

## Gender Integration and Citizenship: A Civil-Military Perspective

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### **ABSTRACT**

*A summary of the arguments protesting the integration of women into combat roles nearly all center around two main premises: physiology and readiness. This essay intends to move the discussion of this topic away from these two problematic criticisms to a conversational space of greater social and philosophical significance. Rather than fixating on the question of “how much can a woman carry?” the inquiry should instead focus on “who serves and why?” and “who matters?” both within the military and American society. Solutions to reconcile the difference in physical capabilities between men women in the armed forces will eventually be found. It is then a greater imperative to engage the challenging philosophical and socio-cultural questions that the impact of all this debate and change on national civil-military relations. I argue in this piece that the operative concept in this intellectual debate is not “physical strength” but instead “citizenship.” The past cases of the armed forces having to engage in social equality issues, the perennial debate of “rights versus readiness” may be false dichotomy. For each instance where issues such as this have reached national attention, the egalitarian social reform forced upon the military have never identifiably caused a regression in their fighting capability. In fact, more evidence exists that it has always improved it. So possibly it should not be a “rights” or “readiness” as an outcome of this decision. This essay asserts that the US military could actually have both.*

### **1.0 BACKGROUND/CONTEXT**

In November 2015, when Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter opened all Military Occupational Specialties (MOSs), including combat roles, to women he defied a military norm that some thought was cultural more than tactically relevant. The USMC (United States Marine Corps), however, two months prior had released reports indicating that combined units (men and women) were potentially less combat effective than all-male units. While the Marines have resisted gender integration, the leaders of other Services have moved forward with adapting their respective forces with new policies to incorporate women into combat specialties. Yet, Carter’s unilateral, universal, top-down shift in policy has not resulted in a concomitant change in combat units. Resistance is palpable among some while others accepted the obvious next step in the all-volunteer force of the twenty-first century military.

A summary of the arguments protesting the integration of women into combat roles nearly all center around two main premises: physiology and readiness. This essay intends to move the discussion of this topic away from these two problematic criticisms to a conversational space of greater social and philosophical significance. Rather than fixating on the question, How much can a woman carry? the inquiry should instead focus on, Who serves and why? and, Who matters?—both within the military and American society. Solutions to reconcile the difference in physical capabilities between men women in the armed forces will eventually be found. It is then a greater imperative to engage the challenging philosophical and sociocultural questions that the impact of all this debate and change on national civil-military relations. In this piece the operative concept in this intellectual debate is not “physical strength” but instead “citizenship.”

While nearly all of the literature that opposes women in combat specialties relies on the former as the basis of their arguments, it is not going to be the primary focus of this particular essay. No one, either scientifically or anecdotally, can argue that men and women are physiologically identical. Therefore, the question is raised whether or not this difference should be the universal discriminator for preventing women into combat specialties. The physical qualifications necessary for acceptance into the key ground combat training courses (Infantry Officer's Course, Ranger School, etc.) have eliminated nearly all female applicants from attempting them, while the physical demands of these courses have caused numerous others to fail out because of not meeting the standards or after receiving medical injuries. The universal fear of nearly all those in the combat arms community is that physical standards will be lowered in order to accommodate female success. This modification of requirements, they assert, will reduce the overall quality of the graduates and have a cascading effect of declining fighting effectiveness of the total force.<sup>1</sup>

The dilemma with this position is two-fold. Female service personnel interested in entry into combat arms do not want a reduction in standards to facilitate their success.<sup>2</sup> They, like their male counterparts, are drawn to this career path because of the challenge and prestige of the combat arms branches. The easing of any standards would undermine their rationale of pursuing equal opportunity, especially for women who hope to advance to high-level leadership.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the overall intent of this initiative is the search for equality. Female service personnel demand the equality of experience and standards, not accommodation or preferential treatment. The skewing of requirements specifically for their success would “un-level” the playing field that they all pursue in the military profession.

