

HOMOSEXUALITY AND THE U.S. MILITARY:
A STUDY OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY
AND CHOICE OF MILITARY SERVICE

by

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ABSTRACT

HOMOSEXUALITY AND THE U.S. MILITARY: A STUDY OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY AND CHOICE OF MILITARY SERVICE

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The Department of Defense policy regarding homosexuals allows gays and lesbians to join without requiring them to divulge their sexual orientation. However, just as in previous versions of the military's homosexual policies, the current Don't Ask, Don't Tell version continues to make it clear that gay men and lesbians are not welcome. The policy excludes persons (homosexuals) whose presence in the armed forces would create an unacceptable risk to its high standards of morale, good order, discipline, and unit cohesion (US Code 654, 1993).

The purpose of this study was to examine and gain an understanding of those homosexuals who choose to join the military and serve under sexually covert conditions. The questions contained in the survey were used to assist in understanding why the participants made the choices they made in regards to their military service. The survey included the Gay Identity Questionnaire (Brady & Busse, 1994), the Satisfaction with Life scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), and the Generalized Expectancy for Success Scale-Revised (Hale,

Fiedler, & Cochran, 1992). Additional questions in the survey were related to preference choices that assisted in testing the theory proposed of homosexuals who join the military belonging to one of three life preference groups: adaptive, community centered, or career centered.

Participants in this study reported a decline in satisfaction with life as well as their estimation for success as they progressed toward the mid-stages of homosexual identity and then improved again as they advanced into the final stages of identity development. The mid-stage of homosexual identity is a time of conflict for a homosexual in the military who is struggling with self-acceptance and the need to share these feelings with others, yet forced to keep these feelings hidden to prevent expulsion from the service due to the Don't Tell portion of the current military homosexual policy. Results from this study indicate that as long as homosexuals are allowed to join and serve their country, the military needs to ensure confidential mental health services are available for homosexuals who are in need of support while transitioning through the stages of homosexual development.

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CHAPTER 1

HOMOSEXUALS AND THE MILITARY

1.1 Different Perspectives

Military leaders in the United States believe homosexuals are unfit to serve on active duty and are, in fact, a threat to unit cohesion. This belief, however, is fairly recent and conservative compared to the early days of civilization and the development of democracy. Historian John Boswell (1993) describes how sexual orientation was of little public and ethical concern in most city-states of the ancient world. The belief was that those who benefited from the state had the right to defend it. Only men were allowed to serve in the military during this time and homosexual relationships were not only common, but well respected. Citizenship during this time was a privilege provided to all adult males, many of whom were homosexual and played significant roles in democracy and the military. The documentation of homosexuality in military history is extensive and includes such well known heroes as Alexander the Great, Achilles, Hadrian, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon (Humphrey, 1990; Boswell).

There was a time when sexuality was not an issue in regards to military service in the United States as well. Homosexuals have successfully and honorably served in the defense of the U.S. even before it was a nation and before there was a formally organized military (Shilts, 1993). However, due to increasingly negative attitudes toward homosexual behavior, gays and lesbians have had to hide their sexual orientation in order to protect themselves from discharge and at times from criminal prosecution and even imprisonment.

As religion has become more prominent in government, homosexuality has become less acceptable. Herek (1994) discovered that heterosexuals who reported being religious were

more likely to have negative attitudes toward homosexuals than heterosexuals who were not religious. Also, republican and conservative political ideology have been linked to negative attitudes toward homosexuals (Estrada & Weiss, 1999). Bierly (1985) found self-identified Republicans to be more prejudiced toward homosexuals than Democrats or Independents. Due to the religious and political landscape of the United States, homosexuals have become an unwelcome population in the military. Regardless of the inhospitable climate, homosexuals have been persistent in joining and successful in serving in the military.

1.2 A Proposed Change in Policy

There are vast quantities of documentation from research of homosexuals serving in the military, but very little research to explore how members of an oppressed population tolerate being a part of an organization that blatantly and legally discriminates against them. The purpose of this study is to examine and gain an understanding of those homosexuals who choose to join the military and serve under sexually covert conditions. The current Department of Defense policy regarding homosexuals allows gays and lesbians to join without requiring them to divulge their sexual orientation. However, just as in previous versions of the military's homosexual policies, the current Don't Ask, Don't Tell version (US Code 654, 1993) continues to make it clear that gay men and lesbians are not welcome. The policy excludes persons (homosexuals) whose presence in the armed forces would create an unacceptable risk to its high standards of morale, good order, discipline, and unit cohesion.

The Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy is a result of former President Clinton's attempt to eliminate the Department of Defense regulation that barred gays from the military. Clinton became involved in the debate regarding gays in the military on October 28, 1991 while attending a forum at Harvard University as a presidential candidate. When asked by a student whether he would end the ban on homosexuals in the military, Clinton acknowledged that he would and further stated: "I think people who are gay should be expected to work, and should be given the opportunity to serve the country" (Rimmerman, p.113, 1996). After being elected

president in November 1992, Bill Clinton announced his intent to end the ban on homosexuals in the military. The newly inaugurated president was taken by surprise when strong opposition to lifting the gay ban was expressed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the religious right, Congress, and even members of Clinton's political party such as Sam Nunn, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee (Rimmerman).

In response to President Clinton's proposal, Congress conducted extensive hearings that ultimately resulted in a compromise between Congress and the President known as the Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) plan and was signed into law by President Clinton in 1993. There were many different versions of the proposed policy that varied from extremely liberal, allowing for gays to serve openly, to the more conservative, allowing homosexuals to serve as long as they do not divulge their sexual orientation: the current Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy (Bowling, Firestone, & Harris, 2005). The policy has the following three provisions including a Don't Pursue section that did not exist before: 1) for the first time military leaders and Congress acknowledged that homosexuals have served with distinction in the military; 2) sexual orientation is no longer a bar to military service; 3) and calls for an end to intrusive questions regarding sexual orientation and investigations into individual sexual behaviors (Bowling et al.). These provisions are a product of the congressional hearings as well as of the findings from studies that were conducted for the purpose of evaluating the military's homosexual policy.

1.3 Evaluations of Military Homosexual Policy

In 1956 the secretary of the navy assembled a board of naval and Marine Corps personnel to evaluate and make recommendations regarding the place of homosexuals within the U.S. Navy (Belkin & Bateman, 2003). The board results are referred to as the Crittenden Report, in reference to the chair of the committee. The board conducted an extensive review of the policies with findings that supported a recommendation that the navy relax the current discharge criteria for homosexual personnel. The Crittenden Report concluded: 1) that homosexuals have served honorably in all branches of the military without detection; 2) there is

no factual data to support that homosexuals pose a security risk; and 3) the clinical concept of homosexuality has been discarded (Belkin & Bateman). The findings of the Crittenden board were not well received and the existence of the report was denied for twenty years until it was released to an attorney in 1976 through the Freedom of Information Act (Shilts, 1993).

In 1987 the assistant deputy to the undersecretary of defense requested that the Personal Security Research and Education Center (PERSEREC) conduct a study to evaluate the suitability of homosexuals in the military. Similar to the Crittenden report, the PERSEREC findings concluded that homosexuals did not pose a threat to national security. The study also considered the relationship between sexual orientation and suitability of service. The results found homosexual members to have fared better than their heterosexual counterparts, not only in most areas of adjustment, but also in school behavior and cognitive ability. The report noted that the results conflicted with current conceptions of homosexuals as being unstable and maladjusted (Service Members Legal Defense Network, 2005). The Department of Defense refused to release the report, claiming that it was a draft discussion of internal policy and thus not subject to public view and it was not released until 1989 (Belkin & Bateman, 2003).

A third evaluation, commissioned by the Secretary of Defense, Les Aspin was conducted by RAND National Defense Research Institute (1993). President Clinton provided a memorandum calling for an end to discrimination based on sexual orientation and requested a policy that would be “practical,” “realistic,” and “consistent with high standards of combat effectiveness and unit cohesion” (Service Members Legal Defense Network, 2005). The report proposed a workable replacement to the ban on homosexuals that would be based on professional standards that address unfair discrimination and privacy concerns by prohibiting the same inappropriate conduct from any service member. Results from the RAND report were incorporated into the final version of the military’s modified homosexual policy.

1.4 Don't Ask, Don't Tell

The Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue policy is a compromise that allows homosexuals to serve in the military, on the condition that they do not reveal their sexual orientation and refrain from any homosexual behavior. The policy, however, is a confusing and difficult law to enforce. Although homosexual conduct is grounds for separation from the military, a person who identifies as being homosexual is not automatically discharged. The individual may be retained if he/she denies any homosexual conduct and if the military believes that the individual's continued presence would not threaten unit discipline, good order, or morale (US Code 654, 1993). This has not always been the case.

Homosexual behavior was the determining factor for discharge until January 28, 1982 at which time Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Defense, Casper Weinberger, issued a Department of Defense regulation that made the mere acknowledgment of being homosexual as grounds for separation from the military (Lehring, 2003). This change in the policy shifted the focus from sexual acts to sexual identity. One of the major changes that occurred under the DADT policy is that individuals are no longer asked their sexual orientation at the time of enlistment. The new policy was meant to shift the focus back from sexual identity to sexual conduct as grounds for discharge. Although the 1982 policy was strict on dealing with homosexuality in the military, it did allow for most discharges under the new policy to be under honorable conditions, a change from previous policies (Lehring). The current DADT policy has maintained this provision and thus the majority of service members who are discharged from the military for reasons of homosexuality receive an honorable discharge and therefore no negative consequences are incurred as a result of attempting to serve the country through military service.

The distinction between orientation and conduct obviously creates confusion considering that unless the person is celibate, a homosexual will most likely be involved in homosexual conduct. The unit commander is typically the military representative who has the responsibility of implementing the policy. The policy stipulates that a person cannot be asked

his/her orientation nor can a person's sexual behavior be pursued. When a commander becomes aware that one of his/her personnel is homosexual or suspected as such, there is very little action to be taken without the risk of violating the Don't Ask, Don't Pursue portion of the policy. If a person is discovered to have been involved in homosexual behavior, there are certain parameters that must be considered before initiating discharge procedures. The DADT (US Code 654, B 1-2, 1993) policy states the following:

"A member of the armed forces shall be separated from the armed forces under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Defense if one or more of the following findings is made and approved in accordance with procedures set forth in such regulations: (1) That the member has engaged in, attempted to engage in, or solicited another to engage in a homosexual act or acts unless there are further findings, made and approved in accordance with procedures set forth in such regulations, that the member has demonstrated that: (A) such conduct is a departure from the member's usual and customary behavior; (B) such conduct, under all the circumstances, is unlikely to recur; (C) such conduct was not accomplished by use of force, coercion, or intimidation; (D) under the particular circumstances of the case, the member's continued presence in the armed forces is consistent with the interests of the armed forces in proper discipline, good order, and morale; and (E) the member does not have a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts. (2) That the member has stated that he or she is a homosexual or bisexual, or words to that effect, unless there is a further finding, made and approved in accordance with procedures set forth in the regulations, that the member has demonstrated that he or she is not a person who engages in, attempts to engage in, has a propensity to engage in, or intends to engage in homosexual acts."

According to section 1(D) in the paragraph above, even though a person may have been involved in a homosexual act, if the person does not have the propensity to engage in homosexual acts, he or she may be retained in the interest of the military. Section (2) clarifies that admitting one's homosexuality is not reason enough for discharge; there must be the propensity to engage in a homosexual act. The process for a commander to follow in determining a person's propensity to be sexually active is not provided in the policy. Determining a person's propensity to engage in any activity is a difficult if not impossible task. The implementation of the DADT policy, therefore, is as strict or lenient as the unit commander chooses.

The Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy makes the assumption that homosexuals are a threat to the military although there has never been any evidence to support this claim (Osburn, 1995; Berube, 1990). Countries such as Britain, Australia, Canada, Israel, and the Netherlands that have integrated homosexuals within their ranks have not experienced any negative consequences (Government Accountability Office, 1993; RAND, 1993; D'Amico, 1996; Gade, Segal, & Johnson, 1996). Furthermore, a study by Bateman and Dalvi (2004) found that openly gay, non-American service members have interacted and worked successfully with American military in multinational units and operations.

The U.S. has based its policy that prevents homosexuals from serving openly in the military purely on speculation of what might happen regardless of the evidence that discounts this rationale. Homosexuals, despite common knowledge that the U.S. government discriminates against them, continue to join the military. The DADT policy allows them to join by not asking their sexual orientation, but also allows them to quit by announcing their sexual orientation. During the 1980's when homosexuals were still not allowed to join, approximately 17,000 gay servicemen and women were discharged (Government Accountability Office, 1992). Since the implementation of DADT there have been approximately 10,000 discharges between 1994 and 2003 (Blue Ribbon Commission, 2006).

Although one could argue that the reduction in discharges is progress, the purpose of the policy is to allow homosexuals to join and serve as long as their sexual orientation remains covert. Is the government violating the Don't Pursue portion of the policy or are gay men and women exploiting the policy by joining and then getting out if they do not like it? If homosexuals are telling, is it due to an unbearable homophobic environment or simply because it is a way out of their service contract? An enlistment member's initial service obligation is 8 years, typically comprised of 6 years active duty and the remaining 2 years to be served in a reserve component. Most DADT related discharges occur within the military personnel's first 1.5 years of service leading some researchers to suspect that homosexuals and perhaps some heterosexuals are using the policy as a means to end their service obligation early and receive an honorable discharge (Carter & Kolenc, 2005).

1.5 Cost of Military Homosexual Policy

According to a Government Accountability Office (2005) report, 83% (7,900) of those discharged between 1994 and 2003 under the DADT policy voluntarily revealed their sexuality. Sixteen percent (1,520) were discharged as a result of engaging in or attempting to engage in homosexual conduct. The remaining 1% (57) were discharged for attempting to marry a person of the same gender. The majority (82%) of military personnel separated for reasons of homosexuality received honorable discharges, 13% received a general discharge under honorable conditions, and 5% were discharged under other than honorable conditions (GAO, 2005). Demographically, 73% of the discharges were male and 27% female; 71% were Caucasian, 12% African American, 16% unknown, and 1% other (GAO).

The exact number of service members discharged between 1994 and 2003 under the DADT policy is reported to be 9,488 including 136 officers, representing 0.4 percent of the total 2.37 million discharges that occurred during this time period (GAO, 2005). A letter written in February 2005 by David Chu, the Under Secretary of Defense, emphasized that only .37 percent of discharges between 1994 and 2003 were due to the military's homosexual policy and

minimized the low discharge rate by comparing it to the much larger reasons for separation such as pregnancy, weight standards, serious offenses, parenthood, and drug offenses (GAO). The percentage of homosexual discharges is significantly less when compared to other reasons for discharge. However, minimizing the number of DADT-related discharges ignores the issue of financial cost and loss of critical skills.

The discharge of 9,488 service members is estimated to have cost the U.S. approximately \$363.8 million (Blue Ribbon Commission, 2006). Aside from the monetary loss, many military personnel who have been discharged were in positions critical to the mission such as intelligence, medical, engineering, and linguistics. Approximately 800 specialists with critical skills have been fired from the U.S. military under DADT, including 322 linguists (Government Accountability Office, 2005). Due to retention problems in maintaining personnel in critical occupations, the military offers reenlistment bonuses of up to \$10,000 (Miklaski, 2007). This may not be necessary if highly skilled personnel were not discharged due to their sexual orientation or voluntarily leave due to a homophobic environment.

There are approximately 1.4 million personnel currently serving on active duty in the four U.S. military branches and in order to maintain that number there are approximately 200,000 new enlisted personnel recruited and approximately 20,000 officers commissioned every year (Segal & Segal, 2004). Due to obvious reasons of confidentiality it is not possible to determine what percentage of the military population identifies as homosexual. One could potentially estimate the percentage of homosexuals in the military to be roughly the same percentage as homosexuals in the general U.S. population. However, when researching the topic of homosexuality, not only are confidentiality and discrimination obstacles for accurate representation, but also how and by whom homosexuality is defined.

1.6 Military Homosexual Population

A commonly used estimate of 10 percent has been adopted from results of Kinsey's studies of sexual behavior (Kinsey, Pomeroy & Martin, 1948) to determine the number of

homosexuals in society. However, Kinsey's study has drawn criticism from other researchers who claim his results are not generalizable. The research conducted by Kinsey did not use probability sampling methods, there were differences in how sexual behavior was measured, and the participants were Caucasian males thus the research did not address homosexuality among females and minority populations (Pruitt, 2002). More recent studies claiming to be representative of the U.S. population have determined the percentage of homosexuals to be considerably lower than Kinsey's estimation.

Not surprisingly, estimates of the homosexual population are greatly influenced by the researcher's attitude toward homosexuality. Estimates from anti-gay organizations such as the American Family Association, Exodus International, and the National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality have determined the homosexual population to be 1-3% (Pruitt, 2002). Whereas pro-gay organizations such as the Human Rights Campaign, National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and Youth Assistance Organization estimate the homosexual population to be a more significant 3-10% (Pruitt). Obviously the anti and pro-gay organizations have their own agendas when determining the percentage of homosexual representation. The greater the percentage of homosexuals indicates more political and corporate power.

Among the more reliable of research studies conducted to estimate the percentage of homosexuals in the U.S. population is from Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels (1994). The researchers from this study concede that the definition of homosexuality is influenced by gender as well as by behavior and desire. The researchers also admit that some individuals are reluctant to self-identify as homosexual or admit to same-sex behavior. Taking these variables into account, Laumann et al. acknowledge that their estimate of 1-3% of the U.S. population being homosexual is a lower-bound estimate. Therefore, although more recent and scientifically based research estimates the percentage of homosexuals to be less than 10%, the estimation continues to be just that, an estimation with limited fidelity.

Using data from several studies (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, & Michaels, 1994; Black, Gates, Sanders, & Taylor, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), Gates (2004) concludes approximately 3 to 5 percent of men and 2 to 4 percent of women in the U.S. population are homosexual. Gates then postulates that there is a smaller percentage of gay men and lesbians in the military and uses a formula to adjust the percentage. From Gates' analysis, approximately 1.32 to 3.78 percent of military personnel are homosexual. These percentages translate into at least 30,446 and possibly as many as 87,202 homosexuals currently serving in the military. A study conducted by Cochran, Balsam, and Simpson (2005) found that 19.6% of gay, lesbian, and bisexual veterans reported they left the military due to the military's current anti-gay policy. These individuals are not those who were discharged due to their sexual orientation, but rather those who fulfilled their military obligation and decided to get out rather than continue to serve. Considering the number of homosexuals who are discharged under DADT and those who choose not to reenlist because of DADT, the accumulation and consistent loss of these military personnel has a notable impact on the military's readiness and ability to maintain the desired number of personnel.

1.7 Policy Effect on Military Readiness

The Pentagon recently reported that the Army missed its recruiting goal in April 2007 for the third month in a row, being short of almost 2,800 recruits, or 42 percent off its target (Miklaski, 2007). The Marines Corps, for the first time in 10 years, missed its recruiting goal for 4 consecutive months and signing bonuses for military service have increased from \$8,000 to \$10,000 with college scholarships increasing from \$50,000 to \$70,000. The current military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan are no doubt having an impact on the challenge of the military meeting its recruitment as well as retention goals, however there is no evidence to suggest that gay men and lesbians are any less likely to join during wartime than heterosexuals. On the contrary, previously mentioned studies report that gay men and lesbians continue to join and be discharged since the war in Iraq began in 2003. Gates (2007) estimates that since the

implementation of DADT in 1994, approximately 4,000 lesbian, gay, and bisexual military personnel have been lost every year as a result of voluntary and involuntary discharges. Despite the continued practice of the military discharging homosexual service members from its ranks, gay men and women continue to join and serve.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Sexual Behavior and Orientation

It is no secret that homosexuals have in the past, do so currently, and will continue to serve in the military. There is a plethora of documentation that supports the existence of homosexuals in every branch of the service. What has been a secret is their sexual orientation. Homosexuals have been involved in the protection of the United States even before it was a nation and before there was a formally organized military (Shilts, 1993). However, they have always had to hide their sexual behavior to protect themselves from discharge and at times from criminal prosecution and imprisonment. Originally, individuals were not removed from service due to their sexual orientation, in fact, homosexuality was not identified as a separate orientation until 1869 by Hungarian writer Karl Maria Benkert (Dynes, 1985). It was the sexual act of sodomy (anal and oral sex between two men) that was the crime and justification for dismissal from military service (Berube, 1990).

Barring and discharging homosexuals from the military has been sporadic and determinate upon the need for personnel. During World War II, the screening and exclusion of homosexuals from military service was loosened, but once the demand for personnel diminished the standards for enlistment tightened (Herek & Belkin, 2005). The justification for the exclusion of homosexuals from military service has also fluctuated. During the 1940's, the military used psychiatry's determination of homosexuality as a mental illness to justify discharging gay soldiers (Haggerty, 2003). In the 1950's homosexuals were determined to be particularly vulnerable to blackmail and thus a threat to national security (Haggerty). When President Clinton proposed lifting the military's ban on homosexuals in 1993, Congress and

military leaders emphasized the threat of undermining unit cohesion (Halley, 1999). The purpose of this literature review is to explore what gays and lesbians have experienced as a result of attempting to serve in one of the most noble and patriotic of professions, the military.

2.2 A Historical Perspective

Homosexual men and women have been subjected to constant discrimination and stigma while trying to do what most heterosexual individuals take for granted, serving their country. Although the military's anti-homosexual policy denies gays and lesbians of the same rights as heterosexuals, they continue to join and risk their lives and potentially die for their country. As the literature reflects, many homosexual men and women have chosen such a profession in order to justify their existence and demonstrate that they are worthy of the same rights as others. Just as women and African Americans eventually earned their status as equal members of society and proved their worthiness to serve in the military, homosexuals are now trying to achieve the same.

The literature that addresses the topic of homosexuals in the military is extensive and contains examples of those who have honorably served, however, there is limited empirical research. The majority of the literature, although factual, is anecdotal with very few actual research studies. Nevertheless, the information that exists is highly informative and provides both heterosexual and homosexual perspectives and attitudes toward gays and lesbians in the military. The U.S. Government has used several different arguments to justify why homosexuals should not be allowed to serve in the military. However, homosexuals continue to persevere and have proven all the rationales for their exclusion to be without substance. But at what cost have gays and lesbians served?

There was a time that homosexuality was not taboo and was actually an acceptable behavior in the military. Historical records propose that Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon were all either homosexual or bisexual (Humphrey, 1990). Although the existence of homosexuals in military environments can be traced back to early

civilization, this review is focused on homosexuals in the U.S. military.

