common goals are emphasized, where prejudice is negatively sanctioned, and where heterosexual personnel learn to regard gay men and lesbians as individuals rather than as mere members of a disliked social category (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Brewer & Miller, 1984). This prescription is based on a large body of social psychological research on the *contact hypothesis* which, as originally described by Allport (1954), asserts that many forms of prejudice can be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals.

Consistent with the contact hypothesis, heterosexuals with openly gay friends or

acquaintances have been found to be more likely than others to hold accepting attitudes toward gay people in general, as noted above (Herek & Capitano, 1995, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Schneider & Lewis, 1984). This pattern may result partly from a preference among gay people for disclosing their sexual orientation to others perceived as likely to be already supportive (Herek & Glunt, 1993; Herek & Capitano, 1996; Schneider, 1986; Wells & Kline, 1987). Nevertheless, knowing an openly gay person is predictive of supportive attitudes even in demographic groups where hostility is the norm, e.g., among the highly religious and the uneducated (Schneider & Lewis, 1984).

Thus, the Army should study the possibility of reducing anti-gay prejudice in its ranks by fostering the development of social and working relationships between heterosexual and gay personnel. These relationships are likely to change heterosexuals' attitudes to the extent that they cause the latter to individuate and personalize gay people, that is, to perceive homosexuals as flesh-and-blood individuals rather than as members of a mass (Brewer & Miller, 1984). One way to encourage such individuation and personalization is to create situations in which heterosexuals can talk to a gay person and directly discuss the latter's experiences. Provided that such interactions are not perceived by the heterosexual person as extremely threatening,⁷ they are likely to refute myths and stereotypes, change perceptions of social norms, and challenge the psychological functions that underlie antigay prejudices.

It appears to be preferable that heterosexuals have this sort of experience with more than one

⁷It may be possible to structure contact situations to reduce the heterosexual participant's feelings of threat. For example, a heterosexual male who is extremely threatened by gay men might be able to interact more comfortably with a lesbian. Such threat is also likely to be reduced when the heterosexual and homosexual participants share similar values, beliefs, and backgrounds.

gay person. Heterosexuals who know two or more gay people tend to have considerably more favorable attitudes toward gay people as a group than do those who know only one gay individual (Herek & Capitanio, 1996). This pattern may occur because knowing multiple members of a stigmatized group is more likely to foster recognition of that group's variability than is knowing only one group member (Wilder, 1978). Knowing multiple members of a group may also reduce the likelihood that their behavior can be discounted as atypical (Rothbart & John, 1985).

Summary

Heterosexuals' reactions to gay people must be understood in terms of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. The relationships among these variables are indirect and often not very strong. Whereas a new Army policy concerning homosexual personnel will ultimately focus on behavior, understanding the social psychological processes that shape heterosexuals' attitudes and beliefs is important for fostering internalization of the policy's goals. Many heterosexuals have complex attitudes toward homosexuality, disapproving of homosexual conduct but opposing discrimination or denial of civil liberties to gay people. Compared to those with more favorable attitudes, heterosexuals with hostile attitudes toward gay people are more likely to be male, highly religious, older, less educated, from a rural background, from the Midwest or South, and authoritarian. They are likely to endorse traditional gender roles and express restrictive attitudes concerning sexual behavior. Perhaps most important, they are likely not to have had an ongoing personal relationship with a gay man or lesbian. Creating opportunities for heterosexual personnel to interact with an openly gay person may be one of the most effective strategies for fostering positive attitudes toward gay personnel. Although they are based on empirical research,

these assertions have not been tested systematically with military personnel. Consequently, they should be regarded as hypotheses for study rather than as definitive conclusions.

Some Likely Consequences of a New Policy

The present section sketches some likely consequences of a new policy, with the goal of identifying hypotheses for future research.

Public Opinion

Public opinion data indicate that the civilian population's attitudes toward allowing lesbians and gay men to serve in the military have been volatile and highly polarized. As shown in Figure 10, before the 1993 public debate about a policy change, the Gallup poll showed a trend of increasing support for employment rights for lesbians and gay men in many fields, including the military. When asked in 1992 whether "homosexuals should or should not be hired" for specific occupations, 57% responded that they "should be hired" for military service. This compared with 51% who felt that gay people should be allowed to serve in 1977, the first time Gallup posed the question. In 1992, the right to serve in the military was supported by a majority of women and a plurality of men, and by majorities of Whites and non-Whites, people at all income and educational levels, and people in all geographic regions (Hugick, 1992).

After President Clinton announced his intention to reverse the policy, however, public opinion appeared to become more polarized and volatile, as shown in the following public opinion poll results from 1993 (National Defense Research Institute, 1993, Appendix F; "Newsweek Poll," 1993; "Public Views," 1993):

- In a *Time/CNN* poll conducted on January 13-14, 57% of the sample responded that gays and lesbians should *not* be banned from the military.

- In a *New York Times*/CBS News poll conducted on January 12-14, 48% opposed permitting homosexuals to serve in the military, whereas 42% favored it.
- In a January Gallup poll, 53% of respondents felt that homosexuals should be able to serve in the armed forces, whereas 42% felt they should not.
- In a Gallup/*Newsweek* poll conducted January 21-22, 49% felt that Clinton should delay his promise to lift restrictions on gays in the military if it will produce morale and readiness problems, compared to 40% who felt that he should not delay.
- In a Gallup poll conducted on January 29-31, 43% of respondents approved of ending the ban on homosexuals from serving in the military, whereas 50% disapproved of ending the ban.
- In a January *Los Angeles Times* poll, 45% of respondents approved of allowing openly homosexual men and women to serve in the armed forces, whereas 47% disapproved. When the same questions were repeated in a February poll, 40% approved and 50% disapproved.
- In a June *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll of registered voters, 40% of respondents favored allowing homosexuals to serve openly as long as they followed the same rules as heterosexual personnel; 38% felt they should be allowed to serve as long as they kept their homosexuality private, and that the military should not ask them about their sexual orientation; 21% felt they should not be allowed to serve under any conditions.
- In a July Gallup poll, 48% of those surveyed *disagreed* with the statement, "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service."

