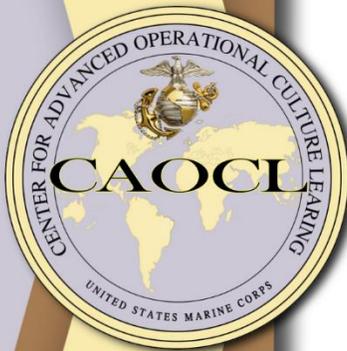


Quick-Look Report: USMC.2017.0005

**Insights from the Marine Corps Organizational Culture Research:
Implicit and Explicit Perceptions of Fairness**



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Publication Date: 21 August 2019

Distribution: UNLIMITED

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Executive Summary

This quick-look report¹ is derived from insights gained through a preliminary examination of the data gathered for the Marine Corps Organizational Culture Research Project. The report addresses data and analysis that can inform messaging and narrative transformation for issues involving gender; takeaways can be applied to other forms of diversity. The report focuses on implicit and explicit perceptions of fairness embedded in Marines' views on standards, especially as they pertain to physical fitness tests, and leadership. Detailing how fairness is a subjective, malleable, and relational concept, this report discusses the following:

- Depending on the context, Marines speak about fairness in different ways. Sometimes fairness means “the same, for everyone” (*parity*), while at other times it means treating people differently depending on their strengths and weaknesses and the situation (*equity*). Judgments of fairness are made relationally, comparing one’s own experience with an ideal, a perception of another person’s experience, or institutional messaging.
- Explicitly invoking a parity-based approach to fairness, many Marines see gender-specific standards as unfair. Many of these same Marines, however, believe that men and women are inherently different and that women cannot achieve male fitness standards. Conversely, other Marines believe that the physiological differences between men and women mean that fairness in standards *necessarily entails* having different standards.
- Discussing how standards are determined – and how they are never actually neutral – might address some of the anger over having gender-specific physical fitness standards or over the biases inherent in “gender-neutral” standards (such as with uniforms).
- In the case of leadership, treating people differently based on their characteristics and the context is often viewed as an ideal of leadership. Implicit in this view is an equity-based approach to fairness that sees a thoughtfully tailored approach to leadership as ideal.

The differences in meaning surrounding the idea of fairness that already exist provide an opportunity for the Marine Corps to more finely tune its messaging to achieve the desired effect. Some Marines are already talking about standards using language that invokes an equity-based approach to fairness and many use such language while talking about good leadership. Messaging surrounding divisive issues like gender-specific standards might benefit from a conscious and targeted framing of fairness when the Corps is trying to convey the idea of equity rather than absolute sameness.

Likewise, Marine Corps leaders should be mindful of the messages they may inadvertently convey in talking about standards. For example, the word “accommodation” evokes the idea of a less-able group needing to be given special treatment to fit into the dominant group. This language might possibly trigger people resistant to things like promoting diversity in the Marine Corps because it might be viewed as a weakening of the force. The Marines who participated in this project were able to speak about accommodation in terms of avoiding formulaic leadership and the benefits

¹ This Quick-Look Report was produced as part of the Translational Research Group’s ongoing series of “quick look” publications, which provide overviews of scientific issues, books, and articles. Other publications in the series include the Book Digests and other Quick-Look Reports. The intent of this series of publications is to provide knowledge that can inform a range of discussions and leadership deliberations on programs or policy.

of “getting to know your Marines,” both of which are approaches to talking about accommodating and leveraging diversity that might provoke less reactivity.

Introduction

After a preliminary analysis of interviews and focus group transcripts from the Marine Corps Organizational Culture Research (MCOCR) Project,² it is evident that Marines hold varying perspectives on the concept of fairness. Some of these perspectives were stated explicitly, while others were implied in the stories and insights Marines shared with researchers.³ Because the researchers used in-depth, semi-structured interviews and focus groups,⁴ they were able to capture the various ways that Marines talked about fairness within the complex narratives they presented. In this report, I draw out two of the most common conceptions of fairness that arose in the data – parity and equity – and highlight how they are leveraged by Marines to express ideas about standards and leadership.⁵

In drawing out Marines’ perceptions of fairness, I aim to demonstrate the subjectivity and malleability of the concept as it exists among Marines and within an individual’s own narrative. Further, I explore the importance of examining fairness as relational. That is, judgment calls about fairness always need a referent – be it another person, an ideal, or organizational credo – against which a person measures their own experience. Difficulties can arise when someone’s idea of fairness does not match up with what they perceive to be happening within the organization or when they perceive someone else as receiving better treatment than him or herself. I focus on the subjectivity, malleability, and relational nature of fairness to suggest that messaging and language surrounding fitness standards and the integration of women might benefit from consciously handling portrayals of fairness.

² The MCOCR Project was an exploratory project designed to gather Marines’ experiences and perspectives about leadership, cohesion, and gender bias. Fieldwork for the project was conducted between August and October of 2017 under Marine Corps Human Research Protocol #USMC.2017.0005. Researchers traveled to bases on both coasts of the US and in Japan and conducted interviews and/or focus groups with 267 Marines in total. While transcripts from the interviews and focus groups are still being cleaned and scrubbed, researchers have been able to gain preliminary insights through field notes and initial transcript reviews. NOTE: Transcript excerpts in this report are cited using the sex and rank of the participant and the location of the interview or focus group. While including MOS might provide readers additional context for the statements, the project’s Principal Investigator determined that doing so would create undue risk of identification for participants.

³ There were eight researchers for the project, including one active duty Marine captain and one retired Marine major. This report was prepared and written by me alone, although I did obtain the help and feedback from other team members.

⁴ Interviews lasted for an average of one hour, while focus groups tended to last for about one and a half hours. The in-depth, semi-structured format of these methods allowed for participants to spend time on the topics they felt most relevant. Researchers used prepared questions as prompts as opposed to strict scripts, allowing for unforeseen themes and discussions to emerge.