Randy Shilts (1993) provides an exhaustive historical account of homosexuals in the military from 1778 through 1990. One of the most interesting historical accounts takes place in the earliest period of the U.S. military. In 1778 a poorly organized Continental Army was in much need of leadership and discipline in order to challenge the British forces. One of Europe's military prodigies, Baron von Steuben was brought to the United States by Benjamin Franklin to assist in training the Continental Army. Steuben was at first reluctant to accept Franklin's appeal, but a surfacing scandal which identified Steuben as being involved in homosexual-related behavior helped change his mind. Although the Baron was only a captain in the Prussian army, Franklin spread the word that Steuben was actually a lieutenant general.

George Washington enthusiastically greeted Steuben when he arrived at Valley Forge and asked him to review the troops and offer suggestions for improvement. Steuben's recommendations were well received and he immediately became the authority for training the troops. Because of a language barrier, Washington assigned to assist Steuben two French-speaking colonels from his own staff, Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens. Historians have since surmised that the two were lovers. In short time Washington appointed Steuben as the first Inspector General of the Army and days later promoted him to Major General. Steuben served as a field commander during the successful battle at Yorktown and historians have considered him and Washington as the two men most indispensable for the success of the Revolution. General Steuben's drill book became the official drilling manual until the War of 1812. Furthermore, Steuben's commitment to the military led to proposals that were responsible for the creation of the United States Military Academy at West Point.

Shilts (1993) provides accounts of highly decorated gay navy captains in the early 1800's, gay soldiers who fought during the Civil War, and others who served in the cavalry under General Custer. Among these accounts are examples of officers and soldiers whose homosexual behavior was known by other service members, but overlooked due to their

contributions to the military. There is no shortage of examples of homosexual military personnel who have served honorably and with distinction from the earliest of days up to the present, and thus it can be easily argued that the U.S. military's origin and perhaps the country's freedom can be largely credited to a gay general and numerous other gay military personnel. Although men were being discharged for homosexual behavior during these early years, there was no clear guidance and thus commanders were imposing the discharges at their own discretion. A revision to the Articles of War in 1919 was the first time for a regulation to be established specifically addressing the act of sodomy as a felony crime and resulted in a large number of soldiers and sailors being imprisoned during the following 20 years (Shilts).

2.3 Homosexual Identity

Although gay men were required to keep their sexual behavior covert, there was little attention given to homosexual orientation. All of this changed during World War II when psychiatry became involved in the military's personnel screening process. Psychiatry's determination of homosexuality as a mental illness shifted the military's focus from the sexual act to the individual, thus the new screening procedures deemed homosexuality as a personality type that was unfit for military service (Berube, 1990). During the screening process men were subjected to psychiatric examinations to determine if they were homosexual. Men who were suspected or determined to be homosexual were sent back to their recruiting station with documentation explaining why the individual was rejected. In order to ensure some men were not falsely claiming to be homosexual to avoid service, the military conducted social investigations into their background to determine if they were truly homosexual or merely malingerers (Berube). When women were allowed to enter the military, they were susceptible to the same homosexual screening process. However, there were no policies concerning lesbians and criminal law did not address lesbian sexual acts, thus most homosexual women were able to enter the military undetected (Berube).

When war was declared in 1941, the army had little choice but to lower its entrance

standards in order to meet the need for troops. By 1945, the military had enlisted 6 million citizens and drafted an additional 10 million (Berube, 1990). During this time, the Selective Service Act provided employers access to draft records, thus a gay man was forced to either lie about his sexual orientation in order to get through the military screening process or face permanent stigma and humiliation from his draft records proclaiming him to be a homosexual (Berube). Considering 16 million men and women served during World War II, it is highly likely that a significant number of those individuals were homosexual.

Before enlistment or being drafted, many men and women did not know what homosexuality was or even that they possessed the intimate interest in a member of the same gender. During World War II, millions of men and women from all parts of the country were suddenly thrust into close contact with one another. Men and women have shared their experiences of coming to terms with their sexual orientation after finding themselves surrounded by others of the same gender with no privacy in the showers, the toilets, and in the barracks rooms (Berube, 1990). Men and women not only realized their own homosexuality but began to learn how to recognize others as well. Gay men and lesbians began to realize that they were not alone and were able to alleviate their feelings of isolation and find support through a network of friends, military and civilian (Cruikshank, 1994).

At the end of the war the need for military personnel decreased and the anti-homosexual policies were strictly enforced, leading to a large number of gay and lesbian discharges (Berube, 1990). Many of those discharged were labeled as sexual psychopaths and thus chose not to return to their hometowns but instead moved to major cities such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York where they could blend in and become a part of a larger homosexual community (Herek & Belkin, 2005). Many other homosexuals who had avoided detection also moved to the larger cities after leaving the military and thus contributed to large and visible gay communities (D'Emilio, 1983). Although gay men and lesbians continued to be subjected to discrimination, both in and out of the military, a new social movement was

emerging in the U.S. that was beginning to call for civil rights for gays and lesbians (Adam, 1995).

During the 1970's the legality of the military's anti-homosexual policy was challenged by Leonard Matlovich and others, but with little success (Hippler, 1989). These challenges led the Department of Defense (DoD) to develop a new directive that clarified its position on homosexuality. The new policy, DoD Directive 1332.14 (1982), stated that:

“Homosexuality is incompatible with military service. The presence of such members adversely affects the ability of the Armed Forces to maintain discipline, good order, and morale; to foster mutual trust and confidence among the members; to ensure integrity of rank and command; to facilitate assignment and worldwide deployment of members who frequently must live and work in close conditions affording minimal privacy; to recruit and retain members of the military services; and in certain circumstances, to prevent breaches of security.”

Along with the new policy, most military personnel discharged for homosexuality began to receive an honorable discharge, but the discharge paperwork still lists homosexuality as the reason (Lehring, 2003). Under this new policy, approximately 17,000 servicemen and women were discharged for homosexuality (Government Accountability Office, 1992). The latest change to the military's policy toward homosexuals is a result of President Clinton's attempt to end the ban. In response to Clinton's proposal, Congress conducted extensive hearings which resulted in a compromise between Congress and the President known as Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) and was signed into law by President Clinton in 1993 (Donnelly). The policy acknowledged that homosexuals have served with distinction in the military, removed sexual orientation as a bar to military service, and called for an end to intrusive questions regarding sexual orientation (Bowling, Firestone, & Harris, 2005). Under the new policy, however, homosexual discharges continued with approximately 10,000 discharges between 1994 and 2003 (Blue Ribbon Commission, 2006).

2.4 Rationale for Homosexual Exclusion

The Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy is only a modification of the previous policies regarding homosexuals in the military. The DADT (US Code 654, 1993) policy states, "The prohibition against homosexual conduct is a long standing element of military law that continues to be necessary in the unique circumstances of military service. The armed forces must maintain personnel policies that exclude persons whose presence in the armed forces would create an unacceptable risk to the armed forces' high standards of morale, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion that are the essence of military capability." Arguing against the ban, President Clinton stated that "the emphasis should always be on people's conduct, not their status"; "there is no study showing homosexuals to be less capable or more prone to misconduct than heterosexual soldiers"; "misconduct is already covered by the laws and rules" (Halley, p.28, 1999).

The government has used several different justifications for banning homosexuals from the military. Originally gay men and lesbians were considered to be mentally and physically unfit to serve in the military, but this has been proven to not be the case as demonstrated by countless examples of their honorable service throughout military history (Berube, 1990; Shilts, 1993) as well as psychiatry's eventual reversal of homosexuality as a mental illness. In the 1950's Senator McCarthy and others claimed that homosexuals posed a national security threat. This claim was dispelled by the Navy Crittenden Report which determined alcoholics and adulterous heterosexuals to be more of a security risk than homosexuals (Lehring, 1996). The next two and current justifications for excluding gay men and lesbians from serving openly in the military are unit cohesion and the violation of heterosexual service member's privacy rights (Herek & Belkin, 2005).

According to the military's perspective, heterosexuals dislike homosexuals and thus are not able to establish the necessary bond required for a unit to function effectively (Miller & Williams, 2001). Unit cohesion has been extensively studied by researchers and scholars and

the literature indicates that military unit cohesion is task oriented rather than socially focused, thus the members are committed to achieving a shared goal, not concerned with liking each other (Henderson, 1985; Wong, Kolditz, Millen, & Potter, 2003; Segal & Kestbaum, 2002; Kier 1998). Even when military units have openly gay service members, there have been no negative reports related to unit cohesion (Osburn, 1995; Berube, 1990). Researchers have studied other countries such as Britain, Australia, Canada, Israel, the Netherlands and many others that have integrated homosexuals within their ranks and did not discover any negative consequences (Government Accountability Office, 1993; RAND, 1993; D'Amico, 1996; Gade, Segal, & Johnson, 1996). Furthermore, a study by Bateman and Dalvi (2004) found that openly gay, non-American service members have interacted and worked successfully with American military in multinational units and operations.

Unit cohesion has also been explored among police and fire departments, with researchers citing police structure and the close living conditions experienced by firefighters to be comparable with the military. The RAND Corporation (1993) examined police and fire departments that had policies of nondiscrimination against homosexuals in six large cities representing all the major regions of the U.S. The researchers used intensive individual interviews and focus groups as well as reviewed department documentation, policies, regulations, equal employment procedures, and training programs. Although there were a few accounts of pranks, there were no negative incidences related to unit cohesion and no reports of harassment. Also what was discovered from this study and supported from a separate study (Leinen, 1993) was that very few homosexuals revealed their orientation even though there was a nondiscrimination policy. Those who did reveal their homosexuality did so only after they felt that they would be accepted in their particular work environment.

The argument that the presence of homosexuals in the military is a violation of a heterosexual service member's privacy rights has also been a topic of much research. Just as with the issue of unit cohesion, the majority of research indicates that the privacy concern is not

a valid argument for preventing gays and lesbians from serving openly in the military. Kaplan (2003) and Shawver (1995) rationalize that heterosexuals and homosexuals already shower, use latrines, and basically share intimate environments with each other without any problems. Strategies such as mutual gaze aversion (Goffman, 1963) and etiquette of disregard (Shawver, 1996) are two social norms identified as means in which people prevent the feeling of their privacy being violated by consciously avoiding eye contact and averting their sight in a neutral direction away from others. These types of strategies are learned at an early age and have been observed to exist in settings such as college dormitories (Vivona & Gomillion, 1972) and prisons (Shawver & Kurdys, 1987).

The Department of Defense has proposed many reasons for not wanting to integrate homosexuals into the military and just as was the case with other minority groups, their justifications are without merit. First, the white heterosexual male saw the African-American as having character defects and thus unacceptable for military service, only to be proven wrong (Rolison & Nakayama, 1994; Kauth & Landis, 1996). Females were seen as a threat to unit morale and effectiveness, yet when eventually integrated this was also proven to not be the case (Herek, 1996; Thomas & Thomas, 1996). Now the military is once again faced with the potential integration of another minority group. Although the justifications have been centered on concerns for morale and unit effectiveness, there is another reason that continues to go unspoken.

Margaret Cruikshank (1994) proposes that the reason the military does not want to accept homosexuals is that it would advance the idea that they are equal to heterosexuals. Their integration would mean that gay men and lesbians are just as good at soldiering as heterosexuals. She speculates that the exclusion of homosexuals from the military is inherently political and is about discrimination and second class status. In a ruling against DADT, Judge Eugene Nickerson commented, "The known presence of homosexuals may disrupt the unit because heterosexual members may morally disapprove of homosexuals. This is an outright

confession that 'unit cohesion' is a euphemism for catering to the prejudices of heterosexuals (Brown & Ayres, p.156, 2004). When the military, the largest employer in the U.S., exemplifies that homosexuals should not be treated as equal citizens, it sets a terrible precedent for the civilian sector (Belkin, 2001).

2.5 Serving in Silence

The current Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy is a compromise that allows homosexuals to serve in the military on the condition that they do not reveal their sexual orientation and refrain from any homosexual behavior (Bowling, Firestone, & Harris, 2005). This requirement, however, imposes restrictions on speech and conduct of homosexuals that do not exist for heterosexuals (Herek, 1996). Sharing information such as dating, marital or parental status is expected during casual conversation. The ability to self-disclose is beneficial to a person's social life, whereas nondisclosure has been linked to loneliness and social isolation (Davis & Franzoi, 1986). A certain degree of self-disclosure is an integral component in social interaction with an equal exchange of information expected or there likely will be a strain in the relationship (Fitzpatrick, 1987).

Homosexuals in the military are currently caught in a catch-22 predicament. By not revealing their sexual orientation they are withholding information and thus potentially deceiving their friends or colleagues. However, if they reveal their orientation they not only jeopardize their career, but will likely be regarded as flaunting their sexuality (Herek, 1996). Heterosexist environments and non-supportive social interactions have been highly correlated with depression and psychological distress (Smith & Ingram, 2004). Meyer (1995) identifies internalized homophobia, self-perceived stigma, and prejudice to be three major components related to minority stress. Johnson and Buhrke (2006) express concern for homosexual military personnel who may suffer from minority-related stress but, reluctant to pursue mental health services due to the military's current anti-homosexual policy.

2.6 Research

Herek (1993) recommends the following three areas of empirical research needed to assist the military in understanding and potentially reducing prejudice: (1) military racial and gender integration; (2) experiences of other countries in the integration of homosexuals in the military; and (3) military personnel's stereo-types and prejudices about gays and lesbians. The first two areas have been extensively researched as discussed previously. The third area of research has received very little attention. The military's homosexual policies have been established by Congress and the Department of Defense leadership, not the lower ranking soldiers and sailors. Very few studies have been conducted to actually measure the attitudes of active duty military personnel to determine their opinions on the subject, see Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Previous Research

Study	Purpose	Research Method	Sample Method	Sample Size	Statistical Analysis
Miller & Moskos (1993)	Views on gays in the military	Interviews, focus groups, surveys	Non-random, stratified	2,471 men 2,170 women	Bivariate, regression
Los Angeles Times (1993)	Attitudes toward gays	Surveys	Non-random, "mall intercept"	728 Army, 591 Navy, 488 Marines, 539 Air Force	No data provided
Estrada & Weiss (1999)	Attitudes toward gays	Surveys	Non-random	72 Marines	Bivariate, attitude scales

A mixed method research study conducted by Moskos and Miller (1993; Miller, 1994,) included individual interviews, study groups, and questionnaires. The surveys distinguished participants to be either pro-ban or anti-ban, and thus were analyzed how they answered a series of questions. The U.S. service members in this study were from eight military installations, two national training centers, and several operating bases in Somalia. Miller

interviewed 471 males and 470 females and distributed questionnaires to over 2,000 men and 1,700 women. The sample for the study was nonrandom and stratified with attempts to have cross section representation of race, rank, and occupational specialties. The potential respondents were selected by military leaders and invited to participate. The researchers felt it would be inappropriate to enquire of a participant's sexual orientation and that the responses would likely be unreliable considering the environment, thus orientation of participants is unknown.

The results from Miller's (1994) study found that 75% of the men and 43% of the women disagreed with the proposal to lift the ban. Three main reasons for their position were: (1) homosexuality is immoral; (2) homosexuality would have adverse effects of cohesion, morale, and good discipline; and (3) the fear of intimate situations with someone of the same gender who may be attracted to them. Those who supported lifting the ban thought that: (1) the ban discriminates against minorities; (2) sexuality is not related to job performance; and (3) the ban has been ineffective in preventing homosexuals from joining the military. In this study, 8% of the men and 13% of the women were undecided on the issue. What Miller discovered from this middle group was that although they felt the ban to be unfair, they had reservations in regards to the privacy issue.

The Los Angeles Times (1993) conducted a survey of 2,346 active duty personnel from 38 different military installations consisting of 728 Army, 591 Navy, 488 Marines, and 539 Air Force personnel. The method of recruiting the participants was a non-random convenience technique referred to as "mall intercept" approach. Military personnel at various locations around the installations were asked to participate. The researchers also utilized quota sampling to ensure they had appropriate representation of male, female, African American, Caucasian, and Latino personnel. The majority of respondents were against lifting the ban in different degrees, males being more in support of the ban than females. The issue of privacy was one of the major reasons for being against lifting the ban, as well as homosexuality being immoral.

Although this study is hardly scientific, it is referred to in several different articles as well as this paper, due to the limited amount of research in this area.

There are several limitations in the two previous studies that prevent the results from being generalizable beyond the actual individuals who were surveyed. Participants were conveniently approached on or near military installations and asked to respond to questions relating to the ban of homosexuals in the military, or they were hand selected by military leaders, providing no anonymity or representation. Also, the way the questions and the likert scale were designed allowed for only vague and inconclusive responses that cannot be accurately analyzed.

Estrada and Weiss (1999) used a 40-item questionnaire to measure the attitudes of 72 male Marines toward homosexuals. The Marine participants were from the same unit and ranged in age from 19 to 46, almost all had a high school diploma, and the majority reported some college. Of the 72 male Marines, 33 identified as Latino, 9 Asian, 3 African American, 24 Caucasian, and 3 were other. Two scales were used, the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay men (ATLG, Herek, 1994) and the Attitudes Toward Homosexuals in the Military (ATHM), designed by the researchers for this particular study. The ATLG was designed to be used to measure the attitudes of adult heterosexuals toward homosexuals and determined to have high construct and discriminant validity as well as high reliability with alpha levels for college students at .90 and non-students at .80 (Herek). The ATHM measure was determined to have good reliability with a Cronbach alpha of .87 (Estrada & Weiss).

Attitudes of heterosexuals toward homosexuals have been the focus of many research studies, however, the authors of this study stated that, "none of this research has been carried out with military samples" (Estrada & Weiss, p.86, 1999). They reported their findings to be similar to that of civilian studies with the majority of the respondents expressing mildly negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians in general, but more negative toward those in the military. The researchers also reported that although the respondents displayed negative attitudes

toward homosexuals, the results indicate support for the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy. Sixty-nine percent of the participants agreed that, “It is all right for gays and lesbians to be in the military as long as I don’t know who they are.”

Although the researchers made the attempt to survey military personnel, their methods do not provide for generalizable results. The Marine reservists were from Southern California with a disproportionately large number of Latino participants. Reservists do not live together in barracks but rather in their own homes off the installation. The ATLG scale is for heterosexuals thus discounting the possibility that some of the respondents could be homosexual. The sample was small, nonrandom, and conveniently selected with all participants being from the same unit. Although the participant responses may have provided the results expected by the researchers, the study cannot be considered representative of the military toward homosexuals.

Integration Strategies

Most of the research regarding homosexuals in the military has been focused on the attitudes of heterosexuals. Indeed, with homosexuals being considered as second class citizens (Cruikshank, 1994), why would their perspective of the discriminatory policy be considered? The reality is, homosexuals are simply trying to live their lives just as heterosexuals and be judged on their performance (Lehring, 2003). Colonel Cammermeyer, a retired lesbian army officer who in 1992 successfully challenged the military’s ban on homosexuals stated, “What I hope to represent is a part of the normality of being homosexual, of not being in leather or shaving my hair, but rather showing how much we are all alike. If people can see the sameness of me to you, then perhaps they won’t have the walls that make it so that they have to hate us” (Egan, 1992). This statement is supported by social science research.

Based on the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), contact between two groups can reduce inter-group hostility. The contact Allport specified must take place between two groups who share equal status. That is not the case for homosexuals in the military, but the hypothesis has been tested in the civilian sector. Surveys using nationally representative probability

samples indicate that heterosexuals who have personal contact with known gay men and lesbians have more positive attitudes toward them than those heterosexuals who lacked the contact experience (Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993). This was also the case in the research examining the integration of homosexuals in police and fire departments.

Positive contact was determined to be the most influential determinant of attitudinal change among heterosexual police and fire fighters toward homosexual colleagues (RAND, 1993). The heterosexual participants in the study were surprised to discover that their gay and lesbian colleagues had full, well-formed lives and stable relationships, and that they were not out looking for anonymous sex. Advocates for integration believe that ignorance will give way to knowledge and understanding when people are exposed to accurate information about homosexuals (RAND; Baumeister, Hutton, & Tice, 1989; Conley, Devine, Rabow, & Evett, 2002).

To effectively integrate homosexuals into the military, a workable standard must be established in which all personnel are judged by their own performance and they must respect each other's privacy (Herek & Belkin, 2005). The policy must be enforced and supported at all levels allowing for individuals to perceive that compliance with the new policy is in their own self interest (MacCoun, 1996). It is important to ensure that the individuals who will be implementing the policy receive training on how to address and solve potential challenges (Herek & Belkin). Zellman (1996) describes how policies imposed from outside an organization are often met with resistance, therefore it is important for personnel to be ensured that the change will not be harmful and that it will result in gains for the organization.

Herek and Belkin (2005) share lessons from implementation literature that recommend new policies need to be implemented as quickly as possible. Prior to implementation, individuals may become unsure and anxious about how the new policy will affect them. A swift implementation process will allow personnel to realize that little change has actually occurred. Another concern for delayed implementation is that it allows those opposed to the new policy to

consolidate and express their resistance. Herek and Belkin explain that a fast implementation process will send a signal from the leadership of their commitment to the new policy.

The military is not new to including minorities within its ranks. Drawing from previous experience of integrating African Americans and females, the military can incorporate what worked well and avoid past strategies that failed. In previous minority integration programs, the military attempted to change attitudes and beliefs through sensitivity training and cultural education sessions (Kauth & Landis, 1996; Thomas, 1988). These attempts were met with resistance, resentment, and hostility from Caucasian participants who were required to attend. The military changed its strategy and shifted its focus from attitudes to behavior. As discovered from foreign military units and U.S. police and fire departments with non-discrimination policies, once heterosexual personnel realized that there really is no difference in homosexual behavior in the work environment, their attitudes changed.

2.7 Future Research

Homosexuals have been considered to be mentally unfit for military service, a threat to national security, morally objectionable to heterosexuals, disruptive to unit cohesion, and violators of heterosexual privacy. Researchers and scholars have explored each of these rationales for preventing homosexuals from serving openly in the U.S. military and have determined them to all be baseless and irrational. Nonetheless, the military's anti-homosexual policy perseveres. Therefore, one could argue that science and research alone are not going to change the minds of those who make the decision regarding allowing gay men and lesbians to serve openly for their country.

Further research is necessary as a means to continue monitoring other countries and their progress in their implementation of homosexuals within their militaries. Also, further research is necessary in monitoring the attitudes of active duty American military personnel. There are very few studies that have attempted to examine this population and those that have were very narrow in scope and thus not representative of the military as a whole. However,

continued compilation of data that supports the integration is not likely to change the military/government anti-homosexual policy. The fact that all previous rationales for the ban have been easily discounted is evidence that they were merely weightless excuses for the real reason that was exposed by Judge Nickerson (Brown & Ayres, 2004): prejudice.