The variation in these poll results probably reflects differences in item wording to some extent (e.g., the *Time*/CNN item asked about "banning" whereas the *New York Times*/CBS item asked about "permitting") and from the way the issue was framed (e.g., the Gallup/*Newsweek* item specified possible negative outcomes and asked whether Clinton should delay -- not reverse -- his decision). An additional explanation is that the public supports allowing gay people to serve in the military when the issue is framed solely in terms of employment rights (as in the Gallup series between 1977 and 1992), but becomes more polarized when gay rights are presented in opposition to military effectiveness, as was often the case in the 1993 public debates about the military policy.

It is clear that public opinion was strongly polarized during the national debate. It is likely that similarly strong and divergent attitudes would be manifested if the current policy were changed as the result of a Supreme Court decision. Under such a scenario, the Army might be faced with the prospect of implementing a new policy in the face of opposition by a significant plurality (and possibly a majority) of the civilian public. This opposition might foster perceptions among military personnel that social norms favored their resistance to the new policy (see Figure 1), which might increase the need for clear leadership and sanctions for noncompliance.

Heterosexual Personnel's Attitudes and Opinions

Based on public opinion data and statements by military personnel, it is reasonable to conclude that antigay attitudes and opposition to a policy permitting gay personnel exist within the Army. Army personnel's patterns of moral condemnation and disapproval of homosexuality probably are similar to those observed in the civilian population. Moreover, as in the civilian population, variations in attitudes toward homosexuality are likely to occur in the Army. Male personnel, for example, are likely to hold more strongly negative attitudes toward gay people than are female personnel. Similarly, more negative attitudes are likely among personnel who do not know gay men or lesbians personally. It is also reasonable to hypothesize that more negative attitudes will be observed among servicemembers with low levels of formal education and high levels of religiosity; and among those who were raised in the South, the Midwest, and in rural areas.

These attitudes probably translate into support for a personnel policy that excludes service by homosexuals. One indication of such attitudes is the results of a *Los Angeles Times* survey of 2346 active-duty enlisted personnel outside of 38 military bases, conducted February 11-16,

1993. Because it did not employ a probability sample, the survey findings cannot be extrapolated to the population of all enlisted personnel. However, the survey documented extensive opposition to a policy change: 76% of male respondents and 55% of female respondents opposed lifting the ban on homosexual personnel, whereas 16% of male respondents and 35% of female respondents supported a policy change (see also Miller, 1994).

Although it is reasonable to conclude that antigay attitudes and opposition to gay personnel exist within the Army, there is less evidence that these attitudes and opinions will translate into behavior if the policy is changed. Indeed, only 11% of the male respondents and 5% of the female respondents to the *Los Angeles Times* survey indicated that they would not reenlist if the ban were lifted.

Unit Cohesion and the Army Mission

Concerns have frequently been expressed about the effects of a new policy on unit cohesion. Indeed, President Clinton's 1993 directive to the Secretary of Defense specified that a new policy on sexual orientation in the military should end discrimination in a manner "consistent with the high standards of combat effectiveness and unit cohesion our Armed Forces must maintain" (quoted in MacCoun, 1996).

Scientific research has made it clear that cohesion is not a unitary construct. Whereas multiple dimensions of cohesion have been discussed in the research literature, perhaps the most common distinction made by behavioral scientists is between *social cohesion* (the nature and quality of the emotional bonds of friendship, liking, caring, and closeness among group members) and *task cohesion* (the shared commitment among members to achieving a goal that requires the collective efforts of the group). A group displays high social cohesion to the extent

that its members like each other, prefer to spend their social time together, enjoy each other's company, and feel emotionally close to one another. A group with high task cohesion is composed of members who share a common goal and who are motivated to coordinate their efforts as a team to achieve that goal (for a review, see MacCoun, 1996).

Meta-analyses of studies of the cohesion-performance relationship indicate that a modest positive relationship exists between cohesion and performance (Evans & Dion, 1991; Gully et al., 1995; Mullen & Copper, 1994; Oliver, 1990), and is greater when a group task requires high levels of coordination, communication, and performance monitoring among group members (Gully et al., 1995). A causal direction cannot be concluded on the basis of these correlations. The authors of one study even asserted that the effect of success on cohesion appears to be greater than the effect of cohesion on performance (Mullen & Copper, 1994), although the authors of another study (Gully et al., 1995) argued that too few appropriate studies are currently available to permit any conclusion about causality.

Task cohesion may be more important than social cohesion in enhancing group performance. After reviewing military and civilian studies of cohesion and performance, MacCoun (1996) concluded that it is task cohesion – not social cohesion or group pride – that drives group performance. He pointed out that when social cohesion is too high, deleterious consequences can result, including excessive socializing, groupthink (the failure of a highly cohesive group to engage in effective decisionmaking processes), insubordination, and mutiny (Davis, 1969; Ingraham, 1984; Janis, 1983; Lott & Lott, 1965; Zaccaro & McCoy, 1988). MacCoun (1996) also concluded that the impact – if any – of a new Army policy concerning sexual orientation would be on social cohesion. Because coworkers can perform effectively as a

team without necessarily liking each other, he argued, such a reduction in cohesion would be unlikely to reduce the Army's ability to complete its mission successfully. Nevertheless, introduction of a homosexual man or woman into a work group could conceivably affect performance if he or she were ostracized from the group. MacCoun (1996) suggested that whether complete ostracism occurs would probably depend primarily on whether the unit's other members would refuse to cooperate with each other to accomplish the group's mission, and in part on the gay person's performance and demeanor. He concluded:

Although concerns about the potential effect of permitting homosexuals to serve in the military are not groundless, the likely problems are not insurmountable, and there is ample reason to believe that heterosexual and homosexual military personnel can work together effectively. The presence of acknowledged homosexuals may reduce social cohesion in some units, but seems unlikely to undermine task cohesion. Research indicates that it is not necessary to like someone to work with them, so long as members share a commitment to the group's objectives. If there is a reduction in social cohesion, it will probably involve some degree of ostracism of the homosexual, rather than a complete breakdown of the unit. Whereas some heterosexuals might refuse to cooperate with known homosexuals, many factors will discourage this and promote teamwork: effective leadership; military norms, roles, regulations, and disciplinary options; and external threats and challenges. (MacCoun, 1996, p. 172)

Summary

Empirical data are currently available concerning at least three possible consequences of a policy change. Public opinion polls suggest that a new policy concerning sexual orientation would be opposed – at least initially – by a significant proportion of the civilian public. Similar or greater opposition would probably be observed among active-duty Army personnel. However, it is not clear that negative attitudes toward a new policy would translate into behavior. Moreover, the extensive social science literature on unit cohesion suggests that introduction of homosexual personnel into units would probably not affect task cohesion, which is the type of

cohesion most strongly related to performance. A new policy might have consequences for social cohesion, but would probably not affect a unit's ability to accomplish its mission.

**Race and Sexual Orientation:
Commonalities, Comparisons, and Contrasts Relevant to Army Policy**

The following section considers some of the ways in which the Army's past experiences with racial integration might be generalized to a new policy concerning sexual orientation, and some limits of such generalizations. During recent debates on U.S. military policies concerning homosexual personnel, it has often been suggested that the armed forces might benefit from examining the similarities and differences between the challenges encountered in the course of racial integration and those that might be expected if gay men and lesbians were to be allowed to serve openly. For example, Sarbin and Karols (1988) proposed that the military should utilize its past experiences with racism in dealing with anti-gay prejudice:

“The order to integrate blacks was first met with stout resistance by traditionalists in the military establishment. Dire consequences were predicted for maintaining discipline, building group morale, and achieving military organizational goals. None of these predictions of doom has come true....It would be wise to consider applying the experience of the past 40 years to the integration of homosexuals.” (Sarbin & Karols, 1988, p. 25)

Similarly, Herek (1993) suggested that:

“[T]he military would profit greatly from examining its own past experiences with racial and gender integration to identify ways in which programs designed to reduce prejudice and to facilitate integration of minority groups might be applied to sexual orientation. Some lessons learned through programs such as the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) and its successor, the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) are likely to be applicable....” (p. 546)

A detailed review of the history of U.S. Army efforts at racial integration is beyond the scope of this report (for comprehensive reviews and detailed reports, see Foner, 1974; Hope,

1979; Kauth & Landis, 1996; Thomas, 1988). Before identifying research questions that will be relevant to implementing a new policy, however, it is appropriate to identify the principal similarities and dissimilarities between the situations of racial integration and sexual orientation integration in the military setting. These comparisons are likely to assist Army researchers in identifying ways in which past research on racial integration can be applied to or replicated with sexual orientation integration.

While considering the material presented below, the reader should remain mindful that race and sexual orientation are independent categories. Heterosexuals, homosexuals, and bisexuals belong to all races and ethnic groups. Nevertheless, many heterosexual Americans associate homosexuality primarily with Whites (Herek & Capitano, 1995). Consequently, attitudes toward homosexuality among some members of racial minority groups may be closely related to their attitudes toward Whites.

Similarities Between Race and Sexual Orientation

Both race and sexual orientation are a basis for minority group status in U.S. culture.

Social scientists have proposed many different definitions and criteria for minority groups, recognizing that not all groups fit all criteria. The most important feature is that a minority group's members must manifest one or more characteristics that society uses as a basis for discrimination, despite the irrelevance of those characteristics to the setting in which discrimination occurs (Seeman, 1981; Tajfel, 1981). Race and sexual orientation each constitute a *master status* (Becker, 1963). Once known, the fact that a person is a homosexual or a member of a racial minority group is regarded by members of the majority group (heterosexuals, Whites) as one of the most – perhaps *the* most – important pieces of information about her or him.

prejudices. The report of a 1942 General Board commissioned to consider the integration of African Americans in the Navy, for example, concluded that “the enlistment of negroes [sic] for unlimited general service is inadvisable.” It offered the following rationale:

“Enlistment for general service implies that the individual may be sent anywhere – to any ship or station where he is needed. Men on board ship live in particularly close association; in their messes, one man sits beside another; their hammocks or bunks are close together; in their common tasks they work side by side; and in particular tasks such as those of a gun's crew, they form a closely knit, highly coordinated team. How many white men would choose, of their own accord, that their closest associates in sleeping quarters, at mess, and in a gun's crew should be of another race? How many would accept such conditions, if required to do so, without resentment and just as a matter of course? The General Board believes that the answer is ‘Few, if any,’ and further believes that if the issue were forced, there would be a lowering of contentment, teamwork and discipline in the service.”
(Navy General Board, 1942, p. 1)

In a 1948 Gallup Poll of 3000 American adults, 63% of those surveyed favored racial segregation of the military whereas only 26% supported integration (cited in Kauth & Landis, 1996). President Truman was strongly criticized for his Executive Order, and the attacks were often accompanied by dire predictions about the weakening of the U.S. armed forces and national security. Senator Richard B. Russell, for example, spoke against the policy on the Senate floor, offering predictions that are remarkably similar to some of those made in the recent debates about allowing gay people to serve openly in the military:

[T]he mandatory intermingling of the races throughout the services will be a terrific blow to the efficiency and fighting power of the armed services....It is sure to increase the numbers of men who will be disabled through communicable diseases. It will increase the rate of crime committed by servicemen.” (Quoted in Binkin et al., 1982, p. 26).