⁵ This report was written in the context of discussions with Marine Corps leaders seeking ways to change messaging and behavior related to gender, inclusion, and diversity. Its emphasis on ways to shift thinking and discourse toward more open and inclusive models is in response to those discussions. This emphasis should not be construed as the only way the perspectives Marines provided can be interpreted.

The Many Faces of Fairness

Fairness is neither universal nor objective, nor is it set in stone.⁶ It is a contextually specific concept that exists both as an ideal and as a lived reality. Often, a disconnect between the ideal and the lived reality causes personal strife and social discord, while alignment creates contentedness and a sense of justness. We saw both cases in the Marines with whom we spoke.

The field of organizational justice talks about how employees perceive fairness in the workplace and explores how individuals often measure their situation against *their perception* of a colleague's situation using an input-to-output ratio.⁷ So, for example, if a worker believes that she is putting in more time and effort but getting less reward than her colleague, she may make a negative judgment about the organization for which she works. Organizational justice literature also provides insight into the unique nature of assessing fairness in an institution where a person willingly enters into an agreement where other people (management) have authority over them, thereby contractually ceding some of their personal liberty. In yielding power to another person, an individual runs the risk of being exploited, causing employees to be vigilant about fairness and injustice.⁸ Social science, in general, has also taught us that culture, though immeasurable and immaterial in many ways, plays an important role as an arbiter of what people perceive to be fair or not.^{9,10} For Marines, the primacy of the combat arms and the persistence of the "every Marine a rifleman"¹¹ credo work to organize values and shape ideas of what is necessary and thus fair.

I use these insights to guide an examination of Marines' perceptions of fairness. I frame the discussion around two broad theoretical and experiential foundations of fairness – parity and equity. **Parity** is used to describe measurable sameness. **Equity** can be described as providing people what they need to succeed, with the underlying notion that not everyone has the same strengths or weaknesses. While these conceptions of fairness are not diametrically opposed, they often stand in contrast to each other. As illustrated below, fairness is a powerful concept to use as a foundation on which to support a viewpoint, but the integrity of that foundation often goes unquestioned. When individuals and groups leverage fairness without explicitly defining it, they run up against complications when others implicitly define it in a contrasting way. This is not unique to the Marine Corps and can be seen in broader political discourses as well. For example, both sides of the

⁶ A full review of philosophical scholarship on the concept of fairness, more commonly referred to as justice in the literature, is beyond the scope of this report. An overview of western philosophies of justice can be found in the Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy at <https://www.iep.utm.edu/justwest/>. Of particular note for this report, some scholars, such as John Rawls and Robert Nozick, have debated the tension between liberty and justice in the landscape of fairness, asking, when does one's liberty cause injustice for others? Any culture – be it on the scale of a nation or an organization – will run into this tension, as interacting with others as a member of a group entails necessary give and take.

⁷ Jerald Greenberg, "A Taxonomy of Organizational Justice Theories," *Academy of Management Review* 12, no. 1(1987): 9-22.

⁸ Russell Cropanzano, Zinta S. Byrne, D. Ramona Bobocel, and Deborah E. Rupp, "Moral Virtues, Fairness Heuristics, Social Entities, and other Denizens of Organizational Justice," *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 58(2001): 164-209.

⁹ See, for example: Jennifer Jensen, Suzanne de Castell, and Mary Bryson, "Girl Talk: Gender, Equity, and Identity Discourses in a School-Based Computer Culture," *Women's Studies International Forum* 26, no. 6(2003): 561-573.

¹⁰ For example, someone living in a society with a greater emphasis on personal liberty might have a lower tolerance for social redistribution programs and a greater propensity to see them as unfair.

¹¹ I use "every Marine a rifleman" here and throughout the paper as a shorthand for the cultural identity that is perpetuated by the Corps' focus on readiness and lethality. That is, beyond marksmanship and the pragmatics of being able to hit a target, I see "every Marine a rifleman" as an aphorism that is part and parcel of the cultural identity of the Marine Corps as a lethal fighting force. Standards like the PFT are one (large) stream that feeds into this cultural identity.

affirmative action debate cite (un)fairness as a reason for their platforms and actions, but each side defines the concept differently. While some take a contextually broad approach and see affirmative action as leveling the playing field by making up for the historical and structural disadvantages faced by minorities, others see it as unfair because they believe the playing field starts off as level and that achievements are earned through individual merit alone. Awareness of these two ways of perceiving fairness might help the Marine Corps tailor its narratives in a manner that avoids ambiguity.

Parity and Standards

In interviews and focus groups, parity appeared most strongly in discussions of measurable standards, namely the physical fitness test (PFT) and the combat fitness test (CFT). Despite the 2013 changes in female PFT standards to include pull-ups, thereby making the *events* of the tests gender-neutral,¹² many of the male Marines who participated in this research took issue with the fact that women need to do fewer pull-ups and do not have to run as fast as the men to receive the same scores. They cite the numbers as proof positive of inequality. A gunnery sergeant's¹³ thoughts on the matter captured this viewpoint:

Just like the PFT standards. I don't know if that question will come up, but are they equal? Are they required to meet equal physical standards? No, it doesn't take a scientist to study that. They need to do this many pull-ups, and I need to do this many. Is that equal? No. Four and four is equal. 20 and 20 is equal. That's equal. So either we're equal, or we're not. I just, I hate that we try to act like they are, and we're trying to push for equal standards, but we don't.

Aside from the perceived unfairness of having different standards for men and women, a clear theme that comes through in the above quote is irritation that the organization of the Marine Corps is espousing one thing but doing another. The gunnery sergeant expressed this through a general understanding that the Marine Corps promotes equality as a value, though he does not go into detail about how he believes the Marine Corps defines equality. This perspective of physical fitness standards and fairness was common.

