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The Minnesota Army National Guard And Gender Expectations

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THE MINNESOTA ARMY NATIONAL GUARD AND GENDER EXPECTATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Women have never formally served in U.S. Army combat roles. It was announced in December, 2015 that U.S. Army combat roles would undergo gender integration. The objective of this research was to measure attitudes of current all-male infantry units in the Minnesota Army National Guard (MNARNG). The research was framed using status expectations theory. Surveys were distributed to two MNARNG companies (N = 116). The research examined how infantrymen rated male and female soldiers differently on 14 traits as well as their support for female integration. The results showed that infantrymen rated men higher than women. In addition, men who rated women higher were more likely to support female integration. Half of the respondents (50.5%) strongly opposed female integration. Infantrymen largely oppose female integration and expect females to underperform males. This expectation of female abilities is consistent with status expectations theory.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The intent of this thesis is to examine the gender expectations of infantrymen in the Minnesota Army National Guard (MNARNG). This study wishes to explore the recent transition made by the U.S. Army to include women into all military roles where they had previously been excluded. In this study, gender expectations will be defined as one person's expectations of another's ability based on the second person's gender (Wagner and Berger 1997). Chapter One will first describe the recent changes made to create equal opportunity for service women in the military. Next, this chapter will discuss the importance of understanding gender expectations in the U.S. military. The chapter will finish by providing the reader with a basic description of military structure.

Equal Opportunity For Service Women

In December 2015 it was announced that all combat jobs in the U.S. military would open to women (Phillips and Rosenberg 2015). Historically, only men have been allowed to serve in combat roles. This decision opened up 14 combat roles in the Army previously closed to women (Tice 2016). Following this decision, the U.S. military has made efforts to recruit women into these new roles in an attempt to make the force more inclusive. It is important to study the U.S. military as it integrates women into historically all male roles. Women will be acquiring jobs that have never officially been open to female participation. While women have served in combat with distinction (Szivak, Mala, and Kraemer 2015), they have never officially held the military occupational specialties of combat roles, such as the infantry.

Women's integration into male dominated occupations comes with challenges, including harassment, stereotypes, and discrimination (Kabat-Farr and Cortina 2014). These problems are highly relevant when integrating women into new military roles. Yet there are gaps in our knowledge, in relation to gender in the military, that need to be filled in order to better deal with the challenge (Tepe etl al. 2016). For this reason, the Women in Combat Symposium was held in 2014 to identify:

> "… gaps critical to the successful integration, health, and performance of female Service members in combat roles and to develop recommendations for researchers and policy makers to address gaps in specific areas of concern: Leadership and Peer Behavior, Operational Performance, and Health and Well-Being (Physical Health and Well-Being, Psychological and Social Health)" (Tepe et al. 2016:109).

Within these broad themes the group found 20 specific research gaps that need to be addressed in order to better understand the situation. Research gaps to be addressed included how physically demanding jobs impact long-term health, why unintended pregnancies are more common in the military than the civilian population, how female veterans have experienced combat, and many others. This thesis will contribute to closing research gaps on peer behavior by examining how infantrymen view women entering the infantry. This thesis will explore the gender expectations of infantrymen and allow for further discussion and research.

Gender Expectations in the U.S. Military

A person's gender can influence their life in many ways. One important way gender influences a person is through gender expectations. Gender expectations are socialized status characteristics and can be defined as one person's expectations of another's ability based on that second person's gender (Wagner and Berger 1997). These expectations shape social interaction. Specifically, gender expectations can inhibit an individual when their gender is considered atypical in a given context. This can be especially problematic for women in leadership

positions (Ridgeway 2009). The military places a large emphasis on leadership and its importance in commanding troops. If women are typically at a disadvantage in leadership positions, then it should be expected that obstacles will be present in this military transition. The integration of women into military roles previously held only by men is an opportunity to observe those obstacles as they take place, while also helping negotiate the transition.

The current integration of women into combat roles is only one piece situated in a larger historical context. It was only in 1942 that women were allowed to participate in the military as part of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) (Permeswaran 2008). The WAAC was created to supplement the lack of manpower during World War II. The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps opened 239 roles for women including drivers, accountants, and weapon repairers. Their participation was limited and their roles were segregated by gender. All female units were common until the WAAC was disbanded in 1978, and the female soldiers were integrated into the previously all male units. Yet, as of 2014, women represented only 15.1% of the active component and only 18.8% of the reserve components (Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense 2014). This low percentage is in contrast to the U.S. population, of which women make up 50.8% (Howden and Meyer 2011).