Differences Between Race and Sexual Orientation

Despite these commonalities, it should be recognized that important differences also exist

between race and sexual orientation as minority group statuses. Three such differences will be particularly relevant to any future attempts to generalize from race-relations research to the effects of a new sexual orientation policy.

In most social situations, race is a readily apparent attribute whereas sexual orientation is concealable. In a routine social interaction, a White person can usually recognize an African American's race from the outset. Consequently, the White person is likely to encode information about the Black person in terms of the latter's racial group, and to respond to that individual in terms of the group categorization. In contrast, homosexuality is usually concealable. In a routine social interaction with a gay person, a heterosexual usually remains unaware of the other person's sexual orientation. Consequently, the heterosexual person's initial perceptions of and feelings toward the gay individual are based on factors apart from the latter's sexual orientation. When the heterosexual eventually becomes aware of the gay person's sexual orientation, her or his positive experiences with the latter may foster individuation and personalization of gay people, thereby reducing her or his prejudice against gay people as a group (Brewer & Miller, 1984).

In the United States, race is more strongly linked to socioeconomic status than is sexual orientation. Unlike race and ethnicity, sexual orientation transcends social class and economic status. Lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and heterosexuals appear to be distributed throughout society's strata, although anti-gay discrimination appears to affect occupational distributions and income levels for lesbians and gay men (Badgett, 1995; Paul, 1982). This difference offers possible advantages for implementing a new policy concerning sexual orientation. Because gay and heterosexual personnel have a greater likelihood of sharing class and economic

backgrounds, they may also share many common values unrelated to sexual orientation. Such commonalities can form the basis for reduced prejudice on the part of heterosexuals (Rokeach, 1968).

Openly gay personnel are unlikely ever to constitute a substantial proportion of the Army.

A final important difference concerns the relative proportion of Army personnel who are members of a racial minority and those who are openly gay. Since the Army's intensive integration efforts began in the 1960s, members of racial minorities – especially African Americans – have constituted a substantial proportion of Army personnel. The proportion of openly gay personnel is likely to remain small, however, even if current restrictions are eliminated.

Although the stigma attached to homosexuality in the United States interferes with attempts to assess its prevalence, most research with probability samples suggests a lower bound estimate of 3-6% of the male population as homosexual, with somewhat fewer females (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, & Michaels, 1994; Lever & Kanouse, 1996; Rogers & Turner, 1991). This estimate suggests that only a small number of Army units would have an openly homosexual member, even in the aftermath of a dramatic policy liberalization. Furthermore, the experience of domestic paramilitary organizations – such as fire and police departments (Koegel, 1996) – and foreign military organizations (Gade, Segal, & Johnson, 1996) suggest that relatively few homosexual personnel will disclose their sexual orientation publicly. Indeed, based on research by the RAND Corporation concerning domestic paramilitary organizations (reported by Koegel, 1996), MacCoun (1996) estimated that fewer than 6% of 40-person platoons and fewer than 1% of 5-person crews and teams would be expected to have an open homosexual in the wake of a

policy change. Furthermore, he noted that even fewer units would have an open homosexual if the presence of open homosexuals were to be clustered rather than randomly distributed.

An important consequence of the relatively small number of openly gay Army personnel is that the Army will be able to focus largely on heterosexuals' attitudes in implementing a new policy. In contrast to the need to address racial attitudes of White and Black soldiers alike, which the Army confronted in the 1970s, so few openly gay personnel will serve in the Army that polarization comparable to what was observed between the races in the 1960s and 1970s is unlikely to occur. At the same time, the small number of openly gay personnel will mean that many heterosexuals' attitudes and beliefs are unlikely to be influenced by direct interactions with a gay or lesbian coworker.

Questions For Research Relevant To Implementing a New Policy

From the research and considerations detailed above, this section suggests a series of research questions that are likely to yield information that would be useful for successfully implementing a new policy. These questions are based on the assumption that addressing the problems associated with a new policy will require a focus on heterosexual personnel. When the Army undertook to promote racial equality in the 1970s, it located the core of the problem in the majority culture, as evidenced by the following passage from a race relations training manual:

“The root of the race problem is to be found, therefore, not in the victimized minorities where it so often is sought, but in the white-managed and controlled institutions which discriminate against them. This point is critical because it tells you what to work on if you are trying to eliminate racial discrimination. If white people and institutions managed by white people are responsible for the continued practice of racial discrimination, then it is they who must change if it is ever to stop.” (Department of the Army, 1973, p. 10).

A comparable focus on heterosexuals will be necessary if the Army wishes to implement a new policy concerning sexual orientation. As noted earlier, an underlying assumption of this report is that a new policy will treat gay personnel as no less capable than heterosexuals of successfully performing the duties required by military service. This point was widely acknowledged throughout the 1993 debates by supporters and opponents of the proposed policy change (see, e.g., Herek, 1993; Herek, Jobe, & Carney, 1996). The problems that will be associated with implementing a new policy on sexual orientation, therefore, will stem primarily from the attitudes, reactions, and conduct of heterosexual personnel.

The following discussion is necessarily brief. For more detailed background on the specific points raised here, readers are referred to Herek (1993, 1995), Kauth and Landis (1996), MacCoun (1996), Sarbin (1996), and Zellman (1996).