During another interview, a captain¹⁴ took a slightly different approach when he read to me the definition of discrimination in Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Manual (EOM). Afterwards, he cited the example of having different uniforms and haircut standards for women as meeting the definition of institutional discrimination¹⁵ that the EOM provides. His point was not to suggest that women wear the same uniforms and have the same haircut as men, but instead to provide an example of a clear contradiction of policy and action:

¹² A look at the history of PFT changes in the Marine Corps shows wide variation in the ways Marines have been tested for physical fitness, with two large periods of time during which there is no evidence of fitness standards at all (from 1775 to 1908 and 1918 to 1955). Women have had physical fitness standards only since 1969. For women, pull-ups can now be done in place of the flexed arm hang, which was the gender-specific event used to measure women's upper body strength up until pull-ups became an option in 2013. [source: McGuire, Brian (USMCR Col, ret., Deputy Director, Force Fitness Division). USMC Physical Standards: Development, Implementation, and Assessment. Presentation at the 2019 NATO Symposium on the Integration of Women into Ground Combat, 6 February 2019.]

¹³ Participant #054, Male, Gunnery Sergeant, MCB Camp Lejeune, 23 August 2017.

¹⁴ Participant #209, Male, Captain, Pentagon, 7 September 2017.

¹⁵ "Policies, procedures, or practices that, intentionally or unintentionally, lead to differential treatment of selected identifiable groups and which, through usage and custom, have attained official or semiofficial acceptance in the routine functioning of the organization/institution." (Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Manual, 14 April 2003, p. F-3).

[H]ow is having a different standard for men and women not institutional discrimination? [referring to definition of discrimination in Marine Corps orders] ... I just think it's a double standard. ... Then you ask them like all the while, "Why do we have female uniforms?" Yeah, well, you know, "Don't ask those questions."

He gave the example of a female colleague of his who would prefer to wear her hair in a shorter, more masculine style, but the rules prohibit her from doing so.

[S]he has like a fade, but their hair at any point can't be shorter than like half an inch or so. And like that actually like bothers her 'cause like she wants to be kind of more masculine and the Marine Corps literally doesn't allow her. Like she would be like breaking the rules if she got a haircut. I get- I mean, from a casual observer's perspective, it'd looked like kind of the same haircut, but like she can't like per the rules get like get this close [*points to his own hair*]. It has to be like, more like this length [*demonstrates length*].

He informed me that he had written a letter to Marine Corps leaders at the Equal Opportunity Office addressing his concern and that he felt that their response was to brush his concerns aside and imply that he "quit asking questions." This is a clear case where organizational credo, as encapsulated in actual policy, departs from what this Marine perceives as fair on a day-to-day basis, hence the captain's perspective that the Marine Corps has a "double standard."

Many of the men who were upset about women having lower fitness standards also talked about how women's physiological differences (as they understood them^{16,17}) prevented women from performing like men. For example, the gunnery sergeant¹⁸ from above said:

[W]e're created differently, male and female, and men know that, and females know it too. But it doesn't matter if we're Marines. It doesn't matter if we're told everyone is green, but all the same. Doesn't matter what you tell me. I still live with the human condition, the human condition is this: females are different. I'm married to a woman. She's my wife. I treat a female differently than I do a male.

A sergeant¹⁹ had a similar view of irreconcilable physical differences between men and women:

[W]e [the Marine Corps] want to make, you know, we're saying that women are equal to men and everything is equal, and then people may look at PFT and CFT. Well, why do I have to run in 26 minutes and she is asked to run in 28 or 29? But then you also

¹⁶ There is not enough room in this paper to discuss the complicated and largely erroneous understandings Marines have about physiology and sex differences. Physical strength and ability are greatly influenced by environment, including culture, and are thus not purely genetically determined and can be altered with conditioning. For example, in the U.S., men and women are expected or encouraged to do different things with their bodies from a very young age and thereby develop different muscle sets and different bone densities. Therefore, the observable different capabilities in segments of a population at a particular point in time do not necessarily point to an underlying, unalterable genetic difference.

¹⁷ "Misunderstandings about the relationship between genetic potential and observable physical or mental capabilities create challenges at individual and organizational levels. At individual and unit levels, Marines need to know and operate with the actual, developed capabilities of their peers, not their, perhaps undeveloped, genetic potentials. Yet when they confuse the current capabilities of individuals with the genetic potential of entire segments of the population, it can lead to unwarranted bias toward and against those parts of the population. At the service level, the Marine Corps must also work with the population it inherits from society. Unfortunately, if long-term policies are set on the basis of how the population is developed at this particular moment in time, it could cause the service to blind itself to the future potential of some segments of the population. Additionally, when inaccurate folk theories of biology rather than science drive decision-making, it can blind the service even to current potentials." (Kerry Fosher. "Research Notes: Folk Theories of Biology in the Marine Corps." Personal Research Materials Collection, 2017.)

¹⁸ Participant #54, Male, Gunnery Sergeant, MCB Camp Lejeune, 23 August 2017.

¹⁹ Participant #115, Male, Sergeant, MCB Camp Pendleton, 13 September 2017.

have to look at physiologically men and women are built differently. Men have more muscle mass. Why is the NFL all male? Why do the Olympics, you know, have men compete against men and women compete against women? There's a physiological difference that we have to consider as well.

Yet other Marines tied their argument for a single standard to the need to be able to perform alongside men in combat. This sergeant²⁰ expressed that viewpoint:

If we had one standard, I'd be more comfortable with it. But if I think you might have to drag my bleeding body to a helicopter and I know you are legitimately and objectively not as strong as your male peers, I have to wonder about my own health and safety. And I don't want to disparage female Marines. They are what they are. Some of them are awesome at their jobs. Some of them are beasts at PT. But, again, those are outliers. I'm not gonna say they're not competent. I'm not gonna say they can't fight. I'm not gonna say they can't be proficient with a weapon or anything else. But I think it's disingenuous to just disregard biological differences. But it's not politically expedient to do so.