Now the U.S. military is once again integrating historically gendered occupations. Women's participation has grown in the military as their opportunities to participate have increased. Women have succeeded in areas where they have been expected to fail. Now, women are once again being placed alongside men as equals. This provides an opportunity to observe how gender in the workplace affects an organization. These observations will enhance future research as gender integration becomes an expected practice rather than a new experience. This study will contribute to that discussion by examining the MNARNG.

Military Structure

The United States Army is a large organization. It is currently budgeted to maintain a force of nearly one million soldiers. This force is made of two distinct components: the active component and the reserve components. The active component is controlled by the federal branch of government. In 2014, the active component consisted of roughly 504,000 soldiers (Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense 2014). These soldiers work on a daily basis. They are constantly training, and are at a high level of readiness to respond to the nation's needs.

The reserve components consist of the Army Reserve and the Army National Guard. The Army Reserve, which consisted of roughly 195,000 soldiers in 2014 (Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense 2014), is also controlled by the federal government. Unlike the active component, these soldiers do not train every day. These soldiers have civilian careers and spend, typically, one weekend a month and two weeks in the summer maintaining their readiness. They are intended to supplement the active component when additional soldiers are necessary.

The Army National Guard (ARNG) consisted of roughly 354,000 soldiers in 2014 (Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense 2014). ARNG soldiers train in similar fashion to the Army Reserve, one weekend a month and two weeks a year, but are uniquely different. The ARNG can be controlled by either the state or federal government. Each state maintains an ARNG that is controlled by its Governor during peacetime. During times of war a state's National Guard can be activated and placed under the authority of the federal government. Each state's ARNG varies in size and capability.

This thesis focuses on the Minnesota Army National Guard (MNARNG). While the three components of the Army are separated by purpose and capability, they are highly similar. The U.S. Army is a highly bureaucratic organization, and has a clearly organized structure of personnel that is identical in all three components. Each of the three components organizes soldiers the same way. Each organization is led by officers who are responsible for decisions made during training and real life operations. Officers lead enlisted personnel who accomplish the tasks set before them by the officers. Enlisted personnel make up the majority of the force.

In 2014, the nation's ARNG consisted of approximately 308,000 enlisted personnel and 46,000 officers meaning that 87% were enlisted (Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense 2014). This ratio is consistent across the other Army components (Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense 2014). Within this large group exists the MNARNG.

The MNARNG maintains a force of 13,000 soldiers (Minnesota National Guard 2015). Of these soldiers 18% were women and 14.3% were members of a minority population. These numbers have grown following diversity goals set in 2011 by the MNARNG. The diversity goals include recruitment of female and minority populations, such as Native Americans, African Americans, and Hispanic Americans. At the time, females comprised 16.2% of the MNARNG and minority members 7.8%. This growth in recruiting reflects the equal opportunity programs the U.S. military, as a whole, has implemented over the past few years. Within these equal opportunity programs, emphasis has been placed on equal opportunities for service women. This thesis intends to describe gender expectations present in the MNARNG, by looking at the attitudes of infantrymen, which impact equal opportunities for women.

Organization of Thesis

Chapter One provided the reader with recent changes made to equal opportunity for service women in the military, the importance of discussing gender expectations present in the U.S. military, and a basic understanding of military structure. Chapter Two will introduce literature concerning women's roles in the workplace, specifically gender in the military. It will also provide an overview of status expectations theory to frame the topic and will conclude with hypotheses that logically follow from the literature. Chapter Three will cover the method used to gather research. It will describe how data was collected, the sample, and how the data will be analyzed. Chapter Four will present the results. Chapter Five will place the results in context and discuss the findings as well as its relevance for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this study is to assess the gender expectations of infantrymen in the Minnesota Army National Guard (MNARNG). Gender has been shown to be important for how others are treated in the workplace. Gender expectations can be defined as one person's expectations of another's ability based on the second person's gender (Wagner and Berger 1997). This chapter outlines the theoretical orientation used to examine this topic, provides previous literature about gender in the military, and proposes hypotheses.

Background

Previous literature has provided many contexts in which gender is an influential factor. Depictions of gender can be helpful or harmful, depending on the context of a situation. The relationship between a person's gender and the workplace treatment they face is well established (Burgess and Borgida 1999). Women face discrimination when they violate gender norms, participate in sex-segregated workplaces, and often face these obstacles because of workplace policies (Bobbitt-Zeher 2011). Policies can produce gendered hierarchies where certain genders are valued more than others (Cundiff and Vescio 2016). Gender distinctions are present in both male and female dominated jobs, but men tend to have more positive experiences in female dominated jobs than do women in male dominated jobs. Williams (1989) documented some of these experiences by exploring male nurses and female marines.

