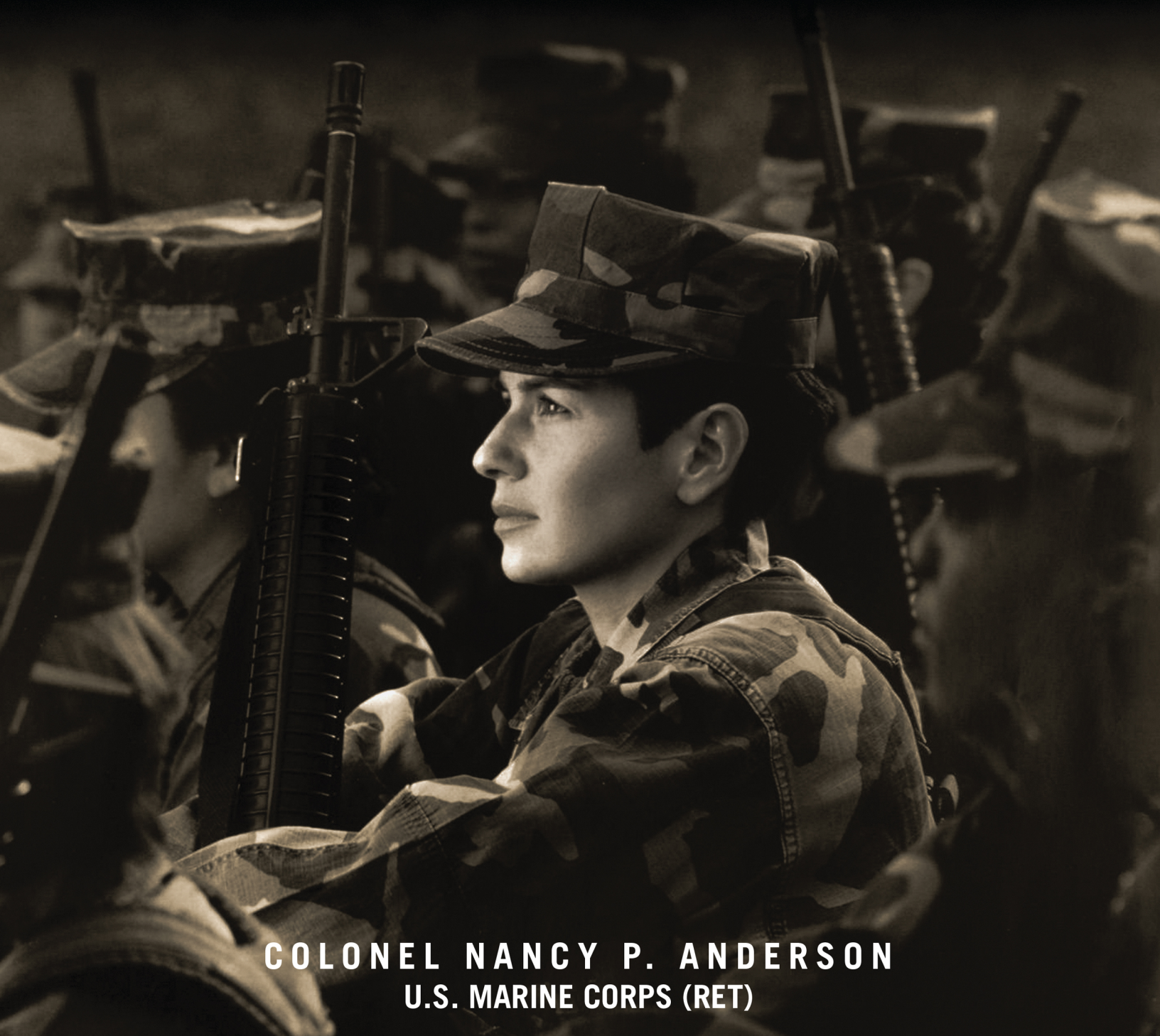
THE VERY FEW, THE PROUD
WOMEN
IN THE MARINE CORPS, 1977–2001



COLONEL NANCY P. ANDERSON
U.S. MARINE CORPS (RET)

The Very Few, the Proud
Women in the Marine Corps, 1977–2001

Colonel Nancy P. Anderson
U.S. Marine Corps (Ret)

History Division
United States Marine Corps
Quantico, Virginia
2018

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Anderson, Nancy P., author. | Marine Corps University (U.S.). History Division, issuing body.
Title: The very few, the proud : women in the Marine Corps, 1977/2001 / by Nancy P. Anderson.
Description: Quantico, VA : History Division, United States Marine Corps, 2017. | Includes index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017044645| ISBN 9780997317473 (paperback) | ISBN 0997317477 (paperback)
Subjects: LCSH: United States. Marine Corps—Women—History. | Women and the military—United States—History. | Women marines.
Classification: LCC VE23 .A955 2017 | DDC 359.9/60820973--dc23 | SUDOC D 214.13:W 84/3
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017044645

ISBN 978-0-9973174-7-3

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FOREWORD

This book was a long time coming. It was a red-letter day when Colonel Nancy Anderson agreed to take on this very large task. She is not only a wonderful writer but also persistent, hardworking, and dedicated. In the face of many challenges, and by volunteering her spare time and her talent over several years, she has completed a comprehensive history of women in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1977 to 2001.

This history covers it all, from training to uniforms to deployments. It also covers a period of extreme activity and a number of changes for women in the Corps, when many fields and billets were first opened to them after decades of exclusion.

Some studies have been done on specific topics, but this is the first comprehensive history of women who have earned the title "Marine" and served between the post–Vietnam War era and the inception of the Global War on Terrorism. There were tremendous changes made to female officer and enlisted training during this period; the first combat deployment of women with their units happened as well. Other Marine Corps firsts during this period include selection of the first female general officers, the first females (to include sergeants major) assigned to deployable units, the first female aviators and naval flight officers, and other trailblazers. Colonel Anderson does not avoid discussion of the inevitable social issues that accompanied women's more complete integration into the Marine Corps.

Colonel Anderson lived this history, just as I did. Women were a very small part of the Corps—just 1 percent—before 1977, and numbers have gradually increased to approximately 8 percent today. The history of their service has easily been summarized in broader histories of the Marine Corps. As a result, however, some important elements were in danger of being lost. Colonel Anderson has rectified this situation.

We will hear from many others in this book who also lived this history. Colonel Anderson had the advantage of the availability of firsthand accounts, which enrich the history documented here. Their accomplishments and stories deserve to be told.

This book is a worthy successor to Colonel Mary V. Stremlow's *A History of the Women Marines, 1946–1977.* As we approach the 100th anniversary of those intrepid females who first volunteered to serve in the Marine Corps during time of war (nicknamed the Marinettes during World War I), we can be very proud of those who volunteer to go into harm's way. They continue to raise the bar for all those who follow. With so much happening, we cannot afford to wait another 30 years for the next history of women in the Corps!

Carol A. Mutter
Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret)

PREFACE

Many histories have been written about the U.S. Marine Corps, although few histories about women in the Marine Corps exist. The author hopes the text, sidebars, and other contextual information included in this volume will make this history of female Marines easier to follow for new members of the military and nonveteran readers to whom the ideas of gender restriction and exclusion are foreign.

The Department of Defense (DOD) illustrates at a smaller scale the broader character of the United States as a melting pot. The Services are inherently diversified; members represent all races, cultures, and creeds, and as part of their service they regularly transfer among geographic locations, widely spreading the diversity of the Services. Marines, however, have a singularly distinctive identity within the DOD, because in addition to agreeing to follow the Uniform Code of Military Justice, they also adopt the unique ethos of the Corps. While the civilian image of the Marine as male warrior continues, the Marine Corps ethos is gender blind. The core values of honor, courage, and commitment apply to all Marines, male or female. The warrior ethos is a code of conduct guided by core values. It is as much about always doing what is right as it is about when to use a weapon.

The 30th Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Carl E. Mundy Jr., codified the Corps' core values in 1992. In January 1995, he codified the Marine ethos as part of Fleet Marine Forces Manual 1-0, *Leading Marines*:

> Being a Marine is a state of mind. It is an experience some have likened more to a calling than a profession. Being a Marine is not a job—not a pay check [*sic*]; it is not an occupational specialty. It is not male or female, majority or minority; nor is it a rank insignia. . . . It is a searing mark in our innermost being which comes after the rite of passage through boot camp or Officer Candidates School when a young man or woman is allowed for the first time to say, "I am a United States Marine."[1]

Leading Marines drew upon the writings and examples of many who bore, and still bear, the title "Marine," as does this history.

In addition to embodying the Corps' warrior ethos, every Marine is a rifleman, regardless of his or her military occupational specialty and is required to memorize the "Rifleman's Creed." It begins: "This is my rifle. There are many like it, but this one is mine. My rifle is my best friend. It is my life. I must master it as I must master my life. My rifle, without me, is useless. Without my rifle, I am useless."[2] Male and female Marines learned this lesson firsthand during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Computer technicians, supply clerks, truck drivers, and many other Marines in noncombat occupational specialties found themselves—weapon at the ready—escorting convoys, guarding enemy prisoners of war, and performing other required duties.

The DOD also is the nation's largest employer of women.[3] Policy changes in 1993 and 1994 removed most remaining institutional gender barriers, allowing the best qualified to fill all but those billets most likely to engage in direct ground combat. More than two-thirds of Marine Corps occupational specialties were opened to women during this time.

When the USS *Bonhomme Richard* (LHD 6) departed on 24 January 2000 for its first deployment, more than two dozen female enlisted Marines were aboard as part of the 15th Marine Expeditionary Unit (15th MEU), joining about 326 female sailors of a total crew of 1,100.[4] It was the first ship built from the beginning with billeting for women in mind.[5]

As the twenty-first century gets underway, women are in all the aviation pipelines and fly every Marine Corps aircraft. Women serve routinely at embassies worldwide, and they command Marine security guard companies. Women deploy with every Marine air-ground task force (MAGTF), serving routinely aboard ship for more than six months at a time. Women command at all levels, and they serve on Joint and Combined staffs; attend and serve on the staffs of top-level schools; and are recruiters and drill instructors. In 2000, approximately 11,000 women served on active duty in the Marine Corps, comprising about 6 percent of the active duty force.[6] While this percentage remains the smallest of the military Services, female Marines are a confident and noticed 6 percent.

This history follows and examines both the expanding opportunities for women in the Marine Corps and the fading cultural gender distinctions in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The work is derived from official documents and personal files, interviews, conversations, letters, newspaper articles, internet access to research archives, and hundreds of email submissions from current and former Marines. The generation of women described in this history proved themselves in every clime and place, including in command and in combat.

Women choose to be Marines for the same reasons as men: duty to country, opportunity, adventure, escaping hardship, or to grow as a person. This history takes us to the start of the twenty-first century.

By 2001, women could be assigned to all but 20 of the Marine Corps' 335 primary military occupational specialties (MOS) and deployed all around the globe.[7] Women were—and continue to be—recruited for opportunities and development in their own right. The recruiting posters aimed at women encouraged them to listen to their inner voices telling them to push harder and rise to extreme physical and mental challenges. This book honors the women who expressed their love of country and desire to contribute by accepting those challenges.

Today's female Marines live up to the high standard set by those very few, very proud women who came before them. In the words of retired Lieutenant General Carol A. Mutter, the first woman of any Service nominated to three-star rank: "They are also ready to take advantage of new opportunities as they arise—in some cases even giving the door to those opportunities a bit of a shove to help open it further."[8]

This book serves as an argument that meaningful military service does not rest upon gender homogeneity but rather upon the strength and defense of the United States through the most efficient use of personnel. Marines, male and female, know their stuff and have earned the right to wear the distinguishing Eagle, Globe, and Anchor emblem—and they carry the title "Marine" forever.

Nancy P. Anderson
Colonel, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret)

Notes

1. *Leading Marines*, Fleet Marine Forces Manual (FMFM) 1-0 (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 1995), 7.
2. MajGen William H. Rupertus (Ret), "Rifleman's Creed" (creed, Marine Corps Base San Diego, CA, 1942).
3. *Women in Defense—DOD Leading the Way* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 1996).
4. Gidget Fuentes, "Gator Gals: New Berthing Opens MEUs to Enlisted Women," *Navy Times*, 31 January 2000, 14.
5. Ibid.
6. *Department of Defense Selected Manpower Statistics, Fiscal Year 2000* (Washington, DC: Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 2001).
7. Martin Matishak, "On Policy Allowing Women into Combat, Marines Prepared to Seek Exceptions," *Marine Corps Times*, 21 March 2014.
8. LtGen Carol A. Mutter, "Anniversary Message," *WMA'nouncements*, Winter 2002, 10.

INTRODUCTION

American military women have always been a volunteer force. From Private Opha May Johnson—who enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1918 with more than 300 other women to serve during World War I—to the more than 20,000 women who served as Marines during World War II, to the newest privates and second lieutenants, many women seek the special challenge offered by the Marine Corps.

Like all worthwhile achievements, the acceptance of women into the Corps was hard-won and in some ways remains an ongoing fight. "The American tradition is that a woman's place is in the home," said Brigadier General Gerald C. Thomas, director of the Headquarters, Plans and Policies Division, in October 1945.[1] Overcoming strongly held gender bias against women in the military took convincing most of the American public, not just Marine Corps leadership.

On 8 November 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed Public Law 90-130, which repealed the 2-percent cap on women serving in the armed forces. Following the Vietnam conflict and the end of the draft, Services actively recruited women to fill anticipated all-volunteer force personnel shortfalls. In early September 1972, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird tasked the Services to detail equal opportunity or affirmative action plans for minorities and servicewomen. The concept of equal pay for equal work was particularly appealing to women, whose civilian salaries paled compared to those of most male peers.

For today's Marines, it is difficult to imagine the extent of the changes that occurred in the accession, training, and assignment of women between 1977 and 2001. By 1979, women were routinely serving with

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division

Pvt Opha May Johnson was the first woman to be accepted for duty in the Marine Corps Reserve in 1918 to serve during World War I. In previous histories Pvt Johnson's middle name was misspelled as "Mae"; "May" has since been confirmed as the correct spelling.

Headquarters Marine Corps Still Photo Section/ARBB, photo by SSgt Sawyer

LtGen Carol A. Mutter (left), the most senior female general officer and SgtMaj Sylvia Walters (right), the most senior female enlisted Marine, on active duty in 1995, during an evening parade on 8 August 1995.

operating forces. Entry-level training for women and men was nearly identical, with the exception of combat skills. Even female Marine uniforms changed to the familiar camouflage utilities and Service uniform khaki and olive seen today.

By 2001, women were commanding predominantly male units and serving on Joint staffs in the United States and Combined staffs overseas. Women served as military police, judges, and engineers; in aviation maintenance and logistics; as crew chiefs for every helicopter and fixed-wing aircraft in the Marine Corps' inventory; and operated 18-wheelers and water purification units. Their actions bespoke determination to learn and to excel. Society's attitudes were also changing. Fewer roles were viewed as gender -unique. Female Marines knew the Corps had not promised them a rose garden. They bloomed where planted, and they thrived.

Notes

1. Col Mary V. Stremlow (USMCR), *A History of the Women Marines, 1946–1977* (Washington, DC: History and Museums Division, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1986), 1.

CHAPTER 1

ENTRY-LEVEL TRAINING

By the mid-1970s, all-volunteer force success relied upon the large pool of highly qualified women and other minorities eager to serve in the military. The Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 restriction that women represent no more than 2 percent of the active duty force was rescinded in November 1967 by the 130th U.S. Congress in Public Law 90-130.[1] This meant that many more women could be recruited into the Marine Corps, and proponents for women in the military advocated bringing the entry requirements for women closer in line to those for men.

Recruiting standards had always been higher for women than for men. It was presumed the recruiting market would bear higher standards for the small number of women added.[2] Numerous studies at the time demonstrated that possession of a high school diploma was the best predictor of military success, and the military aptitude test was a valuable trainability index. For entry into the Marine Corps, women not only had to possess a high school diploma but also had to score within the top Mental Groups—I to IIIA—of the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) tests.* Men in Mental Group IV could enlist into the Marine Corps and, if their aptitude and general technical scores were high enough, they did not need a high school diploma.

The Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) made equal ASVAB scores for men and women seeking to enlist in the Army and Marine Corps a leading item in semiannual meeting reports throughout the 1970s to promote gender equality and remove barriers to women's entry into military service.[3]

Female recruits were required to score at least 50 points on the ASVAB; male recruits needed only 21 points. The more rigorous mental requirements for women resulted in their aptitude scores averaging 20 points higher than men's.[4] The Marine Corps, even after the 2 percent ceiling was eliminated, traditionally accepted a goal of 1 percent of the total enlisted force, based upon billeting availability for women; the Corps saw the higher academic requirement as another screening tool.[5]

As far back as 1943, female recruits tended to be well educated; many had completed one or two years of college before enlisting.* Gayle Ann Fitch Robbin's background was typical. She joined the Marine Corps in 1977 after two years of college, studying law enforcement and volunteering to ride on patrol with local sheriffs. "I was working as a Deputy Sheriff Cadet and needed more," Robbins recalled. "I served as a recruit leader all through boot camp and graduated with special recognition. I was already guaranteed private first class because of college."[6]

* Mental group categories are based upon a recruit's ASVAB test score. Category I scores ranged from 93 to 100; II: 65–93; IIIA: 50–64; IIIB: 31–49; IV: 10–30; and V: 0–9.

* Properly speaking, there were no female Marine recruits during World War I. Women enrolled in the Marine Corps Reserve did not attend basic training; rather, they were assigned duties based upon existing skills, primarily clerical. Enrollment standards centered on business and office experience, not education levels.

Similarly, Wendy Smith was in college on an academic scholarship and had gotten into a statistics class (and a relationship) she hated and needed a change. A friend convinced her to talk to some recruiters in her hometown. She did and decided to take a break from college and enlist in the Marine Corps. "My Dad was a retired USMC LtCol [lieutenant colonel] so I grew up only knowing the Marine Corps way of life. I enlisted in the delayed entry program as a Reservist. My Dad said, 'If you are going to do this then do it right and become a regular Marine.' He enlisted me in May of 1978," Smith remembered.[7]

When Shanda L. Elkins joined the Marine Corps a few years earlier in 1975, she had to write a 500-word essay on why she wished to be a Marine, provide five character references, and undergo interviews by both a female Marine and by the male commanding officer of the recruiting station before her recruiter could write her contract.[8]

During this period, DOD had been demanding increased recruitment of women across all Services with the goal of doubling their numbers for the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force by 1977; the Marine Corps was expected to increase female numbers by 40 percent.[9] This pressure, along with decreasing numbers of new male recruits, spurred the Corps to designate or create additional billeting for female Marines and to work toward higher accession numbers for women. Despite more stringent accession requirements, between 1975 and 1979, the number of women in the Marine Corps almost doubled, increasing from 2,680 to 5,119.[10] Those numbers were set by Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps (Headquarters Marine Corps) Manpower managers, not by the recruiters.

Quotas also varied for the six Marine Corps recruiting districts.* An excerpt from a March 1977 memorandum from General Louis H. Wilson Jr., the 26th Commandant of the Marine Corps, to the assistant secretary of the Navy stated the Corps' position:

> The Marine Corps has experienced no problems in meeting programmed woman Marine goals. Because of the high educational level of the female accessions, there is considerably more flexibility in classifying them in a wide variety of skills.[11]

Enlisted Training

By the late 1970s, minimum qualifications for women enlisting in the Marine Corps were: American citizenship (noncitizens were eligible under certain conditions); a minimum age of 17 and maximum of 28; a high school diploma; excellent health; and moral character.[12]

After being accepted and processed by the Marine Corps recruiter, a potential female recruit was transported by bus and/or airplane to Marine Corps Recruit Depot (MCRD) Parris Island, South Carolina. All female recruits, and male recruits who lived east of the Mississippi River, trained at Parris Island. Male recruits who lived west of the Mississippi River trained at MCRD San Diego, California.

Master Gunnery Sergeant Rosemarie Weber remembered boarding a bus in the worst part of downtown Oakland, California, in 1979 for the ride to the nearest armed forces military entrance processing station (MEPS).* She was 1 of only 10 women among hundreds of young men at the station. The women were flown to Savannah, Georgia, and met with other women headed to MCRD Parris Island. She also recalled of other recruits, "They were like me—looking for something different. Male drill instructors got us off the bus, but from the first moment I laid eyes on the women Marines there to

* Garden City, Long Island, NY; Philadelphia, PA; Atlanta, GA; New Orleans, LA; Shawnee Mission, KS; and Treasure Island, CA.

* The MEPS determines whether applicants are qualified for enlistment based upon standards set by each Service.

Defense Visual Information Center photo, by Sgt R. Klika

Women Marine recruits receive their first issue of clothing during basic training at the MCRD Parris Island, SC, on 9 April 1985.

process us, I knew this was it. For the first time in my life I was in the right place at the right time and I would be OK. Twenty-odd years later, the Marine Corps still makes me feel that way."[13]

All female Marine Corps recruits were assigned to the Woman Recruit Training Command (WRTC) at Parris Island. In open squad bays, the 50 or so women in each recruit series learned to live together, work together, and succeed together. The primary mission of female recruit training was "to produce a basic Marine who is able to function effectively in garrison and instinctively practice those traits that distinguish her as a Marine."[14] It was a time to focus on the "Marine" portion of that mission. The training that female recruits received in 1977 was little changed from that taught to the first women trained at Parris Island in February 1949. Specific objectives were self-discipline, military skills, physical fitness, military bearing, and esprit de corps.[15]

The training also included a lot of ironing, shoe polishing, makeup and etiquette classes, and a graduation tea. Although not allowed to drill with sword or rifle until 1985, women were increasingly exposed to the training provided to male recruits, but often from the bleachers.

Enlisted Marine Corps reservists must complete

recruit training and follow-on technical or military occupational specialty (MOS) training, but then return home, usually to pursue college or return to a job or family obligations. Reservists must complete monthly weekend training (drills) and two-week summer training. Reservists can be called to active duty when required.

Kathryn A. Allen, who eventually rose in rank to lieutenant colonel, enlisted in the Marine Corps Reserve on 13 March 1976. Lieutenant Colonel Allen's father had retired as a master sergeant from the Marines after 30 years of service, and Allen credited her decision to enter the Reserve to his suggestion; a three-and-a-half-year commitment to one weekend a month and two weeks each summer seemed a good way to test the water. "I joined the Corps for a college degree but quickly learned there was much more than that to like in the Corps," Allen said. After being selected as the first female Marine Corps reservist to be named honor graduate and receiving the Dress Blue Award/Leatherneck Distinguished Graduate Award, she determined that the Corps "agreed quite well with me, so I decided to stay—on active duty."[16]

In December 1976, a new concept in recruit training, called Transition Training, was implemented for male and female recruits to help them adjust from the regimentation of depot training to the environment of the Marine Corps.[17] Transition Training reduced drill instructor supervision and increased leadership responsibility for recruits during the final phase of training. By that phase, recruits knew they could succeed on their own merit and understood that "trying meant something, even if the trying was not always successful."[18]

Defensive Combat Training Initiated, then Canceled

In November 1980, General Robert H. Barrow, the 27th Commandant of the Marine Corps, announced a pilot defensive combat training program for female recruits. Approval had been granted to provide female recruits with marksmanship and defensive combat training. The Marine Corps' director of training, Brigadier General Americo A. Sardo, was convinced of the need for such training considering that "a field exercise is no place to take five or six hours to teach a person how to handle a rifle." He pointed out that "the Vietnam War proved that even units in the rear sometimes are attacked." Mindful of the possible negative perception, he added, "We are not going to train women for offensive combat, but we want them to know how to stay alive."[19]

Training began in February 1981 and included field exercises, limited defensive combat training, and weapons familiarization. So intense was the senior leadership's concern over negative perceptions that a year was spent developing the defensive combat syllabus.[20] The approved syllabus began with day one of training and culminated with an overnight bivouac to test learned skills. Training included:

- 8 hours of weapons training—safety features and how to clean the service rifle
- 18 hours of marksmanship—M16A1 service rifle practice fire from 200 and 300 yards
- 9.5 hours of field training—day and night movements through obstacles and use of camouflage techniques
- 3 hours of field engineering—mine and booby trap detection and field fortification preparation
- 5.5 hours of defensive familiarization training, squads in a defensive role, how to read terrain features, and position defense[21]

Only three days into the first field exercise, however, Brigadier General William Weise, the Parris Island deputy commanding general, observed the training and did not like what he saw. He stated that, while the female recruits were being trained to learn how to defend themselves, "women do not have the physical or emotional stamina to handle the rigors of the

Defense Visual Information Center photos

Top: Recruits from the Woman Recruit Training Command learn to field strip the M16A1 rifle during basic training at the MCRD Parris Island, SC, 15 April 1984.