Secondly, a historical examination of physical requirements for combat training reveals a surprising amount of inconsistency over the years. Although there are many challenges to these assertions, perhaps the best refutation comes from political scientist Robert Engvall, who argues that the two main arguments that traditionalists consistently use in their defense—standards and combat effectiveness—are have proven to be historically “fungible” concepts. The physical fitness criteria that used to vet incoming combat arms candidates has varied a tremendous degree over the years, often driven by the personnel requirements at the time. Moreover, the idea of combat effectiveness has proven similarly as problematic, as those in the military profession can neither find consensus as to what measures demonstrate a military's effectiveness nor a clear causational variable that undeniably indicate what makes a unit become ineffective. The elasticity of these concepts cast considerable doubt upon their sacrosanctity and immutability of physical requirements for men or women.<sup>4</sup> Currently, there is no doctrinal publication, study, or policy that provides a clear and accepted definition of “combat effectiveness” in either the U.S. Marine Corps or Department of Defense (DOD). Yet, those who vocally oppose the inclusion of women in combat arms (or in other previous protests against social inclusion in the military) have relied on this concept as their primary argument with remarkable success.

Nearly all of the debate regarding women serving in combat specialties fixates specifically on female physiology. This is understandably so as the preponderance of studies conducted by the Department of Defense on gender integration place heavy emphasis on the physical capabilities of women service personnel. Far too much of the research, debate and focus has been directed to the singular myopic inquiry of, How heavy a pack can a female carry? Instead, the argumentative energies be directed to far more important philosophical issues and implications introduced by this controversy.

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1 Charles E. Rice, “Women in the Infantry: Understanding Issues of Physical Strength, Economics and Small Unit Cohesion,” *Military Review* 95, no. 2 (March–April 2015): 49–51.

2 Emma Moore, “The Marine Corps is Not Lowering Fitness and Training Standards,” 2 July 2018, [www.realcleardefense.com](http://www.realcleardefense.com)

3 Elizabeth M. Trobaugh, “Women, Regardless: Understanding Gender Bias in the U.S. Military Integration,” *Joint Forces Quarterly*, no. 88 (1st Quarter 2018): 53.

4 Robert Egnell, “Women in Battle: Gender Perspectives and Fighting,” *Parameters* 43, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 33–41.

## 2.0 A CIVIL-MILITARY RE-FRAMING

This essay proposes a redirection of the conversation from the physical carrying capacity of an infantryman to the relationship between the military and its government and people, and more broadly, the meaning of military service writ large.

In fairness, opponents to female integration into combat units do not dismiss the broader civil-military relationship issue out of hand. The most frequently articulated protest by military traditionalists when reacting to issues such as this is that the armed forces should not be a petri dish for social experimentation; this coincides with the argument that the pursuit of a “liberal political agenda” too often takes precedent over national security and readiness.<sup>5</sup> This position gets less attention than the physical arguments but warns that such a misplacement of priorities puts the nation’s safety at risk.<sup>6</sup> The military, instead, should be left alone to determine the means (manning, equipping, and training) to fight and win the nation’s wars. Their complaint inspires a broader question: should a military that is an all-volunteer force be made to demographically reflect the society it serves? Traditionalists frame this question in a frightening dichotomy. In deciding whether to allow women to serve in combat specialties, the American people are choosing between social diversity or the nation’s safety. One has to question, however, does the choice result in these mutually exclusive outcomes? Or can the military pursue equality and still maintain its superiority in military effectiveness? Those who champion this argument always frame diversity as intuitively reducing the military’s effectiveness and never consider that it could actually enhance it.

Supporters of this stance find intellectual reinforcement in what is arguably the foundational source of military professionalism, Samuel Huntington’s *The Soldier and the State*. In his thesis, which calls for objective control of the nation’s military, Huntington warns his readers that the “gravest domestic threat to national security” is the American liberal tradition.<sup>7</sup> Liberalism, according to Huntington, represents a singular focus on the individual at the cost of the collective, a championing of social justice vice social order and embraces pacifism. Therefore, he argues that “liberalism” is then the greatest enemy of military profession. Huntington calls for the distinct separation of the military profession from the spheres of politics and broader society. The military professional should only embrace obedience and recognize the values of “liberalism” as antithetical to his own professional ethos.