The government's prejudicial attitude toward homosexuality must be examined further in order for the policy to be changed. Republicans and conservative political ideology have been linked to negative attitudes toward homosexuals (Estrada & Weiss, 1999). Bierly (1985) found self-identified Republicans to be more prejudiced toward homosexuals than Democrats or Independents. Herek (1994) discovered that heterosexuals who reported being religious were more likely to have negative attitudes toward homosexuals than heterosexuals who were not religious. In all of the research that examined attitudes toward homosexuals, the issue of morality was one of the reasons for people's negative opinion. As was shown with the contact hypothesis, people's attitudes improved after having positive contact with gay men and lesbians.

Research has shown the actual implementation of an anti-homosexual policy is likely to have limited if any adverse effects on the military. Perhaps further research is needed to examine the relationship between religion and politics on discrimination and oppression of homosexuals. Implementation research has demonstrated the importance of leadership toward effective implementation. Therefore it stands to reason that if the government and top-level military leaders demonstrate prejudice attitudes toward homosexuals, then the public and military personnel will incorporate that same attitude.

2.8 Discussion

Gay men and lesbian women join the military to take advantage of the same opportunities offered to heterosexuals: education benefits, social mobility, and to be patriotic (Adam, 1994). The current policy allows homosexuals to join and to serve with their presence acknowledged (although anonymous) and actually respected. The fraternal framework of the

military is likely not as fragile or homophobic as Congress and some military leaders presume it to be. Therefore the policy of allowing homosexuals to serve in the military, albeit covertly, is likely to further their acceptance within the infrastructure, as described by the contact hypothesis.

The dilemma for Congress and the military leadership is to maintain its opposition to allowing homosexuals in the military, while at the same time acknowledging that homosexuals have served honorably throughout American military history. The rationale of excluding homosexuals from the military is not based on any evidence to justify the action, but rather formulated purely through speculation. The continued exclusion of homosexuals from the military, therefore, is based on a premise of what might happen, rather than on etiological factors.

Recent surveys regarding people's attitudes toward allowing homosexuals in the military indicate broad support. A survey of the American public in 2003 showed that 79% of respondents support gays and lesbians in the military (Price, 2004). A Gallup poll of 18-29 year old civilians found that 91% oppose the anti-gay ban, and a survey of military personnel indicated that 50% support allowing gays to serve openly in the military (Price). Nearly three in four U.S. military personnel (73 percent) say they are personally comfortable in the presence of gays and lesbians (Zogby International & the Michael D. Palm Center, 2006). One in four military personnel who served in Afghanistan or Iraq knew a member of their unit who was gay and more than 55 percent who know a gay colleague said the presence of gays or lesbians in their unit was well known by others (Zogby International). Although these surveys are not scientific or generalizable of military or public opinion, they do indicate a trend of increasing support for allowing gays to serve openly in the military as well as a potential disconnect between military personnel and their leadership.

CHAPTER 3

PREFERENCE THEORY AND DECISION MAKING

3.1 Basis for Joining the Military

The U.S. military is an appealing choice for employment. The military pays a competitive salary, provides good health benefits, helps pay for college, provides regular advancement, offers many travel opportunities, has one of the best retirement programs, and provides the ultimate opportunity to express one's patriotism. A person, male or female, of any race or national origin, and with only a high school degree, can join the military and pursue a respectable and rewarding career. Some people join and only serve their minimal active duty service obligation to qualify for the generous educational benefits while others make the military a career. On the surface, the military is an equal opportunity employer. However, there is one population within the U.S. that has not yet earned the same equal opportunities as everyone else: homosexuals. Despite exhaustive research that has negated every reason the military has used to ban homosexuals, gay men and lesbians are required to present as heterosexuals in order to receive the same benefits offered to all other members of the U.S.

3.2 Choice and Preference

On what basis then, do homosexuals choose to serve in the military considering the U.S. government's long-standing view that homosexuals are a threat to unit cohesion and morale? In order to address this question, it is necessary to have an understanding of the motivation behind decision making. People do not make decisions without first considering their options, preferences, alternatives, and benefits. Research has demonstrated that attitudes,

values, and life goals influence the outcomes of the lives of adult men and women (Hakim, 2002). Hausman, (2004) shares a view of human action which proposes that it can be explained and even predicted by beliefs and desires of agents. The term “desire” is used in a broad context and includes many motivating factors such as: emotions, aversions, appetites, feelings, and basically any mental state that may act as a “pushing” agent. To better utilize the concept, Hausman proposes replacing the non-comparative term of “desire” with a more comparative term, preference.

Preference consists of agents that assist in evaluation during the process of decision making. Hausman (2004) describes the agents that are involved in the decision making process as desirability, social norms, moral disciplines, habits, and anything else that is important to the individual when determining his/her preference. Preferences are also influenced by and reflect one’s value judgments (Hausman). Drawing from her research of the choices and lifestyle preferences of women in modern society, Catherine Hakim (2000) developed an evidence-based theory: preference theory. Contrary to most other theories, preference theory is a person-centered approach and recognizes the heterogeneity of individuals rather than assuming that people are homogeneous in their reactions to social and economic influences and experiences (Hakim, 2003).

Hakim (2003) created preference theory in order to place attitudes and values in the center of causal explanations regarding choices people make. Although the focus of Hakim’s research is women, the fundamental structure of preference theory is appropriate for studying other populations as well, particularly other minority populations. Before applying preference theory to homosexuals and the military, the theory will be presented as it was originally designed for the study of women. Hakim (2000) posits that there have been significant changes in society that have created a new scenario of opportunities for women:

- The contraceptive revolution: Sexually active women now have reliable control over their own fertility.

- The equal opportunities revolution: This ensured women equal access to all positions, occupations, and careers.
- The expansion of white-collar occupations: Positions more attractive to women than blue-collar jobs.
- The creation of jobs for secondary earners: Allowed women to not prioritize work over other life interests.
- The increasing importance in attitudes, values, and personal preferences related to lifestyle choices of affluent modern societies.

All of the above occurrences clearly have had an impact on how women view their place in society and have allowed them to reevaluate their priorities. Having control of their reproductive cycles and an increased standing in the work force has provided women with choices they previously did not have. With this new feeling of autonomy, women can now make decisions that are more in line with their own values, attitudes, and preferences. Preference theory shares the attributes of critical and feminist theories as it values shared human interaction and rejects positivist technological approaches that manipulate human beings in favor of existing social order (Payne, 2005). The preference theory identifies women as being heterogeneous when setting life priorities and addressing conflicts between family and employment, whereas men are mostly viewed as homogeneous experiencing few conflicts with their role as main breadwinner.

Hakim (2003) proposes that attitudes have a strong influence on women's behavior. Her research using national longitudinal studies has shown the importance of values, motivations, and attitudes as major determinants of employment patterns and occupational status. Results from her studies indicate that once women gained the choices and freedom as listed above, they tend to group into three different lifestyles (life preferences); adaptive, work-centered, or home-centered.

- Home-centered (Approx. 20%): Family life and children are priorities, they prefer not to work, education is obtained as a cultural capital.
- Adaptive (Approx. 60%): Most diverse group, includes women who want to

combine work and family, also those with unplanned careers. Want to work, but not committed. Education obtained for purpose of work.

- Work-centered (Approx. 20%): High concentration of childless women. Main priority is employment, committed to work, and education.

This approach to understanding and explaining why people make the choices they make can be applied to other populations as well. The homosexual population, as with any minority population, has and actually continues to experience discrimination and oppression. As is typically the case, an event or a series of events occur which ultimately result in the government and society's recognition that the minority population in question is entitled to the same rights as the majority. Although the minority population of homosexuals has not yet reached that point, there have been and continue to be events that assist in the movement toward eventual equality.

3.3 Advances for Homosexual Rights

The 1969 police raid on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar located in the Greenwich Village section of New York City, is a notable chapter in the civil rights movement of the gay community. The event became violent and lasted several days leading to rioting and confrontations between the police and members of the homosexual community (Belkin & Bateman, 2003). This event brought attention to the homosexual population and fueled its movement for civil rights. Another notable event was the victory for gay men and lesbians experienced when the American Psychiatric Association (APA) reversed its diagnosis of homosexuality as a mental and emotional disorder. Homosexual activists confronted the APA during their annual meetings from 1970 to 1973 participating in panels and subcommittees until they were ultimately successful in the removal of the term homosexuality in the APA Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders II (Belkin & Bateman).

There have also been events specific to the military that have directly challenged the government's policies toward homosexuals. Most legal challenges to the military's anti-

homosexual policy have been from individuals who denied being homosexual. However, there were several cases in which military personnel acknowledged being homosexual and challenged their discharge by claiming that their sexual orientation did not in any way prevent them from performing their duties. One case in particular that received broad public attention was *Matlovich vs the Secretary of the Air Force*. Leonard Matlovich, a Vietnam War veteran, directly challenged the military's homosexual policy by revealing his homosexuality to his commanding officer in 1975. Matlovich was successful in his challenge and although he was reinstated in the Air Force, he chose to accept a cash settlement rather than reenlist (Shilts, 1993). Another high profile case involved Colonel Cammermeyer, a female army nurse with 26 years of service. She was discharged from the military in 1992 after revealing her homosexuality, but challenged the military's ban of homosexuals and was reinstated to the National Guard in 1994 (Egan, 1992). The most notable of challenges to the military policy was when President Clinton attempted to lift the ban and allow homosexuals to serve openly. Although his attempt was not successful, the result has allowed gay men and lesbians to join the military without lying about their sexuality.

3.4 Preference Theory and Homosexuality

Just as Hakim (2000) described events that had an impact on how women view their place in society and allowed them to reevaluate their priorities, there have been events that have empowered the homosexual population to do the same. Advances in gay rights have given homosexual men and women more choices and the courage to pursue interests such as legally recognized relationships, adoption, and employment opportunities. For those gay men and lesbians who decide to join the military, they do so determinate upon their own values, attitudes, and preferences. According to Hakim (2003), women can be grouped into three different lifestyles (life Preferences); adaptive, work-centered, or home-centered. This study proposes that homosexuals who join the military can be grouped into similar life preferences: adaptive, work-centered, or community-centered. These life preferences may also be

appropriate for other scenarios as well, but the focus of this study is homosexuals and the military.

The adaptive life preference group consists of homosexuals whose sexual identity does not play a major role in their life and thus are willing to make certain sacrifices regarding their orientation allowing them to maintain their military employment and live a closeted personal life. This group is expected to be the largest of the three groups and consist of those who wish to experience the benefits of military employment while balancing a separate covert personal relationship with a same-gender partner. These individuals are not considered to be committed to the military and if their work begins to interfere with their relationship, they will choose the relationship over their job.

The work-centered homosexual is proposed to be more focused on his/her military career and less connected with the homosexual community. These individuals are more competitive and focused on advancement and long-term goals. Although they identify as homosexual and may be in a relationship, their personal life takes a back seat to their military career interests. These individuals are less likely to be in a relationship and more likely to fill their off duty time with activities such as sports or other active hobbies. The work-centered group is expected to be smaller than the adaptive group and have as many if not more heterosexual friends than homosexual.

The community-centered group is the most connected with their homosexual identity and will likely separate from the military before their initial duty obligation is fulfilled or leave after their first term has been completed. These individuals are expected to join for educational and other benefits and with little intention of serving longer than the first enlistment obligation. Their close ties with the homosexual community may be obvious to coworkers and their lack of commitment to the military may lead to early separation. Members of this group are expected to be young and more interested in exploring opportunities rather than making long-term employment plans.

3.5 Identity Influences

It is suspected that the individuals in each life preference group may change from one to the other depending on life experiences, level of homosexual identity, and their attitude toward the different lifestyles (life preferences). Houston and Marks (2003) emphasize that although attitude can have a causal impact on behavior, it is possible for behavior to have a causal affect on attitude. A discrepancy between attitude and behavior may cause a person to experience anxiety, as described by cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson, 1999 & Festinger, 1957). To reduce this dissonance, Festinger proposes that the individual must reduce the importance of the attitude or behavior, change the attitude or behavior, or justify the reason for the inconsistency. A gay man or lesbian is likely to experience this cognitive dissonance as they attempt to balance their sexual identity and a career in the military. Weighing what is most important to them: a military job, their sexual orientation, connection with the homosexual community, a relationship; all will influence their decision on whether to join the military and whether to stay in or get out. Hakim (2003) used preference theory to identify women as being heterogeneous when setting life priorities and addressing conflicts between family and employment, and men as mostly homogeneous experiencing few conflicts with their role as main breadwinner. This theory can be used to identify homosexuals as being heterogeneous when setting life priorities and addressing conflicts between their orientation and a discriminating work environment, and heterosexuals as mostly homogeneous experiencing few conflicts with their role as members of the majority and thus free from discrimination. Jost, Burgess, and Mosso (2001) support this line of thinking from a system justification perspective.

The theory of system justification is used to explain the causes, consequences, and depth of a person's psychological investment in the social system, particularly when the investment contradicts his/her own self-interest or ingroup solidarity (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Jost and Banaji (1994) propose three different types of justification tendencies which may create conflict or contradiction among disadvantaged groups: ego, group, and system.

- Ego justification: The need to develop and maintain a favorable self-image and to feel valid, justified, and legitimate as an individual.
- Group justification: The need to develop and maintain favorable images of his/her own group, defending and justifying actions of fellow ingroup members.
- System justification: The social and psychological need to instill the status quo with legitimacy; seeing it as good, fair, natural, desirable, and inevitable.

Jost, Burgess, and Mosso (2001) propose that members of disadvantaged groups are often confronted by potential conflicts among ego, group, and system justification needs that are not experienced by those of the advantaged group. Homosexuals seeking to serve in the military are confronted with prioritizing what is most important to them regarding their lifestyle preference and then must justify their decision in efforts to resolve any personal or social identity conflict. The system justification hypothesis draws from cognitive dissonance theory in proposing that members of disadvantaged groups are more likely than those of advantaged groups to support the status quo when personal and group interests are of less importance. A homosexual choosing to serve in the military under closeted status may rationalize this decision by placing less of an importance of a homosexual identity and focus more on employment, adaptive or career oriented. People have adaptive capabilities that allow them to accommodate, internalize, and rationalize key aspects of their socially constructed environment, particularly those aspects that are difficult or impossible to change (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004).

3.6 Identity Construction

It is common for people to construct a particular perception of reality that supports their own subjective perspective, definition, and/or need (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). For a homosexual to join an organization that actually discriminates against their sexual identity, he/she must justify

this decision in order to resolve internal as well as external conflicts. Homosexuals must create an identity that reflects their values and commitment to their life choices as well as their connection to the gay community. If a person's values or interests change, then his/her entire identity must be renegotiated. This newly developed/justified identity occurs after or perhaps even simultaneous to the stressful developmental stages associated with the formation of a homosexual identity.

Cass (1979) proposes that there are six stages (levels) to the homosexual identity.

1. Identity confusion: Occurs when an individual realizes that homosexuality is directly relevant to his/her behavior. There is an awareness of inconsistencies between their self-perception compared to heterosexual self-perception and that others perceive them to be heterosexual, causing internal conflict.
2. Identity comparison: Increased social isolation as the individuals become aware that others perceive them as heterosexual while they perceive themselves as homosexual.
3. Identity tolerance: Increased commitment to a homosexual self-perception and efforts made to learn more about the homosexual community.
4. Identity acceptance: Increased contact with other homosexuals and beginning to have a more positive view of homosexuality. Remaining hidden in heterosexual society becomes more difficult due to increased positive self-perception.
5. Identity pride: Individuals address the incongruity between their positive self-perception and society's negative perception of homosexuality.

Heterosexual society is often rejected and devalued in this stage.

6. Identity synthesis: Positive interaction is experienced with some heterosexuals, allowing individuals to realize that not all heterosexuals view them negatively. Homosexuality in this stage becomes only one characteristic of the individual rather than his/her entire identity.

These identity stages (levels) can occur at an early age or later in life, depending on the person's environment and life experiences. A person may also move back as well as forward through the stages depending on positive and negative interactions with the heterosexual community. In addition, Cass (1979) proposes that a person may not go through all the stages but rather stop at one stage and not develop any further, identity foreclosure. A person who joins the military while or before realizing his/her homosexual orientation may not have the opportunity to reach identity synthesis due to living in a homophobic environment. According to a Government Accountability Office (2005) report, 83% (7,900) of those discharged between 1994 and 2003 under the DADT policy voluntarily revealed their sexuality. These individuals may have reached the stages of identity acceptance or pride and were unable to continue to live under the military's anti-homosexual policy.

3.7 Informed Decision Making

The decision a person makes based on preference is done so with the information that is available at the time. Bognar (2005) describes how some preferences are based on insufficient information or false beliefs. In order for choices to reflect our true preferences, they must be informed choices (Baber, 2007). Bognar and Baber describe how some choices are impulsive and unreflective or made while depressed, emotionally disturbed, or under the influence of a substance. These types of choices do not count as choices made based on true preference. They do, however, provide examples of how some choices that are made do not accurately represent a person's true goals or expectations.

The choice made by a gay man or lesbian to join the military is based on what they know about themselves and the environment at the time. As they learn more about themselves and are exposed to the military lifestyle, they are forced to either make adaptations and choice justifications, or perhaps realize that they made a mistake and take appropriate action to accommodate a better informed preference lifestyle. The stage of homosexual identity, available information for choice preference, and the individual's comfort in his/her justification of self-perception will be taken into account when deciding what is more important; a military career or a connection with the homosexual community.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHOD AND PLAN OF ANALYSIS

4.1 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the choices homosexuals make in regards to military service considering the U.S. government's current anti-homosexual policy. There are vast quantities of documentation from research of homosexuals serving in the military, but very little research to explore how members of an oppressed population tolerate being a member of an organization that blatantly and legally discriminates against them. The current Department of Defense policy regarding homosexuals allows gays and lesbians to join without requiring them to divulge their sexual orientation. However, just as in previous versions of the military's homosexual policies, the current Don't Ask, Don't Tell version (US Code 654,1993) continues to make it clear that gay men and lesbians are not welcome. The policy excludes persons (known homosexuals) whose presence in the armed forces would create an unacceptable risk to its high standards of morale, good order, discipline, and unit cohesion. Therefore in order for a homosexual to serve, he/she is required to basically present as a heterosexual and expected to maintain this facade to avoid being discharged.

To understand a homosexual's decision to join and serve under this condition, this study surveyed prior service and currently active duty homosexual military personnel. Previous studies have interviewed heterosexual military personnel regarding their attitudes toward homosexuals (Moskos and Miller, 1993; Los Angeles Times,1993; Miller, 1994; Estrada & Weiss, 1999). This study is more concerned with the homosexual's self-identity and attitude toward the military, rather than the military's attitude toward homosexuals. Due to obvious

concerns of confidentiality, previous studies have not asked the participants their sexual orientation. Also, the questionnaires used were designed from a heterosexual perspective and the surveys as well as face-to-face interviews were conducted on military installations, often times at unit-level with the participants in close proximity of one another. Under these conditions it is likely that many participants were more concerned with their co-workers seeing or overhearing their responses than with providing their true opinions on the topic of homosexuality. Considering the stigma that is associated with the topic, the challenge of obtaining accurate survey results is a hard one to overcome.

4.2 Research Design and Threats to Validity

Due to the challenges of confidentiality, this study utilized the Internet in an attempt to access the target population and provide a more comfortable environment for honest responses. However, using the Internet does not resolve issues related to internal and external validity. Coverage error is considered to be the main threat to representativeness when conducting surveys on the Internet (Couper, 2000). Couper describes coverage error as the mismatch between the target population and the frame population. The target population being the one of which the study wishes to make inference and the frame population being the one from which the sample is accessed. The target population for this study is homosexuals who are currently active duty or prior service military and the frame population are those members of the target population accessed through use of the Internet.

Using the Internet as the frame population automatically creates a bias toward only those individuals who have Internet access. Drawing from research related to Internet access and usage, Coupe (2000) reports that over 65 million U.S. adults (one-third of the population) have access to the Internet either at home or elsewhere. Although some marginalized groups may not be as well represented in the general population, internet access is extensively available and strongly encouraged in the military through the establishment of a Department of Defense website. Through the use of Defense Knowledge Online (DKO), military personnel are

provided a free email account, can access and update portions of their military file, and stay up to date on military related information. For military personnel who do not have personal computers, each military installation provides computer access in libraries and computer cafes.

4.3 Sample

Although access to the Internet is not considered to be a challenge, reaching members of a population who are, for obvious reasons, reluctant to disclose their sexual orientation is a challenging task as experienced in previous studies (Brady & Busse, 1994; Sell & Petruccio, 1996). This study, therefore, followed the participant recruitment method as used by Halpin and Allen (2004). Halpin and Allen conducted a study to evaluate the psychosocial well-being of homosexuals during the stages of gay identity development. The researchers recruited their subjects by placing advertisements of the study on Internet bulletin boards in websites that contained gay content.

Similar to the strategy used by Halpin and Allen (2004), this study attempted to recruit participants from various web sites in order to increase the possibility of obtaining a more diverse and larger sample size. Using internet sites determined to be frequented by homosexual military personnel (Michael D. Palm Center and Yahoo.com chat rooms), participants were recruited by posting requests for participation in the research study with a link provided to the survey site. Prior to completing the survey, participants were required to read and acknowledge agreement with an informed consent form. Contact with participants was entirely through the Internet with no exchange of personal information.

The study conducted by Halpin and Allen (2004) did not restrict participation, whereas this study was limited specifically to American homosexual military personnel, thus participation was expected to be a challenge. Participation was also dependent upon those who use sites related to gay and lesbian content, therefore it is possible that the participants were mostly those whose homosexual identity plays a larger role in their lives. For this reason, attempts were made to use several different websites as well as a snowball method (Goodman, 1961) to

reach as diverse a sample as possible. The internet has been noted as actually making it easier to reach sexual minorities due to the formation of “virtual communities” for purposes of discussion, support, networking, and entertainment (Rheingold, 1993). This is likely to be the case for active duty military personnel in search of support due to experiencing social isolation.

Although online surveys may present an anonymous climate, previous research suggests that there is no indication that people are any more or less likely to be honest or demonstrate more or less social desirability bias. Online non-probability surveys are also susceptible to other uncontrollable internal validity threats such as, missing data, interpretation and comprehension of the survey questions, and purposeful attempts to sabotage the data by numerous responses from the same person and/or responses from individuals who do not support the survey topic. Previous researchers have attempted to address these threats by specifying the purpose of the survey in the informed consent statement that precedes the research questions.

Due to the threat of missing data or other questionable responses, this study attempted to reach at least 250 active duty and prior service military personnel who identify as homosexual. According to Rosenthal (2001), a sample size of 201 to 500 is estimated to provide good to fairly high statistical power and as sample size increases, sampling error is likely to decrease.

4.4 Instrumentation

The questions contained in the survey were used to assist in understanding why the participants made the choices they made in regards to their military service. In addition to obtaining demographic information to determine the diversity of the participants, the survey also included scales to measure satisfaction with life, expectancy for success, and the stage of homosexual development. Additional questions in the survey are related to preference choices that assisted in testing the theory proposed of homosexuals who join the military belonging to one of three life preference groups: adaptive, community centered, or career centered.