Bottom: Fully equipped recruits from the Woman Recruit Training Command march into the field for individual tactics and combat training at MCRD Parris Island, SC, in April 1984.

battlefield. I would not want to see my daughters or female friends of mine in a combat situation if I could avoid it."[22] It was also widely rumored that the Commandant, General Barrow, had seen a national news piece on the Corps "preparing women for combat," with film clips of First Lieutenant Janie M. Burns, a women's series commander, taking her recruits crawling through the day movement course in helmets and field uniforms. Whether the rumors were true or not, he canceled the training the next day.[23]

The women's recruit training operations officer, Captain Mary V. Jacocks, led a three-week effort to develop an acceptable program of instruction (POI) for female recruits.[24] Captain Jacocks had been asked to stay another year at WRTC to help implement the women's field training program, because she was the only individual remaining aboard Parris Island who had helped to create the program. The curriculum had been approved by the Commandant. She recalled, "One of the strict guidelines was that the training would be defensive only and special care would be taken to avoid anything that might even give the perception that we were training women in offensive field operations." Series commanders and drill instructors had been trained—a challenge in itself—and the first series had been scheduled for a three-day evolution in the field. The program's leadership had not foreseen the media's level of interest in female Marine training, however. "There were about as many reporters observing the field training as there were female recruits being trained," Jacocks said. After the first training series was completed, then-Lieutenant Colonel Barbara W. Entriken (as the commanding officer) and Jacocks (as the S-3, operations and training officer) were summoned to Commanding General Major General Robert E. Haebel's office. The news coverage had inaccurately reported some aspects of the women's field training program. Jacocks remembered,

> He [General Haebel] had received a call from the Commandant (Gen Barrow) who was very disturbed by the newspaper articles—according to many of the articles, we were preparing our female recruits for offensive combat. Even though both the CMC [Commandant of the Marine Corps]

and the CG [commanding general] knew what training was actually being conducted, perception has a way of overcoming truth. We were given the choice of either totally curtailing the women going to the field or allowing them to go to the field even though most of the time would be spent sitting in the bleachers; our thought process was that we needed to at least keep our foot in the door.[25]

In the revised program, female recruits observed male recruits applying camouflage face paint, negotiating the combat courses, and throwing grenades.[26] The program included a separate day movement course and land navigation trail.[27] Map reading and field hygiene replaced rappelling, throwing live hand grenades, distance marches, field training on mines and booby traps, and running the obstacle course.[28]

While primarily classroom or modified rather than direct, hands-on field instruction, female recruits were now receiving training in the following subjects:

- physical training
- swimming qualification
- drill and ceremonies
- Marine Corps history and traditions
- marksmanship
- professional development
- leadership
- weapons familiarization training
- military law
- field soldiering skills
- first aid
- clothing and equipment inspections
- character guidance
- defense familiarization
- land navigation
- nuclear, biological, and chemical defense
- conduct in warfield engineering
- interior guard
- health, hygiene, and sanitation

Defense Visual Information Center photo, by Sgt R. Klika

Recruits from the Woman Recruit Training Command conduct first aid exercises during basic training at MCRD Parris Island, SC, on 15 April 1984.

Recruit Training Policy Changes

General Paul X. Kelley, the 28th Commandant, recognized that even combat service support billets removed from the forward line of troops did not guarantee safety. He endorsed *Marine Corps Order (MCO) 1500.24D, Training Policy for Women Marines*, published on 20 May 1985, which directed that female Marines receive the same training, except for offensive combat training, as male counterparts in their units and billets. Kelley directed that female Marines "must be trained in defensive techniques and operations in the event of unforeseen hostile activity."[29] Female recruit training was modified to include instruction in day and night tactics, rappelling, a modified confidence course, and defensive field training. On 29 July 1985, female recruits were tested on close order drill with rifles for the first time, and female drill instructors with Marine Corps noncommissioned officer swords made

Defense Visual Information Center photo, by Sgt R. Klika

A recruit from the Woman Recruit Training Command participates in M16A1 rifle practice on the firing range during basic training at MCRD Parris Island, SC, April 1984.

their debut.[30] Because female officers were already receiving training in these areas, the greatest effect of *MCO 1500.24D* was authorization for them to possess the traditional officer Mameluke sword and be trained in its use for drill.[31]

Rumors of enhanced drill and marksmanship training inflated morale among female recruits and their female drill instructors. Although forbidden by depot male officer leadership to drill recruits ahead of the June effective date of the order, the WRTC operations and training officer, Captain Denise R. Van Peursem, won the support of the battalion's senior enlisted advisor, the sergeant major. He and other drill instructors worked behind (actually) closed doors. The male sergeant major covertly trained the female drill instructors on sword and rifle drill inside the WRTC gym to prevent leadership discovering the activity.[32] The clandestine actions ensured the female drill instructors not only mastered the essential sword and rifle manual skills but also possessed the necessary spit and polish to drill recruits. At about the same time, the female drill instructors began attending Coaches School to master marksmanship skills and better support the marksmanship instructors.[33]

Mirroring the same training time given to male recruits, female recruit training was extended from

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Female recruits on the drill field, MCRD Parris Island, SC.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Platoon drill, 4th RTBn, MCRD Parris Island, SC.

THE NCO AND MAMELUKE SWORDS

J. Walter Thompson marketing photo, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

An enlisted Marine with the NCO M1859 sword.

The weapons with the longest history still in service in the U.S. Armed Services belong to the Marine Corps. Today, the swords Marines carry represent the Corps' rich heritage as America's original defenders.

Commissioned officers carry the Mameluke sword, one of which was originally given to Lieutenant Presley N. O'Bannon in 1805 by a Mameluke chieftain in North Africa, according to Marine Corps tradition. Of Turkish origin, the Mamelukes were the military rulers of Egypt in the early nineteenth century. In March 1805, Lieutenant O'Bannon and his Marines marched across 500 miles of North African desert, intending to assault the city of Derna and pressure Tripoli's ruler to free the kidnapped crew of the USS *Philadelphia* (1799), which had been captured in 1803 and was burned in 1804 in a U.S. Navy mission. By 1825, all Marine Officers carried the Mameluke sword in recognition of this historic battle—the Marine Corps' first to be fought on foreign soil.

Adopted in 1859 as a permanent part of the enlisted dress uniform, the enlisted officer sword is carried by Marine noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and staff noncommissioned officers (SNCOs). Used for ceremonial purposes, the M1859 NCO sword was bestowed upon NCOs and SNCOs by the 6th Commandant, Colonel John Harris, in recognition of their leadership in combat.[1]

[1] "History & Heritage: Symbols," Marines.com, accessed 8 May 2010.

eight to 11 weeks and now included a three-night field training exercise with land navigation, conditioning marches, gas chamber, rappelling, and a live grenade toss. Female recruits also began marksmanship training and firing the Colt M16A2 service rifle for score.* Captain Van Peursem recalled how the women sucked in tear gas, threw grenades, and swam with gear strapped to their backs: "They marched with 22-pound packs, crawled through mud and under barbed wire, and dined on MREs. They learned they could handle anything given them. They loved it."[34]

The extended field training meant eliminating many of the image development classes that were first introduced in 1967.[35] Makeup classes continued, but a recruit's beauty regime was more likely to focus on lip balm and hand lotion. Women became female Marines with an attitude and an M16, rather

* The Marine Corps began replacing the M16A1 service rifle with the M16A2 model in 1983.

Defense Visual Information Center photos, by Sgt R. Klika

Top: A woman Marine recruit waits to fire an M16A2 rifle during basic training at the MCRD Parris Island, SC, on 28 July 1985.

Bottom: A drill instructor shows a woman Marine recruit how to handle an M16A2 rifle during basic training at the MCRD Parris Island, SC, on 27 July 1985.

than well-styled coifs and white gloves. The experience positively changed and motivated even the most timid. Recruits slept with their M16A2s locked to their racks. They remembered their rifles' serial numbers more readily than the phone numbers of family and friends back home. The women stood more confidently as they were treated more like full-fledged Marines. Gaining self-confidence was as important as learning to work and succeed as a team.

As if to validate the point, the first 372 female recruits permitted to fire the M16A2 for score in 1985 achieved a rifle qualification rate of 97.8 percent within four months. Qualifying required shooting at least 190 points out of a possible 250. Achieving at least 220 points, nearly one-quarter of the women qualified as expert—the Corps' highest rating. The combined success surprised some of the senior leadership. Van Peursem told reporters, "Everyone expected a qualification rate of about 40 percent when women started firing, and here we are at 98 percent." She added: "Male recruits firing in the same period qualified from 96.6 to 99.5 percent, depending on the battalion from which they came." Staff Sergeant Andrew D. Dillard, a marksmanship instructor working with the women, was not surprised: "I think the women learn faster, pick up the techniques quicker," he said.[36]

Recruit Anita Lobo of Series 1, the first female recruit series to undergo the longer 56-day training program and to fire for score at the rifle range, raised a few eyebrows by setting a new Parris Island range record: she fired 246 out of a possible 250 on 15 November 1985. Drill Instructor Sergeant Patricia McCollough thought Lobo was angling her body too much during *snap in week*, but she let her do what felt comfortable.* Unknown to others at the time, the left-handed recruit thought she was required to fire right-handed and made the best of it.[37] The angling was likely due to compensating for using her nondominant hand (and eye) to fire, making her achievement even more remarkable. Lobo, from Uvalde,

* Snap in week (now called *grass week*) is the training week spent to teach recruits and officer candidates the basics of the four firing positions (standing, kneeling, sitting, and prone), as well as how to adjust the magnifying scope to align the target and how to compensate for wind.

Defense Visual Information Center photo, by Sgt Gruart

The Marine Corps' first all-woman drill platoon stands at attention in formation with M16A1 rifles, 25 July 1985, Quantico, VA. The platoon was commanded by 1stLt Marie G. Juliano. Female Marines proved themselves so accomplished with the rifle that this Marine drill platoon was organized in summer 1985 at MCB Quantico, VA, to perform at weekly evening parades.

Texas, claimed her technique was simple: "All I did was relax. I wanted to please my senior drill instructor and primary marksmanship instructor by getting a good score. I come from a close family and we have always done things for each other, but this time I wanted to do something on my own . . . something no one else could help me with. It was easier than I thought," she said.[38]

On 17 July 1986, live grenade training was halted for all recruits following four grenade accidents at the Parris Island recruit depot. Three involved male recruits and one involved a female recruit. Live grenade training was reinstated for male recruits 13 months later. Female recruit grenade training was limited to throwing inert grenades out of concern that most women could not throw the required 15 meters to escape the bursting radius.[39] It took about eight additional years for trainers to consider the merits of teaching women *how* to throw. Once such instruction was implemented, throwing distance improved.

During the late 1980s, female recruit programs of instruction underwent numerous modifications to accommodate the expanded field training. On 1 November 1986, Major General Harold G. Glasgow, the commanding general of Parris Island, redesignated WRTC as the 4th Recruit Training Battalion, Recruit Training Regiment.[40] Female drill instructors were trained and qualified as swimming and marksman coaches and drill masters. Senior women were increasingly visible in training and command billets.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Female recruits and officer candidates exceeded expectations during rifle qualification.

Basic Warrior Training

The appointment of General Alfred M. Gray Jr. as the 29th Commandant brought the term *basic warrior* to the Corps. In November 1987, Gray directed the implementation of Marine Battle Skills Training throughout the Marine Corps, which promoted individual and collective combat skills proficiency and produced a basically trained, combat-ready Marine—male or female. Entry-level training was expanded to encompass Basic Warrior Training (BWT). Recruits from series platoons 4006 and 4007 were the first from 4th Recruit Training Battalion to complete three days of heavy weapons instruction and then march into the Parris Island Field Training Unit to spend 10 days in the field.[41]

Recruits were oblivious to the historical event, it seemed. They simply had a job to do and were wasting no time in getting their mission accomplished. One may conjecture, however, that the recruits were indeed aware they had not only hurdled another boot camp obstacle but had written a new chapter in Marine Corps history as the first female recruits ever to earn BWT's individual combat skills.[42]

During BWT, female recruits were permitted to wear the new, lighter-weight jungle boots rather than the older, all-leather boots, in an attempt to reduce lower-extremity injuries.[43] On day one of the field training portion, recruits shot their service rifles, the M16A2, from seven firing points while wearing Kevlar helmets and flak jackets. Days two and three of range training included firing the M203 grenade launcher, M60 machine gun, AT-4 lightweight

Defense Visual Information Center photo

A female Marine armed with an M16A2 rifle marks her target score at a firing range on 1 January 1988 (location unknown).

antiassault weapon, and M249 squad automatic weapon (SAW).[44] Plenty of time was also allotted for recruits to clean the weapons.

Recruit Training Phases

By the end of the 1980s, female recruit training had lengthened to 12 weeks. The 12-week syllabus was divided into three phases.[45] Phase I consisted of Marine Corps orientation, military drill, and physical training; Phase II included weapons instruction at the rifle range; and Phase III was BWT.

Phase I, lasting four weeks, included physical conditioning and classroom instruction on general military subjects ranging from Marine Corps history and customs to sexual harassment prevention. Image development classes continued to provide instruction in applying makeup, entering an automobile gracefully in a skirt while an escort held the door, and other social graces. The two weeks of Phase II began with the trek to the Weapons Battalion rifle range where female Marines were taught how to qualify with the M16A2 and received familiarization instruction on other handheld weapons. Between Phases II and III, women spent one week on mess and maintenance duty taking their turn at mess hall chores, lawn maintenance, and polishing or painting anything that did not move. Phase III was 15 days of BWT. Female recruits learned small unit defensive tactics, aspects of chemical and biological warfare, and basic self-defense. Women also received instruction on rape prevention.[46]*

Specifically deemed inappropriate for the female BWT were such combat tasks as conducting a daylight frontal attack; daylight flanking attack; squad night counterattack; squad daylight ambush patrol; squad attack on a fortified position to include clearing a trench line; and squad attack in a built-up area to include clearing rooms and buildings.[47]

Additional physical training requirements considered inappropriate for women were also modified or deleted—for example, male recruits had to complete a 15-mile conditioning hike within five hours, but female recruits had to complete 12 miles within four hours.[48] Preparatory marches conducted by female recruits in full combat gear consisted of four 2.5-mile hikes during Phase II of recruit training and one 5-mile and one 9-mile hike during Phase III. It did not seem prudent to require women to undertake a march of two-thirds again as far within the same

* Note that although women underwent rape prevention instruction, based on reports, a culture of sexual harassment and assault was so ingrained in the Corps that these measures alone could not combat the problem. Sexual harassment and assault, and DOD and the Corps' efforts to eradicate these problems, are discussed in chapter 7.

Defense Visual Information Center photo, by SSgt Randall

Two 4th Battalion recruits take aim on their objective while negotiating the infiltration course, 29 April 1991, MCRD Parris Island, SC. They are armed with M16A2 5.56mm rifles. The 4th Battalion is the only all-female unit in the Marine Corps.

week unless additional buildup marches were inserted into the female recruit training POI.[49]

The five-part physical readiness test, designed to test battle fitness with events ranging from fireman's carry to 3-mile run in utilities with rifle, was also recommended for elimination for female Marines due to high injury/low benefit reasons.[50] For BWT, the physical readiness test was slightly modified and designated the Combat Conditioning Course. It was not administered to women. The women's BWT consisted of the following tasks:

- elements of combat
- troop leading steps
- constructing crew-served positions
- five-paragraph orders*

* Marine Corps commanders use a five-paragraph combat order (SMEAC)—recognized by all U.S. and NATO armed forces. The format ensures that the commander's mission plan factors in all relevant details and that the commander can effectively deliver the information. Situation: describe all enemy and friendly forces; Mission: define the task and the purpose; Execution: detail the commander's plan to accomplish the mission; Administration and Logistics: identify additional supporting details; and Command and Signal: establish key personnel and communications protocol.

- identifying possible mined/booby trap sites
- moving through a simulated minefield
- handling prisoners of war
- recognizing threat vehicles
- conditioning hikes
- firing and maintaining crew-served weapons
- conducting a squad defense
- providing rear area security
- conducting day and night squad security patrols

The follow-on to BWT was Marine Combat Training (MCT). Fiscal constraints precluded construction of separate facilities to conduct follow-on BWT for female Marines at the School of Infantry (East), Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, where noninfantry MOS male graduates of MCRD Parris Island were to attend.[51] Noninfantry MOS male graduates of MCRD Camp Pendleton were to attend the School of Infantry (West), Camp Pendleton, California. In April 1988, the Commandant tasked the commanding general, MCRD Parris Island, Major General Joseph P. Hoar, to determine the following:

- impact of WM (*woman Marine*; the acronym was still in common usage) recruit leave on follow-on BWT, addressing the proposed length and any associated impact
- number, grade, and MOS of additional personnel required to conduct follow-on BWT, to include gender-specific requirements
- additional facilities required and anticipated costs
- supplies/equipment required[52]

Marine Combat Training was separate from the School of Infantry to which Marines assigned the 03 infantry occupational field were sent. In May 1988, Major General Hoar forwarded the position that female recruits could most economically undergo MCT at Parris Island but recommended that, for women, follow-on BWT be conducted as a part of recruit training, over an additional 54.5 instruction hours/seven days of training.[53] While male training remained at 56 days, training for female recruits was extended from 57 to 64 days. The following tasks were included for follow-on BWT:

- describe combat
- nine elements of combat
- five stresses in combat
- four characteristics to overcome fear
- six troop-leading steps
- construct crew-served positions
- build sandbag wall
- five-paragraph order
- use field expedient measures to determine time
- collect report info
- handle POWs (prisoners of war)
- recognize threat vehicles
- 12-mile conditioning hike
- state characteristics of M2*
- maintain M2
- mount/emplace M2
- state characteristics of MK 19**
- maintain MK 19
- mount and emplace MK 19
- fire MK 19
- conduct a squad-size defense
- conduct a squad-size defense in a built-up area
- provide security to the rear area
- conduct a squad daylight security patrol
- conduct a squad night security patrol[54]

The initial decision to keep female MCT at Parris Island was driven by several factors. The depot already had the resident instructor expertise as well as billeting and equipment to support women. Many questioned whether women would be denied challenging or effective training in such a

* The M249 5.56mm, 50 caliber SAW/light machine gun.

** Mark 19 40mm belt-fed grenade launcher.

drastically reduced POI.[55] The leadership concluded that female recruits were sufficiently challenged, and women were excluded by Corps policy from training in offensive operations. An additional seven days spent on collective and squad tasks would further serve to heighten and reinforce the recruits' sense of commitment and esprit de corps, rather than detract from them. Policy makers cited that "the innate ability of women to understand and execute most basic tasks and evolutions more quickly generally permitted more training to take place in less time."[56] Eight 0311 infantry MOS tactics instructors were requested to teach each class of approximately 130 female recruits. The women were billeted in the existing noncommissioned officers' school building and shared messing and training facilities with the 4th Battalion series underway at Parris Island.

For female recruits, an additional two weeks following MCT were spent on final evaluations and inspections. Requiring hours of complete focus and attention, the women's final training challenge of that time was a white-glove reception with senior Parris Island officers and staff NCOs toward the end of training.

Major General Jarvis D. Lynch Jr. succeeded Major General Hoar in 1988. It was the explicit intent of Major General Lynch "to train young women Marines who, while retaining their femininity, are disciplined, physically fit and capable of functioning in a rear area emergency defensive tactical situation."[57] Per the Commandant's guidance, and based upon the prevailing Marine Corps interpretation of Title 10, U.S. Code combat restrictions, female recruits were precluded from training in any activities that were deemed combat offense or physically inappropriate, which included bayonet and pugil stick training; offensive combat formations; offensive fire techniques; ship-to-shore movement; offensive patrols, ambushes, and other operations; and rubber boat training.[58]

For *mustang* Major Lucinda B. Wilks, General Gray's focus on the Basic Warrior opened a new world.*

> His motto that "every Marine is a warrior first" hit home with me as a woman Marine with very little "warrior training." I had processed through boot camp, taking one small hike in blue utilities and oxfords, never being taught how to handle a weapon or go to the field and miraculously I'm supposed to be a "warrior." Needless to say, I believe many women were taken back [*sic*] by the rapid changes that occurred and the rate that we were supposed to keep up with a total lack of knowledge. I was lucky; I had been selected for Marine Enlisted Commissioning Program and I was fortunate enough to attend OCS [Officer Candidates School] in 1985. OCS gave me the knowledge about the Marine Corps that female privates were learning in boot camp. It rescued me and propelled me into the Commandant's world of being a warrior. The Basic School, in 1988, added another chunk of knowledge that some of my sister enlisted Marines were never taught. Thanks to our current PME [professional military education] system, those few forgotten women have progressed through the warrior training—albeit a little later in their careers.[59]

Training by Exception

Female recruit training continued to evolve as a result of annual reviews of the male recruit task list for applicable gender-neutral tasks. Through the latter half of the 1980s and into the early 1990s, policy makers did not have a comprehensive theme for female recruit training other than to address significant differences. The only other evident oversight activity was in the form of periodic visits by DACOWITS members.

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* A mustang is a former enlisted Marine who became a commissioned or warrant officer.

Reexamining Recruit Training

In 1992, gender equality with respect to basic military training was a leading issue for the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces (see chapter 3). To ensure women were trained to their highest potential, the commission examined recruit training concepts and programs with specific concerns regarding "whether physical fitness standards for basic training should be related to wellness or occupational physical requirements."[60] Prior to completing the report, the commission sought information on the effects of gender-integrated recruit training by querying the Service chiefs through the Service secretaries.

The Marine Corps stood alone among the Services in not gender integrating recruit training. General Carl E. Mundy Jr., the 30th Commandant, stated, "the Marine Corps philosophy on recruit training, undoubtedly the most challenging recruit training for both male and female recruits in the world, is time tested and has served us extremely well over the years."[61] Sean C. O'Keefe, the secretary of the Navy, was not as certain and tasked Mundy "to assess the desirability of gender integrated recruit training."[62]

By 1994, Marine Corps male and female recruit training were nearly identical, though separate; however, the different standards applied to score male and female recruits remained. U.S. Army and Navy recruit trainings were gender integrated with differences in only medical examinations, hygiene classes, and physical fitness test standards.* The U.S. Air Force followed the same POI for training pairs of all-male and all-female flights with the exception of physical conditioning, medical examinations, hygiene classes, and physical fitness test standards.[63]

Lieutenant General Charles C. Krulak, commanding general, Marine Corps Combat Development Command (MCCDC), Quantico, led the Corps' review and assembled a mixed-gender study group of Marines from various commands, to include the female commander of the 4th Recruit Training Battalion, Parris Island. The study group examined each Service's recruit training and recommended against implementing gender-integrated Marine Corps recruit training. It determined "that our present training meets the stated purpose for both male and female recruit training." The Corps' leadership was confident that the separate training enabled drill instructors to push recruits "beyond their self-realized limits through a sustained level of intended stress, both mental and physical, that the study concluded cannot be maintained in a gender integrated environment." Further, the study group concluded that instituting the same physical standards, regardless of gender, would mentally weaken the male recruits while subjecting female recruits to significant increases in physical injury rates.[64]

Among the most lasting review initiatives was to develop a set of core values—Honor, Courage, and Commitment—intended both to instill a sense of duty and foster an understanding of the value of each Navy and Marine Corps servicemember regardless of gender, race, or rank. These values continue to sustain Marine Corps commanders and the Corps itself.[65]

Evaluating Combat Training for Female Recruits

Following Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, "the phenomenon of women Marines in combat theaters" prompted a study of enhanced tactical training for women at Parris Island.[66] The Parris Island standing Quality Management Board for Training had been tasked in November 1992 to meet "to discuss/brainstorm female EELT (Enlisted Entry Level Training)" by the Parris Island commander, Brigadier General Jack W. Klimp.[67] In addition to the team assembled

* Identical male and female physical fitness test events for the Army included a two-mile run, push-ups, and sit-ups. Likewise, male and female Navy personnel completed a one-and-one-half-mile run or distance swim, push-ups, and sit-ups.

U.S. Marine Corps Imagery Management Unit photos

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

U.S. Marine Corps Imagery Management Unit photos

U.S. Marine Corps Imagery Management Unit photos

Top Left: MCRD Parris Island, SC, 22 August 2000. Recruits Carol and Bertrand cross the monkey bars, one of several obstacles negotiated on the confidence course at Leatherneck Square, as 4th Battalion drill instructor Sgt Duran watches from a distance.

Top Right: 4th Recruit Training Battalion, swim qualification training, MCRD Parris Island, SC, circa 1998–2001.

Bottom Left: 4th Recruit Training Battalion, slide for life training, MCRD Parris Island, SC, 7 November 2001.