This Marine's view of fairness is embedded in a culture where combat readiness reigns supreme and is upheld by the "every Marine a rifleman" cultural identity and attendant value construct. The primacy of the infantry in Marine Corps culture sets ideals that can affect even military occupational specialties (MOSs) in which combat skillsets are less necessary. Women (and men) in these other MOSs get viewed through this same combat lens despite their need for other characteristics, skills, and abilities to meet Marine Corps requirements.²¹ This discord, unresolved, was something heard in multiple interviews and focus groups.

Problematizing Parity and Demystifying Standards

In holding up organizational credo – whether it be definitions from policy or a general sense of Marine Corps values – next to the disparity in male/female standards, some Marines make a relational judgment call of unfairness built on the concept of parity. However, we also get the sense that, because numbers are the easiest thing to compare – much easier to compare than intangible qualities that go into being a good and capable Marine, the double standard of physical fitness, especially the marked difference in pull-ups, is often an easy target and could possibly be a proxy for other grievances that Marines have with the Marine Corps. Presented as objective evidence of unfairness, fitness standards might be a valve through which anger over more complex issues – be it a change in policy or the presence of women in general – is released. One major²² called this a "red herring," noting, "There are plenty of [male] grunts that aren't meeting the mark. So I think the

²⁰ Participant #049, Male, Sergeant, MCB Camp Lejeune, 23 August 2017.

²¹ Anger over PFT standards must be considered in light of the way that scores are used in the Marine Corps. Beyond being measures of physical fitness, these scores "travel" and create meaning in other realms. Certain institutional practices add extra weight to the PFT and make it more high stakes than a mere measure of physical fitness. For instance, PFT scores are formally used in promotion boards. Additionally, PFT scores – within an organization that has long valorized physical strength – can be *informally* used to make up for a Marine's non-measurable strengths or weaknesses. A former Marine who gave feedback on this paper noted that some leaders might use a high PFT score to inflate a Marine's proficiency and conduct score. Moreover, Marines judge themselves and each other using PFT scores as indicators of who is a "good" Marine and who is not. Of course, like all indicators, PFT scores are simplistic proxies for a more complex reality.

²² Participant #053, Male, Major, Interview, MCB Camp Lejeune, 23 August 2017.

physical piece, that's a red herring."²³ A sergeant²⁴ suggested that it was something that was more pervasive among junior enlisted:

I haven't heard any sort of negative talk about the different standards at the corporal, sergeant ranks. That's more like the lance corporal speak, you know, they are talking to each other and angry that they have to take the PFT in the first place, so to channel that anger they are gonna complain about how the standards are different.

Whatever the case may be, in creating an "unfair impasse" by combining parity, fitness standards, and perceived physiological differences, some Marines – intentionally or not – stifle any further conversation.

However, the dissonance encapsulated in the "women are different, but it's unfair to have different standards" perspective points to a prime challenge with a parity approach to standards: standards are never neutral.²⁵ The genesis of any standard is often mystified. That is, the way in which it was extrapolated and from what data do not travel with the standard itself, creating a free-floating standard that appears as though it is universal and free from bias. The lack of transparency about inherent bias in standards clashes with the parity ideal that suggests "the same, for everyone" as the way to facilitate equality. While appealing in its black-and-white simplicity, the concept of parity as it applies to standards is fundamentally flawed. The Marine Corps is not alone in having this challenge. In many occupations in the U.S., the standards for what capabilities are needed for success are based on how one part of the population, often men, achieve that success. Such standards, whether intentionally or not, can end up leading to the assumption that success can *only* be achieved in that way.²⁶ There are similar assumptions in standards of appropriate appearance and attire, as can be seen in women's business attire, which often mimics a man's suit, although neither piece of clothing has any practical effect on one's ability to do the work.

A captain²⁷ illustrated the problem with parity while talking about uniforms: "The uniform change that we experienced and are continuing to experience, basically it was pitched as this gender neutral uniform. It's not gender neutral. Making females buy male uniform items never was gender neutral." A gunnery sergeant²⁸ descriptively emphasized this point:

God forbid I say, "You know what? I got boobs, so can the flak jacket have a little bit of a curve to it so I can breathe when I'm hiking for 12 miles [*chuckles*] instead of pressing on my chest and I can get in the prone position without it hitting my Kevlar and blocking my eyes to see what the hell I'm shooting at? That is set up for failure. ... I cannot reach my potential as the other person that has everything designed. Let

²³ This participant (*ibid*) also articulated an MOS-specific schema for standards, distinguishing those MOSs that "require a physical standard" from those that do not: "I do think there absolutely should be one physical standard for MOSs that require a physical standard. You need to be able to do this many pull-ups, this many crunches, run this far this fast to be an 0311, period. If you can do that, you can be an 0311. If you can't, you can't." Several of the Marines who participated in this study had a similar view, acknowledging that not every MOS is physically demanding. The fact that physical standards are upheld even in non-physically demanding MOSs is, of course, indicative of the organizational culture of the Marine Corps, where the ethos of "every Marine a rifleman" and combat readiness shape expectations and values.

²⁴ Participant #106, Male, Sergeant, Interview, Pentagon, 7 September 2017.

²⁵ Todd Rose, *The End of Average: How We Succeed in a World that Values Sameness* (New York: HarperCollins, 2015).

²⁶ This is not to suggest that the Marine Corps does not or should not make choices about different models of how to achieve success. An organization of the size and complexity of the Marine Corps cannot flex to incorporate all possible combinations of capabilities that might be successful in accomplishing its missions.

²⁷ Participant #058, Female, Captain, Focus Group, MCAS Cherry Point, 24 August 2017.

²⁸ Participant #136, Female, Gunnery Sergeant, MCAS Yuma, 25 September 2017.

me wear a size 12 shoes when I'm seven and a half and go run for three miles. See how that works. [*interviewer chuckles*] That's exactly what happening.

The gunnery sergeant notes how turning a blind eye to difference in the name of a parity-based view of fairness is “set up for failure.” An equity-based approach, however, would take into account differences *expressly* to set up all parties for success.