To be sure, women having the opportunity to serve in the armed forces is not at issue today as they have served in uniform in some capacity for more than a century. Moreover, their role has expanded to nearly every military occupation specialty, to include piloting helicopter aircraft, commanding wars ships and comprising more than 20% of the U.S. Air Force’s total personnel.<sup>8</sup> Over the last several decades, women have served bravely in uniform, been deployed to combat zones, and held high levels of command in all the services. But the question still remains—do women in the U.S. military enjoy the same social and professional equality as their male counterparts? And is denying their ability to serve in combat arms billets evidence of that inequality?

However, the soldier has played a crucial role in the sociopolitical construct of the republic and has been a foundational concept in the Western political tradition since ancient times. The earliest Western civilizations, the Greeks and Romans, embraced the concept of republicanism in their population, demanding that all citizens have to sacrifice for the common good of the republic. This sacrifice would come most commonly in the form of taxation, serving on juries, or most importantly, the nation-state’s defense. Both of these civilizations can attribute much of their nationalistic rise partially to their adoption of the citizen-soldier ideal, as they demanded that all free, able-bodied men provide military service as a condition of their

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<sup>5</sup> Fox News, “Trump Pentagon likely to abandon social experiments for core mission under Mattis, experts say,” 11 January 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Mike Fredenburg, “Putting Women in Combat Is an Even Worse Idea Than You’d Think,” *National Review*, 15 July 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, an imprint of Harvard University Press, 1957), 457.

<sup>8</sup> Kristy N. Kamarck, *Women in Combat: Issues for Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 13 December 2016), 13.

citizenship. This construct was revitalized in the modern era with the rise of the modern nation-state and championed by such theorists as Machiavelli and Jean Jacques Rousseau. This requirement of military service as an application of citizenship was brought to the new world in the form of the first militia systems in America as early as the first permanent English settlements in the seventeenth century required all free men of military age (usually 18–35) to serve in defense of their colony. This connection of military service as a duty to the state and the representation of attachment/obligation to the state directly connected it to the ideals of citizenship.<sup>9</sup>

However, the conversation about what military service means in the American tradition has become less frequently engaged as the nation nears a half century of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) instituted in 1973. For most citizens, the AVF is all they have ever known and remains the understood reality of who serves in the military and why. As a result, a decreasing number of Americans have worn the uniform and have accepted that doing so has been and will continue to be done by a microscopic percentage of the population. As a result of these decreasing numbers, many observers are noting now that U.S. servicemen and women enjoy privileged status among the citizenry as the military continues to reign as the institution most trusted by the population (nearly triple the popularity of the elected government) and that individual troops are bestowed with praise, congratulations, and gratitude.<sup>10</sup> In essence, soldiers in America enjoy elevated social and cultural status as military service is seen as unique, and because it is only pursued by a handful of citizens, it receives recognition beyond the expectations of normal citizenship.<sup>11</sup>

Since the Civil War, military service in the United States has most frequently been applied to national conscription. Traditionally, conscription is viewed as the practical necessity used by the federal government to meet the overwhelming manpower needs of the military in times of large-scale wars. But the modern selective service (and its capability to facilitate a military draft) means much more than the simple requirement to man a mass army. Military sociologists and political scientists identify two primary positive impacts from conscription.<sup>12</sup> The first is that a draft demands broader sacrifice made by a larger group of citizens, thereby increasing the shared burden in the defense of the republic. This creates a greater sense of patriotism and connection to the state. Secondly, conscription draws from a wider pool of talent, as it demands service from all able-bodied citizens, regardless of economic background or social status. Today, similar sentiments can be applied to broadening the field of applicants and opportunity for ground combat arms. Recent statistics indicate that pool for qualified recruits is shrinking as recruiters struggle to meet quotas for an operating force that has greater demands put upon it by national security commitments.<sup>13</sup> Philosophically, this could be a questionable time to embrace an exclusionary policy toward manpower requirements. Expanding the pool of the eligible, the draft demonstrates, expands the amount of talent available.