Bottom Right: LtCol Hotschstetler inspects 4th Recruit Carter during the Battalion company inspection in the 4th Battalion courtyard. 4th Recruit Training Battalion, MCRD Parris Island, SC, 21 August 2000.

at the headquarters of MCCDC in Quantico, a process action team (PAT) was formed at Parris Island on 13 October 1993. The Parris Island team's task was "to conduct a bottom-up review of the combat training in the female recruit POI and to submit a recommended training outline plan for the POI that supports the Marine Corps policy for training women."[68]

Colonel Scott K. Leach, the assistant chief of staff (G3) at Parris Island, organized the PAT to develop strategies to provide female recruits with "the weapons and field training they deserve."[69] Two years following operations in Desert Shield and Desert Storm, during which several thousand female Marines participated, the team determined that female recruits received no offensive training. Female training also included 8.5 fewer hours of nuclear, biological, and chemical training and 23 fewer hours of defensive training than the male recruits received.[70]

The MCRD Parris Island PAT met almost weekly, from its initial meeting in October 1993 until early April 1994. Brigadier General Klimp, the Marine Corps Recruit Depot, Eastern Recruiting Region commanding general, forwarded the PAT's final report to Lieutenant General Krulak, to inform Krulak's larger effort in studying recruit training. In the recommendation for expanding training for female recruits, Klimp came to the heart of the issue, emphasizing "our instinctive discomfort with what we are providing female recruits in BWT/MCT."[71] The Parris Island team recommended expanding defensive training in patrolling, squad immediate action drills, and weapons training for female recruits.[72]

With resolute desire to maintain gender-segregated recruit training, Marine Corps leadership sought to ensure men and women received equal training. The rationale followed assignments of women to Southwest Asia in 1990–91 and Somalia in 1992, which were "combat theaters where they served alongside their male counterparts in most aspects of field operations short of direct combat. . . . The Marine Corps policy for the training of women Marines states that females require the same training as males to allow them to contribute to the unit defense."[73] The concern raised more than one year earlier was that the abbreviated MCT for female recruits did not provide the "battle skills training necessary to prepare our women for combat within the changing parameters of expectations for women Marines."[74] In a situation Brigadier General Klimp described as "no win," options were to lower male standards or set the bar too high for most women. The result was "a clear perception by both males and females of an inequality of standards."[75]

Brigadier General Klimp had instituted a subtle, but philosophically profound, change in female recruit training soon after assuming command at Parris Island when he said, "We don't train female Marines, we train Marines, some just happen to be female." Confirming what female Marines had thought for more than 50 years, his rationale was: "*Female Marines can't technically and psychologically serve side-by-side with their male counterparts as equals until their training more closely approaches that of their male counterparts*. Ethically, we owe no less to them, their fellow Marines and their future commanders."[76]

Klimp raised another gender distinction concern in a 14 April 1994 letter to Lieutenant General Krulak:

> Up to now we have addressed "non-acceptance of women" in the Marine Corps via core values and code of ethics training, coupled with the discipline, confidence and spirit that are born in recruit training and nurtured in every Marine unit. We have also increased the exposure of male recruits to female Marines in positions of authority.[77]

Emphasizing his strong belief, Klimp wrote that to create a broader acceptance, "*we must aggressively pursue gender integrated staffs. . . . We must portray more women in positions of authority—highlight the positive, not accentuate* the differences." Klimp also

DEVELOPING CORE VALUES

Courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Capt Eugene T. Gomulka, CHC, with new friends in Sarajevo, 1996. Chaplain Gomulka presented the Marine Corps core values of Honor, Courage, and Commitment to the Commandant, Gen Carl Mundy, originally as "Courage, Honor, Commitment," for CHC—the Navy Chaplain Corps.

While serving aboard the USS *Wisconsin* (BB 64) from 1989 to 1991, Captain Eugene T. Gomulka, U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps, regularly attended Navy Captain's Mast and Marine Corps Office Hours, both of which enable commanders to administratively discipline sailors and troops without courts-martial. He proposed to the Marine captain in command of the Marine detachment that they develop a one-hour class on ethics and moral development for the 50 Marines embarked on the battleship. The class was well received.

During Gomulka's next tour, as deputy chaplain of the Marine Corps, he pursued doing more to help Navy and Marine Corps personnel in the areas of ethics and character development. His effort succeeded. General Mundy offered his wholehearted support on the need to investigate and begin an ethics and moral values effort, assigning Lieutenant General Matthew T. Cooper, deputy chief of staff, Manpower and Reserve Affairs (M&RA), as the Marine Corps lead for the project.*

The first value Gomulka recommended was courage, inspired by what Winston Churchill said during the Battle of Britain: "Courage is the first of human qualities because it is the quality that guarantees all the others." The second value Gomulka suggested was honor, which Aristotle identified in *Nicomachean Ethics* as the summation of various virtues in an individual. To Aristotle, honor was the prize of virtue. Excellence was the third value Gomulka submitted, at the suggestion of Brigadier General Charles Krulak, who was a division director within M&RA at the time. Two other virtues—integrity and commitment—were also under consideration by Lieutenant General Cooper.

The final list of core values given to General Mundy was: honor, courage, and commitment. Three months after the Commandant called upon all Marines to adhere to these core values that mold individual character, Admiral Frank B. Kelso II, chief of naval operations, directed the Navy core values of integrity, professionalism, and tradition be changed to honor, courage, and commitment.[1]

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* The Navy developed a core values program shortly after the 1991 Tailhook scandal.

[1] Capt Eugene T. Gomulka, CHC, opinion paper, "Making of the Core Values," undated, in author's possession.

pressed the need "to be more progressive with our search for opportunities for concurrent training . . . under circumstances where gender differences are not accentuated."[78]

During the course of political sparring, in a recommendation that would prove key to the Corps winning Congressional support to remain the only Service to maintain separate recruit training, Klimp also pressed to provide women the same Basic Warrior Training and Marine Combat Training as men.

For nearly six years prior, since implementation of BWT in 1988, female recruits received a "watered-down version of what their fellow male Marines receive[d]." Brigadier General Klimp presented his idea to move the female MCT to Camp Geiger and to gender integrate MCT, adding, "Our current approach is unfair to both our female Marines and to our fleet commanders. It is unfair to our female Marines because they are being short changed [*sic*]. . . . It is unfair to our commanders in the fleet because it creates a false sense of security. Every commander should reasonably assume that Marines possessing the same MOS (male or female) have the same battlefield skills. Today, that is not the case."[79] His suggestion remained under study for another three years, but it became instrumental in supporting the Corps' claim before congressional scrutiny to "train as we fight."

Incorporating the Parris Island team's proposals, Lieutenant General Krulak's Quantico study members concluded with four recommendations:

1. Continue with current policy regarding gender-segregated recruit training.
2. Capitalize on additional gender-neutral recruit training opportunities.
3. Pursue gender integration of recruit training staff and leadership billets aggressively.
4. Continue to teach and emphasize the core values of Honor, Courage, and Commitment to all recruits and Marines, which in turn would emphasize individual respect for and human dignity of all Marines.[80]

Additions were made to female recruit MCT beginning 1 October 1994. The first phase introduced instruction, such as patrolling and squad in the offense and defense, that could "be accomplished without any increase in current equipment or personnel resources."[81] The initial MCT additions for women included

- crew-served weapons 4.0 hours
- patrolling 7.5 hours
- tactical measures 23.5 hours
- hand grenades and mines 7.5 hours
- nuclear/biological/chemical warfare 1.0 hour
- communications 2.5 hours[82]

Training as We Fight

Lieutenant General Krulak took every opportunity to speak of his fervent belief that Marine Corps recruit training was just a step in the process of making and sustaining a Marine—and that no weapon was more valuable than a Marine of character. For the Corps, the "train as we fight" portion of initial training occurred after young civilians had developed the values, toughness, self-reliance, and confidence to become Marines. Krulak ordered that all noninfantry Marines receive the same basic, follow-on combat training. The initiative reinforced the general's transformation concept, as well as his rationale for the value of gender-segregated recruit training. First Lieutenant James M. Rich, who served as an MCT Company executive officer, put it this way: "Recruits were still trying to learn how to conduct themselves as basically-trained Marines, not as combat-trained Marines. Now, [at MCT] combat training is their main focus."[83]

First Lieutenant Wendy J. Goyette, a communications officer serving as executive officer, Company O, 4th Recruit Training Battalion, was selected to be commanding officer of MCT following a conversation

early one morning during a physical training session.[84] She knew that with the *Crucible* coming to recruit training, MCT would move out of the curriculum and that the East Coast School of Infantry (SOI) had not converted billeting facilities to accommodate women at Camp Geiger, which is part of Camp Lejeune, North Carolina.*[85]

> While completing my last series, I simultaneously started drafting a Program of Instruction (POI) for the new MCT based on the new concept being driven by SOI for a 17-day intense training package. With the help of two 0302 [infantry officer MOS], hard core "grunts," Capt Pat Sefanek, [the battalion] S-3 and Capt Doug Cohran, Field Training Company [commanding officer], we developed a program that mirrored the new concept, even with our limited resources. In the October/November timeframe, we started selecting the platoon commanders and squad leaders. Approximately half were drill instructors and the other half [were] Marines from other supporting billets on the depot. Half were male and half female. The course instructors were the same instructors that had been involved in training the recruits. We were going to run two overlapping classes for a total of 5 classes before transitioning to Camp Lejeune in April.[86]

As both classes progressed, changes were made to the POI to improve the instruction. Goyette further recalled:

> It was great as a young Lt [lieutenant] to have the power to change "my" program and to have the great support from the two Captains . . . and the complete support from the Battalion Commander. Although everyone knew that this was temporary, the squad leaders and instructors gave 100 percent of themselves 100 percent of the time. We had molded into a unique and dedicated team that could do anything and I think everyone involved in that short phase of female training had a positive and rewarding experience.[87]

Goyette was certain these new Marines would actually retain basic combat training better than would raw recruits. She was also certain the experience was useful in guiding her male peers and male enlisted instructors in the training of female Marines.[88]

On 31 March 1997, in utility uniforms muddied from combat training and with faces camouflage-painted in shades of forest green and brown, 112 female Marines began MCT at Parris Island immediately following recruit graduation. They were the first of five female classes to train at Parris Island while room was made for them to join their male counterparts at Camp Geiger.[89] One of the women, recruit Tabatha Allen, "fired off four rounds from her MK-19 grenade launcher, blasting the carcass of an old tank downrange with four direct hits."[90] Asked by a *New York Times* reporter if she felt accepted by her male peers, Allen replied, "We found that in the Marines, you're not males or females, you're Marines and you're treated like a Marine."[91]

Creating the Marine Team

During Operation Desert Storm in 1991, then-Brigadier General Krulak had been convinced that "any area can become a combat zone and front lines [*sic*] are a thing of the past."[92] Marine Combat Training

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* The final challenge of recruit training is the Crucible—a 54-hour training exercise that includes food and sleep deprivation and more than 45 miles of marching. It validates the physical, mental, and Marine Corps values training that recruits have received. Recruits are divided into squads to face a series of day and night events requiring them to work together to solve problems, overcome obstacles, and help each other along the way. The obstacles include combat assault courses, the leadership reaction course, and team-building warrior stations. Each warrior station is named for a Marine hero whose actions epitomize the values the Marine Corps expects of recruits. The final stage of the Crucible is a nine-mile hike to the Iwo Jima flag-raising statue on the Recruit Depot's parade deck. Upon completing this challenge, each recruit is handed the Eagle, Globe, and Anchor emblem, symbolizing the completion of their arduous journey to become U.S. Marines.

CLEARING UP CONFUSION

When Corporal Candace C. Haas attended Unit Level Circuit Switch Operator School at Twentynine Palms, California, in early 1999, her class was sent on a working party to help 7th Marines clean their communications gear coming in from the field.

> After about half the day was done a SSgt asked me where I had gotten my MCT [Marine Combat Training] shirt. I responded with "Camp Geiger," thinking he was asking whether east coast or west coast. He gave me a disgusted look and asked the same question again. After a pause and a questioning look from myself the SSgt sharply asked if I had received the shirt from my boyfriend or brother. Now realizing the SSgt did not know that female Marines go through MCT and the crucible, I gave him a brief explanation of our training.[1]

[1] Cpl Candace C. Haas, email to author, 30 September 2001.

was a field-intensive exercise to teach platoon, squad, and fire team organization as well as to instill core combat skills within noninfantry Marines, who had always comprised the majority of the Marine Corps.[93] Marine Combat Training also enhanced training in teamwork and core values as part of each Marine's transformation.[94] As the Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps, Lewis G. Lee, insisted at a Department of Defense equal opportunity conference, "remember, our rear is most other people's forward."[95]

Congressional Commission: Does It Begin with Recruits?

In 1997, as part of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1998, Congress established the Congressional Commission on Military Training and Gender-Related Issues "to review requirements and restrictions regarding cross-gender relationships [fraternization and adultery] of members of the Armed Forces, to review the basic training programs of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps, and to make recommendations on improvements to those programs, requirements, and restrictions."[96]

Along with assessing the consistent application of laws, regulations, and policies, the commission was also tasked with assessing reports from two concurrent panels and a separate committee. One panel dealt with the sufficiency of guidance to commanders regarding the offense of adultery, and the other with Service regulations pertaining to fraternization and other prohibited interpersonal relations among military personnel. The general assessment was that adultery and fraternization were not occurring so frequently as to cause overriding alarm or concern within the Services; rather, both offenses were linked to the broader issue of the sexual harassment of juniors by seniors. The third entity was the Federal Advisory Committee on Gender-Integrated Training and Related Issues, more commonly known as the Kassebaum Baker Committee after its chair, former senator Nancy Kassebaum Baker.[97]

With respect to the first two issues, the commission was unanimous in its belief that there was nothing wrong with current policies regarding fraternization and adultery. Service-specific policies concerning fraternization were suitable to meet the requirements of each Service. Within the Marine Corps, the *Marine Corps Manual* (W/CH 1-3) guided policy.[98] The *Manual for Courts-Martial, United States* was specific enough regarding adultery. Commission members were also unanimous in recommending that the

Services increase leader training in knowledge and application of military law at all levels.[99]

With respect to the third issue, initial entry training, commission members found that not only did commanders responsible for initial entry training sense that senior leaders distrusted their ability to execute their duties but also that many commanders felt they were micromanaged and subject to overly restrictive requirements by senior training and policy departments.[100] There was also consensus in the belief that recruit training commanders were forced to respond to higher headquarters with frequent changes in their training curricula and procedures. It seemed the changes emerged as reactions to isolated incidents rather than prompted by system analyses. The commissions also believed that the Army, Navy, and Air Force leadership were not paying attention to basic training.[101] Beset by downsizing, reduced budgets, and changing missions following the end of the Cold War, the Services had understaffed key training facilities and lowered the caliber of those staffs.[102]

Before reporting to Congress in July 1999, the

OPERATION LEATHERNECK

Marine Combat Training (MCT) is a single, hands-on practical application called Operation Leatherneck. The operation begins as a 17-day exercise simulating contingency operations during an overseas deployment, which is intended to provide new Marines with skills needed to fight and survive in a combat environment in a 22-day program.[1] Marines receive training on heavy weapons, such as the MK19 40mm grenade launcher, combat formations, land navigation, field survival, and nuclear, biological, and chemical defense, according to MCT Company Gunnery Sergeant Daniel C. Orland.[2] MCT provides Marines with the weapons and advanced field skills essential to operate and survive in a hostile environment and ensures that every Marine, regardless of MOS, is a basic rifleman.

At MCT, both male and female Marines are taught and led by male and female officers and NCOs. Marines see a gender-integrated chain of command and experience their leadership in tough field conditions. They see themselves as members of the same team committed to performing the same demanding duties in the same demanding environment.[3]

Following MCT, Marines report to their designated MOS schools. Sixty-two percent of the noninfantry MOS schools are combined or shared with those of other Services.[4] To reinforce cohesion, Marines are formed into teams during MCT, School of Infantry, and other MOS schools. General Krulak's intent was to keep teams intact through training and to assign an entire team to the same unit following school graduation.

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[1] Anita K. Blair, *Congressional Commission on Military Training and Gender-Related Issues, Final Report: Findings and Recommendations*, vol. 1 (Arlington, VA: Congressional Commission, 1999), 71.
[2] Lisbon, "First Females Graduate MCT."
[3] Holcomb, *Integrated Recruit Training*, 3.
[4] Blair, *Congressional Commission on Military Training and Gender-Related Issues*, 49.

commissioners—who included retired Marine Corps Lieutenant Generals George R. Christmas and William M. Keys and eight other private citizens—paid multiple visits to basic training installations and advanced training schools with their staffs. The commission visited recruit training at Parris Island; Marine Combat Training at Schools of Infantry East, Camp Lejeune, and West, Camp Pendleton; Marine Corps Combat Service Support School at Camp Lejeune; and U.S. Marine Corps Military Police School, Fort McClellan, Alabama. At these sites, the commissioners and their staff members spoke with several hundred recruits, Marines in training, drill instructors, military occupational specialty instructors, and senior recruit training leaders. They also interviewed the commanding generals of Parris Island and Camp Lejeune. Commission members reported that "the Marines consistently staffed their boot camps with high-caliber drill instructors who were rewarded for good performance. More importantly, the entire chain of command right up to the Commandant [General Krulak] actively and continuously evaluated the effectiveness of basic training."[103]

Steve Buyer, a Republican representative from Indiana and chairman of the National Security Committee's Subcommittee on Military Personnel, was among those visiting recruits at Parris Island. Following the comprehensive tours, Congressman Buyer "praised the Marines' emphasis on core values, warrior spirit, and their cultivation of a mentor relationship between drill instructors and recruits," adding "the problems that existed with the Army in regard to drill sergeants abusing their positions are almost nonexistent at Parris Island."[104]

The "train as we fight" argument for a gender-integrated recruit program of instruction missed the point that the Marine Corps was the only Service with a block of training—MCT—between recruit training and military occupational specialty training. Recruit training was a socialization process. Marine Combat

THE FEDERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON GENDER-INTEGRATED TRAINING AND RELATED ISSUES

The Federal Advisory Committee on Gender-Integrated Training and Related Issues was announced on 27 June 1997 by Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen. The 11-member panel was more commonly known as the Kassebaum Baker Committee. Among its members were Major General Donald R. Gardner, USMC (Ret), and Dr. Condoleezza Rice, then provost at Stanford University.

The committee examined the full cycle for recruits in the Army, Marine Corps, Navy, and Air Force, from initial encounter at a recruiting station, through basic and advanced (MOS) training to initial operational unit. The committee held two initial meetings in Washington, DC, primarily to receive briefings by Service representatives on training programs and policies.

During its review, the committee visited 17 Army, Marine Corps, Navy, and Air Force bases and stations during September–November 1997. Among the findings and recommendations provided to Secretary Cohen on 16 December 1997 were these conclusions:

- Increasing the number of women in expanded roles enables the United States to maintain an effective and efficient volunteer military force.
- Contrary to public perception, aside from the Marine Corps, only a minority of male recruits routinely train with female recruits: approximately 50 percent of Army male recruits, 25 percent of Navy male recruits, and 40 percent of Air Force male recruits.
- By far, the quality and integrity of leadership guarantees success (non-early attrition).

Training taught combat skills to newly forged Marines in gender-integrated units. The Corps' newest Marines observed the function of a gender-integrated chain of command and the professional conduct between male and female leaders. Male and female Marines saw themselves as "members of the same team, committed to performing the same tough duties in the same dirty, mentally and physically demanding environment, and from that experience, [developed] an appreciation of each other as professionals."[105] Lewis G. Lee, then-Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps, summarized it well: "Our system works for us. Anything that detracts, we want to eliminate."[106]

The other Services had nothing similar to Marine Corps recruit training or its recruiting success. The congressional commission and the press were provided pages of the Marine Corps' rationale for standing alone in gender-segregated training. That rationale—the Commandant's philosophy—was that recruit training was a piece rather than the entire process of "making Marines and winning battles."[107] The process actually had five components, in the Commandant's eyes. It began with Marine Corps recruiters seeking out and signing qualified men and women. It continued with drill instructors shaping those men and women into Marines. It continued as these newest Marines formed into close-knit, cohesive units intended to remain together through their entire first enlistment (usually three years). It was sustained as Marines continued through professional military education schools and ended as these Marines left the Corps and returned as better citizens to the nation.[108] Instilling the values Marines had always espoused was gender neutral. The idea that gender segregating the short, 12-week component of recruit training provided 17- to 20-year-olds with one less distraction convinced the commission and gave General Krulak the leverage needed to sell the gender-segregated program.[109] In his associated briefings to the Senate Armed Services Committee, General Krulak was able to draw upon male and female leaders from both Marine Corps recruit depots, saying, "They gave me the ammo I needed."[110]

A Smarter Boot Camp

In 1996, General Krulak had directed the most extensive changes to recruit training programs of instruction in nearly 15 years.[111] The commission noted, "These changes included a renewed emphasis on instilling the core values of Honor, Courage, and Commitment; a new training schedule that provided more drill instructor time for mentoring recruits, culminating in the Crucible, a defining rite of passage; and an additional week of training."[112] A Senior Drill Instructor (SDI) Development Course was instituted "to educate and train drill instructors in tangible leadership and technical skills demanded from the SDI billet."[113] Thirty-five hours of core values training was added to the Drill Instructor School syllabus to prepare new drill instructors to teach those values to their recruits.[114] The first class of the SDI Development Course graduated in October 1996, ahead of the upcoming recruit rite of passage, the Crucible.[115]

The Crucible served as the centerpiece of what Brigadier General Jerry D. Humble called "smarter and tougher and better" recruit training.[116] Brigadier General Humble, commanding general of Parris Island between 1997 and 1999, oversaw both the change in the program of instruction and the inclusion of female recruits in every facet of the new training for the first time. In preparing for the Crucible, all recruits would undergo hand-to-hand combat training with rifle, bayonet, and pugil sticks. Like the men, women were paired by weight.[117] Staff Sergeant Mary Wilson, an SDI with the 4th Recruit Training Battalion, echoed many women in long wanting the Corps "to look at Marines as, well, Marines—not as male or female Marines." Now, with the change, women could "stand side by side" with their male peers.[118] Focusing on the leadership provided by drill instructors,

the Corps was transforming young men and women, with little gender distinction, into Marines.

Sustaining the Transformation

Sustainment—the process of keeping motivation high and core values in focus through a Marine's career—took positive leadership on the part of others, and high standards and continuous professional education on the part of the individual. As often as not, the really tough issues confronting Marines were moral quandaries; Marines must have the wherewithal to handle them appropriately. Creating a firm moral

CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION ON MILITARY TRAINING AND GENDER-RELATED ISSUES

Public law 105-85 established the Congressional Commission on Military Training and Gender-Related Issues in late 1997 as part of the fiscal year 1998 National Defense Authorization Act, as modified by the fiscal year 1999 National Defense Authorization Act.

The 10-person commission was chaired by Anita K. Blair, a Virginia lawyer and president of the Independent Women's Forum. Among its members were Dr. Charles C. Moskos, who served on the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, and retired Marine Corps Lieutenant Generals George R. Christmas and William M. Keys.

The commission's final report was sent by Blair to the chair and ranking minority members of the Committees on the Armed Services in both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives on 30 July 1999. A survey of approximately 9,000 recruits and 2,300 recruit trainers from all four Services was used to assess the attitudes of beginning and graduating recruits and how they related to unit cohesion and commitment. The commission recommended, among other efforts:

- The Services should continue to study and improve their physical fitness standards and programs. The Services have come far in studying and incorporating improved fitness standards and better understanding of job performance requirements. These studies should be continued, and fitness/ performance programs should be continually reviewed and improved. There need to be clearly stated objectives about physical fitness tests and physical performance standards. The Services should take steps to educate servicemembers about the meaning of "physical fitness" and how it differs from job performance standards. There is widespread misunderstanding about the purpose of the Services' physical fitness tests. The tests are designed to measure physical health and well-being. Measures of physical fitness must take age and gender into account, as the Services' tests currently do. Physical fitness tests are not measures of job-specific skills. The Services should maintain this distinction and communicate it to all levels of personnel, including basic trainees.
- The Services must continue "military training" (e.g., physical, military customs and courtesies, and values training) throughout each Service's training continuum, from accession until assignment to the operating forces.[1]

[1] *Congressional Commission on Military Training and Gender-Related Issues: Final Report—Findings and Recommendations,* vol. 1 (Arlington, VA: Congressional Commission on Military Training and Gender-Related Issues, 1999), xvii.

bedrock was an intended product of all training opportunities. To this end, leadership—the hard currency of the Corps—had to reside within even the most junior Marine.[119]

General Krulak developed the concept of sustainment during his tenure. He was concerned that young noncommissioned officers (NCOs) had been stripped of the latitude, discretion, and authority to perform their jobs of mentoring junior Marines. He felt NCOs were key to sustaining transformation, and he emphasized the importance of selecting the best men and women to become NCOs and training them to sustain the values and warfighting ethos of the Corps.[120]

A mentor is "a wise advisor, teacher and guardian."[121] General Krulak sought to institute a formal mentoring program within every Marine Corps unit. It was intended to replace the Corps' long-standing counseling program, which focused on duty performance and was most closely associated with fitness reports for officers, staff noncommissioned officers, and sergeants and with proficiency and conduct marks for privates, privates first class, and corporals.[122] Mentoring remains an important leadership program within the Marine Corps, contributing directly to the concept of sustainment.

Learning Differences

Sergeant Major Beverly J. Morgan served as 4th Recruit Training Battalion sergeant major from March 1997 until September 1999. Interviewed by Ann Scott Tyson of the *Christian Science Monitor* in May 1998, as she relaxed in her utility uniform, she laughed "about the days in the 1970s and '80s when she had to wear high heels and skirts and couldn't fire a gun."[123] She also did a lot of ironing and shoe shining. Morgan recalled, "We were issued makeup and taught to blend it with our skin tone. We had to wear lipstick every day."[124]

Between 1985 and 1998, approximately 38

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, by LCpl MaryAnn Hill

Top: Recruits are handed the Marine Corps Eagle, Globe, and Anchor emblem upon successful completion of the Crucible at MCRD Parris Island, SC.