To measure the participant's level of homosexual identity, the Gay Identity Questionnaire (Brady & Busse, 1994) was utilized. The GIQ is a 45-item questionnaire designed to assist in measuring a homosexual's stage of identity formation (Cass, 1979). Cass proposes that there are six stages (levels) of homosexual identity formation: confusion, comparison, tolerance, acceptance, pride, and synthesis. The measurement is coded into six different sections and the section in which the participant scores the highest indicates his/her level of development. A background questionnaire was also administered by Brady and Busse for the purpose of gathering demographic and psychosocial information. The study conducted by Brady and Busse (1994) was administered in person to 225 participants (all male) from counseling groups for gay men, gay professional organizations, and other locations such as beaches, parks, and gyms. For future studies, the researchers recommended including more subjects from a more diverse sample of both men and women to increase the generalizability of the results.

Halpin and Allen (2004) used the GIQ in their online research study along with other scales such as the satisfaction with life scale (SWL) and the index of self-esteem (ISE). The SWL (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) is a 5-item likert scale with high test-retest correlation ($r = .82$) and internal consistency ($\alpha = .94$). Each of the questions on the SWL is scored from 1 to 7, thus scores range from 5 (low satisfaction with life) up to a possible score of 35 (indicating high satisfaction with life). The ISE (Hudson, 1982) is a 25-item likert scale with high test-retest reliability ($r = .92$) and internal consistency ($\alpha = .93$). Results from their study provided a U-shaped curve indicating correlations between homosexual identity and the dependent variables. Participants in the early and later stages of homosexual identity scored higher on the SWL and ISE and lower in the middle stages.

For this study, the ISE (Hudson, 1982) was replaced with the Generalized Expectancy for Success Scale-Revised (Hale, Fiedler, & Cochran, 1992), as it appears to measure more relevant constructs. The GESS-R is designed to assess optimism and evaluate expectations for

success, with the lowest possible score of 25 indicating low probability of success and the highest score of 125 indicating a high probability of success. Drawing from previous research studies (Fischer & Leitenberg, 1986; Mearns, 1989), Hale, Fiedler, & Cochran designed their revised scale based on the correlation of optimism with aspects of psychological well-being such as higher levels of self-esteem and lower levels of depression. The GESS-R was tested on 199 undergraduate students (120 women and 79 men) and found to have a split-half reliability coefficient of .92. The scale was also significantly correlated with the Life Orientation Test (Scheier & Carver, 1985), being positively correlated with self-esteem and negatively correlated with locus of control.

The lifestyle questionnaire, Appendix D, consists of questions meant to provide additional information to assist in explaining the choices a homosexual makes in regard to military service. The questions and statements address issues of behavior modifications and emotions experienced that are associated with identity justification and cognitive dissonance theory. Several of the questions address the military's current Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy in order to discover a homosexual's perspective on how the policy is implemented. Responses from the questionnaire were used to assist in the interpretation of results from the formal measurement tools used in this study.

4.5 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 of this research study examined the relationship between the participant's stage of homosexual identity and military status. Those in the early stages of homosexuality, as described by Cass (1979), are just beginning to have thoughts and feelings of homosexuality and thus a homosexual identity is not expected to have an influence on the decisions a person makes. Those in the mid-stages of homosexuality are much more focused on their developing homosexual identity and are less likely to choose a career that discourages them from embracing this new identity. Stages 3, 4, and 5 of the developmental formation involve acceptance, commitment, and pride in a homosexual identity and tend to reject heterosexual

society. The final stage of homosexual development is the incorporation of homosexuality as only one part of a person's identity and thus is not as likely to prevent a person from joining and considering the military for a career.

- Participants in homosexual stages 1 (confusion), 2 (comparison), & 6 (synthesis) will be in the military and those in stages 3 (tolerance), 4 (acceptance), & 5 (pride) will no-longer be in the military.

Hypothesis 2 of this study examined the stages of homosexual development as proposed by Cass (1979) and analyzed to determine how they influence one's choice of life preference; adaptive, career-centered, or community-centered. Individuals in stages 4 & 5 (acceptance and pride) are the most closely connected to a homosexual identity and thus are most likely to choose a community-centered life preference.

- Individuals in homosexual identity stages 1 (confusion), 2 (comparison), 3 (tolerance), & 6 (synthesis) will choose an adaptive or career-centered life preference, and those in identity stages 4 (acceptance) & 5 (pride) will choose a community-centered life preference.

Hypothesis 3 in this study utilized measurement scales SWL (satisfaction with life) and GESS-R (generalized estimation of success scale – revised) to demonstrate how the scores are influenced by the individual's stage of homosexual identity and choice of life preference.

- Participants in the stage 1 (confusion) and 6 (synthesis) of homosexual identity will have higher SWL and GESS-R scores and are more likely to choose an adaptive life preference than those in identity stages 2 (comparison), 3 (tolerance), 4 (acceptance), & 5 (pride).

4.6 Data Analysis Plan

Table 4.1. Hypotheses Analysis

Hypothesis	Instrument	Level of Measurement	Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Statistical Test
1	GIQ	Categorical	Stage of identity	Military status	Logistical Regression
2	GIQ	Categorical	Stage of identity	Life preference	Logistical Regression
3	GIQ, SWS, GESS-R	Categorical, interval	Stage of identity	SWS, GESS-R, life preference	MANOVA

Hypothesis 1 in this study proposed that participants in stages 1,2, & 6 (identity confusion, comparison, and synthesis) of Cass' (1979) developmental stages of homosexuality will be in the military and those in stages 3,4, and 5 (identity tolerance, acceptance, and pride) will no-longer be in the military. A chi-square test was used to examine the association between the identity levels and military status.

Hypothesis 2 proposed that there is a significant relationship between a participant's stage of homosexual identity and his/her life preference choice (adaptive, work centered, or community centered). Individuals in mid-stages 4 & 5 (acceptance and pride) are expected to choose a community-centered life preference due to a growing interest in exploring their homosexual identity. A chi-square test will be used for this analysis.

Hypothesis 3 proposed that participants in the first stage (confusion) and sixth stage (synthesis) of homosexual identity will score higher on the SWLS and the GESS-R than those participants in the second thru fifth stage of homosexual identity. As discovered in the research study conducted by Halpin and Allen (2004), this study expected to find correlations between the stages of homosexual identity and the dependent variables, SWL and GESS-R. The first stage of homosexual identity is an initial awareness of homosexuality causing confusion, but the concept has not yet become internalized. The sixth stage of homosexuality occurs when the individual has accepted and incorporated homosexuality as a part, rather than defining factor, of

his/her identity. A multiple analysis of variance was computed to identify associations between the identity stages (independent variable) and SWLS and GESS-R (dependent variables).

In addition to the above analyses, descriptive statistics were computed to see how participants self-identify and to look for similarities in mean age with results from previous studies (Brady & Busse, 1994; Halpin & Allen, 2004). A frequency analysis was conducted to show the number of participants that share the same attributes.

4.7 Discussion

A participant's stage of homosexual identity, SWL and GESS-R scores, service status (active or prior service), and life preference was used to gain an understanding of the choices and preferences demonstrated by homosexuals who join the military, and why some choose to make it a career while others do not. System justification theory addresses the depth of a person's psychological investment in the social system, particularly when the investment contradicts his/her own self-interest or in-group solidarity (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). The three types of justifications proposed by Jost and Banaji (1994) tend to create conflict or contradiction among disadvantaged groups: ego, group, and system.

- Ego justification: Individual need to feel valid, justified, and legitimate.
- Group justification: Favorable images of his/her own group, defending and justifying actions of fellow ingroup members.
- System justification: The social and psychological need to instill the status quo with legitimacy; seeing it as good, fair, natural, desirable, and inevitable.

Homosexuals seeking to serve in the military are confronted with prioritizing what is most important to them regarding their life preference and then must justify their decision in efforts to resolve any personal or social identity conflict. The system justification hypothesis

draws from cognitive dissonance theory in proposing that members of disadvantaged groups are more likely than those of advantaged groups to support the status quo when personal and group interests are of less importance. A homosexual choosing to serve in the military is theorized to rationalize this decision by placing less of an importance of a homosexual identity and focus more on employment; an adaptive or career oriented lifestyle and stage 6 (synthesis) of homosexual identity formation.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

5.1 Accessing Target Population

The survey was posted on several yahoo groups that served as networking sites for gay U.S. military personnel. The survey was also advertised on the website of Michael D. Palm Center, an organization which supports research related to the Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy. The survey was posted on the Internet for approximately two months with a total response of 227 participants. After eliminating the surveys with a large amount of missing data, the final number of useful surveys was 208. The online survey proved to be a successful method for reaching sexual minorities who use "virtual communities" for purposes of discussion, support, and networking as described by Rheingold (1993).

Although online non-probability surveys are susceptible to uncontrollable internal validity threats such as missing data, interpretation and comprehension of questions, and mischievous respondents, examination of the participant responses provided little indication of the above threats that existed after removing the 19 surveys with questionable or large amounts of missing data. Also, although the survey did not record personal information of the respondents, it was designed to not allow a participant to respond more than once or to go back to a previous page to change any answers. Although the online survey provided for anonymous participation, previous research suggests that there is no indication that people are any more or less likely to be honest or demonstrate more or less social desirability bias. Attempts to encourage honest responses were taken by explaining the purpose of the survey and

presenting the questions in a manner that did not provide for participants to systematically slant their responses in a specific direction.

5.2 Demographics

Due to the survey being placed on the Internet and available for anyone to respond, participation was completely dependent upon those who use the Internet. Also there was no design in place to ensure a demographically diverse sample to accurately represent the population being studied. The survey was limited to only those who currently or had in the past served on active duty status. National Guard and Reservists do not work or live in the same type of environment as active duty personnel and thus do not have the same types of military experiences. All participants for this survey reported as being either active duty or previously active duty.

Although several of the sample demographics in the survey have similar percentages to that of the active duty military population, the sample size and non-probability method used to gather the data do not provide for generalizations of the findings beyond the sample being studied. As discussed in a previous chapter, the percentage of homosexuals serving on active duty is estimated to be between 1.32 to 3.78 percent. An approximated 1.4 million active duty military personnel would mean there are approximately 50,000 homosexual military personnel on active duty. Therefore this study, albeit not representative of the homosexual military population, does provide useful information regarding the attitudes and opinions of homosexual military personnel.

The demographic information gathered on the survey consisted of gender, race, age, military branch, rank, and profession. The survey did gather data from a diverse group of participants and Table 5.1 shows the demographics of the sample results compared to the overall active duty population (Government Accountability Office, 2005).

Table 5.1 Sample and Military Demographics

Gender	Sample	Military
Female	31 (15%)	16%
Male	177 (85%)	84%
Race		
African American	18 (8.7%)	18%
Asian	1 (.5%)	4 %
Caucasian	164 (78.8%)	65%
Hispanic	16 (7.7%)	9%
Native American	7 (3.4%)	1%
Other	2 (1%)	3%
Branch		
Air Force	42 (20%)	26%
Army	90 (43%)	35%
Marines	20 (10%)	13%
Navy	56 (27%)	26%
Rank		
Enlisted	168 (81%)	84%
Officer	40 (19%)	16%

The survey participants' gender was relatively close to that of active duty with 31 females (15%) and 177 males (85%). The GAO (2005) reports that females make up approximately 16% of active duty personnel with males at 84%. Branch of service was not as closely represented in the sample with 42 Air Force personnel (20% survey sample, 26% military population), 90 Army personnel (43% survey sample, 35% military population), 20 Marines (10% survey sample, 13% military population), and 56 Navy personnel (27% survey sample, 26% military sample). There were 168 (81%) enlisted participants and 40 (19%) officers compared to the active duty military population being 84% enlisted and 16% officers. The majority of respondents identified as being Caucasian, approximately 79%, which is considerably more than the 65% in the military active duty population. The African American

sample size of 9% was significantly smaller than the military population of 18%, and the percentage of Hispanic respondents, 8%, was similar to the military population of 9%.

There was a broad range of professions reported but only a couple participants in many of the job fields, thus the professions were combined into five categories for analysis. The first category is labeled Health Care and includes all occupations related to providing health related services. The second category is labeled High Tech and includes all occupations that require specialized training such as aviation, communications, electronics, and intelligence. The third category is labeled Line and includes engineering, law enforcement, maintenance, transportation, infantry, and fuel handling. The fourth category is labeled Service and includes occupations such as supply, religion, food, and administrative. The fifth category is labeled Weapons and includes armor, artillery, surface warfare, and nuclear. Participant choice of profession was compared to their homosexual identity level as well as their life preference choice, Tables 5.2 and 5.3. The majority of participants were in the Health Care and High Tech categories with the fewest in the Weapons related professions. The majority of respondents were in the identity levels acceptance and synthesis. Approximately 50% of respondents chose an adaptive life preference while the other half were split among career and community-centered.

Table 5.2 Military Professions and Homosexual Identity

	Confusion	Comparison	Tolerance	Acceptance	Pride	Synthesis	Total
Health	2	0	0	4	2	16	24
High Tech	4	4	0	23	6	26	63
Line	2	4	2	12	7	15	42
Service	0	6	2	18	2	37	65
Weapons	0	2	0	5	0	7	14
	8	16	4	62	17	101	208

Table 5.3 Military Professions and Life Preference

	Adaptive	Career	Community	Total
Health Care	6	8	10	24
High Tec	35	10	18	63
Line	15	14	13	42
Service	36	18	11	65
Weapons	7	5	2	14
	99	55	54	208

5.3 Research Premise

The purpose of this study was to explore how the level of a person's homosexual identity influences the choices he/she makes in regards to military service. Participants answered a series of questions which, when scored, identified them as being in one of the six developmental stages/levels of homosexual identity as described by Cass (1979):

1. Identity confusion: Occurs when an individual realizes that homosexuality is directly relevant to his/her behavior. There is an awareness of inconsistencies between their self-perception compared to heterosexual self-perception and that others perceive them to be heterosexual, causing internal conflict.
2. Identity comparison: Increased social isolation as the individuals become aware that others perceive them as heterosexual while they perceive themselves as homosexual.
3. Identity tolerance: Increased commitment to a homosexual self-perception and efforts made to learn more about the homosexual community.
4. Identity acceptance: Increased contact with other homosexuals and beginning to have a more positive view of homosexuality. Remaining hidden in

heterosexual society becomes more difficult due to increased positive self-perception.

5. Identity pride: Individuals address the incongruity between their positive self-perception and society's negative perception of homosexuality. Heterosexual society is often rejected and devalued in this stage.
6. Identity synthesis: Positive interaction is experienced with some heterosexuals, allowing individuals to realize that not all heterosexuals view them negatively. Homosexuality in this stage becomes only one characteristic of the individual rather than his/her entire identity.

Table 5.4 Participant Identity Levels

1. Confusion	8
2. Comparison	16
3. Tolerance	4
4. Acceptance	62
5. Pride	17
6. Synthesis	101
Total	208

Participants were also asked to choose one of three life preferences of which he/she most identifies; adaptive, work-centered, or community centered. The adaptive group was described as those whose sexual identity does not play a major role in their life and thus they are willing to make certain sacrifices regarding their orientation allowing them to maintain their military employment and live a closeted personal life. Work-centered individuals were described to be more focused on their military career and less connected with the homosexual community. Those who choose community-centered are most connected with their homosexual identity and will likely separate from the military before their initial duty obligation is fulfilled or leave after

their first term has been completed.

Table 5.5 Participant Life Preference

Adaptive	99
Career centered	55
Community centered	54
Total	208

5.4 Demographic Analyses

The first series of analyses conducted were to explore whether an individual's demographic information had an influence on his/her homosexual identity and/or choice of life preference. Unfortunately, the difference in race among the sample was not large enough for any type of analysis. The sample size, albeit small, does consist of a percentage of males and females similar to that of the active duty military population. A cross tabs analysis was conducted to examine the relationship between gender and homosexual identity as well as life preference choice. Results of the analysis indicated that several of the category numbers were too small to allow for a statistical analysis, however, the data output did provide enough information to make several observable differences. Males and females were evenly divided among the choice of an adaptive lifestyle, however, males were approximately 15% more likely to be career-centered whereas females were 15% more likely to be community focused. Also, the majority of males (81.3%) identified in stages acceptance and synthesis while the majority of females (74.2%) identified in stages pride and synthesis.

Table 5.6 Life Preference and Gender

Life Preference		Female	Male	Total
Adaptive	Count	15	84	99
	% within Preference	15.2%	84.8%	100.0%
	% within Gender	48.4%	47.5%	47.6%
	% of Total	7.2%	40.4%	47.6%
Career centered	Count	4	51	55
	% within Preference	7.3%	92.7%	100.0%
	% within Gender	12.9%	28.8%	26.4%
	% of Total	1.9%	24.5%	26.4%
Community centered	Count	12	42	54
	% within Preference	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
	% within Gender	38.7%	23.7%	26.0%
	% of Total	5.8%	20.2%	26.0%
Total	Count	31	177	208
	% within Preference	14.9%	85.1%	100.0%
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	14.9%	85.1%	100.0%

Table 5.7 Homosexual Identity and Gender

Identity level		Female	Male	Total
1. Confusion	Count		8	8
	% within Identity		100.0%	100.0%
	% within Gender		4.5%	3.8%
	% of Total		3.8%	3.8%
2. Comparison	Count	4	12	16
	% within Identity	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	% within Gender	12.9%	6.8%	7.7%
	% of Total	1.9%	5.8%	7.7%
3. Tolerance	Count	1	3	4
	% within Identity	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	% within Gender	3.2%	1.7%	1.9%
	% of Total	.5%	1.4%	1.9%
4. Acceptance	Count	3	59	62
	% within Identity	4.8%	95.2%	100.0%
	% within Gender	9.7%	33.3%	29.8%
	% of Total	1.4%	28.4%	29.8%
5. Pride	Count	7	10	17
	% within Identity	41.2%	58.8%	100.0%
	% within Gender	22.6%	5.6%	8.2%
	% of Total	3.4%	4.8%	8.2%
6. Synthesis	Count	16	85	101
	% within Identity	15.8%	84.2%	100.0%
	% within Gender	51.6%	48.0%	48.6%
	% of Total	7.7%	40.9%	48.6%
Total	Count	31	177	208
	% within Identity	14.9%	85.1%	100.0%
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	14.9%	85.1%	100.0%

5.6 Survey Questions and Statement Responses

In addition to the scale used to measure the participant's homosexual identity the survey consisted of a series of 16 questions and statements related to participant experiences while serving on active duty. Responses to the questions and statements were in the format of yes/no or a Likert scale consisting of different degrees of agreement or disagreement. This section of the survey also provided an opportunity for participants to provide comments if they so desired. The following paragraphs provide the responses to the questions and statements and the following chapter incorporates these results in the discussion of the proposed hypotheses and the theories that influenced the purpose of the study.

1. I modified my homosexual behavior or attitude while in the military.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	2	8	4	52	8	74	148	75	39	34
Disagree	4	6	0	10	9	23	52	22	12	18

One hundred and forty-eight (71%) of the respondents agreed that they had modified their attitude or behavior while in the military. The majority of these individuals, 126, were in the acceptance or synthesis stage of homosexuality. Seventy-five of those who agreed they had modified their attitude or behavior chose an adaptive life preference, thirty-nine chose career, and thirty-four community.

Comments from those who modified their behavior or attitude:

- I am more careful with what I say while around other military personnel.
- I am not too closely associated with the gay community.
- I had a partner for 10 years of my military service and had to ostracize myself from co-workers to avoid discovery.
- In order to hide from the military I had gotten married

- People in the military don't mind as long as it doesn't affect their work. To work in a comfortable environment, you have to have the persona of a straight person.
- I felt I had to hide my homosexuality in the Navy or lose my career.
- I had to make myself hetero or I would have been thrown out with a dishonorable discharge. My closest friend was thrown out because the Navy found a homo background on his top-secret investigation. On my investigation they found nothing. I was lucky.
- Would have been insane not to.

Comments from those who did not modify their behavior or attitude:

- There was nothing to modify, I've always been really private about it and haven't really done anything much anyway.
- Being gay was more important than being in the military.
- I really don't think gays behave that much differently than heteros.
- I was not overt, but also not covert.
- My behavior is not obviously gay so I have not had to make changes.
- I did not change my homosexual behavior. I would go to the gay clubs on the weekends and do anything else that I would do as a civilian.

2. Do you, or have you ever, dated, while in the military?

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Yes	2	6	3	40	17	85	153	68	37	48
No	6	10	1	22	0	14	53	31	18	4

The majority of respondents, 153 (73.6%), reported that they had dated while in the military with 125 of these respondents being in homosexual identity stages acceptance and synthesis. The majority of those who dated chose the adaptive life preference followed by community.

Comments from those who reported they dated while on active duty:

- I consider myself to have had an active dating life in the military and at the mid-point of my military service met my life partner.
- I met my life partner in the Air Force.
- I had two boyfriends that were also in the army and one who was a civilian.
- Very secretly and far away from the base and only occasionally.
- Yes, I had sex with other guys. Yes, I went to movies or other events with guys, but not the same guys.
- I had a life partner for 10 years of my military service, but eventually ended because of the moving, the secrecy, and a lack of the support structure afforded to heterosexual spouses in the military.
- Rarely, but I do occasionally.

Comments from those who reported not dating:

- Didn't want to get noticed or kicked out.
- I was paranoid from hearing stories of sailors being caught and thrown overboard.

3. I think it is hypocritical for a homosexual to be in the military.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agre	0	0	0	2	4	0	6	0	0	6
Disag	8	16	4	55	13	93	189	94	54	41

Only six participants agreed with the statement that it was hypocritical for homosexuals to be in the military and they were all community-centered. Among the 189 who disagreed, 94 were adaptive, 54 were career-centered, and 41 were community-centered. There were eleven respondents who neither agreed nor disagreed. There were no comments from those who agreed.

Comments from those who disagreed it was hypocritical:

- The military is for Americans to show their patriotism and allows Americans to fight for their freedom.
- I believe that the Defense Department and Military Services are hypocritical by allowing unaffirmed homosexuals to serve and give their lives as long as they do not admit to anyone that they are homosexual or even bi-sexual.
- I think gays have many strengths. I think they make great service members, often putting mission before their self-interests. I think it is wrong to keep them out.
- It's the policy that is hypocritical.
- Everyone has the right to serve his/her country...as long as they are able to handle the job they are trained for.
- It is ironic that the services espouse integrity as a core value but ask homosexuals to hide and lie about themselves .
- Homosexuals can do the same things in the military that heterosexuals can do. Possibly better.
- No, what is hypocritical is being asked to either lie or put one's life on hold in order to serve my country while watching heterosexuals around me behaving in ways equally against the UCMJ [Uniform Code of Military Justice], but somehow permitted...extra-marital affairs, sodomy, the double-standard.