Williams found that in the female dominated job of nursing, men experienced inclusion and support. While men did experience an outsider status, policies did not forbid them from

specific job assignments. Men had the opportunity to participate and compete in a largely female workforce where men were disproportionately concentrated in the most prestigious and best paying specialties. In contrast, women in the male dominated Marine Corps often experienced exclusion, harassment, and devaluation. Policies forbid women from entering certain job assignments, such as the infantry. Williams argued that gender valuations in the military are reinforced through the policies of gender segregation. Military gender segregation allows for the dominant group, men, to reinforce their superiority by simply referring to the fact that women aren't even allowed to participate.

Gender is a social construct rather than an innate quality (West and Zimmerman 1987). It is more appropriate to say that accepted behaviors for each gender are learned and institutionalized, rather than to say that gender behaviors are universal (Ridgeway 2001). Positive or negative valuations of gender are assumed to be universal, but that is not always true. These values are institutionalized and often provide a less favorable context for women (Ridgeway 2009). The military is just such an organization that has institutionalized different valuations for men and women. One theory that may help explain these outcomes is status expectations theory.

Status Expectations Theory

Status expectations theory was first proposed in 1972 (Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch 1972). The theory states that individuals expect a person's status characteristics, such as age, sex, or race, to be related to behavior and ability. The theory attempts to explain social interaction through the perspective of individuals, known as "actors". Actors make assumptions based on taken-for-granted information related to status.

Beginning with the actor, the theory states that in interactions with others a person anticipates whether another will succeed or fail at a task. The actor anticipates likely success or failure based on the other person's specific or diffuse status characteristics. A specific status characteristic is related to a person's performance of a specific task based on an ability, such as a person's reading level while reading a book. A diffuse status characteristic is a generalized idea about a person that influences belief about abilities overall. Examples of diffuse status characteristics include gender, race, and educational attainment (Wagner and Berger 1997).

Diffuse characteristics are larger and more easily applied. They do not necessarily relate to an ability to perform a task, but are assumed to influence ability anyway. Status expectations theory has been used to study the diffuse characteristic of gender and how gender relates to expected performance characteristics (Ridgeway 1993). It has been shown that performance characteristics associated with gender are not universal and are often unrelated to actual ability (Ridgeway 1997). Gender expectations are specific to a culture and are even more specific to the social situation (Ridgeway 2001). Unequal treatment may result when individuals in a higher status group, such as men, have greater access to success, while lower status groups, such as women, are hindered (Ridgeway 2014).

For instance, women are often devalued when they hold traditionally male leadership positions (Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 1992; Johnson, Murphy, Zewdie, and Reichard 2008). This can be explained by understanding that leadership roles are predominantly associated with masculine characteristics (Schein 2001). In addition to being devalued, these associations also translate to women being assessed more strictly on ability than men (Foschi 1996). Foschi (1996) conducted research on gender status expectations. It was found that women were judged by a stricter standard for ability, resulting in a lower perceived competence, than their male

partners. This finding is consistent in other literature reporting that women are often rated as less competent and less influential than men in traditionally male roles (Heilman and Haynes 2005). Overall, women disproportionately face institutional barriers that hinder job assignments, job opportunities, and rewards for work because of their gender (Huffman, Cohen, and Pearlman 2010). This expansive literature describing society at large parallels gender expectations in the military.

Gender in the Military

Focus on gender in the military has been growing. This global phenomenon has produced research from a variety of countries including Canada (Winslow and Dunn 2002), Israel (Sasson-Levy and Amram-Katz 2007), the United Kingdom (Dandeker and Segal 1996), and the United States (Titunik 2000). Many topics have been explored as countries attempt to improve gender equality in their militaries.

Research has found that restructuring the military, regarding gender equality, does not necessarily restructure the gender expectations within that organization. Gender expectations remain present, and men and women continue to be valued differently (Sasson-Levy and Amram-Katz 2007). These valuations become important when considering policy regarding gender equality within the military. The policy considerations for gender integration are many. Policy is often influenced by recruitment shortages, pressure from female soldiers wanting more opportunities, technological advances, and the nation's social and political climate as a whole (Dandeker and Segal 1996; Segal 1995).

A nation's social and political climate can be very influential in changing military policy. The Canadian military experienced influential civilian pressure in the 1970s to change the status of women in their military. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women created a dialogue

to open all jobs to women, make military obligations of equal length for men and women, to allow married women to enlist, to protect pregnant women from being released from service, and to allow women to be admitted to military colleges (Winslow and Dunn 2002). This dialogue brought immediate change allowing married women to enlist, protected women who became pregnant, and made initial obligations the same for both men and women. The military did not immediately open all military jobs to women or allow women to be admitted to military colleges, but the discussion continued. The discussion culminated in 1989 when the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal ruled that the Canadian military would open all roles to women, excluding positions on submarines.