Bottom: The Eagle, Globe, and Anchor has been a part of the Marine Corps uniform since 1868 and became the official emblem of the Marine Corps in 1955. This small piece of metal that only costs a few dollars is priceless to the new Marines who have endured the last 12 weeks of intense training to earn it. This ceremony has been a tradition on Parris Island since the first Crucible in 1996. Parris Island has been the site of Marine Corps recruit training since 1 November 1915. Today, approximately 20,000 recruits come to Parris Island annually for the chance to become United States Marines by enduring 13 weeks of rigorous, transformative training. Parris Island is home to entry-level enlisted training for 50 percent of males and 100 percent of females in the Marine Corps.

motivated and physically qualified female recruits were sent home annually simply because they could not qualify with the Colt M16A2 service rifle.[125] Unlike many men, many female recruits had little or no experience with high-powered weapons before joining; their first introduction to the service rifle was on the firing range. These recruits seemed unable to overcome their fear of the weapon. Lieutenant Colonel Adrienne K. Fraser-Darling, the 4th Recruit Training Battalion commanding officer, sought to help her female recruits overcome their fear or lack of confidence. Soon after assuming command in 1998, she had a six-hour training program designed to familiarize female recruits with the rifle in a nonthreatening environment.

The training increased recruits' comfort level before they arrived on the range. Fraser-Darling also "sent as many female drill instructors as possible to the combat marksman coaches' course to enable them to address the recruits' concerns and help with remedial instruction when necessary," and she made becoming familiar with field problems or the sounds and pieces of a weapon system standard procedure before heading to an exercise or the rifle range.[126] These changes were followed by a significant decrease in the number of women who failed to qualify with the service rifle from 38 to 7 in just one year.

Another Marine Corps training hurdle for women was handling the stress. During the first two weeks of recruit training, three drill instructors were in a recruit's face, yelling almost constantly, which most women were not used to. The environment was similar for officer candidates. This produced even more stress; many women tend to cope with stress and anxiety by talking about the problem with others, but recruits and candidates were not free to talk. To help female recruits adjust, they were given a class on handling stress during their first week aboard Parris Island, and it was up to each to develop her coping skills.

Finding the right compromise between instilling self-discipline and relieving stress boiled down to real estate. The drill instructors continued to rule squad bays with a steely gaze and commanding voice, and stress reigned. Group discussions were encouraged following field and classroom problems, however. After a team event, the drill instructor summarized the team's performance, offering constructive criticism and encouraging discussion. At these opportunities for honest venting, female recruits raised their hands and offered ways to improve the exercise.

SEEING THE BIG PICTURE

In the 1990s, as training for women evolved to more closely align with that of men, recruit depot and Officer Candidates School commanders worked proactively to advance the ways women were taught, while still maintaining the highest standards. Time-honored lockstep teaching methods worked for men, who tended to compartmentalize, but women liked linkages to visualize how one class fit into or built upon another. To accommodate these differences, recruit depot and officer candidate school training syllabi were posted to give women the big picture they needed to understand the importance of each facet of their training.

Training Command Redesignation

On 23 February 1949, 3d Recruit Training Battalion (RTBn), at MCRD Parris Island, was activated for female Marine training. The battalion was redesignated as Woman Recruit Training Battalion on 1 May 1954, but on 18 May 1976 it was redesignated as Woman Recruit Training Command. Ten years later (on 1 November 1986), it was again redesignated as 4th RTBn

and became part of the Recruit Training Regiment. During January 1989, the 4th RTBn companies were redesignated as November and Oscar Companies due to reorganization of the regiment. In October 1996, Papa Company was activated to more effectively train the larger number of female recruits arriving on Parris Island. In November 2001, new barracks were added to expand the 4th RTBn complex.[127]

The Marine Corps remains the only military Service with gender-segregated entry-level enlisted training, although the training is now identical. Several studies have shown that this approach builds confidence in female recruits and lessens sexual tension among the predominantly 17- to 20-year-old male and female recruits. It has been recommended that the Marine Corps integrate MCT at Marine Corps Recruit Depot San Diego.[128] There is a perception that Marines trained in the all-male environment "were less tolerant, and exhibited more prejudicial behavior toward women than did the Marines going through boot camp at Parris Island."[129] For those San Diego Marines in combat arms occupational specialties, their "first experience in dealing with female Marines is in the Operating Forces while deployed, with mixed and uncertain results."[130]

Enlisted Training Summary

The Marine Corps makes Marines by recruiting quality young men and women and transforming them through the foundations of rigorous basic training, a shared legacy, and a commitment to core values, preparing them to win the nation's battles in service to the country.

Officer Training

In June 1977, as the first gender-integrated The Basic School (TBS) class prepared for graduation, Marine Corps leadership realized the importance of physically and mentally preparing women before commissioning and made the decision to gender-integrate officer candidate training. One of the women, and the author of this work, already assigned to TBS staff, First Lieutenant Nancy P. Anderson, was reassigned to Officer Candidates School (OCS) to prepare future incoming women for this more rigorous physical training. She requested permission from Colonel Frank R. Koethe, the OCS commanding officer, to initially serve with

OCS: "A PLACE, NOT A PROGRAM"[1]

Unlike Marine Corps recruit training regiments, where all recruits undergo the same 12-week program, Officer Candidates School provides five different programs directed toward a specific college-age demographic.[2] Four of the programs lead to Marine Corps officer commissions. Two of those, the Platoon Leaders Course (Combined) and the Officer Candidate Course, are 10 weeks long. Two others, the Platoon Leaders Course (Senior) and the class for Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps students, last six weeks. A third six-week program, the Platoon Leaders Course (Junior), is intended to "educate and motivate" college students sufficiently for them to return for the follow-on Platoon Leaders Course (Senior) in one or two summers.[3]

Every candidate, regardless of program, is expected to embody the OCS motto, *ductus exemplo* (leadership by example). Each of the five officer candidate programs includes a unique level of physical preparation and self-motivation. The two 10-week programs traditionally contain candidates least physically prepared; both share the highest attrition rates.

[1] Col William Smith, email to author, "History of Women in the Marine Corps," 17 March 2003.
[2] Collins, "The Gender-Integrated Marine Corps."
[3] Ibid.

a male platoon to learn the doctrinal and physical conditioning procedures and then pick up the female platoon when OCS Charlie Company formed a few weeks later. Colonel Koethe granted permission, and First Lieutenant Anderson was assigned as assistant platoon commander for Captain Charles M. Miller's first platoon of the all-male Delta Company, 104th Officer Candidate Class.

The 105th Officer Candidate Class convened on 3 October 1977, with 185 candidates reporting into Charlie Company.[131] The female officer candidate platoon, Charlie-1, had a female platoon commander (First Lieutenant Anderson), a male drill instructor/platoon sergeant (Gunnery Sergeant G. L. Weaver), and a female sergeant instructor (Staff Sergeant Victoria Lippolis). After each long training day, Staff Sergeant Lippolis provided extra instruction on female uniform care and inspection. For the female officer candidates, this presented a challenge to work twice as hard, ensuring they developed the confidence and practice to succeed at the greater physical challenges, while still finding the hours each week to keep their service uniforms wrinkle free and oxfords spit shined.

The daughter and granddaughter of Marines, Mary Forde felt it was her duty to continue the family tradition. She was a member of the first combined OCS company. She remembered calling the company sergeant instructor, Staff Sergeant Lippolis, "Mother Superior" for her ruthlessness about proper uniform ironing and rifle cleaning and remembered the feelings of inadequacy created by the difficult-to-press OCS "bag issue" uniforms, which she thought inspired her company "to excel in other areas such as PT [physical training] and military skills to overcompensate."[132]

While not all were pleased with the new, gender-integrated training, the young men in candidate Company C became strong supporters. They were alongside their female peers during physical training, conditioning marches, and field problems. They also saw the sweat, bruises, and determination displayed by the women as well as the women's desire for equal treatment. The presence of the male candidates made the female candidates try harder, recalled candidate Lorna M. Meyer, one of four former enlisted female Marines in Charlie-1 platoon. Of the training program she said, "It's pure hell, but in the long run it's totally beneficial—it really is."[133] Candidate Patricia A. Brannon, another former enlisted Marine, agreed. "It's not a man's world anyway. It's my world as much as it is his."[134]

Courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

1stLt Nancy Anderson (left) leads the male candidate column from first Officer Candidates Class (OCC) bivouac, OCS, Quantico, VA, September 1977. Capt Charles Miller (right) leads the column on the right.

However, senior male commanders had to deal with the very real issue of public perception toward women dressing and training like their male counterparts. Candidate Forde's comments illustrate the feelings of her Charlie-1 platoon:

> I believe the leadership wanted to determine what it was that the women couldn't do. Our platoon staff drilled the concept of unit integrity so fiercely that we really believed we were cut of the same cloth as the males—until the week of graduation. We were told that we would wear skirts and not

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Charlie-1, 105th OCC, leads a candidate company hike, November 1977.

Courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Top: SSgt Victoria Lippolis (nicknamed "Mother Superior"), 105th OCC, OCS, Quantico, VA, November 1977.

Bottom: SSgt Sylvia Walters (right) during a candidate company hike rest, OCS, Quantico, VA, June 1978.

> carry weapons at our graduation parade while the men wore sateens (the field utility uniform of the time) and carried rifles. Our defiance was not well masked and the company executive officer told us that if we insisted, there was a DOR [drop on request] slip for each of us in the company office. We gained tremendous respect for our platoon commander for being the only one on our [company] staff who fought to uphold the concept of unit integrity. She pled our case to the CO [commanding officer] of OCS, Colonel Frank Koethe, and he went to the Commanding General of MCDEC [Marine Corps Development and Education Command], LtGen [lieutenant general] Joseph C. Fegan Jr. The general had felt the public was not ready to see women with weapons; they might get the impression we were training for combat. The compromise was we stood in sateens without M-16s.[135]

The 105th Officer Candidate Class graduated on 16 December 1977. The occasion was marked with the 105th parade being reviewed by Colonel Roberta N. Patrick, the first female Marine officer to review a graduation parade at OCS.[136]

Debora K. Bishop attended OCS the summer of 1976, between her junior and senior years of college. She was commissioned and returned to Quantico for TBS with Hotel Company—the second TBS company

to be gender integrated—in August 1977. Being second meant that the news media and buzz that had pestered Charlie Company was greatly reduced for Hotel Company. Bishop recalled:

> Also in Hotel Company were women who had attended the [gender-]integrated OCS the summer of 1977. We began to refer to the 1976 WOCC [Women Officer Candidate Course] as "Powder Puff OCS" because we had learned to put on makeup, fix our hair, and had spent only an afternoon in the field. We had learned to do the basic drill, but not with a rifle. In fact, when I was handed my M-16 as a 2nd Lt [lieutenant] at the TBS armory it was the first time I had ever handled a weapon. We were adopted by others in the class to teach us how to take it apart and clean it. The women were expected to learn sword drill and were evaluated on it. However, a sword was not part of the uniform and we were not authorized to buy one. . . . Some of us used sticks in the woods that "met the length requirement" and we used them to practice our sword drill. Mops and brooms were also used.[137]

When Gunnery Sergeant Charlene K. Wiese served as platoon sergeant for a female officer candidate platoon in 1979, the women initially had trouble negotiating the obstacle course. It seemed to Gunnery Sergeant Wiese that the women had never been challenged to use power they had inside.[138] She determined to ignite that power and recalled, "As I watched their progression from the first week to 10 weeks later when they graduated, the greatest difference was confidence, and it was Marine Corps training that gave them that confidence." Twenty years later, female candidates were graduating at the

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Staff of the 105th Officer Candidates Class, OCS, Quantico, VA, November 1977.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

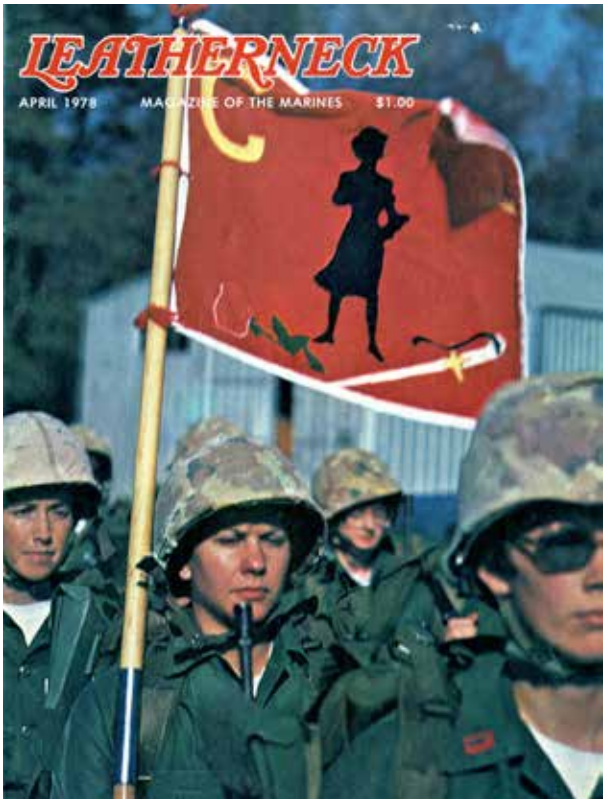
Charlie Company, called "Charlie's Angels," 105th Officer Candidates Class, OCS, Quantico, VA, November 1977, showing the then-current service uniform B. Future MajGen Angela Salinas stands behind the photo placard.

top of their coed companies. The sergeant instructors and platoon sergeant worked with the platoon commander "to instill from training day one that there was no limit to what the candidates could do and that their platoon leadership would not accept excuses for lack of performance, and neither would the Marine Corps."[139]

Wendy A. Smith remembered having to wear an ugly, short-haired wig during inspections because she refused to cut her long hair. As a sergeant, she was selected through the Enlisted Commissioning Program to become an officer. Her fall 1983 OCS class was the first where women carried rifles during the graduation parade. Officer Candidates School Sergeant Major David W. Sommers worked extremely hard to ensure the candidates could execute the manual of arms.[140] Knowing that candidate Smith had almost six years of enlisted experience, her female OCS platoon sergeant asked for her help. Before her father commissioned her on 16 December 1983, Candidate Smith assisted on several occasions and remembered some of the enlisted tricks she had used to prepare the women for major inspections of uniforms or weapons. She recommended using floor polish to achieve a high-gloss shine on boots as well as showering with rifles and using lighter fluid to ensure they were flawlessly clean. "We did well on our inspections. . . . We were very proud to be the first female [OCS platoon] to expertly execute at graduation," she said.[141]

The Basic School Changes

During the next three years, while female officer candidates trained in all-female platoons, female TBS lieutenants were either in gender-integrated platoons or all-female platoons as training programs were examined. The women received the same tactics training as men but only performed in defensive roles during field problems. Due to Title 10 restrictions in the U.S. Code restricting women from serving aboard combat vessels, women students were bussed to Camp



Courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Female candidates from Charlie Company, OCS, Quantico, VA, on the cover of *Leatherneck* magazine, April 1978.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Final Woman Officer Candidates Class, M Company, 1st Platoon, OCS, Quantico, VA, August 1977, wearing the 1960s-era summer pinstripe uniform.

Lejeune for the final TBS amphibious exercise while male students traveled on board amphibious ships for the short cruise. Male lieutenants made a mock amphibious landing while female lieutenants waited before joining them ashore in support billets to complete the landing exercise.[142]

Second Lieutenant Laurie G. Jacobson was one of 15 women in the 244-lieutenant Charlie Company that began TBS in March 1978, and she was the only married female lieutenant. Unbeknownst to her at that time, she was pregnant. A week from her September graduation, Second Lieutenant Jacobson and several of her peers and seniors were interviewed by the *Washington Post*. Five and one-half months pregnant, Jacobson said, "The baby wasn't any problem—I'm just so short [five feet] I had to take twice as many steps just to keep up." Second Lieutenant Mark Howard, another Charlie Company member, observed, "she never slowed up a march." Two weeks earlier Jacobson had completed a 20-mile terrain march with her company, with helmet, rifle, and 25-pound pack; she told the reporter, "I felt so good afterwards. It was worth it."[143]

Competition became very keen. The women were determined to excel, and the men seemed equally determined not to be outdone. Five percent of the female TBS students finished in the top 10 percent of their classes.[144] Thanks to Second Lieutenant Jo L. Duden, a 29-year-old former staff sergeant and one of 15 women among the 224 members of Echo Company, the TBS valedictorian could no longer be referred to as "Honor Man." In 1978, the title of "Honor Graduate" was conferred upon Second Lieutenant Duden when she finished at the top of her company (Company E, Basic Class 5-78).[145] The Marine Corps was immediately embroiled in conflict over how to handle the gender breakthrough. The honor was not unique among the military branches, but Marine Corps basic training was the lengthiest and most rigorous. While spokespeople were quick to point out that the Corps had worked for the past 18 months to get away from

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, Lima Company 1976 cruise book staff photographer

Capt Robin Austin (left) and Maj Barbara Dolyak (right), during a field evaluation for Lima Company, autumn 1976 (the last all-female TBS company), discuss the can-do attitude and successes of their all-female TBS platoon at Quantico, VA. Capt Austin went on to serve as commander for the first female platoon to undergo TBS within a gender-integrated company, in 1977.

gender training differentiation, evaluation systems had been modified and the acceptance of women remained suspect. A Marine Corps Public Affairs report published in June 1983, stated:

> At one point the training and evaluation systems were consolidated to such a degree that in 1978, for the first time, a woman Marine was able to become the Honor Graduate of The Basic School. Now, however, men and women Marine officers are evaluated separately, in several academic areas.[146]

Changes made in female candidate training in the early 1980s included eliminating all field exercises that could be mistaken for combat training and reinstating makeup class. First Lieutenant Mary Forde was assigned to OCS in April 1980 as female platoon commander. She was excited at the challenge, although somewhat surprised at her selection. She recounted, "I could have wallpapered the bulkhead with the red chits I got for lack of [military] bearing as a candidate."*[147]

> Probably the toughest thing was that a policy had been levied prohibiting women from being trained in "offensive" tactics. So my candidates were required to execute fire team rushes with no weapons. It was embarrassing, and I knew they felt as dumb as they looked. So I screamed, "Go for their eyes, go for their jugulars—you don't need a weapon, you have nails—you are a weapon!" Col [Colonel] MT [Matthew T.] Cooper (our CO at the time) happened to be observing, and pulled me over to say he thought I was getting a bit riled. My response was that if my platoon was going to be graded on the execution of this move, they needed to at least feel offensive.[148]

The practice of integrating men and women within TBS platoons was halted beginning with Echo Company on 28 May 1980. For the next 12 years, female lieutenants would form a separate platoon within a TBS company.[149] The reason given was that "consolidation was impractical because of physiological reasons and legal limitations set forth concerning application phases of offensive combat, physical fitness,

* Chits are brief paper evaluations and critiques on candidate performance provided by OCS staff; they are never good.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

1st platoon, 106th OCC, OCS, Quantico, VA, March 1978. Candidate Jo Duden, who went on to graduate first in her TBS class in November 1978, is at the bottom far right.

and sword drill."[150] Unofficially, leadership was concerned over the high incidence of lower-body injury among female TBS students working to match hiking stride and other physical challenges with their male peers.[151] Also on 28 May, seven women from the U.S. Naval Academy's first gender-integrated graduating class were commissioned second lieutenants in the U.S. Marine Corps and ordered to TBS.[152]

Although women did not participate in offensive field operations or sword drill, they received the same classroom tactics instruction as men by 1980:

- leadership
- organization and staff function
- marksmanship
- drill, command, and ceremonies
- communications
- helicopter-borne operations
- small unit tactics
- infantry weapons and supporting arms
- field engineering
- Marine Corps history and traditions
- logistics
- personnel administration
- management
- Marine Corps roles and missions
- first aid
- nuclear, biological, and chemical defense
- patrolling
- aviation and air support
- intelligence
- mechanized operations
- military law

- amphibious operations
- physical training and conditioning[153]

In 1981, TBS was extended from 21 to 23 weeks to provide staff platoon commanders and company commanders more time to mentor candidates (i.e., to informally teach leadership and the refinements of being a Marine Corps officer).[154] To accommodate the expanded mentoring program, TBS grading was adjusted. Weights became 40 percent for leadership, 40 percent for academics, and 20 percent for military skills.[155] The decision was also made to have women in TBS companies on a semiannual basis.[156] Female OCS graduates were pooled from the fall and winter OCS classes for one TBS platoon, and graduates from the summer OCS, Naval Academy, and Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps (NROTC) units formed the other TBS platoon.

Female Marine officers were not allowed to drill with rifles and swords until 1982.[157] In 1984, female TBS lieutenants were first billeted aboard a naval amphibious ship embarked to Camp Lejeune from Norfolk, Virginia, as part of the Basic School Landing Exercise (BASCOLEX), their final practical examination.

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division, SSgt Jan E. Fauteck

2dLt Gayle W. Hanley prepares to reload a magazine with ammunition during a lull in action while participating in BASCOLEX, 20 April 1977.

The Waiting Game

In 1991, while the House and Senate worked toward a compromise defense spending bill, the Services set out to prepare for what seemed, at minimum, an easing of existing combat restrictions for women. General Mundy succeeded General Gray, becoming the 30th Commandant of the Marine Corps in July 1991. That September, General Mundy signed a white letter, "The Women of Our Corps," to ensure commanders clearly understood his policies concerning female Marines. He expected women to deploy with their units and to be treated as "equal members of the team in every unit where they're assigned, and only the attitude of the commander can make that happen."[158] The Commandant further stated, "Misplaced paternalism to protect women or assignment of women to administrative duties rather than their technical MOS sends a clear signal that the command is out of step with Marine Corps policy."[159]

An immediate result of the white letter was to gender integrate TBS student companies for the first time in 12 years. In January 1992, seven female officers were integrated into Company B, Basic Officer Class 2-92.[160] Late that summer, 19 women and 230 men of Echo Company were assigned into the five TBS student platoons alphabetically. Unlike the women in previous all-female platoons, these second lieutenants would participate in combat training on the same basis as their male counterparts.[161] For the first time, female TBS students learned and were graded on close combat, such as pugil stick sparring and the

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division, SSgt Jan E. Fauteck

Female members of the 2d Platoon, C Company, TBS, off-load an amtrac during BASCOLEX, 20 April 1977.

culminating tactical training, a nine-day war.[162] But as with the first gender-integrated TBS class in 1977, the press seemed determined to capture every moment, and the students felt the reporters inhibited the training in general and company cohesion in particular.[163]

Second Lieutenant Jennifer L. Marks was elated at the challenge. "There's no reason women shouldn't get the best training possible," she said in a *Potomac News* interview. "You can understand the defense better if you understand the offense."[164] Fellow platoon member Second Lieutenant James E. Marks was certain the women would gain more respect and commented to the *Potomac News*, "Now with the same program, they'll be just as experienced as we are."[165] Second Lieutenant Curtis E. Moore II, who was selected for the Marine Enlisted Commissioning Program as a sergeant, summed up the equal training and expectations for the *Navy Times*: "If she was squared away and knew her tactics, I'd follow her all the way."[166] He expressed that if he were a sergeant in combat, he would have no problem taking orders from a woman. At this time also, Marine Corps leadership decided to assign a female captain to serve as the staff platoon commander within each gender-integrated TBS company, usually two or three annually.[167]

Officer Candidate Rite of Passage

General Mundy's successor as Commandant, General Charles C. Krulak, intended that every new Marine undergo a rite of passage. Unlike recruit training, which transformed already contracted civilians into Marines, OCS was a screening process that ensured those graduating were capable of leading Marines in

combat.[168] At OCS, drill instructors with the title platoon sergeant or sergeant instructor helped potential officers discover and develop inner leadership and confidence. Young adults arrived for training accustomed to college exams testing their merit. They soon learned that as Marines, they must work as a team or fail as a team. Candidates were made to believe there is no limit to what they could accomplish, regardless of their stature or gender.[169]

During week eight of training, officer candidates were divided into standard Marine Corps fire teams of four and administered the Small Unit Leadership Evaluation (SULE), a hands-on endurance and leadership exam similar to the Crucible.[170] Held over two days, the SULE consisted of night hikes, a dozen or more tactical scenarios with squad and leadership problems, and night defense.[171] The evaluation ended with a helicopter ride to a landing zone at TBS for a resupply mission in which each fire team received an ammunition box they transported along two miles of running trails before negotiating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) obstacle course.[172] Like the Crucible for recruits, the SULE emphasized Marine Corps core values, morality, and especially teamwork.[173]

Rather than receiving the Marine Corps' Eagle, Globe, and Anchor emblem at the SULE's conclusion, officer candidates received their small red Core Values pocket card, which they were expected to carry at all times. Colonel Al Davis, the OCS commanding officer in 1997, said in an Associated Press article, "The big thing is the values [tested] during a defining moment, an experience that's a challenge for them to go through together."[174] The ultimate achievement for officer candidates was commissioning, two weeks later.[175]

Raising the Performance Bar

While deployed as a Boeing CH-46E Sea Knight helicopter pilot with the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit,

Official U.S. Marine Corps photos

Top: Female candidates prepare for pugil stick training, OCS, Quantico, VA, October 1999.

Middle: Pugil stick training, MCRD Parris Island, SC.

Bottom: Day Movement Course exercise, OCS, Quantico, VA, circa 1999–2001.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Officer candidates pass in review during graduation parade, OCS, Quantico, VA.

Courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

The face side of the Core Values card, issued to all Marines in 1997. The reverse states, "Marines: 1. Obey the Law; 2. Lead by Example; 3. Respect themselves and others; 4. Maintain a high standard of integrity; 5. Support and defend the Constitution; 6. Uphold special trust and confidence; 7. Place faith and honor above all else; 8. Honor fellow Marines, the Corps, Country, and Family."

Captain Stacy K. Hayes considered her OCS experience as typical of the period. In the summer of 1997, hers was the only female platoon in a company of five platoons.* The women were required to run the same distances and carry the same loads on marches as the men. Captain Hayes recalled,

> Our platoon attrited a significant number of women. We began with 62 and only graduated 23. However, we felt that the harder physical standards were well worth the effort. . . . It was obvious to me that unit cohesion, especially between the men and women, was extremely better due to the standard being held high for both genders. This is evidenced even today in witnessing the professional relationships that continue to exist between men and women who went through basic training together and witnessed each other rising to the same bar of achievement. I've seen it in my own personal, professional relationships with my fellow brothers and I've seen and heard other males reference some women that they trained with in admiration based on the effort put forth in training. I believe that maintaining the same standard is important and that creating different loads or different requirements for women tends to handicap them more than help them.[176]

Leaders Beget Leaders

Colonel George J. Flynn served as the OCS commanding officer between 1999 and 2001. In addition to the best possible physical training, Colonel Flynn was determined to have the best possible staff leading the Corps' future leaders and to work from the best possible syllabus. Weekly, Colonel Flynn's staff would evaluate the quality and balance of four areas to determine where improvements could occur: preparation, candidates, staff, and program of instruction

* OCS remains gender integrated, with a single female candidate platoon within a candidate company.

(POI).[177] These efforts could be seen in the subsequent performance of women's platoons.

During Colonel Flynn's tenure, Captain Julie L. Nethercot's all-female Charlie-1 OCS platoon, 177th Officer Candidate Class of 2001, set new standards in leadership, academics, and military skills. Flynn was not surprised; Captain Nethercot understood she and her female staff were uniquely placed to influence the future leadership of the Corps: it was their job to build quality officers. Captain Nethercot knew "leadership comes from within and has nothing to do with anything else" and discussed field problems to reinforce academic and leadership points.[178] She drilled the women continuously on the five-paragraph order process and military tactics.[179] Captain Nethercot and her three female staff, all experienced drill instructors, mentored the women, concentrating on teaching the candidates how to be Marines.[180]

Under the leadership and mentoring of Captain Nethercot and her staff, 5 members of the 31-member all-female 1st Platoon, Charlie Company, graduated in the top 10 of the coed company. Candidate Cortney A. Burrows, the first female OCS commander of troops, led Charlie Company with a 98.48 percent overall average. The OCS Leadership Award also went to a woman, Candidate Sarah Sanders, who had a 97.55 percent leadership average. Nearly half of 1st Platoon—14 of the 31 members—graduated in the top one-third of the 161-candidate company.[181]

The role of leader and mentor came easily to Captain Nethercot. She had most recently served as an instructor and staff platoon commander for three years at TBS. For most of that time (June 1999–April 2001), Colonel John R. Allen had served as the TBS commanding officer. Just prior (1998–99), Colonel Allen served as military secretary/aide de camp for Commandant General Krulak. As TBS commanding officer, Allen reinforced the role of mentor among all TBS staff platoon commanders (SPCs). The TBS POI was modified to provide SPCs additional time to mentor their young second lieutenants individually and in small groups. Above all, the need for SPCs to serve as good examples and role models was given highest importance.

Sergeant Major Suzanne R. How spent three years as a drill instructor at Parris Island before being sent to train officers at OCS as a gunnery sergeant. "I absolutely loved being a drill instructor," she said, "I think I was born to be one. As soon as I stepped in front of those recruits on the very first day, I knew I was going to love it. Becoming a drill instructor has given me the polish I still rely on to this day." Following a summer at OCS, Gunnery Sergeant How, a signal intelligence/ground electronic warfare specialist, was reassigned to the Marine Corps Intelligence Activity at Quantico. She was then ordered to the U.S. Naval Academy, where she served as the senior enlisted advisor for the 29th Company. "Training recruits is much different than training officers," said How. "Recruits are trained but officers are screened."[182]

Summary of Officer Training

Ductus exemplo, or leadership by example, is more than the OCS motto. Leadership is a skill, and a hard one. The OCS staff do not create leaders but work diligently to make potential leaders better. Candidates are immersed in challenging situations and evaluated on how they meet those challenges. Candidates are also expected to fail some challenges, but they are evaluated on how they recover and learn from those failures. The men and women unable to perform to the high Marine Corps standards are sent home. The Basic School immerses young, proven leaders in real decision-making situations for six months, to hone their leadership, and make them worthy to lead Marines.

Quantity versus Quality

In 2000, women comprised 4.8 percent of Marine officers, an increase of just 0.03 percent higher than the previous five years.[183] While the percentage of women

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Capt John R. Allen receives the 1988 Leftwich Trophy for outstanding leadership from Gen Alfred M. Gray, Commandant of the Marine Corps.

officers increased negligibly from 1995, the number of females contracted by officer selection officers to attend OCS increased by 33 percent. The wide percentage difference between women beginning OCS and those who were commissioned was more striking when injury attrition numbers were examined. Officer Candidates School had a 25 percent female attrition rate due primarily to physical disqualification.[184] That was an improvement from the past 20 years, but it was still very high.

Two attributing factors sparked high attrition rates among female officer candidates. A chief factor was that women arrived for entry-level training in poor physical condition. Also, despite recruiting campaigns now aimed at women, many arrived at Quantico unsure of what was required of them.[185] In 1996, only 3 of 67 women admitted they were at OCS to be Marines. The vast majority looked beyond OCS to a particular job based on what their officer selection officer had offered.[186]

MENTORING YOUNG OFFICERS

As a major, Colonel John R. Allen was the group chief for the Infantry Officers Course (1990–92), the follow-on school for all new Marine Corps infantry officers, and he developed a formal mentoring program between his staff and the infantry officer students. In a 15 July 1991 memo, he wrote

> We do a superb job at conveying the essence of tactics, techniques and procedures associated with our profession. I think we can do more to build officers. The learning process is one characterized by an immersion in one's studies, a process made all the more meaningful by close association with one's mentor—the professor. The linkage between the words Professor and Professional should not be lost on us.[1]

[1] Maj John R. Allen, memo to the Infantry Officer Course staff, "Mentoring," 15 July 1991, in author's possession.

As the twentieth century drew to a close, Marine Corps leadership forged a partnership between those seeking and signing potential Marines and those providing initial training. There was a conscious effort to target more physically fit young women by placing Marine Corps recruiting advertisements in fitness and health magazines aimed at athletes in general and female athletes in particular.[187]

Starting the "Forever Changed" Process

Marine Corps leadership has always been focused on the importance of recruiters in recruiting the best-qualified

DRILL INSTRUCTORS

There is one constant throughout the recruit training process: a cadre of enlisted leaders from every Marine Corps military specialty who have earned the title "Drill Instructor" and who shape recruits into Marines. Drill instructors teach core values, institutional rights and wrongs, and what constitutes proper authority. The billet is career enhancing, and the personal and professional rewards are many.

At the recruit depots, drill instructors foster a healthy competition among platoons for the military knowledge, drill, and physical fitness trophies.[1] In turn, recruits seek to excel not only for themselves and their platoon but also for their drill instructors. Each woman is inspected for military appearance, rifle maintenance, and military knowledge. The inspection is also a reflection of the drill instructor's ability.

Drill instructors may demand immediate response to tasks, but they earn respect. Female drill instructors provide a strong, positive role model for new recruits. They are with the recruits from reveille at 0500 (5:00 am) until taps at 2100 (9:00 pm), when lights are switched off. Women seen as assertive leaders mitigate the stereotype that only men can be authority figures. Such a role model facilitates confidence building and self-respect. Parris Island recruits also see the positive interaction among female and male drill instructors. As self-confidence builds in recruits, so does the focus on teamwork. Drill instructors guide recruits to move beyond their own accomplishments and needs.

The Marine Corps has successfully developed the billet of drill instructor into a prestigious, career-enhancing position. After mentoring recruits for a year, a drill instructor is usually reassigned for several months to a nonseries billet, such as classroom, martial arts, swimming, or weapons instruction. Drill instructors usually receive their choice of follow-on duty station after the grueling three-year depot tour. Many receive meritorious promotions, and most receive end-of-tour awards.[2] Carrying the 8511 secondary MOS, they remain go-to experts for enlisted leadership and mentoring programs throughout the Corps.[3]

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[1] N. R. Rowan, *Women in the Marines: The Boot Camp Challenge* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 1994), 14.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Kelso, "Female Drill Instructors."

young men and women into the Corps. Conspicuous in her or his blue dress C uniform, each Marine Corps recruiter worked tirelessly to seek out and sign up new Marines. Frequently, so did the Commandant; such was the emphasis General Krulak placed on the importance of recruiting.[188]

Potential recruits for all military Services visit a Military Entrance Processing Station to complete the required Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) test. In 1995, Colonel Michele Manning was selected to command the western sector for all initial military processing, leading 32 subordinate commands responsible for nearly 1,300 personnel located in 25 states, including Alaska and Hawaii. Her command motto was "Freedom's Front Door."[189] Exemplifying General Krulak's philosophy that recruiting is the first of five steps in Marine transformation, she successfully partnered with recruiters of all Services to

J. Walter Thompson marketing photo, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Female Marines were increasingly assigned to recruiting duty in the 1990s.

help them screen and test the young men and women that they worked so diligently to recruit.

Marine recruiters had to make extraordinary efforts to not only find potential recruits but also ensure that the potential recruit was mentored throughout the recruitment process. Staff sergeant Rhonda Marshall, at one time a staff sergeant serving as a canvassing recruiter at Recruiting Station Patchogue, New York, recalled, "It's hard finding young men and women who are willing to be challenged mentally and physically."[190]

The Marine Corps recognized both the importance and the difficulty of a Marine recruiter's job; successful recruiters received preferential choices on future assignments and were often meritoriously promoted. Another factor prompting successful recruiting was that the recruiter did not receive credit for the recruit until he or she graduated from basic training.*

In 1997, female high school students and recent graduates were, for the first time, included in the Marine Corps' national direct mail program—the primary source of leads for Marine Corps recruiters.[191] The series of mailings contained a letter to the recipient, a response card, and a pass-along card for a friend; the mailings targeted prospective Marines, female and male, throughout the year. The women in brochure photographs were actual Marines who had met and mastered the Corps' challenges.

Calling All Women

Then-Staff Sergeant Marshall was among those challenged to find motivated and qualified women who wanted to be Marines.[192] She was the only female among 49 Marine recruiters, but she had no problem with that distinction, commenting in a 2001 *Marines* magazine interview, "I think all Marines are on one giant team." Marines are one team; however, recruiters on independent duty in cities throughout the United States faced a unique job challenge. They had to find young men and women willing to be challenged mentally and physically. Unfortunately, computers and video games rather than physical challenges motivated most high school juniors and seniors—male or female.[193]

In 1994, following significant increases in the number of Marine Corps billets open to women, the Corps boosted its female accession goals by 300 for a total of 1,900, and further planned to increase goals to 2,000 by 1996 and leap to 2,800 by 1999.[194] Also in 1994, Marine Corps recruiting made a concentrated effort to appeal to and recruit women for the first time. The new, even-more-challenging billets were expected to attract more women to become Marines. The Marine Corps sought to bolster that attraction with snappy brochures aimed exclusively at women, as with this 1998 Marine Corps Recruiting Command brochure copy:

"Where is that girl
that lived in your mind

* Enlistment credit is the actual enlistment of a referral into the Marine Corps or Select Marine Corps Reserve for which a recruiting station (RS) receives the credit. The enlisted shipping quota—the number of individuals a recruiting station must ship to recruit training during a given month—is assigned on a fair share basis as determined by the recruiting station commanding officer.

J. Walter Thompson marketing photo, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

This image of then-LtCol Carol A. Mutter (left) and BGen Frances C. Wilson (right)—the two female Marine general officers on active duty in 1998—was used as part of a marketing campaign focused on recruiting more women.

quite often
you wanted to be more like her
she was ponytails to your barrettes
an A-minus to your B-plus
when you threw like
a girl
she threw harder
she went by your name
and followed you everywhere . . .
Once upon a time, there was this
girl. She had an attitude. And a
spirit nobody could tame. She was
tough and attacked each new day
without fear. She went by your
name and spoke with a voice only
you could hear. She lived in your mind.
Find her
Maybe one morning she made
You throw on jeans and run outside
barefoot. Across a field and up the
side of a tree. Maybe she took you
on a slide headfirst into home.
Maybe she made you study geometry
while the other girls studied the
buttons on their phones. Maybe she
gave you reason to shoot a little
higher.
If you lived up to all her demands,
great. If you didn't, maybe
there is still something to prove.
Maybe the girl running around in
Your brain is now a woman who's
Ready for one of the toughest
challenges on earth.
Becoming a Marine.
And maybe she's wondering if
You'll take up the chase."
—Marine Corps recruiting
advertisement copy

The task was given to the Marine Corps' long-standing marketing agency—J. Walter Thompson. "What we tried to do is to talk to the person—the woman Marine—in her own terms, rather than just insert 'woman' where a man was," said Rob Cherof, a J. Walter Thompson executive. "It's still the same Marine Corps, but she's looking at it from a different perspective."[195] Several thousand copies of the brochures were distributed to Marine recruiting stations in summer 1994. Like slick advertising that appears in current health and fitness magazines aimed at women, the new Marine Corps marketing campaign challenged the spirit within the woman reader.

The Corps was not selling a softer side; rather, it was seeking women with the drive and abilities

to serve as Marines, just as it had long sought men with the same capabilities. The difference now, however, was that Marine Corps recruiting was suffering, along with that of the other Services. Fewer men sought military service following Desert Shield, Desert Storm, and military operations in Somalia, accelerating a decline that began with the all-volunteer force after Vietnam. With women comprising only 4.5 percent of the Marine Corps and more than 60 percent of billets open to them, it was time appeal to a wider pool of potential recruits to increase numbers of female Marines.[196]

Working with the Marine Corps, J. Walter Thompson's marketing team conducted a study during 1993 and early 1994 to analyze what women seek in a military career and how the Marine Corps could meet those needs. The result was a modern, sophisticated product that provided the honesty women seek in marketing.

The models used in the brochure and accompanying posters were active duty Marines. One double-sided poster depicted three smart- and determined-looking women in blue dress uniform on one side, and a woman in camouflage utilities on the other with the caption, "After years of fitting in, maybe it's time you stand out."

The new brochure also included a page to mail for more information in the hopes potential recruits would use it and be contacted by the nearest Marine Corps Recruiters. Sergeant Major Charlene Comey, the senior enlisted Marine at Recruiting Station Omaha, Nebraska, and one of the first 13 female Marines assigned to the operating forces in the 1970s, expressed her satisfaction with the new campaign in a *Navy Times* article.[197] Sergeant Major Comey's years as a recruiter taught her that high school graduates worried about the Corps' physical demands. The new posters showed women who had met the physical and mental challenges and had not sacrificed their femininity.

Staff Sergeant Glenn Densen, also an Omaha

J. Walter Thompson marketing photos, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Top: Another of the images used with the same slogan in the Marine Corps' new marketing campaign targeting women.

Middle: Starting in 1994, Marine Corps marketing campaigns showed the increasing job opportunities open to women.

Bottom: A female officer with the Mameluke sword as depicted on Marine Corps recruiting materials, circa 1998–2002.

recruiter, felt that although many women feared the Marine Corps' physical challenges, they could meet those challenges. "A woman can do just as much as a man, maybe better," he told the *Navy Times*. "Most [women] don't look at the Marine Corps because . . . the Marine Corps is too tough on them. This pamphlet will help out a lot."[198]

As follow-on to the new marketing effort, the Marine Corps produced two videos specifically for women interested in enlisting in the Marine Corps. The videos were not recruiting tools; rather, they were part of the Corps' effort to provide an honest message of what it means to begin the process of becoming a Marine. The aim was to show female recruits what they could expect from recruit training and inspire them to meet the challenges they would face.[199] Women were shown the videos at their recruiting stations while awaiting recruit training and during their first week at Parris Island.

Two short recruiting films aimed at women were also provided to Marine Corps recruiters. *Tough Challenge, Big Reward* emphasized the physical training and mental challenges of recruit training.[200] In 15 minutes, it covered the in-your-face habits of displeased drill instructors, incentive physical training, academic work, and confidence-building events. Female recruits related their experiences and how they conquered their fears and doubts. The second film, *You Have To Earn It*, was intended to convince women to stick with recruit training despite their fears, sore muscles, and never-satisfied drill instructors. It contained longer interviews with female recruits about their fears, frustrations, and inevitable pride in completing recruit training.[201]

The films were particularly valuable in assuaging concerns held by potential female recruits and their parents. The plan worked. The films made potential female recruits aware of what they could expect at recruit training and that they would be given the mental and physical education needed to meet those challenges. Women arrived ready to get to business, and recruit depot instructors noticed. As Marine Corps Drill Instructor Sergeant Wayne Moore said, "I've been in the Marines for 14 years and I can tell you, the females listen up! They make better recruits overall than the males. They are better motivated, adapt better, take instruction better, and seem to retain what they learn better."[202]

Notes

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CHAPTER 2

ACCESSION AND ASSIGNMENT POLICIES

On 26 January 1978, the 26th Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Louis H. Wilson Jr., approved an assignment policy authorizing "assignment of 286 officers and 3,298 enlisted women to FMF (Fleet Marine Force) billets."[1] The authorization did not imply transfer of that number of women to the FMF, as the number of women on active duty in the Marine Corps at that time was approximately 4,300—less than 4 percent of the total force. Rather, women could fill that number of billets given existing gender restrictions. On 24 March 1978, *Marine Corps Bulletin (MCBul) 1300, Fleet Marine Force Assignment of Women Marines*, was issued to codify that directive. Consistent with Section 6015 of Title 10, which prohibited assignment of women to aircraft engaged in combat missions or naval vessels other than hospital ships and naval transport vessels, and with Department of Defense (DOD) combat exclusion policies, female Marines would not be assigned to the following units:*

Infantry Regiment and below
Tank Company
Antitank Company
Assault Amphibian company
Artillery Battalion
Reconnaissance Battalion
Marine Aerial Refueler Transport (VMGR) Squadron
Marine Aircraft Group squadrons, except Headquarters and Maintenance Squadron and Marine Air Base Squadron
Composite Squadron
Light Antiaircraft Missile (LAAM) Battalion
Forward Area Air Defense (FAAD) Battery/Platoon
Separate Brigade Platoon
Howitzer Battery
Gun Battery[2]

All units within the Force Service Support Group (FSSG, now known as Marine Logistics Group), the combat support and combat service support arm of the Marine Corps, were open to women, as were all other Marine division and aviation units not excluded by *MCBul 1300*.[3]

One of the first female Marines assigned to the FMF was Lance Corporal Tiahuana D. Brown, a special intelligence systems administrator/communicator (MOS 2651) from Petersburg, Virginia. She was the female honor graduate from recruit training on 21 June 1977, received the Woman Marine Association Molly Marine Leadership Award, and was meritoriously promoted to private first class.[4] Meritoriously promoted to lance corporal after graduating with honor from MOS 2651 school, Naval Technical Training Center, Corry Station, Florida, Lance Corporal Brown was the first female Marine assigned to Company D, U.S. Naval Security Group Activity, Camp Hanza, Okinawa, Japan.[5]

On 18 April 1979, Secretary of the Navy W. Graham Claytor Jr. directed that General Wilson provide plans of action and policy guidance directives on the assignment of female Marines. The plans and

* On 20 October 1978, Title 10 was amended to allow permanent assignment of women to noncombatant vessels and temporary assignment of up to 180 days aboard combat vessels. See chapter 3.

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26th Commandant General Louis H. Wilson Jr.

Courtesy of Susan Steiner Johnston

Susan Steiner Johnston (left) was one of the first women assigned to FMF, shown here attached to 3d FSSG, 3d Marine Division Headquarters at Camp Courtney, Okinawa, Japan, 1978–79.

Courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

By the mid-1980s, female Marines were an increasing presence in the Fleet Marine Forces.

directives were structured to ensure women "were assigned and used to the fullest extent possible in order to maximize Service benefit and provide them rewarding careers."[6] That July, the program of instruction for female recruits at MCRD Parris Island was changed to add some defensive field training to support increased numbers of women serving with the operating forces.[7]

Myriad factors opened doors for change. Consistently high-quality female recruits, positive experience with gender-mixed units in increasingly challenging jobs, and an increase in the number of billets open to women influenced General Wilson to increase the authorized number of female enlisted annual accessions from 2,500 to 3,200 by fiscal year 1981.[8] On 22 January 1979, *MCO 1300.8L, Marine Corps Personnel Assignment Policy*, was published. For the first time, the assignment of female Marines was included.[9]

On 21 November 1980, General Wilson's successor, General Robert H. Barrow, announced a pilot defensive combat training program that gave limited field training to female recruits. On 20 May 1985, General Barrow's successor, General Paul X. Kelley, published *MCO 1500.24D, Training Policy for Women Marines*, which officially recognized

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Female Marines working in a base communications center. The assignment of women to traditional jobs such as administration, communications, data processing, and supply remained common into the mid-1990s.

the need to train female Marines in defensive techniques and operations because of their utilization in MOSs that might expose them to danger in a hostile environment.[10]

New Billets

Marine Security Guard (MSG) School was opened to female Marines as part of a pilot program in summer 1979. Security guard students received six weeks of instruction from Marine Corps and State Department personnel on areas as diverse as weapons and security, finance, and mess (kitchen/dining) management.[11] The majority of classes related to Post One—the guard post located at the entry of every U.S. embassy and consulate.[12] The .38-caliber pistol qualification was a unique aspect of this strenuous course; it was the first time most Marine students, male or female, had fired a pistol, as enlisted Marines were trained and tested only with the rifle during recruit training. Corporal Julie A. Williams fired "expert" (the highest classification) at her first attempt with the pistol. Like most of the students, she applied for the MSG program for the challenge it offered.[13]

The 10 female graduates were ordered in pairs to embassies in Yugoslavia, Jamaica, the Republic of Korea, Jordan, and Liberia. Sergeant Jeanne E. Jacko was the fastest to respond, reporting to the U.S. embassy in Amman, Jordan, becoming the first female MSG on duty. The other women graduates were Sergeants Mary M. Columbus, Deborah L. Caron, Julia L. Jones, and Terry S. Miller; Corporals Sharrion D. Bradford, Jeanne A. Peterkin, and Kathryn L. Rigney; and Lance Corporals Jennifer L. Hague and Julie A. Williams.[14]

Courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Press-on tattoos modeled at 3d FSSG headquarters by Maj Karen Prokop, Maj Catkin Burton, and LtCol Nancy Anderson during Exercise Team Spirit, March 1993; a fake tattoo was also provided to the commanding general, then-BGen Carol A. Mutter. See Appendix G.

The 15 female graduates from the second coed MSG class took up their duties in October 1979. Posts in Ecuador, Pakistan, France, and Belgium were added to the list of options open to women.[15]

One month following their assignment to the embassy detail for the U.S. consulate in Karachi, Pakistan, Corporals Vicki Gaglia and Betty Jo Rankin "stood shoulder-to-shoulder with their male counterparts, weapons at the ready, to defend the building."[16] On 21 November 1979, thousands of Pakistanis, angered by reports that non-Muslims had desecrated the Kaaba shrine in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, attacked several U.S. facilities in Pakistan. Merton Bland, working for the U.S. Consulate General in Karachi, observed a mob, which he estimated to be 10,000 strong, approach and attack.[17] Pakistani police outside the consulate fired over the demonstrators' heads for more than four hours. About 150 of the attackers made it past Pakistani police and entered the consulate. The Marines inside helped defend the consulate and keep the demonstrators from reaching the flagpole and replacing the United States' colors with a black flag.[18]

"I was in dress blues, but when we were alerted, I put on a helmet and flak jacket and was armed with a shotgun and .38 caliber pistol," recalled Corporal Vicki Lee Gaglia from her follow-on post in Brussels, Belgium, as reported in a *Boston Herald American* article.[19] Merton Bland recalled in a 2 March 1990 editorial to the *Washington Post*, "Among the pitifully few, brave defenders were armed female Marines in their steel helmets and flak jackets. I, for one, was grateful for their calm, professional presence."[20]

Corporals Gaglia and Rankin were to have served 15 months in Pakistan, but both were transferred to Brussels shortly after the mob incident. As a result, the MSG program again closed to women for another decade.[21]

As the 1970s came to a close, 7,617 women were active duty Marines, more than at any time since World War II, and nearly 8,500 more women were serving in the Reserves.[22] Their total represented a five-fold increase during the decade. Female Marines also enjoyed a more integrated role, as 27th Commandant General Robert H. Barrow acknowledged in a letter to his Marine commanders in January 1980:

> Women Marines and male Marines serve side by side in our ranks. They are equal in every sense. They are Marines. They deserve nothing less than outstanding leadership, equal treatment, and equal opportunity for professional development.[23]

However, this increase in female Marines presented challenges to personnel policy and to training of enlisted and officer female Marines serving both on active duty and in the Reserves.