Second is the issue the relationship to the concept of citizenship. The connectivity between citizenship and military service has gradually eroded with the advent of the AVF as military service is now a choice and one made by an increasingly smaller part of the population. Nearly all those who do so argue that they serve out of sense of patriotism, duty, and obligation to protect the republic. Defending the republic allows for the

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<sup>9</sup> For a useful summary of the connection between military service and citizenship, see Eliot A. Cohen, *Citizens and Soldiers: The Dilemmas of Military Service* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 117–51. For studies on the concept of republicanism and American citizenship, see Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975).

<sup>10</sup> Jim Gobly, Lindsay P. Cohn, and Peter D. Feaver, “Thanks for Your Service: Civilians and Veteran Attitudes after Fifteen Years of War,” in *Warriors and Citizens: American Views of Our Military*, ed. Kori N. Schake and James Mattis (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2016), 97–142.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Bacevich, *Breach of Trust: How Americans Failed Their Soldiers and Their Country* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2013), 189–92.

<sup>12</sup> David R. Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam: Citizenship and Military Manpower Policy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989), 1–16.

<sup>13</sup> Recent news articles over the last five years chronicle a shrinking population of qualified candidates in the United States for military service. Many cite the statistic that approximately 71% of the nation’s youth are not qualified to serve under the current recruiting standards. In the last two years, studies conducted for USMC Recruiting Command cite decreased interest of military service in the eligible population and increased recruiter workload in order to meet recruiting goals in the last several years.

actualization of citizenship and subsequently, access to the opportunity that it provides to those who do answer the call to serve. It is the most conspicuous method for any person in society to demonstrate their worth through their selfless sacrifice for the good of the nation. The nation, therefore, demonstrates gratitude and offers privilege to citizens who serve. The greatest value and respect of citizens who serve, however, is reserved for those who serve in combat. African Americans recognized this connection between combat and citizenship recognition in every conflict since the Civil War, as they demanded the opportunity to serve on the front lines to prove their worth as citizens and their commitment to the nation by placing their lives on the line in the fiercest combat.<sup>14</sup>

This intersection of the government, military, and citizenry also needs greater attention in the debate of women in combat roles as opponents frequently rely on the social petri dish argument. Advocates for maintaining the combat arms as all male, lament that efforts at gender integration are motivated only by liberal politics and efforts to use the armed forces for sociocultural experimentation is an abuse of the nation's military.<sup>15</sup> They assert that such changes (whether it be race, gender, or sexual orientation/identity) is unnecessary, intrusive, counterproductive, and potentially dangerous. Politicians and social reformers who seek to use America's military for social justice causes have no business doing so and both elected officials and the citizenry have no business or right to meddle in manpower policies and should leave the armed forces alone.

History, however, does not support them in this effort as the broader dynamics of civil-military relations throughout the nation's history need to be properly contextualized. The American armed forces are funded by a popularly elected government and is staffed by volunteers from the citizenry. The federal government gives the military its mission, designs the system of service (in this case, all-volunteer), its organizational structure through federal law, and a social service network during their service to facilitate their lifestyles (medical, housing, education, family support, etc.). All of the Department of Defense is supported by federal taxpayer dollars as Congress appropriates spending for the military annually as one of the largest portions of the national budget, and the public continues to support the armed forces socially and culturally as the most popular institution in the United States.<sup>16</sup>

Historically, the American military has been consistently resistant to both political and social policy initiatives that it views to be a violation of its own expert assessment of the ideal conditions to fight and win the nation's wars. However, historian (and retired military officer) William A. Taylor in his study on American military service is keen to point out that the government has labored to ensure that the armed forces remain consistent with broader American values when it comes to the issue of who serves. Moreover, he notes that nearly every episode in which the military has thought that it knew what was best for the defense of the republic in these situations, that the government has always proven to be right in the end.<sup>17</sup>