Like Canada, many countries have undergone unique experiences as they expand opportunities for women in the military. While each country's experience is unique, there are common obstacles faced when integrating women into previously male dominated occupations. Research typically shows that military jobs are viewed as a masculine occupation. Studies indicate that men in the military, overall, value women less in military work (Boyce and Herd 2003), that soldiers value women less in military work than civilians do (Matthews, Ender, Laurence, and Rohall 2009), and that soldiers evaluate women less favorably than men without relation to actual performance (Boldry, Wood, and Kashy 2001).

Boyce and Herd (2003) conducted research at the United States Air Force Academy to examine how cadets viewed gender in relation to military leadership. The researchers asked cadets to make judgements about women in general, men in general, and successful military officers. Results showed that male cadets reported few similarities between women and military leaders and that male cadets overall attributed military leaders with having traits more often

associated with men than women. These findings are specific to a military academy, but compliment other findings regarding military cadets and civilian college students.

A 2009 study compared attitudes of West Point cadets, Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) cadets, and civilian college students (Matthews et al. 2009). The researchers examined attitudes towards women in nine possible military occupations. These occupations included jet fighter pilot, truck mechanic, nurse in a combat zone, typist in the Pentagon, military commander, hand-to-hand combat soldier, jet transport pilot, air defense gunner, and crew member on a combat ship. Respondents indicated whether a woman should be allowed to serve in each of these roles. Overall, military cadets were less in favor of women holding a number of military jobs than were civilian college students. In general, women were more approving of women in military jobs than men. The role most disapproved of for women was the role of hand-to-hand combat soldier. About 44% of college civilians believed women should serve in that role compared to only 18.2% of ROTC cadets and 10.3% of West Point cadets (Matthews et al. 2009). These results are similar to findings reported earlier by Matthews (1992). The longevity of disapproval for women serving in combat roles is apparent.

In a 2001 study researchers investigated the gendered perceptions of cadets at the Texas A&M Corps of Cadets (Boldry et al. 2001). The researchers wanted to evaluate the extent that gender stereotypes influenced peer evaluations. Before the survey was distributed, researchers identified 11 traits that cadets themselves associated with success in the corps. These traits included "integrity, selfishness (reversed), tactfulness, dedication, physical fitness, leadership, respectfulness of authority, diligence, self-confidence, arrogance (reversed), and motivation" (2001:694). In addition to these traits the researchers added masculinity, femininity, and emotional expressiveness.

Cadets were asked to rate themselves, a typical male cadet, a typical female cadet, an ideal male cadet, and an ideal female cadet on the 14 identified traits. Researchers also gained access to respondents' performance measures such as GPA, physical fitness scores, and the rank of the individual in the cadet program. Overall, cadets rated males more highly than females on the majority of traits associated with success in the corps. Males were rated more highly on the traits of dedication, physical fitness, diligence, motivation, leadership, self-confidence, and masculinity. The researchers further added that both the males and females held these perceptions of cadets, yet this is contradictory to actual performance.

The researchers then tested perception of cadets while controlling for performance measures. These performance measures included sex, group (integrated, recently integrated, non-integrated), GPA, level of schooling, physical training, and rank. The performances of males and females were similar. There were no significant differences in GPA, physical training scores, or military science grades. Yet analysis showed that, even when controlled for, perceptions often contradicted actual performance of cadets regardless of gender. These negative evaluations were more pronounced in groups comprised of only one gender, specifically male only groups.

The current study replicates aspects of this research study with MNARNG infantrymen. Previous research shows that gender expectations negatively affect women in the workplace, that military members tend to value women less in the military workplace, and that male dominated jobs exacerbate these negative gender expectations. It is important to understand the attitudes of infantrymen who will be experiencing female integration. Understanding attitudes is important because women will be experiencing support and inclusion or lack of support and exclusion. Gender expectations may be present where infantrymen believe female soldiers have less of

certain traits than male soldiers. If such negative views were predominantly held by infantrymen, it could severely hinder support for female integration. The combat roles of the U.S. military, such as the infantry, are currently all male groups. Therefore, infantrymen may hold predominantly negative views about female integration. To address this issue, this research looks at how current infantrymen in the MNARNG view the most disapproved military role for women, an infantry ("hand-to-hand" combat) soldier.

The current study proposes two hypotheses using the framework of status expectations theory.

H1: Infantrymen will rate typical male infantry soldiers higher than typical female infantry soldiers using 11 traits found to be important by Boldry et al. (2001).

H2: Infantrymen who rate typical female infantry soldiers higher on the 11 traits will more strongly support female integration.