The “set up for failure” mindset extends beyond uniforms. This major²⁹ captured the need for the Marine Corps to move away from a “one-size-fits-all” approach to the ideal Marine:

The Marine Corps, in my experience, it's kind of a one-size-fits-all, that we've had a one-size-fit-all institution. And I believe as a culture, as a society, we are starting to learn and realize that you can't pigeonhole humans like that. That when you-when you make a requirement so stringent that it's a one-size-fits-all, that everybody must meet these certain metrics or these certain requirements, that you lose out on a lot of things, whether it's ideas, ideals, thoughts, it goes on and on and on. And I would say we're now, as an institution, beginning to realize that one size fits all, the six-foot blond-haired, blue-eyed, barrel-chested, can do 100 push-ups and 20 pull-ups and can run an 18 minute three mile, that that's not the only Marine that we need. And I think we're starting to realize that. But I think as it relates to society and as it relates to maybe the other services to a small scale, that we are behind.

Noting how a strict adherence to certain metrics and measurements generates a narrow pool of “ideas, ideals, [and] thoughts,” the major suggests that a fixation on measurable and largely physical traits actually puts the Marine Corps at a loss relative to broader society, which is “starting to learn and realize that you can't pigeonhole humans like that.” He therefore implies that society writ large recognizes the advantages of diversity in a way the Marine Corps as of yet does not.

An Equity-Based Approach to Standards

Many of the Marines who participated in this research had no issue with different male and female standards. Some of these Marines situated their view of fairness in a way that was more in line with equity than parity. For instance, this warrant officer³⁰ articulated an equity-based approach to physical fitness standards:

It's [different male and female standards] almost [like] grading on a curve. So what can females do for the female group? What can a man do for the male group? And it's all based off of the scoring system for PFTs and CFTs, and for everything else you're graded the same, like your pros and cons, your proficiency and your conduct markings or your performance evaluations that's graded by the book ... The only thing that is really different is that performance standards of the PFT and the CFT.

In equating different male and female standards to “grading on a curve,” he is demonstrating a perception of fairness that is not as rigid as “equal or not equal.” This approach takes into account the differing capabilities of men and women, which those with a parity-approach portray as an insurmountable obstacle to fairness. However, as “grading on a curve” has negative connotations for some, this language, like “accommodation,” might not be ideal for narrative transformation.

²⁹ Participant #418, Male, Major, Focus Group, MCB Camp Butler, 18 October 2017.

³⁰ Participant #023, Male, Warrant Officer, Interview, MCB Camp Lejeune, 22 August 2017.

Another Marine used language that is less triggering to describe an equitable approach to standards. After noting that she does not know where fitness standards came from, the same captain³¹ who called out the “gender neutral” uniforms above talked about how having equal standards might mitigate men’s complaints that women have it easier. However, the way she described “equal standards” diverges from parity to take on a more equitable approach:

PT standards, I don't know how they came up with those numbers. I don't know how that happened. I have no idea. ... Because [if standards are equal,] then there's no complaints about how, “Well, the only reason she's doing better is because she doesn't have to do as many pull-ups as me or she doesn't have to run as fast as I do.” So, biological differences aside, there must be some way that you can come up with an equal standard that is challenging but that still evaluates everyone equally, the way that it should be.

By linking the concepts “equal standard” with “evaluate everyone equally,” the captain implies an approach to fairness in standards that is not based on parity. While she recognizes the need to have equal standards, the equality in her vision is based on outcome evaluation and not the raw numbers at the outset. This is an example of how slight changes in language can shift focus and perspective, and it challenges the perspectives of Marines who use a parity-based approach to fairness to argue that having different standards is unequivocally unfair.

Equitable Leadership: Knowing Your Marines

In descriptions of leadership, it was very common for Marines to use an equity-based approach. Many suggested that “getting to know your Marines” was important because you could better lead your Marines if you had a sense of their strengths and weaknesses, what was going on in their lives, and what motivated them. I describe this as equitable leadership.³² In first-person narratives of good leadership, cutting a Marine some slack because they were experiencing a serious personal issue, for example, was viewed as a sign of a fair and understanding leader.³³ The underlying conception of fairness inherent in this mindset is based on equity, where treating people differently according to their position and needs is seen as virtuous. A 1st lieutenant³⁴ explained:

[I]t's the job of leadership to understand the differences, to know their Marines. And I know that's said all the time, but I don't think it ever sinks in. You need to know your Marines well enough to know what their strengths and weaknesses are and how to utilize those strengths and weaknesses to make them a better person.

Naturally, not everyone has the same strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, this approach to leadership would entail treating everyone a bit differently. The 1st lieutenant does not equate this with special treatment or unfairness but instead with the process of producing a better Marine.

³¹ Participant #058, Female, Captain, Focus Group, MCAS Cherry Point, 24 August 2017.

³² This style of leadership has been described using other names, such as post-heroic leadership (cf. Joyce K. Fletcher, “The Paradox of Post Heroic Leadership: Gender Matters,” *The Leadership Quarterly*, 15 (2004): 647-661). I use the term equitable leadership here solely to highlight this paper’s focus on fairness and the concepts of equity and parity, not to suggest an alternative branding of the concept.

³³ In conversation with a former Marine [LtCol Michael Purcell (ret., tank officer)] about this report, he suggested that this mindset is shaped by the type of leadership required in operational environments, where the changing contexts and ever-shifting variables demand that a leader be less by-the-book and use more personal discretion. This type of leadership entails an empowerment of Marines to make their own decisions based on the “spirit of the law” versus the “word of the law.”

³⁴ Participant #047, Male, 1st Lieutenant, Interview, MCB Camp Lejeune, 23 August 2017.

Similarly, during a focus group, a chief warrant officer 2³⁵ described the connection between “knowing your Marines” and “foster[ing] the traits that we want to keep”:

I often use the analogy of, you have a Marine that shows up UA³⁶ three, four days in a row. Well, instead of hammering him, “Hey, what's going on, devil?” “Oh, well, my wife, she was just diagnosed with cancer, so I'm trying to help her with this stuff.” “Well, why didn't you come talk with us?” “Well, I just...you're an officer or you're a staff NCO. I didn't want to come talk to you.” That's knowing your Marines. And I think that's how we foster the traits that we want to keep.