The military frequently does itself a disservice in this debate through its inconsistent assessment of the civil-military gap. The military professional in the age of the All-Volunteer Force has often identified itself as isolated, misunderstood, and underappreciated by the government and people that they serve. They demand a better connection with society and a greater closeness in understanding.<sup>18</sup> But when asked to share and incorporate values and ideals from civilian politicians and society in order to better connect them, the

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14 Christine Knauer, *Let Us Fight as Free Men: Black Soldiers and Civil Rights* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 7-9

15 Center for Military Readiness, "Double-Think About Double Standards: 'Gender-Neutral' Training to Include Gender-Normed Scores," Center for Military Readiness Policy Analysis (November 2013), 1-8.

16 Gallup Poll, "Confidence In Institutions," 11 June 2017

17 William A. Taylor, *Military Service and American Democracy: From World War II to the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2016), 6. Taylor's work examines how the military has addressed the various broader social movements of the last 75 years (race, gender, homosexuality, conscription, etc.) and their effects on their personnel policy. Each of his case studies reinforces his general thesis that the federal government has always successfully overcome the military's conservative resistance to social change and make their values better coincide with broader American society to both the benefit of the armed forces and the national population.

18 Tod Lindberg, "The 'Very Liberal' View of the US Military," in *Warriors and Citizens: American Views of Our Military*, ed. Schake and Mattis, 221.

military professionals recoil at such notions as senselessly being manipulated and exploited.<sup>19</sup> The closing of the civil-military gap consists not just of the public's increased awareness of how the military functions but, more importantly, the need to conjoin values, participation, and share common ideals. The military outwardly desires more engagement and connection to the broader population, but when it comes to certain recruiting policies that could connect them to that population, it wants to be left alone. The American military will always be a national institution, and in situations where that responsibility cause discomfort within the institution itself and inspires resistance, it causes the civil-military gap to widen.

An examination of the more than 200-year history of the American civil-military tradition portrays a larger give-and-take and back-and-forth relationship between the civilian government and the armed forces.<sup>20</sup> When assessing the requirements necessary for maintaining the nation's security, Congress and the executive branch have had to weigh countless factors (economic, social, political, etc.). They have rarely given the military a proverbial blank check for all that it demands to accomplish in its mission. Indeed, the military experience is one of never truly being satisfied with what the government has allocated for them and will always view themselves as having to pursue overwhelmingly demanding tasks with deliberately restricted resources in personnel, materiel, technology, and overall funding. Every attempt by civilian lawmakers to give the military less than what it requests is often met with incredulous threats that doing so could come at the risk of not being able to win the nation's wars or keep the country secure.<sup>21</sup> Yet even with two centuries of Congress willfully not fulfilling their wishes, the military still continues to succeed on the world's battlefields and maintain its dominance among its competitors.

### 3.0 THE CIVIL-MILITARY VALUE OF GENDER INTEGRATION

Much like in other historical examples, traditionalists who resist social changes within the military nearly always fixate their protests on the negative outcomes of said changes. However, they rarely identify the consequences for maintaining the status quo. In this case, if the military becomes more exclusionary, it may invite the risk of reducing the pool of talented applicants for various duties. The DOD is already weighing the potential effects on recruiting/retention and public relations for its perceived embracing of misogyny, bias, and prejudice. The U.S. Marines, for example, in reaction to the Marines United scandal, has created the Personnel Studies and Oversight Office (PSO) to "ensure that the institution is properly recognizing, investing in, and leveraging the diversity of our Marines." The Assistant Commandant, General Glenn Walters, who pioneered this organization, asserts that attitudes such as bias and contempt actually damage the Corps' mission readiness. He vocally argues that a force that embraces inclusivity, equality, and tolerance create a better fighting force, not the opposite.<sup>22</sup> By standing up and championing PSO's mission, it will lead to reduced resistance from fellow general officers to inclusion of women in ground combat specialties.