Summary

This chapter first discussed status expectations theory as a framework to understand obstacles faced by women in the workplace. Next, it discussed literature describing gender in the workplace and literature describing gender in the military. The chapter concluded by proposing hypotheses for research. Chapter Three will discuss the method used to collect data for research. It will also cover the sampling technique used, measurements, and analytic techniques used to test the proposed hypotheses.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The intent of this thesis is to examine the gender expectations of infantrymen in the Minnesota Army National Guard (MNARNG). Original data were collected in order to examine gender attitudes and expectations among the infantrymen. This chapter will first discuss the type of data collected and the sampling technique. Next, it will describe the operationalization of measurements used in the survey. Finally, it will provide the analytic techniques used to test the hypotheses proposed in this study.

Data and Sample

Original data were collected for this study. Data were collected through online surveys and paper surveys. Respondents were acquired using purposive sampling. The sample was comprised of infantrymen from two Infantry Companies in the MNARNG. These two Companies have not yet received any female infantry soldiers since the decision to open the job in December 2015. Emails containing a survey link were distributed in May 2016. The emails were sent to 240 soldiers in two MNARNG Companies by the full-time staff of each Company. Paper surveys were offered to the same 240 soldiers in September 2016 during a drill weekend. The paper surveys were given to soldiers to complete during free time. In total, the survey was completed by 116 soldiers. These 116 soldiers represented a response rate of 48.3%.

The survey was adapted from the work of Boldry et al. (2001). The authors examined gender stereotypes and evaluations in an ROTC program. Cadets in their study were asked to rank 14 personality traits in order of importance for success in the corps. These traits included

integrity, selfishness (reversed), tactfulness, dedication, physical fitness, leadership, respectfulness of authority, diligence, self-confidence, arrogance (reversed), motivation, masculinity, femininity, and emotional expressiveness (Boldry et al. 2001:694). Using these traits, cadets were asked to rate a typical male cadet, a typical female cadet, an ideal male cadet, and an ideal female cadet. In addition, cadets rated themselves and their classmates. These 14 traits and slightly adapted measures were included in the current research.

Infantrymen contacted for the current study were asked to respond to the same 14 personality traits. To simplify the questions, "selfishness (reversed)" was substituted with selflessness and "arrogance (reversed)" was substituted with humility. Using these 14 traits, infantrymen were asked to rate a typical male infantry soldier, a (hypothetical) typical female infantry soldier, and themselves. Ratings were measured on a scale ranging from (1) none at all to (9) very much. In addition, opinions about female integration were collected as well as basic demographic information.

Measures

Hypothesis 1

Gender expectations acted as the dependent variable for H1. Gender expectations were measured using the 11 traits found to be important from the work of Boldry et al. (2001). These traits include integrity, selflessness, tactfulness, dedication, physical fitness, leadership, respect of authority, diligence, self-confidence, humility, and motivation. Infantrymen were asked, "How much does a typical infantry soldier in your unit have of each of these traits?" Then they were asked to do the same for a typical female infantry soldier. The rating scale for each trait ranged from 1 (none at all) to 9 (very much).

Hypothesis 2

Support for female integration acted as the dependent variable for H2. Respondents were asked, "How much do you support female integration into the infantry?" Infantrymen selected choices between 1 (support not at all) and 5 (support absolutely). Control variables including age, rank, and education were used in the second model testing H2. Age has been shown to influence how men view women in the workplace, including what they believe constitutes sexual harassment (Reese and Lindenberg 2005). A person's tenure in an organization, measured through rank, has been shown to impact how they feel about change. Research has shown that the longer a person has been present in an organization, the less likely they are to accept or implement change (Musteen, Barker, and Baeten 2006). Different levels of education have been shown to influence perceptions of women and acceptable military roles (Matthews et al. 2009).

Age was measured in years as an ordinal variable from (1) 18 years to (45) 63+ years. *Rank* was measured from E-1 through E-9 for enlisted soldiers and coded 1-22. These ranks included (1) E-1/Private, (2) E-2/Private E-2, (3) E-3/Private First Class, (4) E-4/Specialist, (5) E-4/Corporal, (6) E-5/Sergeant, (7) E-6/Staff Sergeant, (8) E-7/Sergeant First Class, (9) E-8/Master Sergeant, (10) E-8/First Sergeant, (11) E-9/Sergeant Major, and (12) E-9/Command Sergeant Major. Rank was measured from O-1 through O-10 for officers. These ranks included (13) O-1/Second Lieutenant, (14) O-2/First Lieutenant, (15) O-3/Captain, (16) O-4/Major, (17) O-5/Lieutenant Colonel, (18) O-6/Colonel, (19) O-7Brigadier General, (20) O-8/Major General, (21) O-9/Lieutenant General, and (22) O-10/General. *Education* was also used as a control variable. Respondents were allowed to select (1) less than high school, (2) High school/GED, (3) some college, (4) 2 year degree, (5) 4 year degree, (6) professional degree, (7) master's degree, and (8) doctorate.