Comments from those who neither agreed nor disagreed:

- There have always been homosexuals in the military.
- Nothing is going to change in the military until they overturn the sodomy section of the UCMJ.

4. I changed my personal perception about my sexual identity in order to justify my decision to join the military.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	0	2	1	10	2	32	47	19	18	10
Disagree	8	14	3	36	15	61	137	66	31	40

The majority of the 47 who agreed that they changed their perception were in the acceptance and synthesis identity stages and chose the adaptive and career life preferences. There were 22 participants who neither agreed nor disagreed and the vast majority disagreed.

Comments from those who agreed they changed their perception:

- I have placed less of an emphasis on being gay.
- At the time I joined, I was having issues admitting to myself the homosexual feelings I had and the encounters I had experienced in the past.
- I often evaluate my values to ensure I am not making compromises.
- The DADT policy is a constant reminder of my inequality.
- Fought my feelings I was having the whole time.

Comments from those who disagreed:

- No, but I consciously decided to focus on military life and not gay life.
- I'm gay and I know it. It's part of me and just cause I want a job in the military isn't going to change that.
- You can't change your "perception," you either are or you aren't...you might pretend to change...but that's all it is.
- I was pretty much convinced I was hetero before joining.
- I knew who I was at an early age and still was patriotic about joining the service for my country.
- I thought I was straight when I joined the Navy. It was while I was in the Navy that I started having sex with men.

- I thought I was straight, it was the military that changed my mind.

5. I feel more connected to my homosexual identity than to a military identity.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	0	2	0	25	14	38	79	26	11	42
Disagree	8	10	2	21	0	36	77	39	32	6

There were 50 participants who chose neither agree nor disagree. Those who did choose one or the other were almost evenly split with 79 agreeing and 77 disagreeing. The majority of those who agreed were mostly in the acceptance and synthesis identity stages and chose adaptive or community as their life preference.

Comments from those who felt more connected to their homosexual identity:

- My homosexuality is something that is with me no matter if I am in or out of uniform. Whereas my career seems to end when I am off duty.
- Although I accept and know this is the way it is...I long for the structured environment I had in the military. Society is weak and has no perception of right and wrong.
- Currently I feel this way. After my discharge I really missed the structure and security of military life. I think the army made me a tougher fag.
- The military was only a temporary era in my life. Gay is forever.

Comments from those who disagreed with feeling closer to a homosexual identity:

- I was able to balance my identities, and although I have left active duty (I am a reservist) my military identity is still a part of me.
- After I retire I plan to become more connected with the gay community.
- I balance the two.
- I feel less connected with the gay community due to being in the military.

Comments from those who neither agreed nor disagreed:

- I was a gay infantryman. I feel equally connected to both being homosexual and a soldier.
- I was a career Marine, had attended a military college – for all intents as a young adult and then adult – LIVED a military life. Yet I knew that I was homosexual. Both are identities of mine.
- I am proud of my Army service, I proudly tell people I am a veteran, but I am equally proud about being a lesbian.

6. I have postponed my personal life in order to make the military a career.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	0	0	2	35	2	32	71	30	28	13
Disagree	8	12	2	19	13	58	11	58	19	35

There were 20 participants who neither agreed nor disagreed. The majority of participants, 112, indicated that they did not postpone their personal life. Among the participants who agreed or disagreed, they were mostly in the acceptance or synthesis identity stage.

Comments from those who agreed to postponing their personal life:

- I told myself I'd do what it takes.
- My personal life's goal was to make the military a career. But I was chaptered for being gay and now I can't.
- Once I left the military I got divorced (from a woman) and came out.
- But I have not decided yet to make the military a career.
- I did before but not anymore...it was a mistake.
- I have made some sacrifices to pursue my career.

Comments from those who disagreed:

- I left the military.

- I left the military in part to follow my partner, whose career was not compatible with the transient military lifestyle, and in part to pursue other personal career goals.
- I always wanted to get kicked out for doing something against the law...not something against policy...I never broke the law and I challenged the policy by living my own life.

7. I would leave the military in order to pursue a homosexual relationship.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	4	4	2	25	17	40	92	42	14	36
Disagr	2	6	2	19	0	38	67	32	25	10

There were 49 (23%) participants who neither agreed nor disagreed that they would leave the military to pursue a same gender relationship. Of the 92 (44%) who agreed, 78 of them chose either an adaptive or community-centered life preference.

Comments from those who agreed:

- Only if we were in love.
- I retired from the Navy to do just that. I have never been happier.
- I did.
- I did.
- I would leave the military if I met someone special.
- If I had to make a choice, a relationship is more important.
- The exact reason that I separated.

Comments from those who disagreed:

- I have too much invested to give it up.
- I was able to live a fulfilling homosexual relationship for five years while in the military.

- Relationships are like sunsets, they come and go. I was in the service long before I met partners...they would go first before I would quit.
- I rose my hand to do this...Only cowards would use homosexuality to get out!
- I'll leave the military when I'm ready.

Comments from those who neither agreed nor disagreed:

- It would depend on the commitment of the relationship, in turn it would make me evaluate leaving the military or not. I would leave to start a relationship if I saw the potential for something long term and serious.
- I haven't reached that road yet.
- Depends on the availability of future VA benefits.

8. I find myself defending my choice (to myself and/or others) in regards to joining the military.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	0	4	2	23	0	48	77	35	24	18
Disagree	6	10	2	30	39	40	101	48	22	31

There were 26 respondents who neither agreed nor disagreed. Of the 77 who agreed to defending their choice to join the military, 71 of them were in identity stages acceptance and synthesis. The majority who disagreed were also in the acceptance and synthesis stages.

Comments from those who agreed to defending their choice to join the military:

- Some in the gay community find it hard to believe that I'd join because of their policy.
- Other gays don't understand.
- This is less of being gay than defending being part of a war machine. I would classify myself as a pacifist now and that is based a lot on what I saw while in the military. I still support service members, gay or straight.

- Sometimes I justify my career by acknowledging the fact that I would leave if the military interfered with my personal life.
- I realize I have made some sacrifices in order to keep my career secure.

Comments from those who disagreed:

- I'm proud of my service in the US Navy.
- Joining the military was the thing males in my family did.
- Nothing to defend. Why would there be?
- Many militant gays criticize this, but it's none of their business. I have noticed that most of them are very self-centered in making arguments of this type.

9. Have you ever experienced harassment in the military for being homosexual?

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Yes	2	2	0	14	0	46	64	33	16	15
No	6	14	4	48	17	55	144	66	39	39

Comments from those who reported harassment:

- I was sexually harassed by my drill sergeants while in basic training. They must have had some idea I was homosexual, even though I had not confirmed it to them.
- Too long to discuss.
- More so after don't ask don't tell which really made being gay an issue.
- I experienced a limited amount of minor harassment, primarily from those junior to me, which I addressed on the spot.

Comments from those who reported no harassment:

- I hid the fact that I am homosexual or at least I did not admit that I am one.
- No one knew at the time I was active duty.
- I was too straight looking.

- I remained closeted throughout. Had I been discovered or come out I am certain that I would have been discharged immediately.
- I did not hide being gay and most did not care.
- Probably because I did not let it be known or display homosexual tendencies. I did see others who were suspected of being homosexual get harassed and even threatened.
- Nobody knows.
- I'm not out.
- Never. I have heard anti-gay jokes, but never personal harassment.
- I've been lucky.
- They don't ask and I don't tell them.
- Normal teasing involving homosexual epithets, but nothing directed personally at me for being gay or suspected of being gay.
- Ummmm Don't ask Don't tell...

10. Do, or did, your military coworkers or supervisor know you are homosexual?

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Yes	0	0	1	23	10	58	92	43	20	29
No	8	16	3	39	7	41	114	56	35	23

Comments from those whose homosexuality was known to others:

- Some knew, others didn't. I came out on a "need to know" basis, and of course, most coworkers and supervisors didn't need to know.
- Some of them suspected and some of them knew.
- I knew a few gay guys in my battalion.
- Out of 3 of my 4 units, I was an open homosexual with no issues.
- One of my co-workers.

- Most did not care that I am gay, as long as I did my job it didn't matter.
- Not many, but some figured it out.
- Some.
- Just my close friends.
- Everyone except the hospital commander knew.
- A few other enlisted men who were gay, straight or bi. I sought counsel from a chaplain and a military doctor who helped me somewhat.
- Not completely sure but I think that there were some suspicions.
- AND THEY DID NOT CARE.
- Some did and they were cool with it.
- Some gay coworkers outed themselves to me and to those people I outed myself.
- A few close associates whom I knew would not have a problem with it.
- A few knew, not most.
- Two friends (co-workers) knew and one was discharged dishonorably for being gay. He didn't out me.
- I served my entire 8 years openly gay to my co-workers, commanders and most importantly my doctors.
- A good number of my co-workers knew, and I strongly suspect some of my superiors knew, though it was never an apparent factor in our professional relationship.

Comments from those whose homosexuality was not known:

- Not generally but there is a fair substantial gay underground in the military. This unofficial and obviously unsanctioned entity is critical as homosexual military members cannot access military mental health or family support programs.

- I knew a lot of gay men in the Navy and Marine Corps but I never came out to anybody where I worked.
- Too risky as an officer.
- Something must have come across, however, because I had many “offers.”
- “Know”...they did not KNOW I was gay because we didn’t talk about it. But if I met a coworker or supervisor at a neutral place, gay bar/event, then YES, we knew about each other. That didn’t happen much.
- They suspected though.
- I’m not really sure, but I suspect they do know.

11. I think the military strictly enforces the Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell policy.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	0	4	0	22	8	32	66	33	8	25
Disagree	6	12	4	28	9	59	118	56	37	25

There were 22 people who neither agreed nor disagreed, but the majority (56%) of respondents did not think the military strictly enforces the policy.

Comments from those who agreed:

- Varies from command to command.
- Depends on the unit, your position in it, and who the senior staff NCO’s or officers are, and how they view THEIR DUTY to uphold the LAW...don’t forget DADT IS A LAW and you are bound by your oath of service to uphold the law.
- I think they bend the rules for soldiers and sailors they want to keep. And I am good with that until DADT is repealed and we can serve openly.
- I think the military still conduct “witch hunts” in the guise of Don’t Ask Don’t Tell. There were many women drill instructors dishonorably discharged in the Marine Corps in 1989.

Comments from those who do not think the policy is strictly enforced:

- The military enforces this policy almost haphazardly. It is painfully obvious that discharges decrease during time of conflict and that certain gays are tolerated because their specific function is deemed mission-critical.
- I think it depends on the branch of service, your commander and their personal beliefs, and your co-workers professionalism. However, at the same time, it definitely makes a difference of the gay person's attitude.
- Not so much in the time of war, I understand.
- I think the military is capricious in its enforcement.
- Enforced at commander's discretion. Makes no sense to get rid of a good soldier just for being gay.
- Unless the person is blatantly "out" commanders do not enforce the policy.
- Depends on the chain of command – makes policy both hypocritical and capricious.
- Depends on the unit commander.
- I chose to get out, I could have stayed in if I wanted.
- I think it depends on the unit and commander.
- They still allow harassment of those they think might be gay.
- I had a friend who was trying to get out, yet because he was the best supply NCO his unit has ever had they did not file the paperwork. Finally after a year the soldier went to the IG [Inspecting General] and then had them chapter him out.
- Lesbians are much more accepted and tolerated than their male homosexual counterparts.
- If the powers that be like you, you will not have any problems.

Comments from those who did not agree nor disagree:

- Enforcement of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy has definitely slacked off in the past couple years. I attribute this to the prolonged wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The longer these conflicts continue, the less DADT will be enforced.
- At first there were witch hunts. Later on, they just didn't want us talking about it. If we chose to talk to the commander, we took the heat and were processed out.
- I left the service because of this policy.
- The questions wording is awkward, as "the military" does not enforce the policy; enforcement is handled by the individual services. There is a disparity in the services handling of the policy, and the real enforcement takes place at the commander's discretion.

12. The military's homosexual policy influences how I conduct myself while in the military.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	4	8	4	48	8	84	156	74	43	39
Disagree	4	8	0	8	7	14	41	16	12	13

The majority of respondents, 156 (75%), agreed that the military homosexual policy influenced how they conduct themselves while in the military. Most of these individuals, 132, were in the acceptance or synthesis stage of homosexual development and the majority also were those who chose an adaptive life preference.

Comments from those who agreed:

- I am more careful with what I say and do.
- Not about to TELL or take personal action that would lead others to believe I was homosexual. You bet it does.

- I think the obscene reference to gays and to women had a strong affect but not a positive one. Had I been open with my unit, I think we would have been a better “fighting” force.
- It’s not a good life, having to hide so much that you don’t get into trouble, I don’t think it is worth it.
- At the time I was active duty, yes.
- I am not able to discuss my life like heterosexuals do.
- Though it is hard trying to fit in with the straight crowd.
- I believe that I conducted myself professionally while in the military, and did not advertise my identity. I was always conscious of the potential consequences of my actions and statements. At the same time I also made a conscious decision to never lie.

Comments from those who disagree that the policy influences their conduct:

- It influences how I conduct myself to an extent and certainly while actually wearing the uniform but the policy does not prevent me from living my life. I am proud of my service and of those with whom I serve.

13. Do you think most homosexuals who are discharged for being homosexual are done so by voluntarily outing themselves, or are done so involuntarily?

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Voluntary	6	14	2	34	11	31	98	48	22	28
Involuntary	2	0	2	28	6	60	98	48	33	17

Participants were evenly split whether they thought homosexuals were discharged voluntarily or involuntarily. The majority of respondents of both opinions were in the acceptance and synthesis stage of homosexual development.

Comments from those who thought voluntarily:

- It is possible to be gay and remain in the military.

- I think if you allow yourself to be perceived as a “dyke” or a “faggot,” you make yourself a target. Knowing that the military has a policy of “don’t tell,” it sure is telling when you look the part.
- Unless they really want out, they can keep their homosexuality a private matter.
- I think the policy has shown to be a complete failure during this current war as both gay AND STRAIGHT service members have used this policy to terminate their military service.

Comments from those who thought involuntarily:

- I’ve seen it both ways. Voluntarily, I have no respect for those people. They knew when they came in so it shouldn’t be an excuse. But I’ve seen the involuntary and it is sad to me the experience and training and years of service down the drain.
- Committed people do not quit they are forced due to prejudice.
- Tough to say. I know about both. Some could not take the bullying by the “tough-guys” but to defend ones self would bring on an investigation...you didn’t want that. GOSSIP was tough to fight.
- Wartime creates differing conditions – Iraq with its extended involuntary service is one thing, peacetime service is another.
- When I was in, it seemed the major role of Military Intelligence was just to catch gays. Elaborate traps were laid out for them. Sometimes young soldiers and sailors were told they could get out of a morals charge if they “ratted” on others in their company.
- Members, as in my case are often forced out, there is nothing voluntary about it.

- Most are involuntary such as myself. Yet there are some who do it as a way to get out of the military even though they are straight. Then there are those who are tired of lying that voluntarily tell.

14. I have experienced feelings of isolation while on active duty as a result of the military's homosexual policy.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	0	8	2	42	8	76	136	64	41	31
Disagree	8	6	2	12	9	19	56	21	14	21

Sixty-five percent (136) of respondents reported that while on active duty they had experienced feelings of isolation related to their homosexuality. The majority of those acknowledging isolation, 118, were in the acceptance and synthesis stage of homosexual development. A comment section was not provided for this question.

15. I have experienced depression while on active duty as a result of the military's homosexual policy.

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Agree	2	4	0	32	6	52	96	47	22	27
Disagree	6	8	2	23	11	39	89	40	24	25

Forty-six percent (96) of respondents acknowledged that they had experienced depression while on active duty with the majority, 84, being in the acceptance and synthesis stage of identity. Among the life preference choices, the majority reporting depression chose an adaptive life preference, perhaps attempting to balance their homosexuality and a career in the military. A comment section was not provided for this section.

16. If you sought mental health services while active duty and shared your thoughts of or identity of being homosexual, did the mental health worker handle the topic confidentially and professional?

Reply	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Total	Adaptive	Career	Community
Yes	0	0	0	8	0	12	20	4	8	8
No	0	6	2	0	1	13	22	11	8	3

Of the 42 who sought mental health services, twenty-five of them were in the synthesis stage of homosexual identity and were almost evenly divided among life preference groups.

Comments from those who had positive experiences from mental health services:

- After 9-11 deployment I did seek counseling. My counselor “outed” me, however, she kept it absolutely confidential and never actually wrote it down simply so it wouldn’t be something that could be used against me. She was awesome.
- Chaplain.
- Had to go to get chapter processed.
- Senior officers advised me to keep quiet about my sexual feelings. I don’t think they were able to really provide support because of the anti-gay policies and attitudes. They could have seen me as someone sent in to entrap them if they spoke positively.

Comments from those who had negative experiences from mental health services:

- The psychiatrist told me that I wasn’t homosexual.

Comments from those who never sought mental health services:

- Because I was afraid the Navy might be able to access the information somehow, I did not seek help for my depression or share my homosexuality with other than civilian homosexuals.

- I would NEVER have done this on active duty. Zero trust in confidentiality of anyone. DID seek treatment/services from the VA after leaving active duty – no problems encountered there.
- But I know others who did...discharged.
- I would NEVER trust a military mental health worker, even a professional one, with confidentiality.
- A corpsman never goes to sick bay.
- I never have and never would seek military mental health services. Ironically, while being gay was once believed to be dangerous for blackmail purposes, only the military's policy perpetuates that today.

The majority of participants, as shown in Table 5.4., identified as being in homosexual identity stages 4 (acceptance) and 6 (synthesis). This lack of disparateness is demonstrated through the responses to the questions and statements in the survey. The majority of all responses are from those in stages 4 and 6. This was also experienced in a previous research study (Halpin & Allen, 2004). It is not clear if the majority of homosexuals identify with the acceptance and synthesis stages of identity or if this survey simply did not reach a diverse group of participants. Although several of the questions and statements received few and at times no responses from several of the identity levels, comments from the participants provided an important qualitative perspective to the study.

5.7 Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 of this research study examined the relationship between the participant's stage of homosexual identity and military status. Those in the early stages of homosexuality, as described by Cass (1979), are just beginning to have thoughts and feelings of homosexuality and thus a homosexual identity is not expected to have an influence on the decisions a person makes. Those in the mid-stages of homosexuality are much more focused on their developing homosexual identity and are less likely to choose a career that discourages them from

embracing this new identity. The final stage of homosexual development is the incorporation of homosexuality as only one part of a person's identity and thus is not as likely to prevent a person from joining and considering the military for a career.

- Participants in homosexual stages 1 (confusion), 2 (comparison), and 6 (synthesis) will be in the military and those in stages 3 (tolerance), 4 (acceptance), and 5 (pride) will no-longer be in the military.

Results from running a logistical regression indicated that there was not a statistically significant relationship between participant identity level and military status. The data output (Table 5.8) does indicate that 60.9% of active duty participants were in stages 1, 2, and 6 and only 39.1% were in stages 3,4, and 5. However, a larger than expected percentage of prior service participants (38%) were in identity level 6. There were no active duty or retired in level 5 (pride).

Table 5.8. Homosexual Identity and Military Status

Identity level		Active	Prior	Retired	Total
1. Confusion	Count	6	2		8
	% within	75.0%	25.0%		100.0%
	% within status	8.7%	1.7%		3.8%
	% of Total	2.9%	1.0%		3.8%
2. Comparison	Count	12	4		16
	% within	75.0%	25.0%		100.0%
	% within status	17.4%	3.4%		7.7%
	% of Total	5.8%	1.9%		7.7%
3. Tolerance	Count	2	2		4
	% within	50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
	% within status	2.9%	1.7%		1.9%
	% of Total	1.0%	1.0%		1.9%
4. Acceptance	Count	25	26	11	62
	% within	40.3%	41.9%	17.7%	100.0%
	% within status	36.2%	22.0%	52.4%	29.8%
	% of Total	12.0%	12.5%	5.3%	29.8%
5. Pride	Count		17		17
	% within		100.0%		100.0%
	% within status		14.4%		8.2%
	% of Total		8.2%		8.2%
6. Synthesis	Count	24	67	10	101
	% within	23.8%	66.3%	9.9%	100.0%
	% within status	34.8%	56.8%	47.6%	48.6%
	% of Total	11.5%	32.2%	4.8%	48.6%
Total	Count	69	118	21	208
	% within	33.2%	56.7%	10.1%	100.0%
	% within status	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	33.2%	56.7%	10.1%	100.0%

5.8 Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis of this study considered the stages of homosexual development as proposed by Cass (1979) and how they influence one's choice of life preference: adaptive, career-centered, or community-centered. Individuals in stages 4 and 5 (acceptance & pride) are the most closely connected to a homosexual identity and thus are most likely to choose a community-centered life preference.

- Individuals in homosexual identity stages 1 (confusion), 2 (comparison), 3 (tolerance), and 6 (synthesis) will choose an adaptive or career-centered life preference, and those in identity stages 4 (acceptance) and 5 (pride) will choose a community-centered life preference.

Results from performing a logistical regression indicated that there was not a statistically significant relationship between stage (level) of homosexual identity and life preference. Although the results are not significant, the data output in Table 5.9 does indicate that the stage of identity may at least have an influence on life preference. One hundred percent of those in identity levels 1, 2, and 3 chose adaptive or career-centered life preference. Of those in identity level 6, sixty-nine percent chose an adaptive or career-centered life preference and approximately 31% were community focused. Ninety percent of participants in identity level 4 chose an adaptive or career-centered life preference and only 10% chose community. All those in identity level 5 chose a community-centered life preference.

Table 5.9. Homosexual Identity and Life Preference

Identity level		Adaptive	Career	Community	Total
1. Confusion	Count	4	4		8
	% within Identity	50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
	% within preference	4.0%	7.3%		3.8%
	% of Total	1.9%	1.9%		3.8%
2. Comparison	Count	8	8		16
	% within Identity	50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
	% within preference	8.1%	14.5%		7.7%
	% of Total	3.8%	3.8%		7.7%
3. Tolerance	Count	2	2		4
	% within Identity	50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
	% within preference	2.0%	3.6%		1.9%
	% of Total	1.0%	1.0%		1.9%
4. Acceptance	Count	35	21	6	62
	% within Identity	56.5%	33.9%	9.7%	100.0%
	% within preference	35.4%	38.2%	11.1%	29.8%
	% of Total	16.8%	10.1%	2.9%	29.8%
5. Pride	Count			17	17
	% within Identity			100.0%	100.0%
	% within preference			31.5%	8.2%
	% of Total			8.2%	8.2%
6. Synthesis	Count	50	20	31	101
	% within Identity	49.5%	19.8%	30.7%	100.0%
	% within preference	50.5%	36.4%	57.4%	48.6%
	% of Total	24.0%	9.6%	14.9%	48.6%
Total	Count	99	55	54	208
	% within Identity	47.6%	26.4%	26.0%	100.0%
	% within preference	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	47.6%	26.4%	26.0%	100.0%

5.9 Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis in this study utilized measurement scales SWL (satisfaction with life) and GESS-R (generalized estimation of success scale – revised) to demonstrate how the scores are influenced by the individual's stage of homosexual identity and choice of life preference.