Combat-Restricting Reservists

In January 1980, Public Affairs Chief Staff Sergeant Jeanne Malaty-Uhr and Corporal Randy Gogeun were

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division, by PFC E. Marshall

Sgt Jeanne E. Jacko fires a Remington 870 pump action shotgun equipped with a riot control canister, 16 July 1979. LCpl Julie Ann Williams is standing to the right waiting for her turn to fire the shotgun. Shotgun familiarization is part of the training for Marine security guard students at the Marine Corps Development and Education Command, Quantico, VA.

told to report to the commanding officer of their New Rochelle, New York, Marine Corps Reserve unit. The commanding officer handed the women a copy of a Headquarters message stating that female reservists in combat units were no longer permitted to reenlist within those units.[24] The commanding officer had "scrawled 'Hear! Hear!' and added his initials" before handing it to them, according to a *New York Times* article. The new policy administratively transferred women serving in combat units to noncombat units. Additionally, the message closed more than half of the Marine Corps' Reserve units to women. It also meant that "in 15 states, women wanting to join the Reserve would find it closed to them entirely," the article continued. According to Staff Sergeant Malaty-Uhr, "in the Mid-west [*sic*], where there are fewer Reserve units, the new policy could essentially end a woman's career in the Marines."[25]

In 1980, 900 women served in the Marine Corps Reserve—3 percent of the Reserve force. Nearly half were assigned to units that could be activated for combat missions, even though the existing law prohibited women in the Marine Corps from deploying to combat zones.[26] A Marine Corps spokesperson, Captain Penny Williamson, expressed regret over what she called an oversight: "Before, when they assigned women to these units, they thought they'd send the unit without the woman if it were mobilized, and fill

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division

27th Commandant Gen Robert H. Barrow.

the slot with someone else."[27] Marine Corps personnel planners realized this practice undermined readiness, which prompted the new policy removing female Reservists from combat units.

A 3 March 1980 *U.S. News & World Report* article stated that, although barred by law from combat jobs in the Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force, "women volunteers are so thoroughly integrated into the armed forces . . . that the debate over their role in a future war is viewed by most officers as almost academic —despite President [Jimmy] Carter's assurance that they will never be employed in 'actual combat'."[28]

The Marine Corps opposed any repeal to existing combat restrictions for women.[29] General Barrow was firm in saying, "Our position is to train women to perform functions well short of close combat. Training for combat will be excluded as inappropriate, unnecessary and uneconomical."[30] Brigadier General John Phillips, commanding general, 2d Marine Division, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, was more succinct. In a policy statement soon after assuming command he "made it clear that a woman Marine is considered a woman first, then a Marine."[31] Then, General Barrow notified senior Marine Corps leaders that he was changing the policy because some operational units "must often maneuver with combat units that directly engage the enemy in battle."[32]

On 2 April 1980, change one to *MCO 1300.8L, Marine Corps Personnel and Assignment Policy*, was published. It addressed, for the first time, MOSs and units closed to women. Some previously open MOSs and combat support units were closed to women, such as explosive ordnance, combat engineer, and corrections.[33] Female Marines serving in those specialties had to move to an approved MOS if they wanted to remain in the Corps.[34]

The decision was made to move women out of combat engineer and MIM-23 HAWK missile billets.[35] With the closing to women of engineer officer billets (MOS 1302), female officers were barred from five rather than four military occupational fields. Approximately 13 female officers and 30 female enlisted Marines had to find a new MOS. Change one to *MCO 1300.*8L did authorize the designation of women as enlisted crew members aboard the McDonnell Douglas C-9 Skytrain, North American CT-39 Sabreliner, and Beechcraft UC-12B Huron aircraft. However, it listed the following MOSs as closed to women due to their direct combat nature:

0251	interrogation-translation specialist
0451	air delivery specialist
1302	engineer officer
1371	combat engineer
1381	shore party specialist
2131	artillery weapons/turret repairer
2141	tracked vehicle repairer, amphibian tractor

2144	tracked vehicle repairer, self-propelled artillery
2145	tracked vehicle repairer, tank
2146	tank turret repairer
2875	small missile systems technician
5812	marijuana detector dog handler
5831	corrections specialist
5921–5929	improved HAWK missile repairers/ technicians
5943	aviation fire control repairer
5947	aviation fire control technician
6031, 6038	flight engineer, KC-130
6112–6114	helicopter mechanic
6122–6125	helicopter power plants mechanic
7204	anti-air warfare officer
7207	forward air controller
7208	air support control officer
7210	air defense control officer
7212	REDEYE gunner
7221, 7222	HAWK missile systems operator
7241, 7242	air support operations officer
7371	basic aerial navigator
7372	first navigator
7381, 7382	airborne radio operator[36]

Combat exclusion statutes were reflected in training and assignment policies relating to female Marines. One complicating factor in developing accession models and programs of instruction was lack of agreement on what constituted self-protection/defensive and offensive combat. The law and Service policies were neither clear nor unanimous. The uncertainty resulted in inconsistent assignment practices between manpower planners and military occupational specialty sponsors.

A Strategic Pause in Recruitment

In 1980, realization grew among Corps leadership that there was insufficient information internally concerning the integration and proper utilization of female Marines. For this reason, a major study, *The Optimal Utilization of Women in the Mid-Range, 1985–1995*, was contracted to the Potomac General Research Group. Among the study's objectives were the following:[37]

- Determine the real and perceived cultural problems for women, from their perspective, being employed in traditional and nontraditional work roles
- Identify and classify potential problems related to the abilities of women to accomplish tasks that were not normally accepted by conventional military/civilian attitudes and values
- Determine optimal placement and appropriate tasks for women in both the FMF and support (bases and air stations) establishment
- Identify the potential military male problematic reactions to an increased use of women within the FMF and support establishment
- Develop methods to validate the job requirements of women based upon task analysis and the psychological factors determined in these objectives[38]

The study was completed the following year and presented to General Barrow. It found that career enlisted women did not feel they were part of the Marine Corps team because they were forbidden any weapons or offensive tactical training and that women were enthusiastic about newly permitted training opportunities because it helped them understand the Marine Corps better and thus helped them do a better job. The study could not provide conclusive evidence that the presence of women in operational units had or would seriously degrade unit effectiveness in combat operations. The 10 percent ceiling on women in operational units was deemed too small to have an impact. The study also recommended "withdrawal of all female Marines from the FMF [Fleet Marine Force]." However, "staffing at HQMC [Headquarters Marine Corps] cast doubt that this recommendation

was supported by facts."[39] Also, "FMF Commanders wanted to keep women Marines, in their current numbers [2,800 FMF billets]."[40]

Between 1978 and 1981, the number of enlisted female Marines increased from 4,652 to 7,091, and female officer numbers increased from 433 to 526.[41] In January 1981, however, following a decade of expanding roles for women in the military and studies emphasizing their positive contributions, military leaders under incoming President Ronald Reagan's administration called for a halt in female accessions.[42] "Past female recruiting goals 'were based largely on theoretical models,' said Lawrence Korb, assistant secretary of defense for manpower," quoted a *Washington Post* article. Korb continued, "I think it's an appropriate time, at the beginning of an administration . . . to take a look and say, okay, let's stop and see if those models should be changed."[43] The pause in recruiting "aroused concern among those who favor an increased role for women," according to the article, and included Major General Jeanne M. Holm, U.S. Air Force (Ret), a member of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS). Holm believed that some members of Congress and defense professionals would like to see female accessions stopped, necessitating a return to a peace-time draft.[44] Also, helped by increases in pay and bonuses and a stalled economy in 1981, more men were drawn to the Services, and those already in uniform were more inclined to reenlist. In a May 1981 memo to Deputy Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci, Robert A. Stone, the acting assistant secretary of defense for Manpower, Reserve Affairs, Installations, and Logistics, wrote of his intention "to meet with the Executive Board of DACOWITS to advise them of our findings and assure them that there is no intent to make radical changes abrogating the past successes of women in the military. I will also emphasize that our primary criterion in staffing must be combat readiness."[45] This turnaround in the recruiting climate gave the Marine Corps the rationale to pause and review its own strength goals, as well as assignment policies for women, according to Brigadier General Margaret A. Brewer, who had served as director of Women Marines from February 1973 through June 1977.[46]

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division

BGen Margaret A. Brewer, who served as the last director of Women Marines.

The Marine Corps had recently initiated its Unit Deployment Program to better standardize readiness among similar operational units and to meet overseas commitments while avoiding yearlong family separations. The problem of frequent deployments for Marines with low-density occupational specialties,

the advent of unit deployment, and expanding numbers of women ahead of programmed objectives gave rise to concerns over annual program objective memorandum female nonprior Service accession goals. Lieutenant General Edward J. Bronars, deputy chief of staff for Manpower, solicited support from FMF commanders to examine the impact of increasing numbers of female Marines in the FMF.[47] For example, during March 1975, the fiscal year (FY) 1977 enlisted female Marine strength goal of 2,700 was reached—18 months ahead of schedule.[48] Each command was directed to review ceilings on the number of female Marines and respond to the Manpower Plans and Policy Division, Manpower and Reserve Affairs.[49] In 1980, the Manpower department had initiated a reexamination of the FMF billets available to women, known as the Evans Study. General Barrow referenced this and earlier studies and now sought to reduce the number of women.

In November 1981, Brigadier General James M. Mead, director of Headquarters Marine Corps Plans and Policy Division, testified before a congressional hearing that the Marine Corps was "reviewing existing policies for assigning, classifying and deploying women Marines."[50] The Army, Navy, and Air Force were involved in similar reviews. Once again, camps formed. Those convinced that the Services had opened billets to women too quickly were relieved that, due to declining national economy, there was now a larger pool of men from which to draw. Others were concerned that the review would justify lessening commitment to the effective use of women.[51]

No More than 10 Percent

In addition to the contracted study by the Potomac General Research Group, multiple reviews of billets and numbers concerning female Marines were initiated at Headquarters in 1980 and 1981. The methodology underlying these studies was similar to that used in the 1977 review of the impact of women serving with the operating forces: the number of female Marines would remain a function of available combat

UNIT DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM BACKGROUND

To reduce the number of yearlong unaccompanied tours and improve unit continuity, then-Commandant General Louis H. Wilson Jr. established the Unit Deployment Program to provide for the deployment of entire units to the Western Pacific (WESTPAC) for periods of fewer than six months. The initial program sequenced infantry battalions and aircraft squadrons/detachments into WESTPAC deployments, thus eliminating the 12-month permanent change of station assignments for personnel assigned to these units. The program commenced in October 1977 and has proceeded through the six phases. In August 1985, tank companies began phasing into the program but were discontinued following 1990–91 operations in Southwest Asia. In fiscal years 1987 and 1988, assault amphibian battalion companies and direct support artillery batteries were phased in; later, light armored reconnaissance companies were also included in the program.[1]

[1] *MCO P3000.15B, Manpower Unit Deployment Program Standing Operating Procedures* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 2001), 1.

service support billets; and available billets would preserve a 5:1 rotation base to support unit deployments. The impact of low-density billets or occupational specialties and deployment upon male Marines prompted inclusion of three additional constraints. First, women could fill no more than 10 percent of any MOS and grade in an operating force Monitored Command Code. Second, some stateside billets were *fenced* (saved) for men as duty station reenlistment options.[52] Third, an attempt was made to adjust grade structures to ensure an orderly progression for women through all grades in every MOS.[53]

The study conclusions recommended decreasing the number of female accessions and expanding the Marine Corps Manpower Management System to adequately manage female Marines by grade and skill.[54] On 30 December 1981, Lieutenant General Bronars briefed Assistant Secretary Korb on the Marine Corps' intention to reduce the accession and end strength goals for enlisted female Marines. The FY 1986 end strength goal would decrease from 9,100 to 7,300. The FY 1982 through FY 1987 nonprior service female accessions would decrease from 3,000 to about 2,000 per year.[55] Assistant Secretary Korb found the brief unconvincing and directed his staff and the DOD Equal Opportunity staff to examine the Marine Corps' study methodologies. The staffs, working with Marine Corps action officers, discovered several shortcomings in the Marine Corps' methodology, including basing female accessions on FY 1980 and 1981 end strengths, rather than the intended FY 1986 end strength, applying the 10 percent (MOS/grade) rule to women, but not to men, and working at the specific MOS levels rather than by broader occupational fields.[56]

Acknowledging the errors, Marine Corps leadership agreed to revise the methodology and redo the analysis. Meanwhile, the Corps continued to work from the objective of 9,100 enlisted women by FY 1986. Maintaining an annual accession level of 3,000 would result in significantly more than the new limit of 9,100 female enlisted Marines. Marine Corps leadership and Assistant Secretary Korb agreed upon a new annual accession level of 2,200 nonprior servicewomen.[57]

Gender equality took an interesting step forward on Okinawa, Japan, in late 1981 when a women's section opened within the Joint Forces Correctional Facility there.[58] Although *Navy Instruction 1640.9* required that men and women be treated the same with regard to "apprehension, arrest, restriction, and confinement," it expressly forbade imprisoning women in facilities designed only for men. Prior to the new section opening, the historically few military women adjudged confinement as a result of court-martial in the Pacific theater were sent to the San Diego County Jail, San Diego, California.[59] The confinement order also meant the military would pay airfare for the female prisoner and two guards, incidental costs, plus the cost of the prisoner's stay in the civilian jail, which could amount to several thousand dollars.[60]

Corporal Vanessa Russ had served with the Provost Marshal Office, Marine Corps Air Station (Helicopter), Tustin, California, before being assigned to the Joint correctional facility at Camp McTureous, Okinawa. She was joined by recent military police school graduates Lance Corporals Dawn Freeman, Pam Krueger, and Donna Romano. The women's duties extended to every facet of the correctional facility, to include supervising the male prisoners.[61]

Despite 10 percent limits on female Marines assigned overseas, the percentage actually assigned, especially in administrative occupational fields, was often much greater. Also, during this timeframe female Marines had a higher first enlistment retention rate than male Marines, which created too large a female population in the lower grades.[62] From 1982 to 1984, personnel of the Headquarters Manpower Analysis Branch conducted an extensive study on enlisted assignment policies: the Woman Marine Review.

The study focused on how women's higher reenlistment numbers were shaping senior grade structure by MOS.[63] By five years of service, 22.9 percent of enlisted women and 18.4 percent of enlisted men were still in the Marine Corps. By the nine-year-anniversary mark, 12 percent of women and 8.7 percent of men remained Marines. By March 1983, there were 385 female staff sergeants and 121 female gunnery sergeants in the Corps; by March 1990, these numbers had more than doubled to 789 staff sergeants and 260 gunnery sergeants.[64] On 2 May 1984, *MCO 1300.8M, Marine Corps Personnel Assignment Policy*, was disseminated; its only classification change with respect to female Marine assignments was the addition of MOS 0481 (shore party specialist) to the restricted MOS list.[65]

Commanding General Fleet Marine Forces, Pacific, Lieutenant General Charles G. Cooper's concerns were that FMF had too many female Marines and could not absorb more. In a 2 April 1984 message he wrote, "The 1st Marine Division is staffed at 206 percent of currently authorized SM billets, with overstaffing in MOS's 2531 [field radio operator] and 2542 [communications center operator]."[66] The 1st Force Service Support Group (now 1st Marine Logistics Group) and 3d Marine Aircraft Wing were overstaffed in several specialties, particularly in administrative, communication, and motor transport. Further, Lieutenant General Cooper wrote, "Staffing at these levels can only have an adverse impact on combat readiness, since, upon deployment, many [females] would require replacement with the resultant dissolution of trained teams."[67] The commanding general of FMF Atlantic, Lieutenant General John H. Miller, had similar concerns, particularly within the 2d Force Service Support Group (now 2d Marine Logistics Group).[68]

While 623 billets were identified within the group as suitable for female Marine assignment, Lieutenant General Miller felt that significant reductions in female Marine staffing to the radio (from 88 to 38) and communications (from 67 to 28) battalions "was more in line with mission requirements."[69]

General Barrow chartered the Woman Marine Review study group with four objectives. The review would ensure force commanders had sufficient men to meet deployment requirements; that assignment policies controlled combat risk for women; that all Marines were guaranteed equitable opportunity to serve with the operating forces and supporting establishment; and that all Marines were given fair and equitable career progression. Lieutenant Colonel Michael J. Hester, the head of Marine Corps Manpower Analysis, was tasked with an intensive analysis that focused on the classification, assignment, and deployment of female enlisted Marines. Lieutenant Colonel Hester and his team visited the FMF commands during the course of their analyses. The deputy chief of staff for Manpower, Lieutenant General William R. Maloney, sent a message to the Pacific and Atlantic FMF commanders stating that they would receive documents containing both the manpower requirements for each FMF battalion and squadron, as well as the maximum number of female Marines planned for each battalion and squadron by grade (rank) and MOS, for their review and comment.[70]

The study also examined currently open MOSs in light of existing and increasing terrorist threats. Based on this concern, along with conflicting perspectives on women's roles, women were no longer eligible for Marine security guard and Marine Corps security force billets, nor could they be designated as enlisted crew aboard the Beechcraft C-12 Huron aircraft. MOSs 6122–6125 (helicopter power plants mechanics) were removed from the restricted list for women, but six MOSs were added to the restricted list: 2147 LAV repairman; 2149 ordnance vehicle technician; 2336 explosive ordnance disposal technician; 2671 cryptologic linguist, Middle East; 6015 aircraft mechanic, AV-8; and 6167 helicopter crew chief.[71]

In a February 1985 interview with the *Marine*

Corps Gazette, Lieutenant General Maloney stated his thoughts on equitable classification, assignment, and deployment policies for female Marines, following the completed review:

- Force commanders must have sufficient men to meet deployment requirements.
- Policies resulting from the review must consider combat risk for women as well as guaranteed equal opportunities for men and women to serve as Marines.
- Policies must ensure fair and equal career progression for men and women.[72]

Updating Assignment Policy

The restrictions on assignment of women in the Navy and Marine Corps were based upon interpretation of Title 10, U.S. Code, Section 6015, as revised in October 1978, which stated:

> Women may not be assigned to duty on vessels or in aircraft that are engaged in combat missions nor may they be assigned to other than temporary duty (not to exceed 180 days) on vessels of the Navy except hospital ships, transports and vessels of a similar classification not expected to be assigned combat missions.[73]

The 28th Commandant, General Paul X. Kelley, promulgated the results of the Woman Marine Review on 4 February 1985 with the dissemination of *MCO 1300.8M, Marine Corps Personnel Assignment Policy (Change 2)*.[74] The study's initial phases focused on classification, assignment, and deployment of female Marines. Information on the objectives, methodology, and results of the review were distributed several months earlier through *MCBul 1300, Results of the Woman Marine Review*, dated 17 December 1984. The study's principal recommendations became policy:

1. Set the ideal enlisted female Marine strength at about 10,500. Most of the growth would occur within the supporting establishment; the number of women serving with the operating forces would remain at about 3,800.
2. Readjust the number of enlisted women in various MOSs and units in order to better balance and more effectively use them.
3. Permit women to deploy with the Marine Amphibious Force (MAF, later the Marine Expeditionary Force, MEF) and with the command element and aviation combat element of a Marine Amphibious Brigade (MAB) (later Marine Expeditionary Brigade, MEB), subject to risk and transportation factors. Women should not deploy with a Marine Amphibious Unit (MAU) (later Marine Expeditionary Unit, MEU) since the MAU was always on combat standby to serve as first responder to a crisis.

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division

28th Commandant Gen Paul X. Kelley.

4. Permit women to continue serving in all major Marine Corps commands and in 34 of 39 occupational fields. Artillery, aviation, engineering, infantry, and tracked vehicles would remain closed.
5. Assign women to the operating forces in numbers not to preclude force commanders from deploying two wartime MABs. Within the operating forces, women could comprise no more than 10 percent of the authorized table of organization strength, by grade, of an MOS.
6. Change the total strength of enlisted women and their numbers within individual MOSs and units gradually due to grade growth considerations.[75]

Subject to those restrictions, women could be assigned to any other billet consistent with their training, qualifications, and abilities. Within the supporting establishment, women could be designated as enlisted crewmembers and assigned duties aboard base and command support aircraft. Women assigned to operational units could deploy with those units, provided they could be flown to the exercise or unit rotation area. In 1982, change three to *MCO 1300.8L* had added four MOSs to the list of those closed to women:

0210	counterintelligence officer
0211	counterintelligence specialist
5804	corrections officer
7380	aerial navigation officer

The change rescinded one 1980 restriction by opening MOS 7210 (air defense control officer) to women.[76] On 2 May 1984, MOS 0481 (shore party specialist) was added to the restricted list.[77] It was a frustrating time for women who had already distinguished themselves in now-closed military occupational specialties.

The bottom line was that the Corps' leadership determined there were too many women in the junior grades. Women's higher first-term reenlistment and retention rates caused a balloon effect at the four- to six-year mark. However, women chose to resign or not to reenlist at midlevel ranks when leadership and billet opportunities waned, leaving few in senior officer or enlisted grades. "You have every right to accuse the Marine Corps of being hypocritical," General Kelley had acknowledged to DACOWITS during its fall 1983 meeting held at Camp Lejeune. DACOWITS members were concerned about inconsistencies in the Corps' treatment of female Marines.[78] In visits to military bases during the preceding six months, DACOWITS members found that some commanding officers refused to take women in their units on deployments, even though such deployments were acceptable under Service policies.[79] Incoming women helped the Marine Corps' quality and accession goals, but they were not challenged to remain. As reported in a *Navy Times* article, the committee wanted Services to have "written and well-circulated policies that will eliminate uncertainties of commanding officers and women about what kind of jobs are available and whether women in those jobs will deploy with units for training or combat."[80]

An exponential leap in billets open to female Marines occurred following both the 1991 repeal of Title 10 combat exclusions (discussed in chapter 3) and policy changes promulgated on 28 April 1993 by Secretary of Defense Leslie "Les" Aspin, which directed the Services to open more occupational specialties to women, to include combat aviation.[81] Consequently, in May 1993, several additional MOSs were opened to women:

2362	ground nuclear weapons assembly technician
2671	cryptologic linguist, Middle East
5720	ground nuclear weapons assembly officer
5907	ground launched missile system maintenance officer
5921–5929	improved HAWK missile repairers and technicians

5943	aviation fire control repairer
5947	aviation fire control technician
6031–6032	aircraft flight engineer, KC-130
7222	HAWK missile system operator
7371	aerial navigator trainee
7372	first navigator
7380	aerial navigation officer
7381–7382	airborne radio operator/loadmaster
	75-series pilot/naval flight officer[82]

Among the results of Secretary Aspin's policy, "a gender neutral flight policy for the Marine Corps was established." Marine officers would now compete on an equal basis for flight school, against the same physical and aviation aptitude test standards. Of the 36 Occupational Fields in the Marine Corps, only three (infantry, artillery, and tanks) remained closed to women.[83]

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division

25th Commandant Gen Robert E. Cushman Jr.

Pregnancy and Parenthood

Pregnancy had not been a bar to female assignment since the early 1970s. Enlisted Marine Stephanie Crawford was honorably discharged on 27 May 1970, when it was learned she was pregnant. She attempted to reenlist in January 1971, but her request was denied because she had a child. She sued the 25th Commandant, General Robert E. Cushman Jr., in New York's Second Circuit Court. The court ruled that existing Marine Corps regulations violated the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.[84] Following the court decision, pregnancy was understood as a natural event that can occur in the lives of Marines and not a presumption of medical incapacity.[85]

Beginning in the early 1990s, male and female recruits received class instruction on sexual responsibility, which focused both on pregnancy and parenting issues of an active duty parent.[86] They also received instruction and advice on marriage in a class called "Marriage and the First-Term Marine," which addressed both the statistically high percentage of first-term Marine marriages (and divorces) and the fact that while marrying for reason of pregnancy shows commendable responsibility, those "who make that commitment need to realize the difficulty the third person will bring to the early years of their marriage."[87]

Promulgated in 1995, *MCO 5000.12, Marine Corps Policy on Pregnancy and Parenthood*, established policies and procedures "concerning the retention, assignment and separation of pregnant Marines and the requirement to support all Marines making decisions which balance both their commitment to the Marine Corps and their parental responsibilities."[88] Marines were expected to balance the demands of a Service career with their family responsibilities.[89] A Marine suspecting she might be pregnant was responsible for confirming her pregnancy promptly

through testing by an appropriate medical provider and informing her commanding officer within 30 days of confirmation.[90]

Those who became pregnant had the option to remain on active duty or to request discharge. Marines were not guaranteed special consideration in duty assignments or duty stations based solely on the fact that she or he had dependents.[91] A woman's request for separation for pregnancy could be denied if she had incurred an additional active duty obligation, such as reenlistment bonus, funded education, or advanced technical training. The request also could be denied if she served in an operational specialty that required retention based on the demands of the Marine Corps.[92] However, pregnant Marines were not ordered overseas for a one-year tour.