Analytic Strategy

Two analytic strategies were used to assess the gender expectations of infantrymen in the MNARNG. The first analytic strategy was used to test H1. H1 was analyzed using paired samples *t*-tests. The paired samples *t*-tests compared the average ratings for the 11 traits identified by Boldry et al. (2001) for typical male soldiers and typical female soldiers.

The second analytic strategy was used to test H2. H2 was analyzed using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression. The model regressed support for female integration using a trait scale created from the original 11 traits. The trait scale consisted of 11 traits (integrity, selfishness, tactfulness, dedication, physical fitness, leadership, respect of authority, diligence, self-confidence, humility, and motivation). Age, rank, and education were used as control variables.

Summary

This chapter discussed the type of data collected, sampling technique, operationalization of measurements used from the survey data, and the analytic techniques used to test the research questions. Chapter Four will provide the results of the analyses.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The purpose of this study is to assess the gender expectations of infantrymen in the Minnesota Army National Guard (MNARNG). Gender has been shown to be important to how others are treated in the workplace. Original data were collected in order to examine gender attitudes and expectations among the infantrymen (N = 116). This chapter will first discuss descriptive statistics collected from the MNARNG. Then, it will provide statistical results related to Hypothesis 1 (H1) and Hypothesis 2 (H2).

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics collected from infantrymen in the MNARNG. The average age of infantrymen was 25 years (SD = 6.08). Of the infantrymen who responded, 48.6% were Specialist/E-4s and 67.3% were Specialist/E-4s or lower in rank (SD = 1.56). It is a military requirement that a soldier must have, at a minimum, a high school degree or GED. Twenty-nine percent of the infantrymen had not continued their education further than that. Nearly one third had some college (32.7%), while 13.8% had a 2-year degree, and 17.2% had a 4-year degree. Half of the respondents (50.5%) reported they did not support female integration into the infantry.

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics of MNARNG Infantrymen* (N = 116)

Variables	*Range*	*M*	*SD*
Age	1-45	8.45	6.08
Rank	1-22	2.69	1.56
Education	1-8	3.44	1.37
Integration Support	1-5	2.00	1.29

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis was tested using paired samples *t*-tests. Respondents were asked to rate a typical male infantry soldier and a typical female infantry soldier on 14 traits. Typical male soldier ratings were used as Variable 1 and typical female soldier ratings were used as Variable 2. Mean scores for each of the 14 traits were compared. There was a significant difference in the average ratings for a typical male and typical female soldier for 13 of the 14 traits (See Table 2). Humility was the only trait for which a significant difference was not found. Men were rated higher than women for each of the first 11 traits found to be important for success (Boldry et al. 2001). The ratings for integrity, dedication, selfishness, diligence, tactfulness, motivation, and respect of authority, although significantly different, were the least different between men and women, within the range of .53 to .86. The ratings for leadership, physical fitness, and self-confidence were more different between men and women, within the range of 1.31 to 1.70. The largest mean differences in ratings were found for the three traits of masculinity, femininity, and emotional expressiveness added by Boldry et al. Of these three traits, men were rated to have more masculinity (*MD* = 3.22) and women were rated to have more femininity (*MD* = -4.25) and emotional expressiveness (*MD* = -2.67). Thus, the paired samples *t*-tests provide support for Hypothesis 1: Infantrymen will rate typical male infantry soldiers higher than typical female infantry soldiers using 11 traits found to be important by Boldry et al. (2001).

A factor analysis was conducted for how respondents rated typical male infantry soldiers and how they rated typical female infantry soldiers. Two underlying components were found for both male and female ratings. The first 11 traits (integrity, selfishness, tactfulness, dedication, physical fitness, leadership, respect of authority, diligence, self-confidence, humility, and

motivation) were found to make one component while the last three traits (masculinity, femininity, and emotional expressiveness) were found to make up another. For men, the first component with 11 traits explained 47.31% of the total variance while the second component explained only 12.69% of the variance. For women, the first component with 11 traits explained 53.76% of the total variance of while the second component explained only 14.63% of the variance. The scale for men's ratings had a reliability coefficient of .92 while the trait scale for women's ratings was .95. For this reason, a trait scale of the first 11 traits was created for both men and women. Next, a paired samples *t*-test was conducted to compare the trait scales. The trait scale for men was used as Variable 1 and the trait scale for women was used as Variable 2, and a significant difference was found ($t = 14.167$, $df = 97$, $p < .000$). These results imply that the same traits hold together for how infantrymen view both men and women. This suggests that infantrymen overall view the personal traits (integrity, selfishness, tactfulness, dedication, physical fitness, leadership, respect of authority, diligence, self-confidence, humility, and motivation) similarly and rate men more highly than women. They also separate men and women by masculinity, femininity, and emotional expressiveness.