By extension, the concept of egalitarianism and the question of who can serve extends to egalitarianism within the force itself, particularly in the AVF professional force. Those in combat arms demand egalitarianism in the maintenance of common standards of entrance and performance—and rightfully so. Perception of inequality has a negative impact on morale within units and the profession itself, as the belief

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19 There is a robust amount of literature chronicling resistance to social equality movements being "forced" on the U.S. military, which include volumes of articles and op-ed pieces over the last generation on such key topics as Don't Ask, Don't Tell, women in combat arms, and the service of transgender personnel. This literature also includes numerous books, nearly all of which chide the liberal political agendas that have driven these movements. See Janet Halley, *Don't: A Reader's Guide to the Military's Anti-Gay Policy* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Robert L. Maginnis, *Deadly Consequences: How Cowards are Pushing Women into Combat* (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing, 2013); Brian Mitchell, *Women in the Military: Flirting with Disaster* (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing, 1997); Kingsley Brown, *Co-ed Combat: The New Evidence That Women Shouldn't Fight the Nation's Wars* (New York: Sentinel, an imprint of Penguin Group, 2007).

20 Russell F. Weigley, "The American Civil-Military Cultural Gap: A Historical Perspective, Colonial Times to the Present" in *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*, ed. Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 215–46.

21 Richard H. Kohn, "Coming Soon: A Crisis in Civil-Military Relations," *World Affairs* 170, no. 3 (Winter 2008): 69–80.

22 Staff, Personnel Studies and Oversight Office, "Marines United," *Marine Corps Gazette*, 102 (March 2018), 33-34.

that all share an equal burden in meeting the same standards—and burden sharing creates unit cohesion. Both those in the combat arms communities benefit from the absence of egalitarianism between the MOS communities themselves, specifically with career progression and institutional leadership opportunities. For the highest flag officer billets, preference is given to those in ground combat specialties for the two ground services (USMC and Army). Nearly all the Joint Chiefs over the last half-century from both of those services have come from the infantry community as with countless other high-level flag officer billets.<sup>23</sup> Without access to opportunities to combat arms billets, female service personnel are by default denied the access to the highest levels of command and responsibility. So the question of who gets to serve in the military broadly then translates to who matters within the institution itself. This question of who matters broadens the discussion to the value of servicewomen overall to the nation's security and, again, to the connection of military service to their broader value as citizens.<sup>24</sup>

The issue also demands a more nuanced assessment of the military's role in the twenty-first century. The arguments from those who oppose women in combat, particularly those who fixate on physiological evidence, base their assessment exclusively through the lens of combat and conventional war.<sup>25</sup> However, the realities of the post-9/11 world have evolved the military into a broader role in national security strategy. Fighting and winning the nation's wars no longer adequately encapsulates the military profession's universal role as it is now more accurately serves as a key instrument in the projection of American interests, ideas, and values. The best means to accomplish this mission is to fashion a military that looks like America.<sup>26</sup> As the forward deployed military consistently represents the face of America, should it not look like America to those whom the nation looks to influence, embrace, and inspire? To wit, the traditional model of assessing a military's power through individual strength or toughness may be becoming more anachronistic and possibly counterproductive. While, to be sure, traditional hard power should seek to demonstrate strength to potential enemies and serve as a weighty deterrent to all adversaries.

But as the military increasingly functions as the ambassadors of Western liberal values in their effort to win "hearts and minds," and thus can contribute to this mission more effectively by being a visual representation of equality and opportunity for all as demonstrated by those wearing the uniform. This grand strategy demands a military of talent, intelligence, and judgment rather than pure physical endurance.<sup>27</sup> Air Force fighter pilots and Marine infantry continue to embrace the theories of Colonel John Boyd who contends that military success comes not to the strongest or best-equipped force but to the one that can think faster than their enemy.<sup>28</sup> If the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan are any indication of the requirements of conflicts to come, these wars will be determined by the sharpest minds, not the strongest backs.