Not all Marines use the language of “knowing your Marines.” A PFC,³⁷ when asked by the interviewer what he would recommend to ask subsequent interviewees about leadership, described this tailored leadership style as “accommodation”:

I would definitely just ask about ... how they would deal with a situation. Like how they would deal with a Marine, and ask if there's a specific formula of doing it or if they accommodate depending on who the Marine is. Like if they knew that person and how they would react to things, like I would ask them if they would accommodate for that Marine.

This same PFC talked about how, although he has little experience leading Marines, he has been a leader in other areas of his life. In his experience, accommodating for the uniqueness of individuals achieves “better results” than treating them according to a “certain written down formula”:

I personally, I've always accommodated for people. I feel like you get better results that way. You get better performance, you develop relationships, and I feel like it's more respectful, because if you're treating everyone the same way or ... putting someone to a certain written down formula, like try to punish them based off of that or being in a situation where you're upset with someone, like I don't know. It [accommodation] just works better. You're going to get a lot better performance out of your Marines, your workers, whoever.

In this scenario, the PFC clearly does not see policy clashing with action like the captain who wrote a letter to EO leaders and instead sees the formulaic treatment of individuals as counterproductive. This is a great example of how language matters. His use of the word “accommodation” can cloud people’s understanding of his intent. The word “accommodation” prefigures a less-able group needing accommodation into the dominant group. Use of this particular word to describe equitable leadership might possibly trigger people resistant to things like promoting diversity in the Marine Corps because it might be viewed as a weakening of the force. His imagery of “formulaic leadership” to describe rigid leadership practices as well as the more common refrain of “getting to know your Marines” to describe more flexible ones, however, might provoke less reactivity.

The Role of Empathy in Equitable Leadership

Many Marines who participated in this research talked about the importance of empathy in good leadership. For instance, during at least one focus group³⁸ and one interview,³⁹ Marines suggested

³⁵ Participant #057, Male, Chief Warrant Officer 2, Focus Group, MCAS Cherry Point, 24 August 2017.

³⁶ Unauthorized absence.

³⁷ Participant #039, Male, Private First Class, Interview, MCB Camp Lejeune, 23 August 2017.

³⁸ Participant #203, Female, Major, Focus Group, MCB Quantico, 6 September 2017.

³⁹ Participant #126, Male, Major, Interview, MCAGCC Twentypalms Palms, 19 September 2017.

that one of the Es from JJDIDTIEBUCKLE⁴⁰ be replaced with “empathy.” Some Marines used the word “compassion,” while others described situations in which they were able to put themselves in someone else’s shoes. Whatever the language, this suggests that empathy is something that Marines value but that they perceive to be discouraged or undervalued by the Marine Corps. Empathy is also a key element of equitable leadership, as it facilitates “knowing your Marines” by moving away from the “one-size-fits-all” approach of “formulaic leadership.” Speaking to this distinction, a captain⁴¹ talked about how the mentality of “look[ing] at everyone like they’re equal, then they’ll just be equal” does not adequately address the differences in people. She used the word “empathy” to talk about what this method is lacking:

I know that I’ve been through things that are very specific to being female. And then I know that my friends have gone through things that are very similar, and that we have struggled differently, solely based on gender. And I think that, as a culture, or as a Marine Corps, there is this perception that, if we look at everyone like they’re equal, then they’ll just be equal, which is just false. It’s not true. It’s a terrible way to look at the problem. And I think it lacks the empathy ... we were talking about earlier to address the issues and solve them.

Echoing this sentiment, a lieutenant colonel⁴² reflected on how she used to treat everyone the same because she “completely accepted the Marine Corps’ cultural norm on face value.” She lamented that this made her “part of the problem,” especially when it came to pregnant women:⁴³

[U]p until the time that I became a mother as a lieutenant colonel with sixteen years of service, I had no idea what the challenges were for pregnant service women and also for new mothers. And I’m ashamed to admit that I was part of the problem because I completely accepted the Marine Corps’ cultural norm on face value and did what I thought was appropriate as a supervisor, which was to hold my females accountable the same way I’d hold men accountable. And so, no, I was not inclined to give any sort of accommodation. I wanted the doctor’s note for everything. I was awful. I was absolutely awful. And after I became a mother where I could find them, I sent emails to the women who I had been a supervisor of and I apologized to them because it was- I was perpetuating a system that is not very accommodating.

She went on to tell a personal story that she’s “horrified” by after her shift in perspective:

When I was a major at Headquarters Marine Corps, did I have to give the captain with a new baby a hard time because she was having problems being able to support the Marine Corps Marathon on a Saturday? Did I have to do that? No. But did I do it? Yes, because I felt that was expected. And I told this line of, “Well, everybody has got to,” you know, “show up at Butler Stadium at 3 o’clock in the morning to be counted until 5 o’clock to get on the bus to stir the Gatorade.” And now I look back and I’m horrified that I put that female Marine through that level of crap over it. But I did

⁴⁰ An acronym for Marine Corps leadership traits: Justice, Judgement, Dependability, Initiative, Decisiveness, Tact, Integrity, Enthusiasm, Bearing, Unselfishness, Courage, Knowledge, Loyalty, Endurance

⁴¹ Participant #058, Female, Captain, Officer Focus Group, MCAS Cherry Point, 24 August 2017.

⁴² Participant #603, Female, Lieutenant Colonel, Interview, Pentagon, 6 September 2017.

⁴³ Marital status and parenthood were both issues in which ideas of fairness crystalized. Though not a primary consideration of this paper, these two topics would be fruitful areas to mine for ideas relating not only to fairness but also to work/life balance, single-parenthood, dual military families, motherhood vs. fatherhood in the Marine Corps, and changes in perspective among individual Marines. This lieutenant colonel’s story is one of several that involve this shift.

because that's what was expected. And in fact, you know, my bosses, men expected me to do that and I didn't see anything wrong with it.