Marines who became pregnant were no more likely to fall short of their duties and responsibilities than other Marines, and many put forth extra effort to ensure their pregnancies did not infringe on their duties or prevent completion of their work. Then-First Lieutenant Mary Forde was serving as the supply and fiscal officer to Support Division, Facilities Department, Marine Corps Base Quantico, in 1980. Her baby was due 21 February, and the fiscal mid-year review was due 18 February. Her male officer in charge was concerned about who would do the mid-year review. Forde recalled that she "told him not to worry—the baby would wait . . . and after delivering the mid-year review to the Colonel on 18 February, requested permission to have the baby! Jason was born on 22 February."[93]

The Woman Marine Officer Plan

In February 1985, Colonel Gail M. Reals became the first female Marine officer selected for promotion to brigadier general by a selection board, competing with male and female peers, following enactment of the 1980 Defense Officer Manpower Personnel Management Act. She was promoted to brigadier general on 15 May.[94] The next month, Brigadier General Reals was assigned as the Marine Corps' Manpower Plans and Policies chief. She helped steer the conclusion of a two-year review and study on expanding career opportunities for female Marine officers. As with the enlisted review completed that February, the female officer review pursued combat readiness of the Corps and equity with male careers. The officer review was more complex, however. Enlisted Marines tend to remain in an MOS throughout their careers, while officers are expected to be generalists who spend little time working in their primary MOSs.[95]

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

In 1985, Gail M. Reals became the first female Marine selected for the rank of brigadier general.

In November 1985, Brigadier General Reals expanded on her premise in a *Navy Times* article: "One quarter of all unrestricted captain's billets can be filled by officers from any MOS and that proportion

MARINE CORPS PREGNANCY POLICIES

A pregnant active duty Marine with no dependents may reside in bachelor quarters for her full term. Upon her request and consistent with the needs of the Marine Corps, the host commander may authorize a pregnant Marine to occupy off-base housing and be paid BAH and VHA [basic allowance for housing and variable housing allowances] if applicable at the "without dependents" rate prior to her 20th week of pregnancy. However, from the 20th week forward, the host commander will approve such a request without option. All approvals for allowances will be filed on the document side of the Marine's SRB/OQR [Service Record Book/Officer Qualification Record].

h. Medical limitations and/or assignment restrictions, or periods of absence because of pregnancy or associated medical care, will not be the basis for lower proficiency and conduct marks, lower marks or adverse fitness reports.

i. A pregnant Marine may request separation from active duty or the SMCR [Selected Marine Corps Reserve]. Requests will not normally be approved unless the Marine demonstrates extenuating circumstances, or it is otherwise considered to be in the best interests of the Marine Corps.

j. Marines may not be involuntarily separated on the basis of pregnancy or on prediction of future performance after the birth of a child. However, pregnancy does not bar processing for separation for other reasons. For example, a pregnant Marine who is being processed for separation based on misconduct or commission of a serious offense may still be separated on the latter basis.

l. Pregnant Marines will not participate in contingency operations nor will they deploy for operations aboard naval vessels. Pregnant Marines may participate in local disaster relief operations if medically authorized.

m. Flight personnel are grounded during pregnancy unless a medical clearance to continue flight status is granted by the Commandant of the Marine Corps (Aviation and Manpower Support). Waivers may be granted for aircraft other than single-piloted aircraft, ejection seat aircraft, high performance aircraft that will operate in excess of 2 Gs, and aircraft involved in shipboard operations. Participation in aviation physiology, aviation water survival, or other survival training programs is not permitted.[1]

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[1] *MCO 5000.12D, Marine Corps Policy on Pregnancy and Parenthood* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 1995), 2–4.

expands in the higher grades. About half of the colonel's billets can be filled by people from any trade." Participants in the two-year study identified 8,000 officer billets not closed to women by Title 10 combat exclusion and examined each to determine whether a woman could serve in the billet. "The presumption was 'Yes' unless it could be proven otherwise," reported Reals. Nearly 600 of those 8,000 billets were determined as not suitable at the time. One such billet—5812, military working dog handler—was hardly a gender-specific duty. Reals said, "We're not saying women never will hold these jobs, but they may not, based on what we can project now."[96] In looking for better balance, the Marine Corps intended to

Courtesy of Maj Lou Ann Rickley

Female Marines like aviation maintenance officer Capt Lou Ann Rickley (left) gained respect in aviation MOSs in the 1980s and 1990s.

U.S. Marine Corps Imagery Management Unit

4th Battalion Recruit Zarry snaps in on the 200 yard line on the pre-qual day at the weapons battalion Starlite range at MCRD Parris Island, SC, 17 August 2000.

channel new female officers into nontraditional billets they could turn into successful careers.

Many women, both enlisted and officers, were quick to accept this challenge. By 1985, then-Staff Sergeant Lou Ann Rickley had spent more than five years at Marine Corps Air Station Yuma, Arizona, as a McDonnell Douglas AV-8B Harrier flight line mechanic. That year, she became the first female Marine to receive the Marine Corps Aviation Association's Plane Captain of the Year Award and the Navy League's Captain Winifred Collins Award for Inspirational Leadership.[97] Both awards, in part, recognized Staff Sergeant Rickley for devising "a way to make distilled water cheaper than what the Marine Corps used at the time, saving over a quarter million dollars over a five-year period."[98]

Shooting Scores Influence Promotion

Throughout the Marine Corps in 1986, female enlisted Marines were ordered to the rifle range to fire the M16A2 service rifle for the first time. Women received abbreviated courses in the marksmanship training they missed as recruits.[99] Female Marines at all posts and stations were taught about sight alignment, sight picture, trigger squeeze, weapon loading and unloading, firing positions, and how to adjust for wind and elevation. Reports from major Marine Corps commands and units confirmed women were shooting well.[100] Staff Sergeant Marie Johnson, stationed at Camp Lejeune, scored enough points for the sharpshooter badge, awarded for scores of 210–219 out of a possible 250 points. In a *Navy Times* interview, Staff Sergeant Johnson said that she would have liked

"a little more time to get acquainted with the weapon," but she did not feel disadvantaged.[101]

Aside from the status gained by wearing a shooting badge, rifle scores formed part of the composite score used to promote junior Marines to corporal and sergeant. A Marine's rifle score was also part of the screening and briefing process for selection to all staff noncommissioned officer grades. Motivation to succeed was high for many reasons.

General Kelley was sufficiently impressed with female shooting success to encourage their participation in weapons competitions. As a follow-on to *MCO 1500.24D, Training Policy for Women Marines*, the Commandant sent a 1986 white letter to all commanders suggesting they include more women into the Competition-in-Arms Program, permitting female Marines to compete at professional levels.[102] Later that year, as a member of the Marine Corps Pistol Team, Sergeant Roxanne Conrad was the first woman authorized to wear the wide-brimmed smokey, also worn by male drill instructors. In 1987, Sergeant Conrad outscored every active duty Marine in the National Trophy Individual Pistol Match during national competition. She placed third among 1,031 competitors and became the first female distinguished shooter of any Service with the pistol.[103]

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division

30th Commandant Gen Carl E. Mundy Jr.

Setting Quotas for Women Marines

Despite validation at senior levels concerning the contributions made by servicewomen, Marine Corps personnel managers continued to worry that there were too many female Marines. On the heels of the February *1988 Report on the Progress of Women in the Marine Corps*, the Corps set quotas on the number of women it would permit in enlisted job specialties.[104] The new measure, termed the Women Marine Target Force, was based upon the need for the Marine Corps to field two of three Marine expeditionary brigades within a Marine expeditionary force with only men. Captain Curtis J. Powell, a Headquarters manpower planner working the issue, said in a *Navy Times* interview, "Having too many women in some jobs, such as the logistics/embarkation specialist MOS which has a heavy sea-going demand, means that some men spend too much time at sea because women can't go." He continued, "On the other hand, having too few women in some jobs means the Corps winds up with too few senior enlisted women at the top." He concluded, "Although officials are still coming up with the numbers, some MOSs probably will see expanded billets for women, while others will restrict them slightly."[105]

In the early 1990s, Marine Corps Manpower analysts were kept busy reviewing classification and assignment policies for women to maximize readiness for the entire Corps. Regardless of any changes that would result, the 30th Commandant, General Carl E. Mundy Jr., expected Marine commanders

to reinforce his conviction, expressed in his 29 September 1992 white letter, "that all Marines will be trained, utilized, and promoted commensurate with their MOS, assignment and qualifications, and will be given every opportunity . . . to contribute to our success in peacetime or in a theater of combat."[106] General Mundy agreed with the earlier findings of the 1987 summary by the Task Force on Women in the Marine Corps: it boiled down to leadership attitudes. General Mundy stressed the point in the white letter: "Our women must be equal members of the team in every unit where they're assigned, and only the attitude of the commander can make that happen." He also stressed the importance of integrating women into physical and tactical unit training to build cohesion and esprit, which could be damaged by "misplaced paternalism" meant to protect women rather than assigning them to their technical MOS.[107]

The white letter also expanded opportunities and recognition for female Marines already serving. Sergeant Carrie M. Scholz, a Russian linguist with the 2d Surveillance, Reconnaissance, and Intelligence Group (2d SRIG), Camp Lejeune, competed to win a parachutist school slot when her battalion could not find enough men willing to request it. In 1991, her chain of command could not find any reason not to approve her request, and she was sent to the three-week basic jump school at Fort Benning, Georgia. Sergeant Scholz told the *Navy Times*, "It's quite an experience, standing in the door of a C-130 at 1,500 feet and looking down at the treetops. The light in the plane turns green and out you go. Once the parachute opens, it's a big relief."[108]

After earning silver wings designating her as basic airborne-qualified, Sergeant Scholz continued to jump at Camp Lejeune. She completed night jumps in full combat gear from Boeing/Vertol CH-46 Sea Knight helicopters. When Scholz completed her 10th jump in October 1992, she anticipated the traditional "golding" ceremony that accompanies earning gold jump wings. Her unit offered no such ceremony, so she bought her own gold jump wings to replace the silver on her uniform. She was immediately ordered to remove the gold jump wings because Marine Corps uniform manuals did not include women under authorization to wear U.S. Army gold parachutist badges. "It was a horrible feeling," said Scholz in a *Navy Times* interview. "It just wasn't fair."[109] Scholz petitioned the Marine Corps. After 12 months, and following the Commandant's white letter, Sergeant Scholz received approval to wear the gold wings she had earned.

The Marine Corps had to rethink female exclusions from combat training, as well as aviation training. Training at the Marine Corps' winter Mountain Warfare Training Center (MWTC) in Bridgeport, California, for example, had been closed to women due to combat exclusion policies and facility considerations.[110] The 8th Communications Battalion was part of the 2d SRIG. With more than 800 members, the battalion was the go-to organization when the SRIG could not fill training quotas. Such was the case for the field grade officer Winter Mountain Leadership Course at the MWTC for three weeks in December 1991. The quota was proving difficult to fill and was passed to the 8th Communications Battalion. The battalion had spent the previous Christmas in Southwest Asia for Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. None of the married field grade or major-select officers wished to spend that much time immediately before Christmas in California in the snow.[111] Major-select Kathryn A. Allen had gone to war with the battalion and was serving as support company commander when the quota was passed; she jumped at the chance. She recalled:

> I happened to be in the 8th Communications Battalion CO's [Lieutenant Colonel Gary Bradley] office as he was "discussing" the quota over the telephone with one of the battalion's unmarried male officers. As soon as he hung up the phone, I asked him, "What about me? Can I go?" And

TABLE 1. FEMALE MARINE STRENGTH, 1994	
OFFICER	
Major general	1
Colonel	10
Lieutenant colonel	45
Major	94
Captain	154
First lieutenant	98
Second lieutenant	130
Chief warrant officer 5	1
Chief warrant officer 4	12
Chief warrant officer 3	35
Chief warrant officer 2	53
Chief warrant officer 1	12
TOTAL OFFICER	**645**
ENLISTED	
Sergeant major or master gunnery sergeant	20
First sergeant or master sergeant	96
Gunnery sergeant	388
Staff sergeant	732
Sergeant	1279
Corporal	1520
Lance corporal	1664
Private first class	1020
Private	546
TOTAL ENLISTED	**7,265**

Source: Major Craig Q. Timberlake, *Women in the Marine Corps*, department brief (Quantico, VA: Headquarters Marine Corps, Manpower Management, 2000).

> that, along with his unquestioning support, started the ball rolling. I got the quota.
>
> Our days were filled with training. We went on cross-country ski marches, learned to climb hillsides with "climbing sealskins" on our skis, went on snowshoe marches over mountaintops, learned to pack and pull achios [sleds], make various tents and use various campstoves (whisperlight is the best), and even skijor [skiing while towed by an animal or vehicle] behind a BV-203 tracked vehicle. I enjoyed the training and fellowship; I got a lot out of it and even put a fair amount of it to use on two subsequent winter exercises, in Hokkaido, Japan, and Alaska.[112]

As 1994 ended, 7,910 women served as active duty Marines, representing 4.3 percent of the total number of Marines; 645 female officers served in 31 MOSs and comprised 3.4 percent of active duty officers; 7,265 enlisted women served in 39 MOSs and comprised 4.4 percent of the Corps' active duty enlisted strength (tables 1 and 2).[113]

The Commandant's 1992 white letter detailed plans to embark women on amphibious ships as part of Marine expeditionary units (MEUs) and other task force deployments. The Marine Corps began embarking female officers on MEU and other task force deployments that year without waiting for the Navy's extensive berthing modifications. Officer staterooms are small enough that female officers would have sufficient privacy.[114]

By putting officers quickly to sea, the Marine Corps could "build leadership and practical experience prior to the introduction of women enlisted Marines on MEU and other long deployments," according to *All Marines Message (ALMAR) 192/94*.[115] Longer-term plans would enable several dozen female SNCO and junior enlisted Marines to deploy with their units aboard all classes of amphibious ships currently used for Marine Corps deployments.[116]

ALMAR 192/94 also provided deploying commanders the flexibility to assign enlisted women to ships not yet converted as long as they were provided a berthing area with adequate bathroom and shower facilities that would not require women to pass through a male berthing area to gain access.[117] Gunnery Sergeant Betty J. Kramer, an aircraft avionics technician for the Sikorsky CH-53E Super Stallion, was able to deploy, but she knew of several female Marines who were told they could not because they were the only one or two attached to their unit, and it would be a waste of berthing space to include them. They were sent to other units, and male Marines deployed to take their place. Gunnery Sergeant Kramer remembered, "These women would be automatically marked as 'trouble' or 'non-hackers' even though it was not their fault."[118]

On 9 June 1993, soon after legal restrictions were lifted, First Lieutenant Anita Nikolich, an intelligence officer with the 1st Marine Division, embarked aboard the amphibious assault ship USS *Tripoli* (LPH 10) for a six-month deployment.[119] First Lieutenant Nikolich was attached to the Amphibious Squadron 3 staff. The 15th MEU was also to embark aboard the *Tripoli*.[120] Nikolich was soon joined by women attached to the MEU's command, aviation, and service support elements. Captain Annette Kehoe and Major

TABLE 2.
MOSs OPEN TO WOMEN, 1999

FIELD	MOS	TITLE
LOGISTICS		
	0430	Embarkation officer
	0451	Air delivery specialist
	0481	Landing support specialist
ENGINEER		
	1302	Engineer officer
	1371	Combat engineer
EXPLOSIVE ORDNANCE DISPOSAL		
	2305	Explosive ordnance disposal officer
	2336	Explosive ordnance disposal technician
	2362	Ground nuclear weapons assembly technician
MISSILE SYSTEMS		
	5907	Ground-launched missile system maintenance officer
	5921-29	Improved HAWK missile repairers and technicians
	5943	Aviation fire control repair
	5947	Aviation fire control technician
AIRCRAFT MAINTENANCE		
	6015	Aircraft mechanic, AV-8/TAV-8
	6031-32	KC-130 aircraft flight engineer
	6038	Harrier maintenance specialist
	6055	Aircraft hydraulic pneumatic mechanic, AV-8/TAV-8
	6111	Helicopter mechanic—trainee
	6112	Helicopter mechanic, CH-46
	6113	Helicopter mechanic, CH-53
	6114	Helicopter mechanic, U/AH-1
	6115	Helicopter mechanic, MV-22
	6119	Helicopter maintenance chief
	6125	Helicopter power plants mechanic, MV-22
	6135	Aircraft power plants test cell operation—rotary wing
	6151	Helicopter airframe mechanic trainee
	6154	Helicopter airframe mechanic, U/AH-1
	6155	Helicopter airframe mechanic, MV-22
	6162	Presidential support specialist

	6172	Helicopter crew chief, CH-46
	6173	Helicopter crew chief, CH-53
	6174	Helicopter crew chief, UH-1N
	6175	Helicopter crew chief, MV-22
AVIONICS		
	6315	Aircraft communications/ navigation systems technician, AV-8/TAV-8
	6322	Aircraft communications/ navigation/electrical systems technician, CH-46
	6323	Aircraft communications/ navigation/electrical systems technician, CH-53
	6324	Aircraft communications/ navigation/electrical/weapons systems technician, U/AH-1
	6335	Aircraft electrical systems technician, AV-8/TAV-8
AIR CONTROLLER/AIR SUPPORT ANTIAIR WARFARE		
	7208	Air support control officer
	7222	HAWK missile system operator
	7242	Air support operations operator
NAVIGATION		
	7371	Aerial navigator trainee
	7372	First navigator
	7380	Aerial navigation officer
	7381	Airborne radio operator
	7382	Airborne loadmaster
AVIATION SECURITY*		
all 75xx Pilot/naval flight officer MOSs		
	8153	USMC security force cadre

*Not a primary MOS; known as a "B" billet.

Source: U.S. Marine Corps Manpower and Reserve Affairs MOS charts, 1999.

TABLE 3. UNITS AND MOSs CLOSED TO WOMEN, 1999

Force reconnaissance company
Air naval gunfire liaison company (ANGLICO)
Counterintelligence team
Interrogation platoon
Infantry regiment and below
Artillery battalion and below
Combat engineer battalion and below
Tank battalion and below
Assault amphibious battalion and below
Light armored reconnaissance battalion and below
Combat Support Company, 3d Marine Division
Riverine assault craft
Low altitude air defense battalion
Marine Barracks, 8th and I (two infantry companies)
Fleet Antiterrorism Security Team
Marine Corps Security Force Guard (MOS 8152)
Marine Corps Security Force close quarters battle team member (MOS 8154)

Source: U.S. Marine Corps Manpower and Reserve Affairs MOS charts, 1999.

Tricia Hannigan soon deployed with the 31st MEU. In December 1993, Gunnery Sergeant Joan Straub was the first female Marine permanently assigned to an aircraft carrier, the USS *Independence* (LCS 2), for its six-month Western Pacific cruise. Gunnery Sergeant Straub worked as an intelligence analyst with the 3d SRIG on Okinawa.[121] Women of all grades in the Navy and Marine Corps soon found themselves on

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

LtGen Carol A. Mutter.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo, by Cpl K. L. Warren, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Top: A large number of senior female Marines served with the 3d FSSG during BGen Carol Mutter's command (1992–94). Shown here is the 3d FSSG headquarters staff, Training and Audiovisual Support Center, MCB Camp Smedley D. Butler, Okinawa, Japan, 14 May 1993. Front row, women from left: LtCol Ellen B. Healey, Maj Karen S. Prokop, Maj Catkin M. Burton, BGen Carol A. Mutter, LtCol Nancy P. Anderson.

Bottom: Col Nancy Anderson (right) relinquishes command of Henderson Hall/Headquarters and Service Battalion, Arlington, VA, to Col J. Mark Reed, 19 July 2001.

amphibious ships for short training operations when berthing was more plentiful. The short deployments provided ideal opportunities for women to gain shipboard operating experience.

Deployable units now open to women included MEU command element; combat support systems groups (CSS) within the Marine divisions; Marine Light Attack Helicopter (HMLA) squadrons; Marine Medium Helicopter Transport (HMM) squadrons; Marine Heavy Helicopter Transport (HMH) squadrons; Marine Fighter Attack (VMFA) squadrons; Marine Air Support squadrons (MASS); MEU Service Support Group (MSSG); Marine Corps Security Forces (MCSF); and Marine Helicopter Experimental Squadron (HMX-1).*

* HMX-1 is home to the helicopters serving the president of the United States.

Summary

In 2001, 10,476 active duty female Marines—6 percent of the total active duty force—served the United States.[122] Additionally, 1,808 female Marines served with the Reserves, comprising 4.6 percent of the Reserve force. These numbers were expected to remain as part of the Marine Corps' accession plan over the five fiscal years following 2001.[123]

The Marine Corps' list of female firsts grew steadily during the 1970s and '80s, and exponentially in the 1990s. Nevertheless, women shied away from acknowledging records and titles to avoid highlighting their minority status and the tendency to view female Marines as exceptions to the rule or tokens. Made possible by changes in accession and assignment policies, several female Marines achieved high-level leadership positions and held prominent billets during this period. Brigadier General Frances C. Wilson was commanding general, 3d Force Service Support Group, Okinawa, a billet held as a brigadier general by Lieutenant General Carol A. Mutter (who retired on 6 November 1998). Colonel Marsha Lee Culver commanded Headquarters and Service Battalion, Quantico—the Marine Corps' largest battalion, with more than 4,000 Marines and sailors. The author, Colonel Nancy P. Anderson, commanded the Corps' second largest battalion (and smallest base) at Henderson Hall, Arlington, Virginia. Colonel Gilda Jackson, the Corps' first female African American colonel, commanded the Naval Aviation Depot at Cherry Point, North Carolina, with several thousand military and civilian personnel. Still, choice billets in current operations, strategic planning, and command remained almost exclusively male as the century ended (table 3).

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CHAPTER 3

TITLE 10, U.S. CODE

What came to be known as the *combat exclusion laws* were two sections within Title 10 of the U.S. Code. Congressman Carl Vinson (D-GA) introduced the legislation as part of the 1948 Women's Armed Services Integration Act.[1] The laws were enacted that year, when the women's auxiliary and Reserve components were made part of the permanent military structure. Section 6015, as amended in 1978, prohibited the assignment of women in the Navy and Marine Corps to duty on vessels (ships or aircraft) engaged in combat missions, other than as aviation officers within an air element assigned to such a vessel.[2] It also prohibited assigning women to anything other than temporary duty on Navy vessels except hospital ships, transports, and those of a similar classification not expected to be assigned combat missions. Temporary duty was interpreted as less than 180 contiguous days.[3] On 10 August 1956, Congress passed a law that added Section 8549 to Title 10, prohibiting assignment of women in the Air Force to duty in aircraft engaged in combat missions.[4]

Military women had been transported to combat areas aboard military ships and aircraft since World War II. The Women's Armed Services Integration Act sought to keep women from potential military targets. There was never any presumption that the act would open jobs traditionally held by men to women. The then-Commandant, General Alexander A. Vandegrift, believed that as a global power post–World War II, the Marine Corps would be "comprised almost entirely of combat-qualified [M]arines available for deployment to trouble spots anywhere in the world on a moment's notice."[5] For this reason, legislators in 1948 did not apply the law to women in the Army, even though at the time the Army had the most aircraft of the Services and more watercraft than the Navy.[6] While banning women from serving aboard combat vessels could preclude assignment to such billets in the Navy and Air Force, it was impossible for the Army to "outline combat areas in the future."[7] For this reason, the Army interpreted this law as containing specific Congressional intent, which, in effect, limited the assignment of women to occupations that would not be subject to hostile fire. Title 10 Section 3013 gave the secretary of the Army "the authority to assign, detail and prescribe the duties of members of the Army," and thus to set Army combat exclusion policy.[8] *Combat* meant whatever the Service secretaries chose it to mean. However, the secretaries of the Navy and Air Force had the overarching power of law to further limit billets available to women.

Following Vietnam, technology and national aversion to U.S. casualties increased the physical distance between trigger pullers and targets. Modern combat became more fluid and the lines delineating forward and rear areas increasingly blurred. Since the late 1970s, the term *combat* had been interpreted by DOD policy makers as "physical proximity with the enemy rather than merely performance of functions that may invoke killing or being killed."[9] A January 1990 posture statement titled *Women in the Marines* articulated that the Corps could preclude assigning women to units, ships, or aircraft "when the type, degree, and duration of risk of direct combat, exposure to hostile fire, or capture are *EQUAL TO OR*

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corps History Division

The 18th Commandant Gen Alexander A. Vandegrift.

GREATER than the reasonably anticipated risks for combatant units with which they are normally associated in a theater of operations."[10]

No law prohibited women from serving in combat. Rather, Sections 6015 and 8549 of Title 10 prohibited permanent assignment of Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force women to combat ships and aircraft. The secretary of the Army established assignment policy for women in the Army. Women in the Coast Guard, part of the Department of Transportation during peace and of the Department of the Navy during war, had no peacetime billet restrictions.