What are Army personnel's current attitudes, beliefs, and perceived norms relevant to a new policy? Before implementing a new personnel policy, it will be important for the Army to have a clear understanding of its heterosexual personnel's current beliefs and attitudes toward homosexuality, toward gay people, and toward a new policy. Descriptive survey research in this area should be informed by the model depicted in Figure 1, and should assess relevant variables such as perceived social norms and perceived consequences of noncompliance with a new policy. In addition, the prevalence of various stereotypes, attitude functions, and interpersonal contact experiences should be assessed.

What are the specific target behaviors to be elicited from heterosexual and gay personnel? Early Army programs designed to eliminate racial conflicts were premised on the assumption

situations such as sleeping quarters and the latrine are not sexual); and that interpersonal harassment – whether verbal, sexual, or physical – will not be tolerated, regardless of the genders of people involved. Research should be conducted to identify the most effective strategies for inculcating this code of conduct in all personnel beginning in basic training. The research should identify the information and skills that personnel will need to understand and adhere to such a conduct standard, and should identify possible conflicting attitudes and beliefs that might interfere with enactment of such a standard.

What are the most effective sanctions and enforcement mechanisms for a new policy?

Whether or not organizational members comply with a policy is affected by their own calculations concerning the likelihood that the policy will be strictly enforced and that compliance failures will be detected, as well as the severity of sanctions for noncompliance (Zellman, 1996). Compliance is more likely to the extent that enforcement is perceived to be strict and that noncompliance carries high costs. Consequently, the most effective mandated policies are formulated so that the implementation plan includes *pressure* (i.e., clear enforcement mechanisms and high sanctions for noncompliance) and *support* for effective implementation (i.e., adequate resources, allowances for input from lower levels of the organization into the implementation process, and rewards for effective implementation so that individuals perceive that their own self-interest lies in supporting the new policy; see also Levin & Ferman, 1986; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983).

Research should be conducted, therefore, that will identify the most potent “carrots” and “sticks” for implementing the new policy. What specific sanctions and enforcement mechanisms will most effectively promote adherence to the policy? What supporting mechanisms and

resources will be needed to assist personnel with enacting change? What type of surveillance and monitoring of compliance with the new policy will be most effective at different levels in the chain of command?

How can the top leadership most effectively signal its support for the new policy? Leaders play a critical role in changing the perceptions of policy implementors such that the latter come to view the new policy as consistent with their own self-interest and with organizational culture. Thus, the new policy should have clear support from the highest levels of leadership. Upper-level commanders must send a strong, consistent signal of their support for the new policy and their commitment to ensuring behavioral compliance with it (MacCoun, 1996; Zellman, 1996).

When racial equality policies were being aggressively implemented in the 1970s, for example, training manuals quoted a speech by General William Westmoreland, then Army Chief of Staff:

“I am confident that the leadership of the Army is up to the challenge....the burden of proof that the Army is aware and that the Army is fair is on the backs of leadership.” (Department of the Army, 1973, p. 3)

They also cited an address by Robert Froehlke, Secretary of the Army:

“As Secretary of the Army, I want you to know as commanders, that without reservation, you are:

1. to be determined to achieve the objective of good race relations and equal opportunity for all;
2. to be committed to developing and implementing plans towards these objectives;
3. Finally, you personally are to be involved in the implementation of the plan.” (Department of the Army, 1973, p. 3)

Possibly using the implementation of racial integration as a model, research should be undertaken to identify the most effective strategies for conveying top leadership’s support for a new policy concerning sexual orientation. An important challenge to be considered in this regard

is that a new policy is likely to be one that is imposed from outside the DOD. Moreover, many military leaders have already expressed their opposition to a new policy. What, then, are the best ways of enacting a new policy in this context?

How can the Army best make lower-level leaders feel responsible for the behavior of their subordinates relative to the policy? If a new policy is to be enacted successfully, lower-level leaders must be convinced that active monitoring and support for it will be noticed and rewarded, and that breaches of policy by subordinates will be considered instances of leadership failure. At the same time, leaders must be trained and motivated to address and solve implementation problems. Zellman (1996) argued that leadership training should be designed to create *fixers* – people who care about successful implementation, have the skills necessary to anticipate and identify implementation problems, and can make adjustments to improve the implementation process. To be effective fixers, leaders must be allowed enough discretion so that they can act to correct implementation problems. At the same time, this discretion must be bounded by behavioral monitoring and strict enforcement of a code of professional conduct. Leaders must be provided with clear procedures for reporting problems, and must be convinced that accurate information about implementation problems is valued (i.e., that compliance difficulties do not indicate a failure of leadership).

Research should be conducted to identify the most effective ways by which these goals can be achieved. What will be the best strategies for training and motivating leaders to address and solve implementation problems? In other words, how can Zellman's (1996) *fixers* best be created? What degree of discretion can realistically be allowed to them?

Here again the Army may benefit from considering the likely effectiveness of a strategy

similar to that followed for the Army's efforts at racial integration. A 1973 training manual, for example, clearly linked leadership abilities with successful implementation of policies for racial equality. After asserting that effective implementation of racial equality policies was integral to the accomplishment of the Army's mission and maintenance of the welfare of troops, the manual defined leadership success in terms of policy implementation:

"...To a large extent, your success as a leader in the Army is going to depend on your ability to take men from a great variety of racial and cultural backgrounds, with all their racial suspicions and hostilities, and create in them the unity of spirit and action necessary for an effective fighting force. If you fail in this one task, you will have failed in creating high morale, *esprit*, unit efficiency, as well as failing to generate respect for your leadership by your troops. Your job, then, requires that you learn how to carry out your responsibilities for implementing basic Army policy regarding equal opportunity and treatment. If you do not know how, then your job is to learn." (Department of the Army, 1973, p. 2)

How can the Army best create opportunities for inter-group and interpersonal contact?