If recent history indicates that this type of war has indeed become the reality for America's fighting forces, then it may call into question some of Samuel Huntington's premises regarding his perceived dangers of liberalism. Experts can agree that much of his civil-military theory viewed the role of the military profession

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23 Nelson Lim et al., *Officer Classification and the Future of Diversity Among Senior Military Leaders: A Case Study of the Army ROTC* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009), xiii.

24 For more studies on the intersection of women, military service and citizenship, see Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Kristen L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

25 Brigadier General George W. Smith, "United States Marine Corps Assessment of Women in Service Assignments," Memo, 18 August 2015.

26 Talent Management Operational Planning Team, Marine Corps History Division Archives Branch, Quantico, VA. The Marine Corps conducted a talent management study, led by current commandant General Robert B. Neller to examine how the USMC allocates talent. The study validated that greater diversity in personnel improved institutional effectiveness. The results of the study were never formally published or circulated.

27 The National Military Strategy of the United States of America: *The United States Military's Contribution To National Security*, 2015 (Washington, DC: Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2015), 14. The latest National Military Strategy reinforces this concept: "We are adapting our organizational culture. To enhance our warfighting capability, we must attract, develop, and retain the right people at every echelon. Central to this effort is understanding how society is changing. Today's youth grow up in a thoroughly connected environment. They are comfortable using technology and interactive social structures to solve problems. These young men and women are tomorrow's leaders and we need their service. Therefore, the U.S. military must be willing to embrace social and cultural change to better identify, cultivate, and reward such talent."

28 Robert Coram, *Boyd: The Fighter Pilot Who Changed the Art of War* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 2002), 327-344.

through the lens of the existential threat of the Soviet Union during the Cold War in which the future conflict would most certainly be a total war with only one nation surviving the outcome. This paradigm may not accurately reflect the conflicts of the twenty-first century, which may call for a different philosophical framework to understand the role of the military professional. Perhaps a more useful model is the one proposed by sociologist Morris Janowitz, whose seminal work, *The Professional Soldier* (1960), offers two concepts that better fit this dynamic. One, Janowitz challenges the idea that the military professional eschews the ideals and values of civilian society and instead argues that they should be leveraged to create a more dynamic officer corps. Secondly, he notes that most combat that American service personnel are most likely to encounter is that of “limited war”—small, political wars that require a much more nuanced, thoughtful, and varied collection of soldiers. He notes that America’s military is more likely to engage in a “constabulary” role, versus a large conventional war and will act more as police officers in the world, instead of warriors.<sup>29</sup> History demonstrates that conflicts of these kinds are best resolved by diverse military forces who bring diversity of thought and experience to situations that present a variety of challenges.

The greatest challenge to this issue is that the only way to truly assess if gender integration in ground combat arms impact combat effectiveness is through war itself.<sup>30</sup> In the absence of kinetic conflict, military thinkers, planners, and commanders are left to ponder and prognosticate what will make their force the most successful in the next fight.

They must tirelessly deliberate over which doctrine, demographic, organizational structure, and technology will give U.S. forces the best advantage against their potential adversaries. In the absence of real fighting (and killing), the military elite must rely on training, exercises and, oddly, history to provide any insight into what methods will be the crucial keys to victory. For the issue of gender integration, perhaps the latter can shed the most light as to its impact on the military’s future. The past cases of the armed forces having to engage in social equality issues, or the perennial debate of rights versus readiness may be a false dichotomy. For each instance where issues such as this have reached national attention, the egalitarian social reform forced upon the military have never identifiably caused a regression in their fighting capability. Those who have claimed of the inevitable decline in combat effectiveness as a result of such reforms have yet to provide valid data to prove their predications. So it should not be a false equivalency of “rights” versus “readiness” that determines the outcome of this decision. It would seem that the U.S. military could actually have both and still remain a prestigious military power on the world stage while also reflecting our egalitarian values.

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<sup>29</sup> Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, an imprint of Simon & Schuster, 1960), 417–40.

<sup>30</sup> Women have served countless times in combat in the Global War on Terrorism. The assertion here is that they would have to now validate their value serving in these previously excluded units/billets now in combat as well.