Table 2. *Typical Male, Typical Female, and Paired Samples* t-*Test Ratings for 14 Traits*

	Typical Male		Typical Female		Paired Samples	
Variable	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*MD*	*SD*
Integrity	6.67	1.41	6.13	1.80	.53**	1.72
Selfishness	6.47	1.60	5.85	1.84	.62**	1.95
Tactfulness	6.07	1.91	5.35	1.75	.71**	2.44
Dedication	6.58	1.70	5.98	1.76	.60**	2.06
Physical Fitness	6.14	1.58	4.45	1.96	1.69***	2.21
Leadership	6.40	1.62	5.10	1.92	1.31***	2.15
Respect of Authority	6.78	1.61	5.91	2.15	.86***	1.92
Diligence	6.21	1.45	5.51	1.88	.70***	1.76
Self-confidence	6.89	1.56	5.19	2.09	1.70***	2.24
Humility	5.52	1.88	5.59	2.04	-.07	2.49
Motivation	6.49	1.81	5.71	1.93	.78***	2.20
Masculinity	7.09	1.79	3.86	2.38	3.22***	3.19
Femininity	2.88	2.18	7.13	2.04	-4.25***	3.03
Emotional Expressiveness	4.31	2.16	6.98	2.03	-2.67***	3.01

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. (Sig. 2-tailed)

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis was tested using OLS regression (See Table 3). Support for female integration was regressed on the control and independent variables. Age, rank, and education were used as control variables. The female trait scale was used as an independent variable. Results show that 12.3% of variation in support for female integration (*Adj.* $R^2 = .123$) can be explained by the independent and control variables. There was a positive and significant relationship between the trait scale and support for female integration ($\beta = .261$, $p < .01$). This means the higher an infantryman rated female soldiers, the stronger they supported female integration. In addition, rank showed a significant and negative relationship with support for female integration ($\beta = -.260$, $p < .043$). This implies that the higher the rank, the less support for female integration. ANOVA showed the model was significant ($F = 4.310$, $p < .01$). This model provides support for Hypothesis 2: Infantrymen who rate typical female infantry soldiers higher on the 11 traits will more strongly support female integration.

Table 3. *OLS Regression Examining Support for Female Integration*

Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Traits of Female Soldiers	0.219	0.082	0.261***
Age	0.034	0.026	0.156
Rank	-0.142	0.069	-2.052*
Education	-0.141	0.115	-0.144

Adj. R^2 = .12, F = 4.31, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Summary

This chapter provided descriptive statistics and explored the models used to test the research hypotheses. Analysis showed that infantrymen tended to rate typical male infantry soldiers higher than typical female infantry soldiers on 11 of the 14 traits associated with success in the military. Analysis also showed that soldiers who tended to rate typical female infantry soldiers higher also expressed higher support for female integration. Chapter Five will discuss the results of this chapter in relation to previous literature and the implications for future research.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The intent of this thesis was to examine the gender expectations of infantrymen in the Minnesota Army National Guard (MNARNG). Using data collected from the MNARNG, this thesis explored two hypotheses in order to describe infantrymen's gender expectations. This chapter will first summarize the results found in the analyses. The results will then be compared to the work of Boldry et al. (2001). Next, the limitations, implications, and suggestions for future research will be discussed. Finally, a conclusion will be presented outlining the thesis.

Discussion of Results

The results showed that infantrymen rated men higher than women on 11 traits found to be important by Boldry et al. (2001). That MNARNG infantrymen tend to rate men higher than women is consistent with previous research (Boldry et al. 2001; Boyce and Herd 2003; Foschi 1996). In addition to the overall theme of valuing men more than women, leadership was one trait for which perceptions of men and women differed the most. This devaluation of leadership ability is also consistent with previous research (Eagly et al. 1992; Johnson et al. 2008). The fact that infantrymen emphasize a perceived difference in leadership ability is important. The military places emphasis on leadership ability and expecting women to have less of that trait, without actual interaction, immediately places women at a disadvantage. This disadvantage could even be enlarged depending on how infantrymen view women as they enter leadership roles. Research suggests that women are further devalued in leadership

positions if they do not adopt what is considered a masculine type of leadership (Eagly and Johnson 1990). Williams (1989) documented similar experiences with female Marines that continue to exist today.

Williams (1989) argued that gender segregation reinforced perceived differences between men and women. The policy separating men and women is used by men to argue for continued separation. Williams framed this desire as a way for men to maintain their masculinity, specifically by having certain jobs only available for men. Female integration would thus tarnish masculinity associated with the job. While not all female Marines desired gender integration, many expressed the belief they could perform just a well as any male Marine in any task. William's research described an atmosphere that women will still likely experience during this most recent gender integration.