As described earlier, inter-group contact often reduces prejudice in the majority group when the contact makes shared goals salient, when inter-group cooperation is encouraged, when the contact is ongoing and intimate rather than brief and superficial, when representatives of the two groups are of equal status, and when they share important values (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969). Heterosexuals with openly gay friends, immediate family, or close acquaintances are more likely than others to hold accepting attitudes toward gay people in general (Herek & Capitanio, 1995, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Schneider & Lewis, 1984). Thus, the Army can reduce anti-gay prejudice by fostering the development of social relationships between heterosexual and gay personnel in a supportive environment where common goals are emphasized, where prejudice is negatively sanctioned, and where heterosexual personnel learn to regard gay men and lesbians as

individuals rather than as mere members of a disliked social category. Research should be conducted to identify the specific strategies whereby such contact opportunities can be created.

What factors would contribute to making the policy clear and simple? As noted by Zellman (1996), policies are more easily implemented to the extent that they are simple; reflect a cause-and-effect relationship that organizational members agree is valid; and are narrow in scope, that is, they involve small changes and few people (see also Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983). Toward this end, empirical research should be conducted to describe how officers and enlisted personnel understand current DOD policy concerning sexual orientation. Research by Sarbin (1996) with Naval officers, for example, indicates that many of them may not clearly understand current policy on sexual orientation and this misunderstanding may affect their enforcement of it. More extensive research with Army officers would be useful in identifying misinterpretations and misperceptions of current policy, and could offer guidelines for formulating a future policy in a manner that meets Zellman's (1996) suggested criteria.

How could a new policy best be framed in terms compatible with military culture? Policies imposed from outside an organization (or from outside the local site of the organization, e.g., a post or base) often meet with resistance because they are perceived as incompatible with local organizational culture. Such policies can challenge the value placed on learning from local experience in the organization, can threaten deeply held beliefs concerning local organizational autonomy, and can even be perceived as endangering the organization's survival. Given the resistance to change inherent in large organizations – especially to a policy that is widely perceived as inconsistent with the organization's existing culture – personnel must be persuaded that a new policy will not be harmful to the organization or to themselves, and may even result in

gains (Zellman, 1996).

The Army's goals of racial integration were framed in terms of accomplishing the Army's mission. For example:

“[E]qual and just treatment of all personnel exerts direct and favorable influence on morale, discipline, and command authority. Since these key factors contribute to mission effectiveness, efforts to insure equal treatment are directly related to the primary mission.” (Department of the Army, 1973, p. 2).

Empirical research should address the question of how a new sexual orientation policy could best be conveyed in terms compatible with existing Army organizational culture. The Army should attempt to identify the aspects of its own culture that are most compatible with a new policy, and assess the extent to which personnel would accept arguments in support of a new policy that invoke these themes. Possible themes to be evaluated include: the Army's priority of mission over individual preferences, its culture of hierarchy and obedience, its norms of inclusion and equality, and its traditional “can do” attitude (Zellman, 1996; see also Allaire & Firsirotu, 1985; Schein, 1987).

How can the Army most effectively monitor and evaluate the policy once it has been implemented? In its past efforts at implementing new personnel policies designed to eliminate discrimination against stigmatized minority groups, the Army has relied heavily on social and behavioral science research for guidance and evaluation (e.g., Thomas, 1988). The Army should follow a similar pattern for monitoring and evaluating a new policy concerning sexual orientation. It will be important to identify the key variables to be tracked for policy evaluation so that baseline data can be collected before a new policy is enacted. Examples of possible variables for monitoring include: number of open homosexuals who serve, measures of unit

performance (monitored in a way that will permit comparisons between units that do and do not have openly gay personnel, and within-unit comparisons before and after having openly gay personnel), and incidents of antigay harassment and violence. In addition, regular surveys of Army personnel's attitudes toward the new policy and their experiences with it could be valuable for monitoring compliance, identifying problems, and formulating solutions.

Conclusion

The Army has adapted successfully to dramatic new policies in the past 50 years, including racial and gender integration. Social and behavioral science research has played an important role in helping the Army to meet those challenges. If faced with the prospect of implementing a new policy concerning sexual orientation, the Army is likely to be able to meet that challenge as well. As in the past, empirical research will offer valuable guidance for confronting the challenge of change.