Like the captain who discussed empathy, the lieutenant colonel noted that she was only able to treat pregnant women differently when she empathized with them through shared experience.

A gunnery sergeant⁴⁴ described his shift in perspective on LGBTQ⁴⁵ community members in the Service. It was only after, during the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell, listening to then-President Obama talk about how "once upon a time, African Americans couldn't serve in the military" that he began to empathize with LGBTQ service members:

In the company of all men, it's "I just don't want 'em [LGBTQ community members] around [in the military]. I just don't like them." They'll be blatantly honest, "I just don't want 'em around." Jesus, really? Like once upon a time somebody said that about black people, you know. I used to think the same way about gay, lesbian. Transgenders [sic] wasn't even a thing back then. When at the time President Obama repeal[ed] Don't Ask, Don't Tell, I had a problem with it because I was like, "What the fuck is going on?" And then he made a statement where he was like, "Once upon a time, African-Americans couldn't serve in the military." I think with enough time we look back on how foolish we were being when we did not allow the LGBTQ community ... to serve. And I was like, light bulb. Okay, I've seen the light. You know what? That makes perfect sense. And that opened my eyes to pretty much all walks of life. I was like, "absolutely right." Once upon a time I couldn't be a Marine, and I think I'm a pretty damn good Marine, if I do say so myself.

This Marine's "light bulb" moment came when a respected superior (then-President Obama) drew a parallel between the plight of African American service members, of which the gunnery sergeant identified, and LGBTQ service members, thus eliciting empathy through shared experience. In finding this commonality of experience, the gunnery sergeant's mental and emotional "distance" from the LGBTQ community was significantly ameliorated.

Equitable Leadership and the Problem – and Solution – of Perspective

An equitable leadership decision may not be perceived as fair by someone who has a limited perspective on the situation. In some cases, it might be perceived as special treatment, a subject that came up often in Marines' list of grievances with leadership. While it certainly is the case that favoritism and nepotism do play into leadership decisions, there must always be leeway to interpret third-person stories as partial perspectives that are shaped by preconceived notions. That is, what might look like special treatment from the outside might actually be a leader rewarding an adept Marine. A master sergeant⁴⁶ described this in the case of the preconceived notions about women that many male Marines have:

My Marines tried to tell me that females get different treatment. But that's their perception, that they get different treatment. And so you ask, how do you deal with it? You got to deal with it on your level and just like I said, when I explained to them like, "Man, this chick is out here doing everything you do. She's better than you. Don't try to say she's getting preferential treatment 'cause she's better than you. No, she gave birth and then came back and was still better than you."

⁴⁴ Participant #510, Male, Gunnery Sergeant, Interview, MCAGCC Twentynine Palms, 18 September 2017.

⁴⁵ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer

⁴⁶ Participant #236, Male, Master Sergeant, Focus Group, MCAS Yuma, 26 September 2017.

He went on to say that when male Marines try to claim that women receive special treatment, he tells them, “Hey, dude, you’re on the outside looking in.” This hits the problem of perspective on the head. Other Marines expressed how they treated Marines differently when they experienced a shift in perspective. For instance, in dealing with pregnant Marines and mothers before she became a mother herself, the lieutenant colonel from above lacked the perspective to know how to treat some of her female Marines. In her “treat everyone the same” mentality, she might have viewed allowing the new mother to come in later than others for marathon preparation as “special treatment.”

Of course, in viewing an outside situation, it is impossible for a person to have an unlimited perspective. However, in the case of the Marine Corps, contextual issues exacerbate the already circumscribed perspective that men have on women in general. Because women only make up about 8% of the Corps, many male Marines are not around or close to many female Marines. Moreover, there seems to be hesitation from both sides for men and women to be friends, especially among the junior ranks. This sets up a barrier for Marines to fully know each other and their respective perspectives. Although familiarity is not a prerequisite for empathy, knowing someone and their situation does help to facilitate a more accurate understanding of their situation, thereby possibly challenging preconceived notions. This was the case with a 2nd lieutenant’s⁴⁷ male peers, who only revealed their feelings to the lieutenant after she and the other females in her platoon had “proved” herself at TBS and became a squad leader, thereby shifting their perspective on female Marines from wariness to appreciation:

I remember on our mess night, and of course at mess night, it's tradition that we have a few drinks. ... And when that happened, a lot of the people came out of the woodworks and were like, “You know, just want to tell you,” and usually talking to me and my fellow counterparts in the platoon, they're like, “We just want to tell you that, we were really, like, really hesitant, and weren't sure how females were, and you guys all proved us wrong and I have ... a greater appreciation for women now in the military.” And it's like, we're like, “Thank you.” ... [One of my closest buddies] was in my fire team and the very first three weeks there, I was elected to be our squad leader for the whole squad because I had prior experience. ... And I was rated top squad leader, and later on down the road we were out in the field one time, and we were just talking because you feel that's about all you can get to do. And he's like, “I gotta be honest with you, [Name removed in accordance with human subjects protection protocol.], I wasn't a fan of having a female as a squad leader in the beginning.” He's like, “I didn't even care if you were a squad leader or not, just really hesitant to doing what you were telling me”. But he's like, “As we've come along, and now it's, you know, we've kind of proven that you're not, you know, what I perceived as a female in the military.” ... And we're great buddies now and we talk about this issue quite a bit. But, again, at the end of all those months, a lot of people came around and were really appreciative.

After telling this story, the 2nd lieutenant expresses that she doesn’t “know where they [male Marines] get this perception from,” but that “it’s kind of a relief” when they let a female know that she goes against their initial perception. However, the 2nd lieutenant also notes that that it should really be no surprise that women can make it in the Corps, saying, “Of course there’s a like, ‘you

⁴⁷ Participant #125, Female, 2nd Lieutenant, Interview, MCAGCC Twentynine Palms, 18 September 2017.

should have had a V8' moment,⁴⁸ but [*laughter*] unfortunately, that's just kind of ... that's where we're at right now in the world.”