- Participants in the 1st (confusion) and 6th (synthesis) stage of homosexual identity will have higher SWL and GESS-R scores and are more likely to choose an adaptive life preference than those in identity levels 2 (comparison), 3 (tolerance), 4 (acceptance), and 5 (pride).

The satisfaction with life scale (SWLS) has a scoring range of 5-35, 5 indicating low satisfaction and 35 indicating high satisfaction. The generalized expectancy for success scale (GESS-R) had a low score of 25 to a maximum score of 125. Results from a multivariate analysis using a .05 significance level indicate a statistically significant intercept (.011) between identity and life preference. Due to the intercept effect, a separate analysis of variance had to be performed for the two measurement scales.

Results from an analysis of variance indicated a statistically significant relationship between SWL scores and identity ($p = .018$) as well as identity and life preference ($p = .000$). The plotted results in Figure 5.1 and mean scores in Table 5.10 indicate that those who chose an adaptive and career life preference had higher SWL scores in the early and later stages of identity and lower scores in the mid identity levels. Figure 5.2 shows the intercept effect of identity, life preference, and the SWL scores.

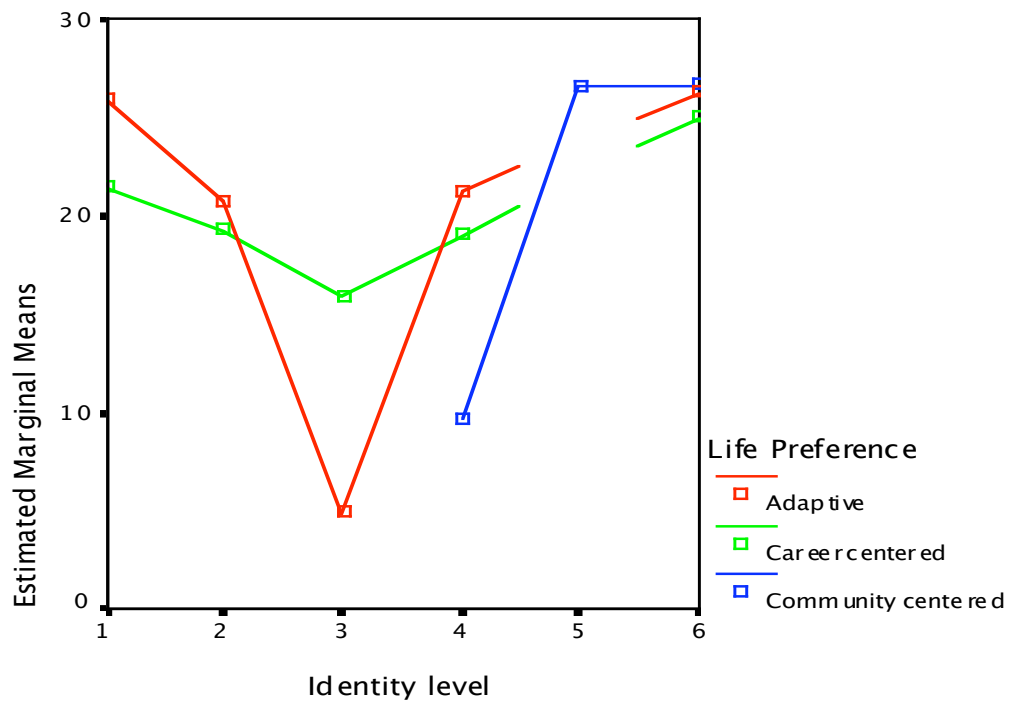


Figure 5.1 Homosexual Identity, Life Preference, and SWL

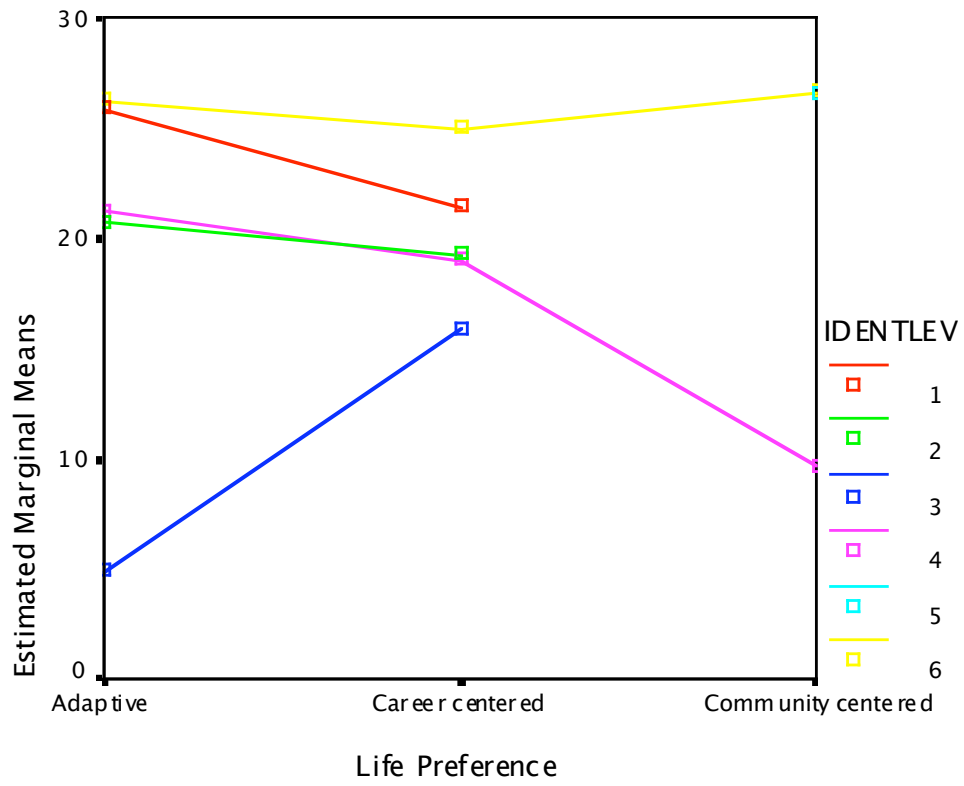


Figure 5.2 Homosexual Identity, Life Preference, and SWL Intercept

Table 5.10 Homosexual Identity, Life Preference, and SWL Scores

Identity level	Life Preference	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1. Confusion	Adaptive	26.00	10.392	4
	Career centered	21.50	2.887	4
	Total	23.75	7.459	8
2. Comparison	Adaptive	20.75	4.166	8
	Career centered	19.25	8.730	8
	Total	20.00	6.653	16
3. Tolerance	Adaptive	5.00	.000	2
	Career centered	16.00	.000	2
	Total	10.50	6.351	4
4. Acceptance	Adaptive	21.29	7.760	35
	Career centered	19.05	8.453	21
	Community centered	9.67	1.366	6
	Total	19.40	8.279	62
5. Pride	Community centered	26.67	6.925	15
	Total	26.67	6.925	15
6. Synthesis	Adaptive	26.36	5.046	50
	Career centered	25.10	7.806	20
	Community centered	26.77	6.687	31
	Total	26.24	6.150	101
Total	Adaptive	23.67	7.205	99
	Career centered	21.35	8.199	55
	Community centered	24.77	8.366	52
	Total	23.33	7.847	206

An analysis of variance with identity and preference as the independent variables and GESS-R scores as the dependent variable indicate a statistically significant relationship with identity ($p = .000$) and preference ($p = .000$). The plotted results in Figure 5.3 and the mean GESS-R scores in Table 5.11 indicate, similarly to the SWL analysis, that those who chose an adaptive and career life preference had higher GESS-R scores in the early and later stages of identity and lower scores in the mid identity levels. Figure 5.4 shows a similar intercept effect of identity and life preference with GESS-R as with the scores from the SWL scale.

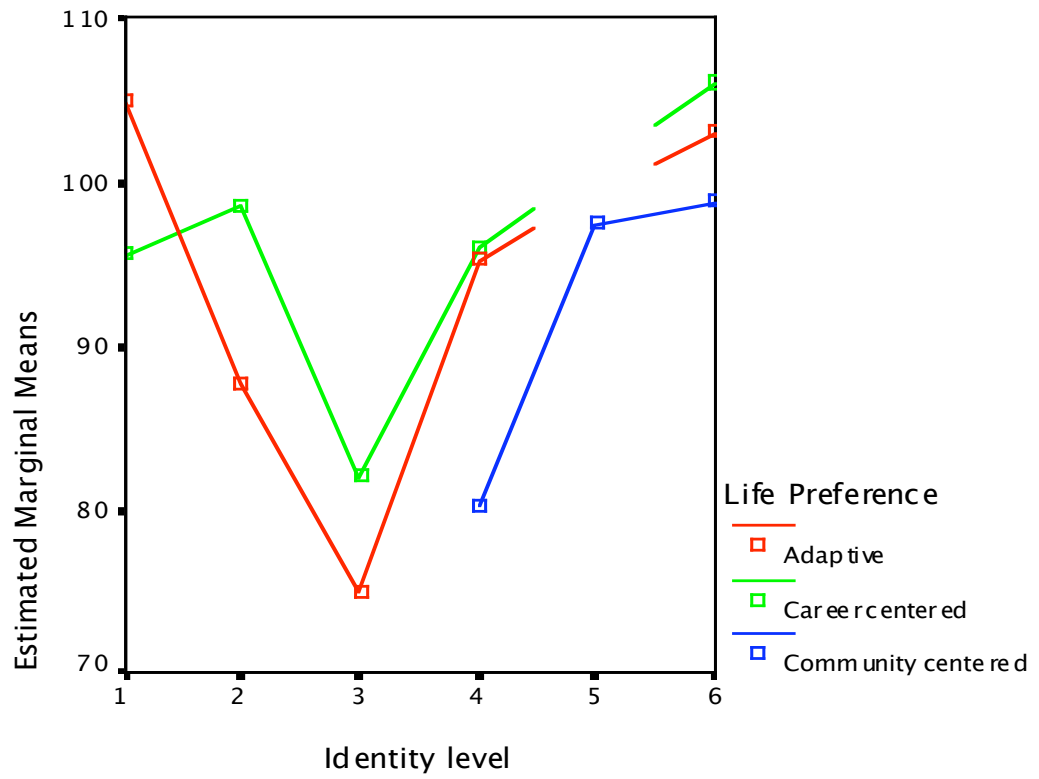


Figure 5.3 Homosexual Identity, Life preference, and GESS-R Scores

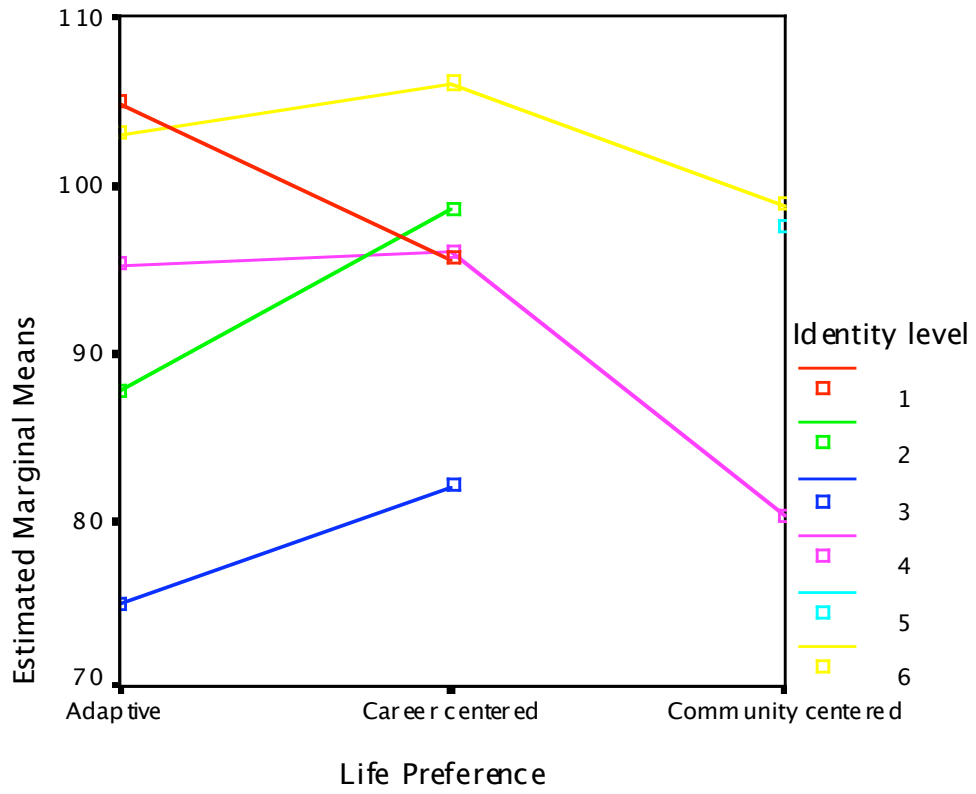


Figure 5.4 Homosexual Identity, Life Preference, and GESS-R Intercept

Table 5.11 Homosexual Identity, Life Preference, and GESS-R Scores

Identity level	Life Preference	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1. Confusion	Adaptive	105.00	23.094	4
	Career centered	95.50	5.196	4
	Total	100.25	16.307	8
2. Comparison	Adaptive	87.75	4.803	8
	Career centered	98.50	4.106	8
	Total	93.13	7.032	16
3. Tolerance	Adaptive	75.00	.000	2
	Career centered	82.00	.000	2
	Total	78.50	4.041	4
4. Acceptance	Adaptive	95.23	6.513	35
	Career centered	95.95	9.620	21
	Community centered	80.33	6.772	6
	Total	94.03	8.848	62
5. Pride	Community centered	97.47	16.208	15
	Total	97.47	16.208	15
6. Synthesis	Adaptive	103.08	9.619	50
	Career centered	106.10	13.191	20
	Community centered	98.84	7.806	31
	Total	102.38	10.177	101
Total	Adaptive	98.58	10.766	99
	Career centered	99.47	11.528	55
	Community centered	96.31	12.115	52
	Total	98.24	11.328	206

A multiple analysis of variance found the relationship between identity level and SWL to be significant ($p = .000$). An analysis of variance was performed to show the specific significance between the identity levels and measurement sub-scales. Tables 5.12 and 5.13 indicate that there is a statistical significance in the SWL and the GESS-R scores among participants in level 1 (confusion) identity level and level 6 (synthesis) and those participants in the mid-identity level 3 (tolerance). These results support Cass's (1979) description of the mid-level homosexual identity stage of tolerance as being a time when poorer psychosocial adjustment is experienced as individuals are struggling with a homosexual identity.

Table 5.12 MANOVA: Homosexual Identity with SWL

Dependent Variable	Identity level	Identity level	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
SWL	1	2	3.75	3.032	.818	-4.98	12.48
		3	13.25	4.289	.027	.91	25.59
		4	4.35	2.631	.565	-3.22	11.92
		5	-2.92	3.066	.932	-11.74	5.91
		6	-2.49	2.572	.928	-9.89	4.91
		2	-3.75	3.032	.818	-12.48	4.98
	2	3	9.50	3.915	.152	-1.77	20.77
		4	.60	1.964	1.000	-5.05	6.25
		5	-6.67	2.517	.091	-13.91	.58
		6	-6.24	1.884	.014	-11.66	-.82
		3	-13.25	4.289	.027	-25.59	-.91
		2	-9.50	3.915	.152	-20.77	1.77
	3	4	-8.90	3.613	.140	-19.30	1.49
		5	-16.17	3.941	.001	-27.51	-4.83
		6	-15.74	3.570	.000	-26.01	-5.46
		4	-4.35	2.631	.565	-11.92	3.22
		2	-.60	1.964	1.000	-6.25	5.05
		3	8.90	3.613	.140	-1.49	19.30
	4	5	-7.26	2.015	.005	-13.06	-1.46
		6	-6.83	1.130	.000	-10.09	-3.58
		5	2.92	3.066	.932	-5.91	11.74
		2	6.67	2.517	.091	-.58	13.91
		3	16.17	3.941	.001	4.83	27.51
		4	7.26	2.015	.005	1.46	13.06
5	6	.43	1.938	1.000	-5.15	6.01	
	6	2.49	2.572	.928	-4.91	9.89	
	2	6.24	1.884	.014	.82	11.66	
	3	15.74	3.570	.000	5.46	26.01	
	4	6.83	1.130	.000	3.58	10.09	
	5	-.43	1.938	1.000	-6.01	5.15	

Table 5.13 MANOVA: Homosexual Identity with GESS-R

Dependent Variable	Identity level	Identity level	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
GESSR	1	2	7.12	4.486	.607	-5.78	20.03
		3	21.75	6.344	.009	3.50	40.00
		4	6.22	3.892	.601	-4.98	17.42
		5	2.78	4.535	.990	-10.27	15.83
		6	-2.13	3.805	.993	-13.08	8.82
		2	-7.12	4.486	.607	-20.03	5.78
	2	3	14.63	5.791	.122	-2.04	31.29
		4	-.91	2.905	1.000	-9.27	7.45
		5	-4.34	3.723	.852	-15.06	6.37
		6	-9.25	2.787	.014	-17.27	-1.23
		3	-21.75	6.344	.009	-40.00	-3.50
		2	-14.63	5.791	.122	-31.29	2.04
	3	4	-15.53	5.344	.046	-30.91	-.15
		5	-18.97	5.830	.017	-35.74	-2.19
		6	-23.88	5.281	.000	-39.07	-8.68
		4	-6.22	3.892	.601	-17.42	4.98
		2	.91	2.905	1.000	-7.45	9.27
		3	15.53	5.344	.046	.15	30.91
	4	5	-3.43	2.981	.859	-12.01	5.14
		6	-8.34	1.671	.000	-13.15	-3.53
		5	-2.78	4.535	.990	-15.83	10.27
		2	4.34	3.723	.852	-6.37	15.06
		3	18.97	5.830	.017	2.19	35.74
		4	3.43	2.981	.859	-5.14	12.01
5	6	-4.91	2.867	.525	-13.16	3.34	
	6	1	2.13	3.805	.993	-8.82	13.08
	2	9.25	2.787	.014	1.23	17.27	
	3	23.88	5.281	.000	8.68	39.07	
	4	8.34	1.671	.000	3.53	13.15	
	5	4.91	2.867	.525	-3.34	13.16	

The hypotheses for this study were based on preference theory and identity justification theory as a means to explain the choices that people who identify as being homosexual make in regards to military service. Analyses from this study indicate that an individual's stage of homosexual identity influences the choices made on the type of life preference, satisfaction with life, and expectations for success in life. The following chapter discusses these findings and interprets how the results may be used in practice and policy. Lessons learned and the need for further research will also be presented.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

6.1 Influences of Choice

Individuals who identify as being homosexual go through six developmental stages of sexual identity: confusion, comparison, tolerance, acceptance, pride, and synthesis (Cass, 1979). Cass proposes that people become more aware of and comfortable with their homosexual identity as they move from confusion to synthesis. According to Cass, a person may move back as well as forward through the stages depending on positive and negative interactions with the heterosexual community. This being the case, as a person's values and interests change, then his/her identity must be renegotiated in order to resolve any internal as well as external conflicts. It is common for people to construct a particular perception of reality that supports their own subjective perception, definition, and/or need (Ross and Nisbett, 1991).

The internal and external identity conflict may cause a person to experience anxiety, as described by cognitive dissonance theory (Aronson, 1999 & Festinger, 1957). To reduce this dissonance, Festinger proposes that the individual must reduce the importance of the attitude or behavior, change the attitude or behavior, or justify the reason for the inconsistency. A gay man or lesbian is likely to experience this cognitive dissonance as he/she attempts to balance sexual identity with a career in the military. Weighing what is most important to them: a military job, their sexual orientation, connection with the homosexual community, a relationship; all will influence their decision on whether to join the military and whether to stay in or get out.

The preference theory presented in this study proposes that homosexuals who join the military can be grouped into one of three life preference groups: adaptive, career-centered, or community-centered. The adaptive group consists of homosexuals whose sexual identity does

not play a major role in their life and thus are willing to make certain sacrifices regarding their orientation allowing them to maintain their military employment and live a closeted personal life. The career-centered homosexual is proposed to be more focused on his/her military career and less connected with the homosexual community. The community-centered group is the most connected with their homosexual identity and will likely separate from the military before their initial duty obligation is fulfilled or leave after their first term has been completed.

This proposed preference theory is used to identify homosexuals as being heterogeneous when setting life priorities and addressing conflicts between their orientation and a discriminating work environment, and heterosexuals as mostly homogeneous experiencing few conflicts with their role as members of the majority and thus free from discrimination. Jost, Burgess, and Mosso (2001) support this line of thinking from a system justification perspective.

The theory of system justification is used to explain the causes, consequences, and depth of a person's psychological investment in the social system, particularly when the investment contradicts his/her own self-interest or in-group solidarity (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Jost and Banaji (1994) propose three different types of justification tendencies which may create conflict or contradiction among disadvantaged groups; ego, group, and system.

- Ego justification: The need to develop and maintain a favorable self-image and to feel valid, justified, and legitimate as an individual.
- Group justification: The need to develop and maintain favorable images of his/her own group, defending and justifying actions of fellow group members.
- System justification: The social and psychological need to instill the status quo with legitimacy; seeing it as good, fair, natural, desirable, and inevitable.

Jost, Burgess, and Mosso (2001) propose that members of disadvantaged groups are often confronted by potential conflicts among ego, group, and system justification needs that are not experienced by those of the advantaged group. Homosexuals seeking to serve in the military are confronted with prioritizing what is most important to them regarding their life preference and then must justify their decision in effort to resolve any personal or social identity conflict. The system justification hypothesis draws from cognitive dissonance theory in proposing that members of disadvantaged groups are more likely than those of advantaged groups to support the status quo when personal and group interests are of less importance. A homosexual choosing to serve in the military under closeted status may rationalize this decision by placing less of an importance on a homosexual identity and focus more on employment, an adaptive or career-centered life preference. People have adaptive capabilities that allow them to accommodate, internalize, and rationalize key aspects of their socially constructed environment, particularly those aspects that are difficult or impossible to change (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004).