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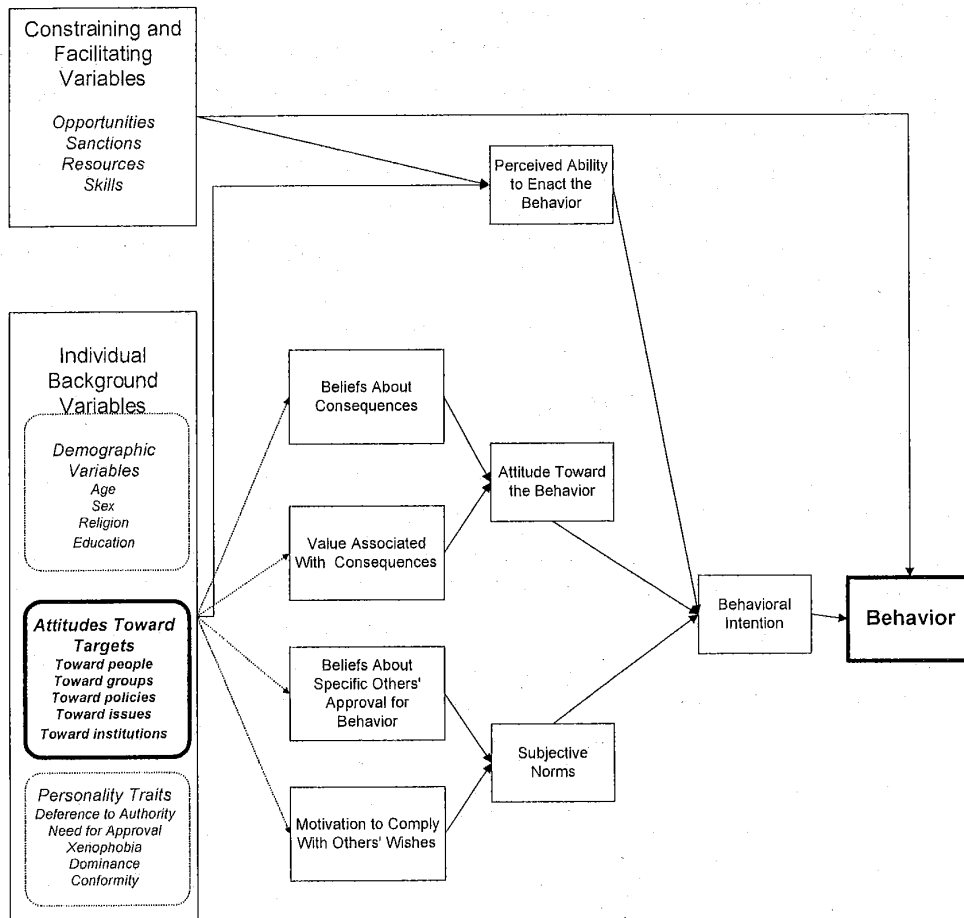
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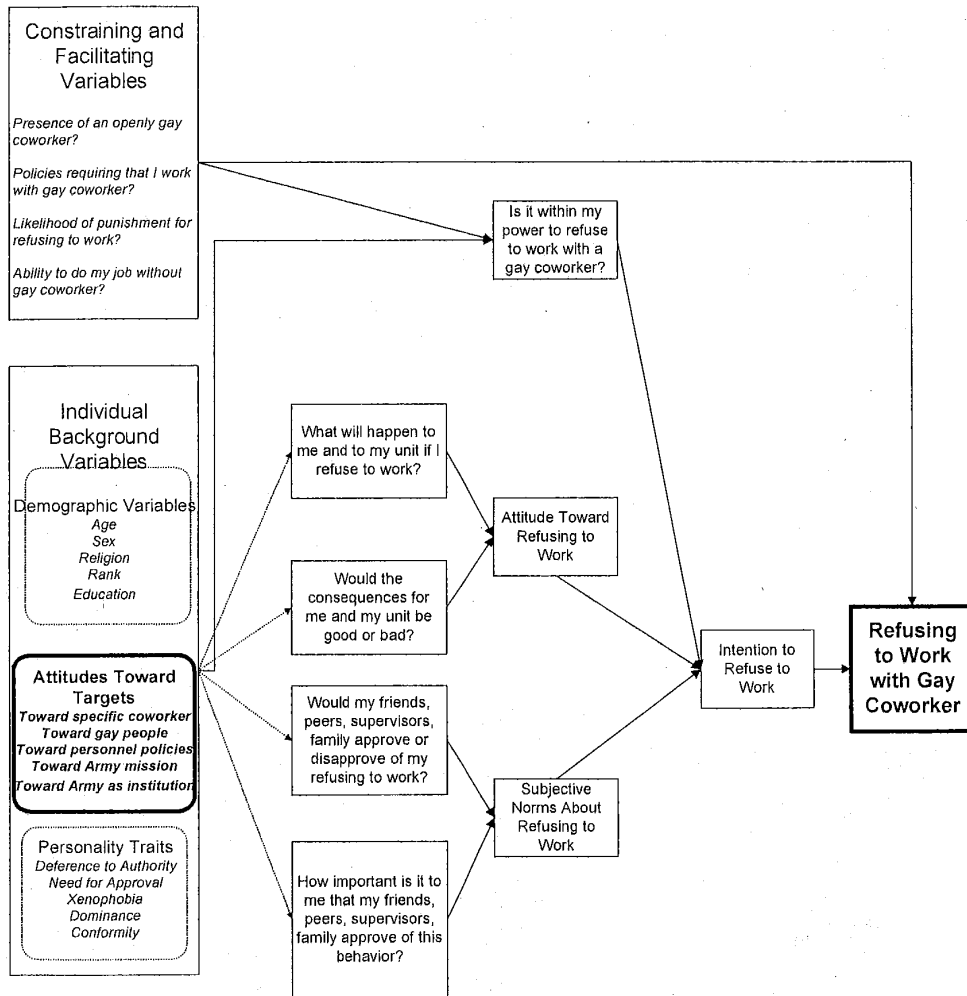
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**Figure 1:
Relationship Between General Attitudes and Specific Behavior**