The current research reaffirms the observation that military men desire gender segregation and that they value men over women. Infantrymen surveyed perceive gender as a way to predict abilities. These perceptions are present even without interaction with female infantry soldiers. The assumption that a person's gender can predict ability is consistent with status expectations theory (Wagner and Berger 1997). Berger and Wagner argued that a status characteristic becomes salient when the status is a method for discriminating against another group. As a diffuse status characteristic, gender is used to assume a person's abilities within occupational contexts. It is apparent that infantrymen, who have not yet worked with female infantry soldiers, expect women to underperform men in that job. These expectations create a desire to maintain current gender roles.

This is emphasized by the overwhelming number of infantrymen who did not support female integration at all (50.5%). Only 14.4% of infantrymen said they supported female

integration very much or absolutely. Results showed that the infantrymen who supported female integration tended to rate hypothetical female soldiers higher than those who did not support female integration. This shows that a much smaller portion of infantrymen expect women to perform adequately and thus support their integration. Support for female integration was also associated with rank. Rank was negatively associated with support for female integration, meaning the higher the rank the less likely they would support female integration. The control variables age and education were not significant in predicting support for female integration.

Limitations

While this thesis added to the literature on gender in the military, it does have limitations. The sample size was small leaving little room for generalizing to a larger population. The population analyzed was also very specific, measuring only one military job to be integrated out of the many other possibilities. Measuring all military jobs that will be integrated would provide a view of gender expectations across different skill sets that all share the same characteristic of gender segregation. Another limitation includes asking infantrymen to rate hypothetical female infantry soldiers. While showing that gender expectations are present even without female integration, this research did not examine gender expectations in actual workplace interactions.

Implications and Future Research

The first and largest contribution of this thesis is the description of gender expectations present in a community that will no longer be segregated by gender. The devaluation of female soldiers and views largely opposing integration suggest challenges. The results indicated that the higher the rank the more likely an infantryman would not support female integration. This is problematic if higher ranking soldiers, who set and enforce policy, do not support female integration. It should not be expected that integration alone will change these gender

expectations (Sasson-Levy and Amram-Katz 2007). Previous research suggests that a largely accepted status belief will continue to perpetuate itself even among new members of a group who did not previously hold that status belief (Mark, Smith-Lovin, and Ridgeway 2009). This experience exists even if there is interaction with individuals holding the devalued status characteristics (Ridgeway 1991). It would be the prerogative of higher ranking soldiers to support and enforce female integration for the best results. These results are as imperative for the conduct of the organization as well as the welfare of female soldiers.

Research shows that discrimination, such as sexual harassment, is much more prevalent for women who occupy exclusively male dominated jobs (Kabat-Farr and Cortina 2014). Women who are alone or isolated in their profession also tend to be valued less than if multiple women are present (Biernat, Crandall, Young, Kobrynowicz, and Halpin 1998). The study is limited in generalizing to a larger population, but it is obvious that soldiers at all levels should be aware of these trends. Gender expectations should not be expected to immediately shift with female integration and efforts to support gender integration should be implemented in order to help the transition (Ridgeway 1997). Possible efforts to support female integration include affirmative action which would allow women to succeed in certain role categories and dispel unfounded gender expectations.

The second contribution of this thesis is the focus on mostly enlisted soldiers, but also officers. Previous research on gender in the military has largely focused on officers and cadets. This representation does not adequately reflect a population in which the majority of soldiers are enlisted. While officers specifically create and enforce policy, enlisted soldiers should not be neglected.

Further research could expand on attitudes of enlisted soldiers as well as to describe historical trends of female integration. The U.S. military integrated women in 1978 from all female units into previously all male units. Future research could contribute by comparing the female integration started in 1978 to the integration taking place in 2016. Similarities and differences in these processes could provide a better understanding of challenges during this transition, especially if the data came from enlisted soldiers who make up the majority of the force.

Conclusion

This thesis examined the gender expectations of infantrymen in the Minnesota Army National Guard (MNARNG). Previous research was explored and showed a consistent devaluation of women in leadership positions. The current research added to the understanding of gender in the military. Through analysis the research found that infantrymen tend to rate male soldiers higher than female soldiers on specific character traits, that infantrymen largely do not support female integration, and that infantrymen who tend to rate women higher on character traits are more likely to support female integration. These findings are important because they show that a large proportion of infantrymen, who will soon experience integration, do not value women the same as men and do not support the move towards gender equality. Gender expectations are present in the MNARNG and will likely impact the stated mission of female integration.

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