The hypotheses in this study proposed to show how the stages of homosexual development support the theories of life preference and identity justification. As homosexuals learn more about themselves and are exposed to the military life, they are forced to either make adaptations and choice justifications, or perhaps realize that they made a mistake and take appropriate action to accommodate a more preferred type of life. The stage of homosexual identity, available information for choice preference, and the individual's comfort in his/her justification of self-perception will be taken into account when deciding what is more important; a military career or a connection with the homosexual community. The survey used in this study was designed to attempt to gather the necessary information to show that the choices the participants made regarding their military service were, in deed, related to their homosexual identity.

6.2 Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 of this research study examined the relationship between the participant's stage of homosexual identity and military status. Those in the early stages of homosexuality, as described by Cass (1979), are just beginning to have thoughts and feelings of homosexuality and thus a homosexual identity is not expected to have an influence on the decisions a person makes. Those in the mid-stages of homosexuality are much more focused on their developing homosexual identity and are less likely to choose a career that discourages them from embracing this new identity. The final stage of homosexual development is the incorporation of homosexuality as only one part of a person's identity and thus is not as likely to prevent a person from joining and considering the military for a career.

- Participants in homosexual stages 1 (confusion), 2 (comparison), and 6 (synthesis) will be in the military and those in stages 3 (tolerance), 4 (acceptance), and 5 (pride) will no-longer be in the military.

Results from the survey indicated that 60.9% of active duty participants were in stages 1, 2, and 6 and 39.1% were in stages 3, 4, and 5. There were no active duty or retired respondents in level 5 (pride). In the early stages of homosexual development, confusion and comparison, individuals are just beginning to experience thoughts of homosexuality, yet others perceive them as being heterosexual. At this stage, cognitive dissonance is addressed through system justification; the social and psychological need to instill the status quo with legitimacy and see it as good, fair, natural, desirable, and inevitable. Those in stage 6 (synthesis) are defined as having experienced positive interactions with heterosexuals and thus have realized that not all heterosexuals view them negatively. Those in this stage accept their homosexuality as only one characteristic and thus address any feelings of cognitive dissonance through ego justification; the need to develop and maintain a favorable self-image and feel valid, justified, and legitimate as an individual.

Those in homosexual identity stage 3 (tolerance) have an increased commitment to a homosexual self-identity and those in stage 4 (acceptance) have increased contact with other homosexuals and remaining hidden in heterosexual society is more difficult due to an increased positive self-perception. Those in stage 5 (pride) address the incongruity between their positive self-perception and society's negative perception by rejecting and devaluing heterosexual society. This cognitive dissonance is addressed through group justification; the need to develop and maintain favorable images of his/her own group, defending and justifying actions of fellow in-group members.

One of the statements in the survey, I modified my homosexual behavior or attitude while in the military, was posed to provide further data related to the hypothesis. Seventy-one percent of the respondents agreed that they had modified their behavior while on active duty and the majority of those who agreed chose an adaptive life preference. One of the participants commented, "I had to make myself hetero or I would have been thrown out with a dishonorable discharge." Another participant wrote, "To work in a comfortable environment, you have to have the persona of a straight person." Surprisingly, 35% of those who modified their behavior on active duty were in stage 4 (acceptance).

Another statement related to this hypothesis, I changed my personal perception about my sexual identity in order to justify my decision to join the military, was also included in the survey. Only 47 (22%) participants agreed with this statement and the majority (32) of them were in the synthesis stage. One participant who modified his behavior wrote, "I often evaluate my values to ensure I am not making compromises." Another participant wrote, "Fought my feelings I was having the whole time." There was not a notable difference among the respondents' life preference choice.

A third statement included in the survey relating to hypothesis 1 was: I find myself defending my choice (to myself and/or others) in regards to joining the military. Seventy-seven (37%) of the participants agreed to this statement, with 48 of them in the synthesis stage and

the next largest group of responses (23) were in the acceptance stage. The majority who agreed to this statement chose an adaptive life preference, followed by career and then community-centered. One person wrote, "Sometimes I justify my career by acknowledging the fact that I would leave if the military interfered with my personal life." Another participant commented, "I realize I have made some sacrifices in order to keep my career secure."

One statement specifically addressed the effect of the military's homosexual policy: The military's homosexual policy influences how I conduct myself while in the military. The majority of respondents, 156 (75%), agreed that the military homosexual policy influenced how they conduct themselves while in the military. Most of these individuals, 132, were in the acceptance or synthesis stage of homosexual development and the majority also were those who chose an adaptive life preference. Comments from this statement included: "It's not a good life, having to hide so much that you don't get into trouble, I don't think it is worth it" and "I am not able to discuss my life like heterosexuals do."

6.3 Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis of this study considers the stages of homosexual development as proposed by Cass (1979) and how they influence one's choice of life preference; adaptive, career-centered, or community-centered. Individuals in stages 4 and 5 (acceptance and pride) are the most closely connected to a homosexual identity and thus are most likely to choose a community-centered life preference.

- Individuals in homosexual identity stages 1 (confusion), 2 (comparison), 3 (tolerance), and 6 (synthesis) will choose an adaptive or career-centered life preference, and those in identity stages 4 (acceptance) and 5 (pride) will choose a community-centered life preference.

One hundred percent of those in identity levels 1, 2, and 3 chose adaptive or career-centered life preference. Of those in identity level 6, sixty-nine percent chose an adaptive or

career-centered life preference and approximately 31% were community focused. Ninety percent of participants in identity level 4 chose an adaptive or career-centered life preference and only 10% chose community. All those in identity level 5 chose a community-centered life preference. As seen in hypothesis 1, responses from those in the acceptance identity stage are not consistent with what would be expected from the definition provided by Cass (1979). There were several questions and statements included in the survey to provide further data related to this hypothesis.

One of the questions asked was: Do you, or have you ever, dated, while in the military? The majority of respondents, 153 (73.6%), reported that they had dated while in the military with 125 of these respondents being in homosexual identity stages acceptance and synthesis. The majority of those who dated chose the adaptive life preference followed by community. A couple of the comments from those who dated were: "I consider myself to have had an active dating life in the military and at the mid-point of my military service met my life partner" and "Very secretly and far away from the base and only occasionally."

A statement requesting participants to agree or disagree was, I feel more connected to my homosexual identity than to a military identity. The majority of those who agreed were mostly in the acceptance and synthesis identity stages and chose adaptive or community as their life preference. Comments from this statement included: "The military was only a temporary era in my life. Gay is forever" and "I feel less connected with the gay community due to being in the military."

Another statement in the survey was, I have postponed my personal life in order to make the military a career. The majority of participants, 112, indicated that they did not postpone their personal life. Among the participants who agreed or disagreed, they were mostly in the acceptance or synthesis identity stage. Comments included: "I told myself I'd do what it takes" and "I left the military in part to follow my partner, whose career was not compatible with the transient military lifestyle, and in part to pursue other personal career goals."

The survey also asked for a response to: I would leave the military in order to pursue a homosexual relationship. Of the 92 (44%) who agreed, 78 of them chose either an adaptive or community-centered life preference and the two main identity groups were acceptance and synthesis. Participants who agreed wrote: "I retired from the Navy to do just that. I have never been happier" and "If I had to make a choice, a relationship is more important." Those who did not agree wrote: "I'll leave the military when I'm ready" and "I have too much invested to give it up."

6.4 Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis in this study utilized measurement scales SWL (satisfaction with life) and GESS-R (generalized estimation of success scale - revised) to demonstrate how the scores are influenced by the individual's stage of homosexual identity and choice of life preference.

- Participants in the 1st (confusion) and 6th (synthesis) stage of homosexual identity will have higher SWL and GESS-R scores and are more likely to choose an adaptive life preference than those in identity levels 2 (comparison), 3 (tolerance), 4 (acceptance), & 5 (pride).

This particular analysis was to assist in showing the impact the homosexual policy has on an individual's mental well-being. Results from the study indicate that those who chose an adaptive life preference had higher SWL and GESS-R scores in the early and later stages of identity and lower scores in the mid-identity levels. This is consistent with the description of homosexual identity stages described by Cass (1979). In stage one a person is just becoming aware of homosexual thoughts, but as he/she progresses through the stages the conflict increases. In the acceptance stage, a person is becoming more comfortable with a homosexual identity and more so as he/she advances through stage five to the final synthesis stage. Those who chose a community-centered life preference were only in identity stages 4, 5, and 6 and

their scores were the lowest in stage 4 and increased in stages 5 and 6. Figures 6.1 and 6.2 show how the scores dip down in the mid-stages and rise again indicating a decline in satisfaction with life and a reduced expectancy for success in the mid-stages of homosexual development.

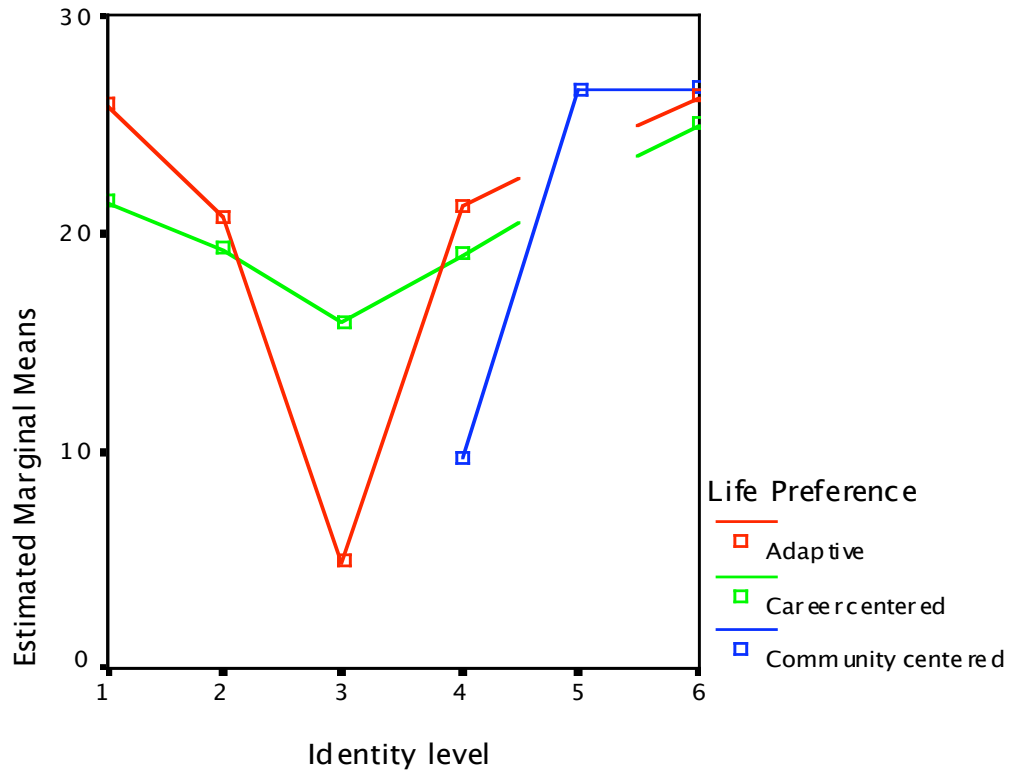


Figure 6.1 Homosexual Identity, Life Preference, and SWL

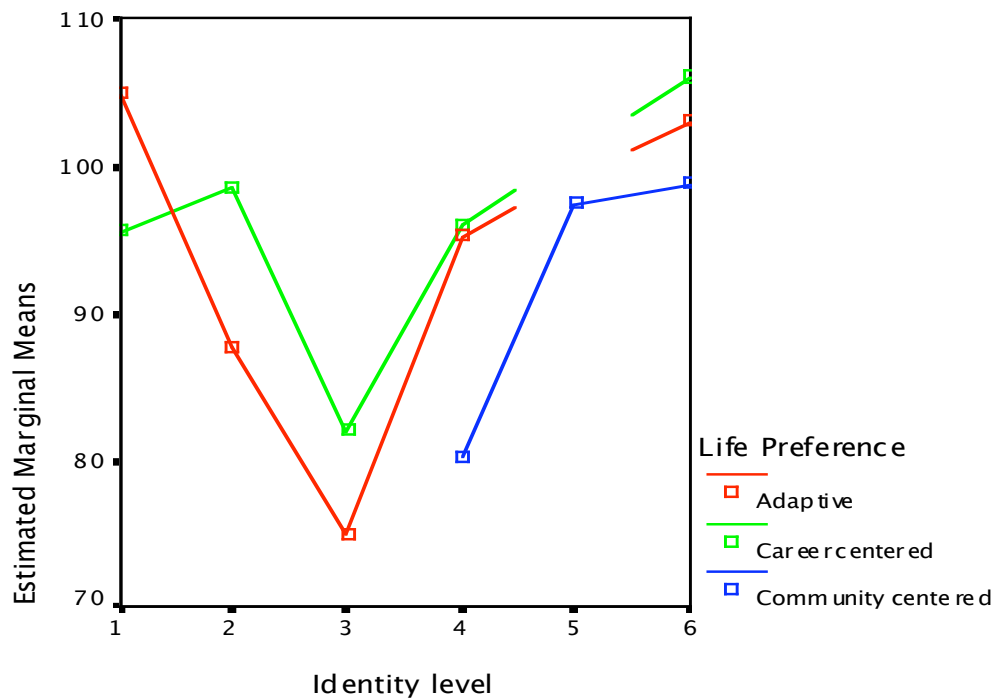


Figure 6.2 Homosexual Identity, Life Preference, and GESS-R

There were two statements on the survey provided for gathering information related to this hypothesis. The first statement was: I have experienced feelings of isolation while on active duty as a result of the military’s homosexual policy. Sixty-five percent (136) of the respondents reported that while on active duty they had experienced feelings of isolation related to their homosexuality. The majority of those acknowledging isolation, 118, were in the acceptance and synthesis stage of homosexual development and the majority, 64, also chose an adaptive life preference.

The second statement related to depression: I have experienced depression while on active duty as a result of the military’s homosexual policy. Forty-six percent (96) of respondents acknowledged that they had experienced depression while on active duty with the majority, 84, being in the acceptance and synthesis stage of identity. Among the life preference choices, the

majority reporting depression chose an adaptive style life. Although it was not expected, it actually makes sense that those who chose an adaptive life preference would report the greatest amount of isolation and depression. Those who are career or community-centered are less likely to be trying to balance a military life and a homosexual identity. Figure 6.3 (following page) shows how the participants' satisfaction with life fluctuates dependent upon both their identity level and their life preference.

Those in level 1 (confusion) and with an adaptive life preference had high satisfaction with life scores. Those in level 1 but with a career-centered life preference had slightly lower SWL scores. There were not any level 1 participants who chose a community-centered life preference, which is consistent with this level description of just becoming aware of homosexual thoughts.

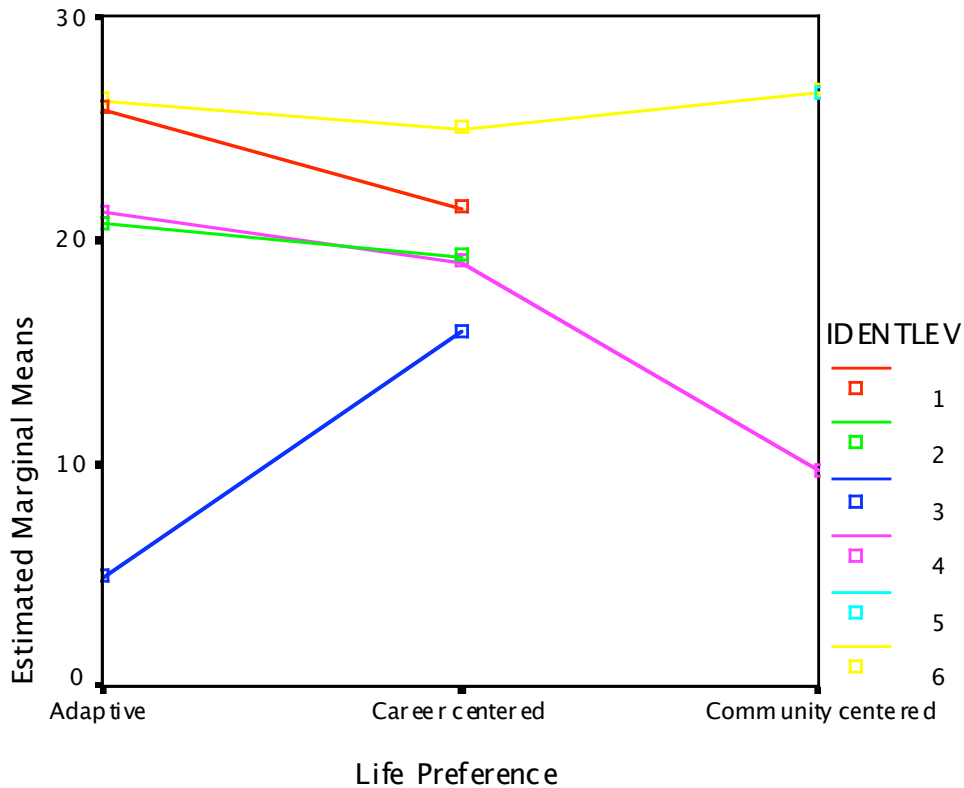


Figure 6.3 Homosexual Identity, Life Preference, and SWL Intercept

Those in level 2 (comparison) and with an adaptive life preference had only slightly higher satisfaction with life than those in the same identity level but choosing a career-centered life preference. As with those in identity level 1, there were not any level 2 participants who chose a community-centered life preference. This is also consistent with this level description of still being in the early stages of experiencing homosexual thoughts.

Identity level 3 (tolerance) participants in an adaptive life preference had the lowest satisfaction with life scores. The scores were higher for those in the same identity level but in the career-centered life preference. The rise in SWL scores may be an indication of the participants placing more of a focus on their career and less on their developing homosexual thoughts. A work-centered life preference was described in the survey as those individuals who

are more focused on their military career and less connected with the homosexual community. As with those in identity levels 1 and 2, there were not any level 3 participants who chose a community-centered life preference. This continues to be consistent with this level description of still being in the early stages of experiencing homosexual thoughts.

Those in identity level 4 (acceptance) and choosing an adaptive life preference scored moderately high in satisfaction with life, but the SWL scores decreased for those who were career-centered and were the lowest for those choosing community-centered. Those in identity level 4 are (according to Cass, 1979) increasing their contact with the homosexual community and having a more difficult time remaining hidden in heterosexual society due to an increased positive self-perception. Therefore the lower score for those choosing a career-centered life preference is expected due to the internal conflict being experienced. The lower scores in the community-centered group may be due to the majority of these participants no longer being in the military and thus exposed to different factors than those still in the military.

The individuals in identity level 5 (pride) all chose a community-centered life preference and had high satisfaction with life scores. Individuals in this identity level have fully embraced their homosexual identity and are connected with the homosexual community as exemplified by their choice of a community-centered life preference.

Those in identity level 6 (synthesis) had high satisfaction with life scores in all three life preference choices. These results are consistent with the description of a person in the sixth development level (stage) accepting their homosexuality and acknowledging it as only one of many personal characteristics.

The GESS-R (generalized expectancy for success scale-revised) provided equally interesting results when analyzed along with homosexual identity and life preference. Figure 6.4 provides a visual account of how participants in different identity levels and life preference choices viewed their expectancy for success.

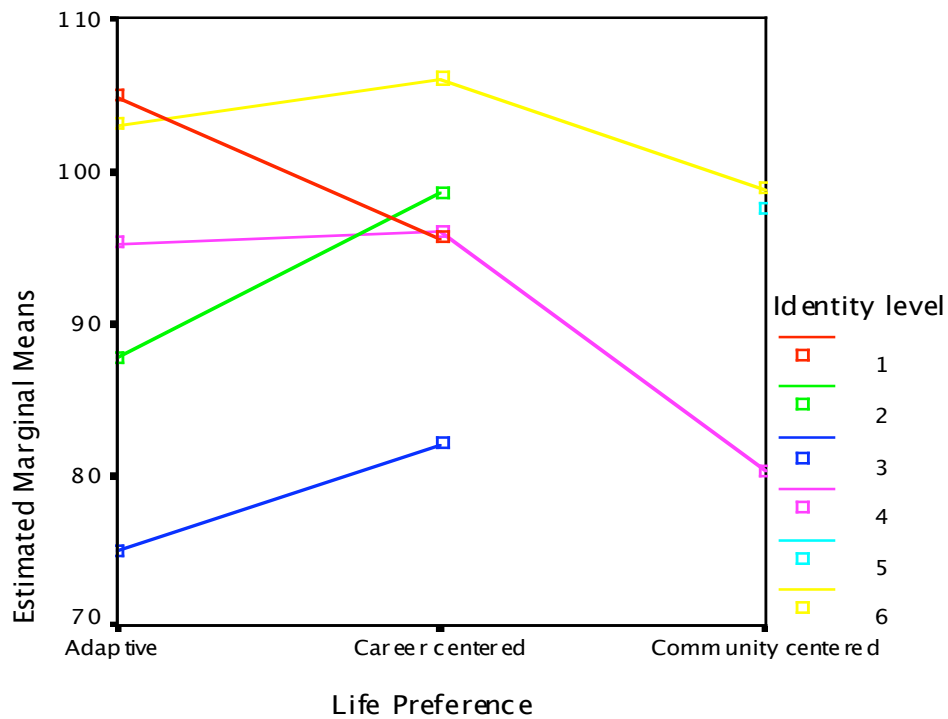


Figure 6.4 Homosexual Identity, Life Preference, and GESS-R Intercept

Those in level 1 (confusion) and with an adaptive life preference had high expectancy for success scores. Those in level 1 but with a career-centered life preference had lower GESS-R scores. It is not clear why those who are more career-driven would have a lower expectancy for success. There were not any level 1 participants who chose a community-centered life preference, which is consistent with this level description of just becoming aware of a homosexual thoughts.

Those in level 2 (comparison) and with an adaptive life preference had moderately low expectancy for success scores and those choosing a career-centered life preference had higher scores. This increase in the scores from adaptive to career-centered may be a result of those individuals becoming more focused on work and thus less focused on their developing homosexual identity. As with those in identity level 1, there were not any level 2 participants who chose a community-centered life preference. This is also consistent with this level

description of still being in the early stages of experiencing homosexual thoughts.

Identity level 3 (tolerance) participants in an adaptive life preference had the lowest expectancy for success scores. The scores were higher for those in the same identity level but in the career-centered life preference. This increase in scores from adaptive to career-centered is similar to the SWL scale. The rise in GESS-R scores may be an indication of the participants focusing more on their work, and less on their developing homosexual identity. A work-centered life preference was described in the survey as those individuals who are more focused on their military career and less connected with the homosexual community. As with those in identity levels 1 and 2, there were not any level 3 participants who chose a community-centered life preference. This continues to be consistent with this level description of still being in the early stages of experiencing homosexual thoughts.