Equitable Leadership, Trust, and Organizational Change

Although many Marines who participated in the research seemed to feel jilted by the organizational hypocrisy that they perceive in matters of standards, they were far less likely to describe a disconnect between value and action when it comes to the positive and *trusting* relationships of which they are a part in the workplace. This harkens back to an insight about fairness from the subfield of organizational justice: an employee must necessarily cede some of their power over to the management upon entering into a contract with an organization, which can be a risky and fraught reality if they do not have trust in the organization and those in charge.⁴⁹ A major⁵⁰ discussed how “engendering that loyalty to you and that openness” makes Marines more receptive to actions that go against their “initial thoughts,” stating:

It's engage[d] leadership, but I keep going back over the years and different jobs and different leadership positions, I've constantly come back to that. ... [I]f you are talking to your Marines, you are creating and engendering that loyalty to you and that openness and stuff like that. They are also more likely to be receptive when you tell them something that perhaps goes against what their initial thoughts are on the subject. They're more open and receptive to that. So, when you're engaged at that level, you have a greater ability to impact Marines. You're never gonna eliminate it all, right, but perhaps more of those marginal people you can bring on board.

This major demonstrates how “when you're engaged at that level,” things run more smoothly because leaders will already have the trust of their Marines. In this sense, the engagement necessary for equitable leadership (i.e., “getting to know your Marines”) is advantageous in that it also fosters trust in the organization. This points to another initial insight from the MCOCR Project, which is that trust in leadership is essential in instituting any organizational change. For instance, for male Marines, changing “their initial thoughts on the subject” of gender likely cannot be instituted by a top-down, brief-heavy approach and might be better approached through an equitable leadership style in which the trusted leader introduces new ideas at the interpersonal level and models respectful behavior.

Suffice it to say that the benefits of an engaged leadership style are well-tread territory. However, for reasons that are beyond the scope of this paper, engaged leadership is difficult to actually implement. The Marines who participated in this research talked about the extra work that engaged leadership entails, describing how getting to know their Marines, though useful, was time-intensive. Some struggled juggling engaged leadership with the operational demands of their job, not to mention those of their personal and family lives. The Marines who were successful at doing so noted that it was like having second job. While some lamented this, others saw it as part of their duty. A master sergeant⁵¹ who belongs in the latter category said, “If you don't have the spirit of sacrifice, you just

⁴⁸ “You should have had a V8” is a reference to a famous 1977 commercial for the V8 vegetable drink. In the commercial, a series of hapless dolts are mindlessly snacking on junk food and suddenly realize that they “could have had a V8!”

⁴⁹ Russell Cropanzano, Zinta S. Byrne, D. Ramona Bobocel, and Deborah E. Rupp, “Moral Virtues, Fairness Heuristics, Social Entities, and other Denizens of Organizational Justice,” *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 58 (2001): 164-209.

⁵⁰ Participant #068, Male, Major, Interview, MCAS Cherry Point, 24 August 2017.

⁵¹ Participant #200, Male, Master Sergeant, Interview, MCB Quantico, 6 September 2017.

won't make it." Thus while ideal, an engaged leadership style is often stymied by structural difficulties and the reality of having a life outside of the Marine Corps.

Takeaways

- To say that standards are never neutral and always biased is not to say that they are *inherently* unfair or not useful. Instead, it is to suggest that they are difficult to reconcile with ideas of fairness that invoke parity (sameness). In this conception of fairness, the dissonance between women's apparent physiological differences and their inability to achieve male fitness standards tends to get translated as a general insufficiency amongst female Marines.
- Fitness standards are convenient evidence of perceived unfairness because they are tangible and measurable and have an air of no-nonsense objectivity. However, it is evident that to be a good Marine, personality characteristics such as empathy matter a great deal as well. Because empathy is not a codified core value and because it is intangible and thus difficult to measure, empathy and characteristics like it are not leveraged in the same way as physical measures to judge a Marine as good.
- Numerical measurements lend themselves to parity-based judgement calls of fairness, as comparing numbers is an easy way to gauge sameness. This perhaps exacerbates the focus on fitness standards as a measure of a good Marine and the associated devaluing of women by those who use these same numbers to argue that women do not measure up. Equity, however, is a more multi-dimensional approach to fairness. For instance, there is temporal depth to equity: it assesses where people are coming from in order to promote a more equitable future. Parity, on the other hand, provides a snapshot of a single point in time and is relatively sparse in context. An equity-based articulation of fairness would thus leave room for more complex and non-numerical measures of being a good Marine. This might mitigate the perception that women are inadequate Marines, as it allows for a more holistic and multi-dimensional approach to assessing the quality of a Marine.
- The Marine Corps revisits standards occasionally and chooses indicators it assesses to be adequately linked to the kinds of activities for which Marines need to be prepared. Critique of the selected indicators and measures is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the perspectives provided by Marines for this project suggest that the meanings and validity of physical standards is not always accepted or understood. Likewise, there is variable understanding of the purpose of different standards for male and female Marines. The Marine Corps may want to refine messaging related communicating the purpose of fitness standards with conscious attention to how fairness is articulated.⁵²
- An examination of the differing and sometimes contradicting ways that Marines and the Marine Corps talk about fairness might inform improved messaging surrounding divisive topics like gender-specific physical standards. More specifically, examining the ways that

⁵² Thanks to Maj Brian McLaughlin (ret., infantry officer) for this suggestion and for his feedback on this paper.

people describe fair versus unfair situations might reveal language for how to reframe fairness in the case of standards. For instance, “evaluating everyone equally” is equity-invoking language that challenges portrayals of having different standards as inarguably unfair. This is important because language impacts perception and perceptions impact action. Marines will treat each other better if they do not see their fellow Marine as someone who has it easier than they do.