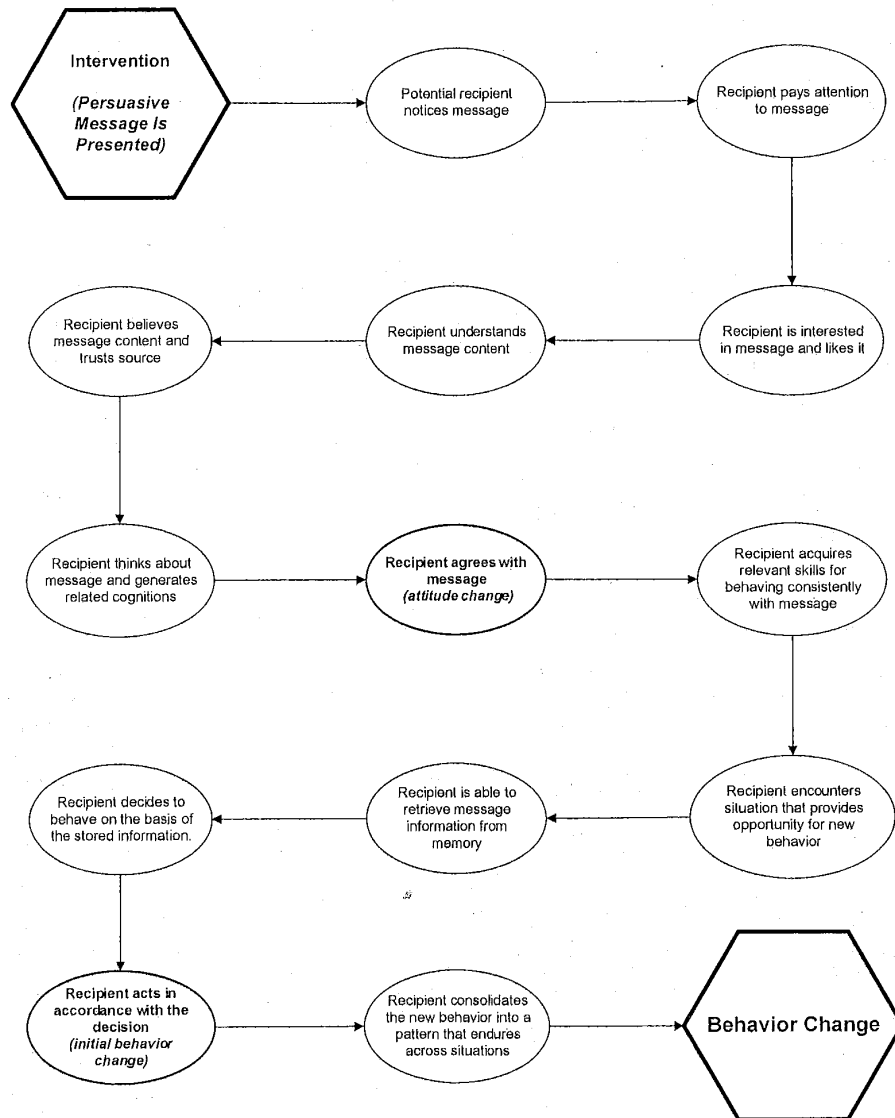
Adapted from Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) and Ajzen (1991). See also MacCoun (1996).

**Figure 2:
Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Homosexuality and
Refusing to Work With A Gay Coworker**



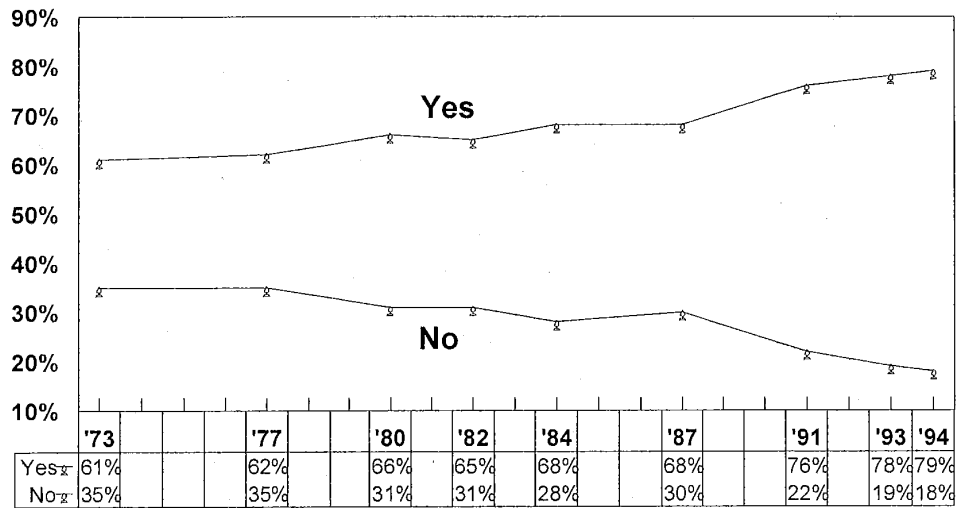
Adapted from Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) and Ajzen (1991)

Figure 3:
Some Intervening Steps Between Attitude Intervention and Behavior Change



**Figure 4:
Public Opinion Concerning Civil Liberties: Public Speech**

Should an admitted homosexual be allowed to make a speech in your community?



National Opinion Research Center data

**Figure 5:
Public Opinion Concerning Civil Liberties: Teaching**

**Figure 6:
Public Opinion Concerning Civil Liberties: Removing Book From Library**

**Figure 7:
Homosexual Relations: Wrong?**

**Figure 8:
Homosexuality: An Acceptable Lifestyle?**

**Figure 9:
Equal Rights In Employment: General**



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**U.S. Army Research Institute
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Research Report 1657

Perspectives on Organizational Change in the Canadian Forces

Franklin C. Pinch
Human Resources Consulting

January 1994

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**U.S. ARMY RESEARCH INSTITUTE
FOR THE BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**A Field Operating Agency Under the Jurisdiction
of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel**

**EDGAR M. JOHNSON
Director**

Research accomplished under contract
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Technical review by

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FOREWORD

This research was initiated in response to the proposal to lift the ban on homosexuals in the U.S. military. The research reported here was conducted by Franklin Pinch, an independent consultant from Dartmouth, Nova Scotia; retired Colonel, Canadian Forces; and former Director, Personnel Psychology and Sociology within the Department of National Defence. This research offers a perspective on the experiences of the Canadian Forces in lifting the ban on homosexuals, which was done in October 1992.

This research complements ARI Research Note 93-17, Comparative International Military Personnel Policies, edited by Professor Gwyn Harries-Jenkins of the University of Hull.



EDGAR M. JOHNSON
Director

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Any errors of fact, omissions of pertinent details, or misinterpretation of the information available are the sole responsibility of the author.