Those in identity level 4 (acceptance) and choosing an adaptive life preference scored mid-range on the expectancy for success scale, but the scores decreased for those who were career-centered and were the lowest for those choosing community-centered. This pattern is the same as seen in the SWL scores. Those in identity level 4 are (according to Cass, 1979) increasing their contact with the homosexual community and having a more difficult time remaining hidden in heterosexual society due to an increased positive self-perception. Therefore the lower score for those choosing a career-centered life preference is expected due to the internal conflict being experienced. As mentioned with this same group in the SWL scores, the majority of the community-centered participants are no longer in the military and thus exposed to different factors than those still in the military.

The individuals in identity level 5 (pride) all chose a community-centered life preference and had moderately high expectancy for success scores. Individuals in this identity level have fully embraced their homosexual identity and are connected with the homosexual community as exemplified by their choice of a community-centered life preference. This is also seen in the SWL scale.

Those in identity level 6 (synthesis) had high expectancy for success scores in all three life preference choices. The high scores are expected from those in level 6, these individuals are not experiencing the internal conflict associated with the mid-level homosexual identities. The scores are the highest among the career-centered then slightly lower in the adaptive group and the lowest among those who were community-centered. The majority of the participants who are community-centered are no longer in the military, therefore the lower GESS-R scores are likely influenced by different factors than those still in the military.

6.5 Comparisons to Previous Research

This research study was influenced by previous research that also used the Gay Identity Questionnaire (Brady & Busse, 1994) to determine the relationship between homosexual identity development (Cass, 1979) and psychosocial well-being (Halpin & Allen, 2004). In their research, Halpin and Allen reached their participants through the use of the Internet similar to the methods used in this study. Unlike the specific target population in this study, their survey was open to any male who expressed an attraction to another male thus their sample size (425) was much larger and included men from many different countries. Halpin and Allen used four scales to measure the participants' psychosocial well-being whereas this study only used two, the SWL and GESS-R.

Although this study had a smaller sample size and did not use as many measurement scales, the results were similar to those found by Halpin and Allen (2004). The majority of participants were grouped in stages four (acceptance) and six (synthesis). Also, the mean age of the participants increased from those in stage one (confusion) through to those in stage six (synthesis). This, as explained by Halpin and Allen, supports the theory that homosexual developmental stages are progressive. Most importantly, the psychosocial well-being scales used by Halpin and Allen provided similar results as this current study.

Halpin and Allen (2004) reported a U-shaped curve indicating higher scores in the early stages (levels) of homosexual identity, which decreased among those in the middle identity

stages and then increased again in the later stages. As was hypothesized in this current study, Halpin and Allen proposed that these findings may indicate that those in the early stages are not yet experiencing the stress related to the awareness of a homosexual identity. The decrease in scores coincides with the progression through the stages and the increase indicates the final stages of acceptance and synthesis. Figures 6.5 and 6.6 show the relationship between homosexual identity and the SWL and GESS-R measurements. As individuals move into the acceptance stage of identity, they begin to develop a more positive view of homosexuality and a more positive self-perception.



Figure 6.5 Homosexual Identity and SWL

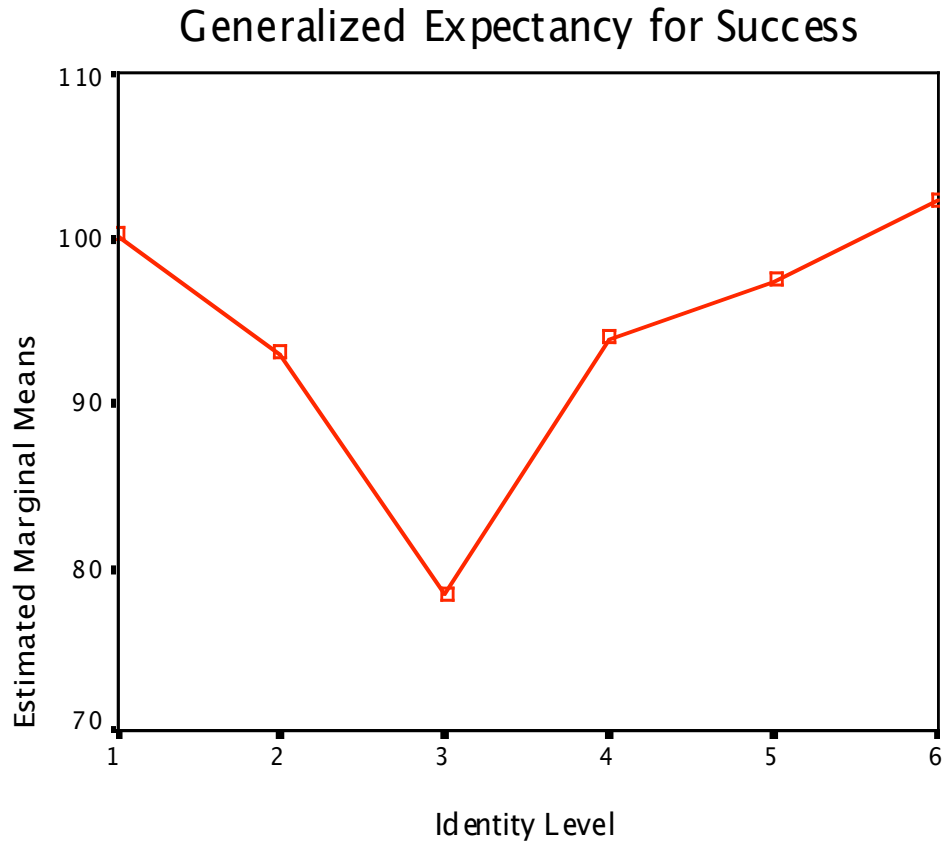


Figure 6.6 Homosexual Identity and GESS-R

6.6 Challenges and Limitations

Although the results in this study are similar to those found in previous research and support assertions proposed by Cass (1979), this study experienced the same challenges as previous research, obtaining a sample size large enough and diverse enough to allow for generalizations to be made of the actual population being studied. Due to society's lack of acceptance of those who identify as being homosexual, recruitment of participants continues to be a challenge and although the Internet provides the opportunity to reach the target population

in a confidential manner, it does not reach all communities. The sample for this study, although small, had a similar percentage of demographic representation compared to the military population except for African Americans.

The African American population in the military is reported to be 18% (GAO, 2005), but the percentage in this study was only 9%. The reason for the under representation of African Americans in this study is not known. One could speculate that homosexuality in the African American community is less accepted than perhaps in the Caucasian community and therefore more of a difficult population to reach. However, the Hispanic population was not under represented in the study and homosexuality is likely less accepted in that community than in the Caucasian community as well. Also, the purpose of using the Internet was to reach hidden populations, therefore confidentiality was equal among all ethnic groups. Perhaps African American homosexuals use other means of networking than the Internet. In addition to finding ways of accessing the homosexual population, future studies need to place more emphasis on reaching particular ethnic groups as well.

Another limitation was the design of the survey. A couple of participants provided comments that the survey was negative: "This is a negative survey and makes it sound like homosexuals only have bad experiences in the military." After reviewing the survey this perspective can be understood. The wording of several questions and statements do appear to assume that the participant has had a negative experience in the military as a homosexual. Also there are statements in the Gay Identity Questionnaire (Brady & Busse, 1994) that were offensive to some participants, however this could be due to the particular identity level of the person complaining.

The survey instrument was designed using SurveyMonkey.com with settings that would not allow for participants to go back to survey pages already completed nor did it allow participants to access the survey again after logging off. A few of the surveys received were only partially complete which may be due to settings that prevented participants from accessing

the survey again after logging off. This setting was chosen to prevent participants from changing their answers or completing the survey more than once. This setting, however, may also have prevented some participants from partially completing the survey with intentions of returning later to complete it.

Although the internet has been noted as actually making it easier to reach sexual minorities due to the formation of “virtual communities” for purposes of discussion, support, networking, and entertainment (Rheingold, 1993), it comes with its own limitations for military personnel. Military personnel who identify themselves on the Internet as homosexual, may be found to be in violation of the military Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell policy. The Service Members Legal Defense Network discourages military personnel from posting pictures and identifying themselves on the Internet as homosexuals in order to avoid being discovered by the military. Also, those military personnel who use computers on a military installation (even in their private living quarters or in the library) cannot be assured that their computer usage is not being monitored.

A person’s stage of homosexual identity may also have an influence in survey participation. Individuals in the early stages of homosexuality as described by Cass (1979) may not yet be seeking information or support on the Internet related to homosexuality due to it not yet playing a significant role in their lives. That could explain why this study had a low number of participants in the early stages of homosexual development. Perhaps those in the later stages of development and thus more comfortable with their sexuality are more likely to use the Internet for purposes of networking.

6.7 Implications for Practice

Although the sample size for this study was small, and the method of obtaining participants was non-random availability sampling, the results do indicate that the participant’s homosexual identity did have an influence on the choices he/she made in regards to military

service. Participants in this study indicated a decline in satisfaction with life as well as their estimation for success as they progressed toward the mid-stages of homosexual identity and then improved again as they advanced into the final stages of identity development. The mid-stage of homosexual identity is a time of conflict for a homosexual in the military who is struggling with self-acceptance and the need to share these feelings with others, yet forced to keep these feelings hidden to prevent expulsion from the service.

It is important that mental health providers in the military follow their ethical requirements of confidentiality and provide their services in a way that ensures military personnel will know they can trust that their confidentiality will be honored. The unique challenge for military mental health providers is their dual role as professional mental health workers and professional military officers. Military officers are sworn to support the Constitution of the United States and must always keep in mind that the “military mission” comes first. Thus military mental health workers must serve the individual client while always being aware of the many military policies and regulations. If a client informs a medical provider that he/she is homosexual, is that a violation of Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell?

There is no requirement that medical officers must take action if a military client is to inform them that they are homosexual. The military mission is the ultimate concern, and therefore unless there is an indication that the client will not be able to perform his/her military responsibility, there is no need to reveal the reason a person sought medical or mental health related services. Also, due to limited confidentiality in military medical records, there is no need to annotate that the client reported that he/she is homosexual. Military medical personnel, however, obtain their medical training from various schools around the country and therefore each provider has his/her own method of documentation as well as different definitions of confidentiality. Another issue that will influence how a medical provider will react to a client revealing his/her homosexuality is the provider’s personal attitude/beliefs regarding the topic. Just as commanders have the authority to enforce the Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell policy at their own

discretion, medical providers have a similar volition of determining what is and is not reportable to military leadership.

Although there is a balance to be established between ethical mental health services and military policies and regulations, the American Psychological Association (2002) instructs psychologists to make the clients' best interest paramount. Psychologists are encouraged to demonstrate propriety and caution when documenting sessions to protect their client's privacy. Social workers are guided by their own code of ethics (National Association of Social Workers, 1996) that include such values as service, social justice, dignity and worth of the person, and integrity. Social workers, by definition, are to address social problems, challenge social injustice, and respect the inherent dignity and worth of each person. A mental health worker who does not feel comfortable or does not feel competent in providing services to a client presenting with a particular issue (homosexuality for example) is expected to maintain the individual's confidentiality and appropriately refer to another provider.

A question in the survey for this research study asked, "If you sought mental health services while on active duty and shared your thoughts of or identity of being homosexual, did the mental health worker handle the topic confidentially and professionally?" It appears, as indicated by several of the participant responses provided below, that the military has some work to do to gain the confidence of its clientele.

- Are you kidding? Telling is verboten and even chaplains are required to inform the command of breaches in DADT.
- I would NEVER have done this on active duty. ZERO trust in confidentiality.
- Because I was afraid the Navy might be able to access the information somehow, I did not seek help for my depression.
- I doubt they would be confidential about it.

- I would never trust a military mental health worker, even a professional one, with confidentiality.

As mentioned previously, military health providers approach their practice from many different backgrounds. However, a systems/ecological approach to providing mental health services in the military is recommended as it takes into consideration the interactions occurring between the client and each of the surrounding systems to which the client is exposed. Systems and ecological interventions assist in placing an emphasis on the environment rather than the individual, thus reducing the stigma that can be experienced by psychological approaches that concentrate on normality and deviance (Leighninger, 1978). Daley (1999), a military social work officer, describes how systems-level services include macro-level interventions that target institutional structures of the organization, the larger military community, and other aspects that shape the quality of life for its members. Considering the military does not provide a supportive environment for its homosexual personnel, it is important that health care providers take the “military lifestyle” into account when providing services to a homosexual military client.

6.8 Research and Policy Implications

The results from this study and from previous studies provide evidence that an individual’s homosexual identity influences his/her self-perception, satisfaction with life, and expectations for success. The challenge in studying a population whose members often do not feel safe or comfortable with revealing their sexuality is that the results are limited in representation. In order to increase the generalizability and thus increase external validity, more studies are needed on this topic with an emphasis of recruiting a larger and more diverse sample size.

Although this study revealed that participants experienced feelings of depression and isolation while on active duty, the method of gathering this information was from yes/no responses. Use of a depression scale would have provided more meaningful and analyzable

results to determine if the feelings of depression followed the same pattern as the scales used to measure satisfaction with life and generalized expectancy for success. A greater amount of data that shows homosexual military personnel are experiencing depression may be useful for the comparison of depression levels between heterosexual and homosexual military personnel.

Participants in this study indicated that due to the military's policy of discharging service members who are known to be homosexual, that they either served covertly or left the military so they no longer had to hide. Knowing that a certain personal characteristic is subject to discrimination and rejection provides for a stressful living environment and promotes poor self-image. Thus many homosexuals who serve do so under stressful conditions and those who leave reduce the military's readiness. Certainly an immediate solution to this problem would be the elimination of the U.S. Military Don't Ask, Don't Tell Policy. This, however, does not appear to be a viable option under the current political leadership.

Researchers and scholars have explored each of the military's rationales for not allowing homosexuals to serve openly in the U.S. military and have determined each reason to be baseless and irrational (see Chapter 2, Literature Review). Further research is necessary as a means to continue monitoring other countries and their progress in their implementation of homosexuals within their militaries. Also, further research is necessary in monitoring the attitudes of active duty American military personnel. There are very few studies that have attempted to examine this population and those that have were narrow in scope and thus not representative of the military as a whole.

The American Psychological Association (2004) opposes DADT and has taken a leadership role among national organizations in attempts to change the discriminatory policy. Military psychologists, while respecting the military's mission and the legal authority of commanding officers, are encouraged to influence the modification of inappropriate policies and uninformed federal law against homosexuals through the following practices: (a) rigorously safeguard homosexual client confidentiality, (b) refuse to cooperate in efforts to identify or

separate military personnel on the basis of sexual orientation, (c) educate commanding officers and other medical professionals regarding the baseless relationship between sexual orientation and performance or psychological impairment, and (d) participate in and support APA efforts to eliminate the current DADT law and allow homosexuals to serve openly in the US military. This is a strategy all military professionals are encouraged to undertake.

APPENDIX A

GAY IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE (GIQ)

Gay Identity Questionnaire (GIQ)

(Brady, S. & Busse, W., 1994)

Directions: Please read each of the following statements carefully and then circle whether you feel the statements are true (T) or false (F) for you at this point in time. A statement is circled as true if the *entire* statement is true, otherwise it is circled as false.

1. I probably am sexually attracted equally to men and women T F
2. I live a homosexual lifestyle at home, while at work/school, I do not want others to know about my lifestyle. T F
3. My homosexuality is a valid private identity, that I do not want made public. T F
4. I have feelings I would label as homosexual. T F
5. I have little desire to be around most heterosexuals. T F
6. I doubt that I am homosexual, but still am confused about who I am sexually. T F
7. I do not want most heterosexual to know that I am definitely homosexual. T F
8. I am very proud to be gay and make it know to everyone around me. T F
9. I don't have much contact with heterosexuals and can't say that I miss it. T F
10. I generally feel comfortable being the only gay person in a group of heterosexuals. T F
11. I'm probably homosexual, even though I maintain a heterosexual image in both my personal and public life. T F
12. I have disclosed to 1 or 2 (very few) people that I have homosexual feelings, although I'm not sure I'm homosexual. T F
13. I am not as angry about society's treatment of gays because even though I've told everyone about my gayness, they have responded well. T F
14. I am definitely homosexual, but I do not want to share that knowledge with most people. T F
15. I don't mind if homosexuals know that I have homosexual thoughts and feelings but I don't want others to know. T F
16. More than likely I'm homosexual, although I'm not positive about it yet. T F
17. I don't act like most homosexuals do, so I doubt that I'm homosexual. T F
18. I'm probably homosexual but I'm not sure yet. T F

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 19. I am openly gay and fully integrated into heterosexual society. | T | F |
| 20. I don't think that I'm homosexual. | T | F |
| 21. I don't feel I'm heterosexual or homosexual. | T | F |
| 22. I have thoughts I would label as homosexual. | T | F |
| 23. I don't want people to know that I may be homosexual, although I'm not sure if I am homosexual or not. | T | F |
| 24. I may be homosexual and I am upset at the thought of it. | T | F |
| 25. The topic of homosexuality does not relate to me personally. | T | F |
| 26. I frequently confront people about their irrational, homophobic (fear of homosexuality) feelings. | T | F |
| 27. Getting in touch with homosexuals is something I feel I need to do even though I'm not sure I want to. | T | F |
| 28. I have homosexual thoughts and feelings but I doubt that I'm homosexual. | T | F |
| 29. I dread having to deal with the fact that I may be homosexual. | T | F |
| 30. I am proud and open with everyone about being gay, but it isn't the major focus of my life. | T | F |
| 31. I probably am heterosexual or non-sexual. | T | F |
| 32. I am experimenting with my same sex, because I don't know what my sexual preference is. | T | F |
| 33. I feel accepted by homosexual friends and acquaintances even though I'm not sure I'm homosexual. | T | F |
| 34. I frequently express to others anger over heterosexuals' oppression of me and other gays. | T | F |
| 35. I have not told most of the people at work that I am definitely homosexual. | T | F |
| 36. I accept but would not say I am proud of the fact that I am definitely homosexual. | T | F |
| 37. I cannot imagine sharing my homosexual feelings with anyone. | T | F |
| 38. most heterosexuals are not credible sources of help for me. | T | F |
| 39. I am openly gay around gays and heterosexuals. | T | F |
| 40. I engage in sexual behaviour I would label as homosexual. | T | F |

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 41. I am not about to stay hidden as gay for anyone. | T | F |
| 42. I tolerate rather than accept my homosexual thoughts and feelings. | T | F |
| 43. My heterosexual friends, family and associates think of me as a person who happens to be gay, rather than as a gay person. | T | F |
| 44. Even though I am definitely homosexual, I have not told my family. | T | F |
| 45. I am openly gay with everyone, but it doesn't make me feel all that different from heterosexuals. | T | F |

APPENDIX B

SATISFACTION WITH LIFE SCALE

Satisfaction With Life Scale

(Diener, E., Emmons, R., Larsen, J., & Griffin, S., 1985).

Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding. The 7-point scale is as follows:

1 = strongly disagree

2 = disagree

3 = slightly disagree

4 = neither agree nor disagree

5 = slightly agree

6 = agree

7 = strongly agree

___ 1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.

___ 2. The conditions of my life are excellent.

___ 3. I am satisfied with my life.

___ 4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.

___ 5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

The SWLS is in the public domain. Permission is not needed to use it.

APPENDIX C

GENERALIZED EXPECTANCY FOR SUCCESS SCALE-REVISED

Generalized Expectancy for Success Scale-Revised

(Hale, W., Fiedler, L., & Cochran, C., 1992)

Answer each statement with the number that best represents your response:

1 = Highly Unlikely 2 = Unlikely 3 = Unsure 4 = Likely 5 = Highly Likely

In the future I expect that I will.....

1. Succeed at most things I try. _____
2. Be listened to when I speak. _____
3. Carry through my responsibilities successfully. _____
4. Get the promotions I deserve. _____
5. Have successful close personal relationships. _____
6. Handle unexpected problems successfully. _____
7. Make a good impression on people I meet for the first time. _____
8. Attain the career goals I set for myself. _____
9. Experience many failures in my life. _____
10. Have a positive influence on most of the people with whom I interact. _____
11. Be able to solve my own problems. _____
12. Acquire most of the things that are important to me. _____
13. Find that no matter how hard I try, things just do not turn out the way I would like. _____
14. Be a good judge of what it takes to get ahead. _____
15. Handle myself well in whatever situation I am in. _____

1 = Highly Unlikely 2 = Unlikely 3 = Unsure 4 = Likely 5 = Highly Likely

In the future I expect that I will.....

16. Reach my financial goals. _____
17. Have problems working with others. _____
18. Discover that the good in life outweighs the bad. _____
19. Be successful in my endeavors in the long run. _____
20. Be unable to accomplish my goals. _____
21. Be very successful working out my personal life. _____
22. Succeed in the projects I undertake. _____
23. Discover that my plans do not work out too well. _____
24. Achieve recognition in my profession. _____
25. Have rewarding intimate relationships. _____

APPENDIX D

MILITARY SERVICE QUESTIONS

Military Service Questions

1. How would you describe your current lifestyle?
 - a. Adaptive: Sexual orientation is not a major part of my life and I am willing to make sacrifices to maintain my military employment, but I will leave the military if it interferes too much with my personal life.
 - b. Career centered: I am focused on a military career with little connection to the homosexual community.
 - c. Community centered: I am closely connected to the homosexual community and have little interest in a military career.
2. Have you modified your homosexual behavior in order to remain in the military?
3. Do you, or have you ever, dated while in the military?
4. Do you think a homosexual in the military is hypocritical?
5. Have you changed your personal perception to justify your decision to join the military?
6. Do you feel closer to the gay community or to the military?
7. Have you postponed your personal life in order to make the military a career?
8. Do you find yourself defending your choice to join the military?
9. Have you ever experienced harassment in the military for being homosexual?
10. Do, or did, your military coworkers know you are homosexual?
11. Has homosexuality been a non-issue for you in the military?
12. Do you think the military strictly enforces Don't Ask, Don't Tell?
13. Does the Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy make a difference in how you conduct yourself?
14. Do you think most homosexuals are discharged voluntarily or involuntarily?
15. Do you, or did you, feel lonely or isolated while on active duty?
16. Do you, or did you, feel depressed while on active duty because of Don't Ask, Don't Tell?

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Dean Sinclair is a licensed army social work officer and has experience in individual, couples, and group therapy. His military social work practice has also included working in the areas of domestic violence, family advocacy, corrections, and sex offender treatment. Prior to the military his social work involved working in the non-profit sector in community planning, prevention education, advocacy, grant writing, and working with oppressed/disenfranchised populations.

Dean has an undergraduate degree in German with a minor in sociology from East Tennessee State University. He received his Master of Social Work degree from Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas and a PhD in Social Work from the University of Texas at Arlington. His research interests are in the traditional areas of social work such oppression and discrimination. Dean plans to complete 20 years with the military, retire, and then pursue a career in academia.