Evaluating Gender Integration

With the initial wave of increased female enlistments, the Army and Navy conducted unit cohesion tests. The U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences studied the performance of 40 combat support and combat service support companies (8 each from maintenance, medical, military police, signal, and transportation companies) during standard Army Training and Evaluation Programs (ARTEP) held between fall 1976 and spring 1977.[11] Each ARTEP was a performance-based, three-day field exercise.[12] The purpose of the study, referred to as MAX WAC, was to determine the optimum number of women—at the time referred to as WACs (short for Women's Army Corps)—able to serve in mixed-gender units without negatively affecting unit readiness or cohesion.[13]

The percentage of women in the experimental units was controlled at zero, 15, and 35 percent. Units tested first with zero percent and then with 15 percent women, six months apart, demonstrated less than average performance than units tested first with 15 percent and then with 35 percent women.[14] Unit performance of selected tasks during each three-day ARTEP constituted the principal variable. Each task was given equal weight and a simple arithmetic average was used to represent each company's score.[15] The report's overall conclusion was that the data indicated the proportion of women, up to the 35 percent studied, had no effect on measures of unit performance. Extrapolation of the MAX WAC test results indicated the Army could accept up to 6,000 more enlisted women than provided for in existing assignment planning.[16] Field data was also collected by ARI during the 1977 REFORGER (Return of Forces to Germany) exercise. This evaluation, known as REF-WAC 77, tested the impact of women during three-week field exercises with division-size forces.[17] Results were consistent with the MAX WAC study.[18] Similar results were previously observed in 1972 by Navy leadership when 53 women (12.5 percent of the crew) deployed on the hospital ship USS *Sanctuary* (AH 17).[19] Interestingly, the tests were conducted to determine whether the inclusion of women would

THE WOMEN CONTENT IN UNITS: FORCE DEVELOPMENT TEST, OR MAX WAC

The Women Content in Units: Force Development Test study focused on the performance effects of enlisted women within mixed-gender Army units, with the purpose of determining optimal female-to-male ratios.

Within each unit type studied, companies were designated as experimental, control, or calibration. Two experimental companies were tested twice, at varying fills of enlisted women (EW). The time between tests was six months. The control company was also tested twice with the EW fill stabilized for both tests. Five calibration companies were tested only once, at their existing percentage of women. A total of 55 Army Training and Evaluation Programs were administered; 10 experimental and 5 control companies were tested twice, and 25 calibration companies were tested once. More than 6,000 officers and enlisted personnel responded to a questionnaire that provided additional data.

Leadership, training, morale, and personnel turbulence were perceived as having greater impact on unit performance than the percentage of enlisted women.[1]

[1] *MAX WAC,* I-1, I-2.

* Tables are reproduced exactly as they appeared in the *MAX WAC* report, therefore their original table numbering is retained for reader reference.

TABLE 10*

AGE OF ENLISTED SOLDIERS (IN %)

	E1 - E4		E5 - E9	
AGE	MALES (N=3453)	FEMALES (N=748)	MALES (N=1521)	FEMALES (N=63)
17–18	10.5	7.5	.3	1.6
19–20	38.7	44.0	1.4	11.1
21–22	28.2	22.9	11.0	28.6
23–24	12.0	11.8	18.3	20.6
25–26	5.4	6.7	14.0	19.0
27–28	2.3	3.2	11.2	7.9
29–30	1.2	1.3	8.9	4.8
31–35	1.1	2.5	17.1	0.0
36–40	.2	0.0	13.4	6.3
41–45	.1	0.0	3.6	0.0
46–50	.05	.1	.9	0.0

TABLE 11

YEARS OF EDUCATION OF ENLISTED SOLDIERS (IN %)

	E1 - E4		E5 - E9	
YEARS EDUCATION	MALES (N=3529)	FEMALES (N=759)	MALES (N=1557)	FEMALES (N=59)
LESS THAN				
10	3.4	.3	.9	1.7
10	5.0	1.4	1.3	0.0
11	7.6	1.3	2.2	0.0
SUBTOTAL	**16.0**	**3.0**	**4.4**	**1.7**
12	59.9	65.0	63.8	61.0
13	12.9	15.2	16.4	18.6
14	7.5	11.7	10.9	10.2
15	1.5	2.8	2.1	1.7
16	1.6	1.6	1.9	5.1
17	.3	.1	.2	1.7
18	.1	.5	.3	0.0
19	.03	.1	.1	0.0
MEAN & YEARS	**12.12**	**12.53**	**12.47**	**12.68**

TABLE 16

AVERAGE PERFORMANCE SCORES (CONTROL GROUP)

TYPE OF COMPANY	FALL		SPRING		DIFFERENCE SCORE
	% WOMEN	MEAN SCORE	% WOMEN	MEAN SCORE	
Maintenance	9.03	2.61	9.80	2.79	- .18
Medical	24.49	2.51	21.57	2.08	+ .43
Military Police	8.3	2.11	11.70	1.97	+ .14
Signal	24.07	2.13	10.29	1.85	+ .28
Transportation	0.00	2.45	0.00	2.41	+ .04
AVERAGE	**13.178**	**2.362**	**10.672**	**2.220**	**+ .142**

Source: *Women content in units: Force Development Test (MAXWAC)* (Alexandria VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, 1977), III-5, III-9.

detract from unit performance. No data was recorded on how the generally higher education level and ASVAB scores of the women could actually enhance unit performance.

Field Testing Women

In the fall of 1977, female Marines rarely went to the field, and it was virtually unheard of for them to live in the field; rather, they would be transported back to base to sleep. However, 2d Marine Amphibious Force (2d MAF) held an exercise aboard Marine Corps Base Camp Lejeune. The 2d MAF adjutant, Lieutenant Colonel Jo Anne Kilday, approached the commanding general, Lieutenant General Robert Barrow, "with the reasons why the women who filled deployable positions should be sent to the field with the MAF HQ—and live in the field (not to be transported every night to mainside like the Division HQ was going to do)," recalled Lieutenant Colonel Mary V. Jacocks (Ret).[20] Lieutenant General Barrow approved the concept. Two female officers, one female SNCO, and 10 female enlisted Marines participated. The enlisted women were given strict instruction "that no matter how miserable they may be in the field, they would not complain or even mention it to anyone else" except the two officers or SNCO, Lieutenant Colonel Jacocks remembered. She recalled that temperatures during the exercise were consistently below freezing. "There were some complaints but none were uttered to any of the men. The women's venture to the field was a success and everyone did very well."[21] After the exercise, it became routine for female Marines to participate in field exercises—and to complain about the chow and weather as vociferously as the men.

Combat and Title 10

In 1978, in response to the Department of Defense Appropriation Act of 1978, Congress required clarification by DOD on close combat.[22] *Close combat* had been defined as "engaging an enemy with individual or crew-served weapons while being exposed to direct enemy fire, a high probability of direct physical contact with the enemy's personnel, and a substantial risk of capture."[23] The Army used this definition to determine the positions and branches in which women could serve.[24] By the mid-1970s, the Services were experiencing problems attracting high-quality enlisted men, and projected lower U.S. birthrates would only exacerbate the problem.[25] The Services, albeit grudgingly, were ready to expand opportunities for servicewomen. On 20 October 1978, the Department of Defense Appropriation Authorization Act of 1979 amended Title 10's Section 6015 to allow permanent assignment of women on noncombatant vessels and to allow temporary assignment of up to 180 contiguous days aboard combat vessels.[26] In the Coast Guard, men and women had served together aboard ships since 1977, and women were commanding Coast Guard cutters.[27]

The Marine Corps officially supported the Navy-led effort to lobby Congress to amend Section 6015, stating it would enable female Marines to serve more effectively with the operating forces. These forces embarked frequently aboard naval vessels for training and orientation for relatively short periods.[28] However, the 14 Navy combat support ships reconfigured to accept women for full sea duty tours rarely embarked Marines, male or female.

In the Marine Corps, women remained restricted from assignment to Marine amphibious unit (later Marine expeditionary unit) deployments but could train and deploy for short-term task forces aboard combat vessels where separate berthing was available. In a 4 December 1978 policy letter, the 26th Commandant, General Louis H. Wilson Jr., specified the limits to these opportunities:

> Women Marines are restricted in their assignment to operating forces. Women will not represent more than ten percent of an FMF unit table of organization. Women will not be assigned to

OWENS VERSUS BROWN

In 1978, Petty Officer Yona Owens, USN, an electrician, and three other enlisted Navy women and three female officers, filed a class action suit on behalf of herself and other women who sought the opportunity to serve aboard naval vessels. She and the other plaintiffs challenged Section 6015 of Title 10, saying that it discriminated unfairly on the basis of gender and denied them equal protection under the laws.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and Secretary of the Navy W. Graham Claytor were named as the defendants. Petty Officer Owens had requested assignment to the USNS *Michelson* (T-AGS-23), a noncombatant naval oceanographic research vessel. The survey ship was operated by civilians and often had civilian female crewmembers serving aboard with male Navy and civilian personnel. Among the female naval officer community, there was concern that newly entered female midshipmen to the Naval Academy would not be allowed to participate in academy summer training cruises.

Washington, DC, District Court Judge John J. Sirica ruled in favor of Petty Officer Owens. Subsequently, Congress approved the Navy's suggested modifications to Section 6015 and President Carter signed them into law. The law provided that women in the Navy could be assigned sea duty aboard noncombatant ships and be assigned temporary duty (up to 180 contiguous days) to combat ships not expected to have a combat mission.[1]

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[1] Judith Hicks Stiehm, *Arms and the Enlisted Woman* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 119.

> units which, in the execution of their primary mission, will close with and destroy the enemy by fire or repel his assault by fire and close combat. Women may be assigned to combat support and combat service support units, as long as assignment will not routinely expose them to combat action.[29]

Debating Combat Exclusion Laws

Earlier in 1979, President James E. "Jimmy" Carter proposed repeal of the combat exclusion laws. Initially, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown favored the repeal. In November 1979, Assistant Secretary of Defense Robert B. Pirie testified to the Subcommittee on Military Personnel of the House Armed Services Committee during hearings on women in the military. He addressed the need to "allow the Secretaries of the Navy and Air Force to set policy for, monitor, and review the assignment of women . . . just as the Army does now."[30]

Neither Department of the Army nor Department of the Air Force leadership objected to proposed repeals.[31] The Department of the Navy, writing for both the Navy and Marine Corps, stated its view that "existing legislation which restricts women from combatant roles is a valid expression of the will of the people of the United States and is supported by historical precedent and sound policy considerations."[32]

As would reoccur 14 years later, congressional testimony shifted quickly from combat ship and aircraft exclusions to debates on women in ground combat. The world had become a more dangerous place

throughout the preceding decades, particularly the 1970s, as attacks on the U.S. embassy in Iran, consulate in Pakistan, and coups in Latin America and southern Africa demonstrated.[33] Ground combat veterans were called in to testify.

Illustrative of the thinking of the time was the testimony of Lieutenant General Edward J. Bronars, deputy chief of staff for Manpower, who voiced the Corps' firm stand against the Title 10 repeals favored by civilian DOD leadership. In congressional testimony he stated, "While women have an important contribution to make to the Corps, I do not subscribe to their participation in the combat role."[34]

It is unlikely any Service secretary would then have opened ground combat billets to women, however, Service chiefs did not want to create that option for the secretaries of the Navy and Air Force. The Marine Corps was straightforward in its concern about placing such discretionary authority in the hands of senior political appointees. In memoranda among manpower policy files on female Marines was its position:

- Manpower needs may push secretaries into unsound assignment of women.
- Litigation, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), etc., may degrade the secretaries' discretionary authority.
- Initiatives by one secretary may lead to irresistible pressure on another to "follow suit."[35]

President Carter weighed in to suggest Congress reinstate the draft and include registration of men and women.* In a February 1980 interview, he stated, "The reality is that both men and women are working members of our society. It confirms what is already obvious . . . that women are now providing all types of skills in every profession. The military should be no exception."[36] However, the president stressed his opposition to including women in combat positions. The uniformed leadership rallied their biggest guns and called in all political favors. Pentagon civilian leadership support waned.[37] The bill quickly fizzled and died in committee.

DOPMA

On 12 December 1980, Congress passed the Defense Officers Personnel Management Act (DOPMA).[38] The act culminated efforts to update laws pertaining to commissioned officers. It abolished laws requiring "separate appointment, promotion, accounting, and separation procedures for women officers in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps."[39] The Air Force, founded in 1947, had used a single personnel system from its inception. DOPMA enabled women to compete with men for promotion and also made women eligible for selection to limited duty officer MOSs. The 27th Commandant, General Robert H. Barrow, underscored the need for Marines in leadership billets to understand Marine Corps policy on the assignment and use of women, reiterating that "assignment to command and staff billets at all organizational levels must ensure equal opportunity for all Marines, regardless of sex."[40]

Combat Risk Defined

In February 1988, upon recommendation by the DOD Task Force on Women in the Military, Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci approved a new definition of DOD's Risk Rule to include the concept of *combat risk*. The definition broadened acceptable risk for women in the armed forces in addition to setting a "single standard for evaluating positions and units from which the services can exclude women."[41] As a result, 30,000 new positions opened to women in

* President Carter's point of main effort toward passage of the ERA, in response to unrest in the Middle East and conflict between the USSR and Afghanistan, was for Congress to reinstate the draft and to include women; his initiative failed.

the military.[42] The new Risk Rule stated: "Risks of direct combat, exposure to hostile fire, or capture are proper criteria for closing non-combat positions or units to women, when the type, degree and duration of such risks are equal to or greater than the combat units with which they are normally associated within a given theater of operations."[43] The Risk Rule did not preclude assigning women to hostile fire zones; rather, it recognized the fluid nature of modern warfare. Each Service used its own mission requirements and the Risk Rule to evaluate whether a noncombat position should be open or closed to women.

Combat, Post–Cold War Era

The November 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and end of the Cold War, alongside increases in terrorist attacks, forced a redefinition of *combat zone* and *combat*. Women were excluded from combat billets, but this did not protect them from enemy attack. In December 1989, President George H. W. Bush ordered an invasion of Panama under Operation Just Cause to apprehend General Manuel Noriega. Nearly 800 women deployed to Panama, where female servicemembers serving as pilots, military police, and motor transport drivers were exposed to direct fire.[44] Marine Captain Kathryn V. Harrison was driving to her place of duty in U.S. Southern Command (located, until 1997, in Panama) just hours before the United States would storm Panama and capture General Manuel Noriega, the de facto ruler.[45] Three members of the self-proclaimed Panamanian Dignity Battalion attacked her jeep while she was stopped at a traffic light. General Noriega had released prisoners—including the three men harassing Captain Harrison—with orders to kill Americans.[46] The men surrounded the car, one armed with a pistol, and attempted to break in using rocks to smash the windows. Captain Harrison's quick thinking—a punch to one man who refused to let go of her vehicle—and defensive driving skills allowed her to drive away, under fire.[47] The action rated a combat fitness report, although not a Combat Action Ribbon, despite a mortar barrage that took place less than 400 yards from the command center where she was working.[48]

At about the same time, Major Melinda Hofstetter, the Marine Corps' first female Latin American foreign area officer, was visiting every Marine House (billeting for embassy Marines) in South America. Visiting 10 Latin American countries within her first year, she observed, "The militaries were extremely hospitable even to me as a female, a fear that Marine Corps leadership expressed and was skeptical about with regards to my assignment."[49] Even so, there were exceptions. While she was in Santiago, she recalled, "a LAW [light antitank weapon] was shot directly at the Marines' official vehicle. Fortunately, it was shot at such close range, it did not arm and no damage was done to the Marines inside."[50] Operation Just Cause served as a litmus test for the new Risk Rule. The nature of war was changing and so was the concept of *combat billet*.

1991 Review of Combat Restrictions

The belief that a woman might be a liability in combat began to fade after the Desert Shield and Desert Storm Persian Gulf conflicts. "Women received fire and they returned fire," Secretary of Defense Richard B. "Dick" Cheney said of the Persian Gulf experience. "Women have made a major contribution to this effort. We could not have won without them," he continued.[51] Their performance assuaged many fears about their capabilities and sparked a reevaluation of combat restrictions regarding women.[52] Once it became clear that the national culture increasingly considered national defense a gender-neutral vocation, an assignment criterion moved from how strong military women are to how strong they need to be.

To give the power of law to that belief, and as a tribute to the women who served in Panama and the Persian Gulf, Congress sought to reassess its position

on Title 10's combat exclusion clauses. During April 1991, Senator John McCain (R-AZ), the ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee's Manpower and Personnel Subcommittee, stated, "In light of the role played by women in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, the policy excluding women from combat needs to be reevaluated."[53] The majority of military billets were open to women by 1991, but public opinion favored dropping all legal restrictions and letting the Service secretaries set their own policies.

On 8 May 1991, Congresswoman Pat Schroeder (D-CO) succeeded in attaching the repeal of the combat exclusion law against female Air Force pilots to the House Armed Services Committee 1992 DOD authorization bill markup.[54] Congresswoman Beverly Byron (D-MD), chair of the Military Personnel and Compensation Subcommittee, cosponsored the proposal, adding female naval aviators. Their initiative would simply repeal the 1948 law and permit the Marine Corps, Navy, and Air Force to establish their own policies. The Army was never bound by the Title 10 restrictions. According to Congresswoman Schroeder, "Following the superb performance of female soldiers in the Persian Gulf, the committee decided it was time to permit women to pursue every job for which the woman had the physical and intellectual qualification in the military."[55]

Just as during the 1978 combat restrictions review, the House Armed Services Committee markup clearly noted that repealing Title 10's section 8549 and aviation restrictions within section 6015 would not mandate assigning women to combat missions.[56] Rather, those decisions would fall to the secretaries of the Navy and Air Force, as they had always to the secretary of the Army. Two weeks later, the House of Representatives passed its 1992 Defense Authorization Bill with a vote of 268 to 161.[57] No clear political party distinction was noted in the vote, although it was speculated by many that, generally, older members (who remembered World War II) voted against the legislation while younger members voted for it.[58]

On 15 May 1991, Senators William Roth Jr. (R-DE) and Edward Kennedy (D-MA) proposed legislation to the Senate Armed Services Committee to authorize the secretaries of the Navy and Air Force to prescribe conditions under which women could be assigned to combat aircraft and units.[59] The Senate version of the bill, although intended officially to examine repeal of Title 10 sections 6015 and 8549, invited study of the broader issue of women in ground combat.[60] Some senators felt Congress should maintain control of the issue of Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force sea and air combat exclusions concerning women. Women had been shattering glass ceilings in myriad professions for a decade, but military women had a tougher impediment to break through: military brass with strong political connections. A liberal secretary of the Navy or Air Force could dissolve the very solid leadership "brass barrier."

The assistant secretary of defense, Force Management and Personnel, Christopher Jehn, testified that Secretary of Defense Cheney was against rescinding combat exclusion laws. The four Service chiefs also testified, recommending the laws remain. However, Assistant Secretary Jehn also stated: "the Secretary welcomed authority and flexibility to make policy." The chiefs also assured the Senate Armed Services Committee that, were the law rescinded, "they would successfully carry out the mission of integrating women into combat aviation squadrons." In the words of Senator William Roth Jr. (R-DE): "It is about the best pilots flying combat missions."[61]

The House of Representatives had remained focused on the issue of combat exclusion laws repeal. However, Senate hearings and floor debates immediately moved beyond Title 10 and into the emotionally charged area of opening ground combat billets to women. When the Senate legislation was introduced, it took the form of two amendments. Amendment

948, introduced by Senators Roth and Kennedy, asked for a full repeal of Title 10 sections 6015 and 8549, neither of which addressed ground combat. Amendment 949 was introduced by Senators Samuel Nunn (D-GA), John Glenn (D-OH), John McCain (R-AZ), and John Warner (R-VA). It sought temporary repeal of the combat aircraft exclusions to study the issue.[62]

The high level of emotion among the lawmakers matched that of Congress during the 1948 debates over accepting women into the regular military, when the opposition to women was led by Senator Nunn's great-uncle, Representative Carl Vinson (D-GA). The 1991 Senate witness list was heavily weighted with infantry officers. Ground combat was not the object, although it certainly became the subject. The question for debate was what impact women in combat aircraft might have on military readiness, but most of the testimony seemed nothing more than fodder for press releases against "women in foxholes"—a premature concern at the time.

It was not a pretty fight. The 29th Commandant, General Alfred M. Gray Jr., representing the only Service without female pilots or flight officers, stated: "We don't find that our women want change. They seem to be satisfied with what they do."[63] Interestingly, this was three years after General Gray had received the final report from his Task Force on Women in the Marine Corps, which specifically recommended opening aviation billets to women and increasing female acceptance and opportunities. The 27th Commandant, retired General Barrow, testified that women in combat units would "destroy the Marine Corps . . . something no enemy has been able to do in over 200 years."[64]

The speeches assuaged but did not enlighten senators for the upcoming vote. As retired Air Force Major General Jeanne Holm wrote, "The testimony of the Army and Marine Corps witnesses totally obscured the fact that women are excluded from ground combat by *service policy—not by law*."[65]

National Defense Authorization Act, FY92 and 93

Senate amendments 948 (full repeal of Title 10 U.S. Code sections 6015 and 8549) and 949 (temporary repeal of combat aviation exclusions while studied further) were sent to conference committee for reconciliation with the House bill. On 5 December 1991, the compromise, which became the National Defense Authorization Act of 1992 and 1993, Public Law 102-190, repealed Title 10 provisions prohibiting assignment of female servicemembers to combat aircraft.[66] The change permitted the secretary of the Navy to prescribe conditions under which female aviation officers in the Navy and Marine Corps could be assigned to aviation combat units, including those deployed aboard ship.* Additionally, the amendment removed legal restrictions against assigning female enlisted aircrew to aviation combat units, ashore or aboard ship. It seemed unlikely, given the nation's gender-equal climate, that Congress would make into law any recommendation further restricting assignments of women in the military. However, President Bush was just completing his first term and enjoyed high approval ratings following the conflict with Iraq. His administration could provide the political cover to support the generally conservative commission's findings.[67]

The National Defense Authorization Act of 1992 also chartered the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces to study all matters relating to the assignment of women in the armed forces and to make findings on the following:

1. The implications on combat readiness of permitting women to be assigned to all combat positions
2. The social and cultural implications of such position assignments
3. The advisability of permitting only voluntary

* The Marine Corps still barred female officers from naval aviator and flight officer specialties.

assignments of women to combat positions and of permitting involuntary assignments
4. The advisability of requiring women to register and be drafted under the Military Selective Service Act
5. The legal and policy implications of permitting women to qualify for assignment to combat positions
6. The extent of the need to modify facilities, vessels, vehicles, aircraft, and other equipment to accommodate women assigned to combat positions, as well as the costs of such action and its practicality
7. The effects of existing laws relating to the recruitment, assignment, and promotion of women in the armed forces on combat readiness, opportunities for women in the armed forces, and the quality of personnel in the armed forces

The commission was directed to transmit a final report to the president by 15 November 1992, and the president was required to transmit the report to the defense committees, along with comments and recommendations, by 15 December 1992.[68]

A Presidential Commission

Fifteen members comprised the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces. They were drawn from active duty and retired military officers, academics, and social policy advocates.[69] Eight had served in the military, and nine were men; five were very conservative, while five were more liberal and five were considered neutral in their political positions.[70]

The commission's membership proved controversial from the beginning, with the White House accused, even by Pentagon officials, of "stacking the panel with social conservatives," according to a *Washington Post* article.[71] Commissioner Brigadier General Thomas V. Draude, a decorated ground officer who served both in Vietnam and Desert Shield/Desert Storm, had the following opinion when asked some years later:

> There really were some on the Commission who took their oaths seriously, listened objectively, and attempted to provide opportunities for women which I believe are realized today as a result of our efforts. (Women in combat aviation, aboard combatant vessels, etc.). Some were roundly criticized for doing so, and lived with the consequences.[72]

Assistant Secretary Jehn informed Congress that despite the repeal of female combat aviator restrictions, "no women would be assigned to combat aircraft until the Commission made its report about women in the armed forces."[73] For nearly a year, the Services maintained a strategic pause as the commission examined, held hearings, and then voted on 17 issues concerning the accession, training, assignment, and treatment of women in the armed forces.

After 12 months, and $4 million spent on research, public hearings, and tours to 30 military facilities, commission members seemed polarized.[74] To many following the commission's fact-gathering methods and debates, it seemed "less a forum for dispassionate analysis than a soapbox for ideological ax-grinding," the *Washington Post* reported.[75] Conservatives accused the media of hyping, post-Kuwait, the ability of women in combat areas.[76] Further, a *New York Times* article reported, "conservative panel members argued that it was wrong to allow women to kill. Joining forces . . . they tipped the balance against allowing women to fly in combat."[77]

West Point graduate Captain Mary Finch, an Army helicopter pilot who favored expanded combat opportunities for servicewomen, was disillusioned by her experience serving on the commission, according to a *Washington Post* article. "It's really terribly unfortunate. The right [wing] is so organized and energetic and they are pushing so hard that I feel I

have to come forward when I would prefer to sit back . . . I'm unfamiliar with these sorts of goings on and I'm very pleased to be unfamiliar with them," Finch told the newspaper.[78]

The same article reported that during a fact-finding tour in early October 1992, conservative commission member Elaine Donnelly, dismissing the value of equal opportunity combat training, went so far as to accuse the Marine Corps "of caving in to political pressure stemming from the Tailhook sexual assault scandal."[79]* The tour was prompted by the Marine Corps' decision to again gender-integrate all TBS platoons and to allow the women to undergo offensive portions of field training. Colonel Robert Fawcett, commanding officer of TBS, said he "ordered the change last summer after determining that 'there is no degradation to the training of the men and it's better training for the women'."[80] Donnelly also accused Captain Finch and other commission members who had toured the Navy's Kings Bay, Georgia, submarine base of submitting a false report concluding that members of an enlisted male panel "had generally endorsed the idea of letting women serve on larger submarines and combat vessels."[81]

The commission considered the positions of the Army, Navy, and Air Force on 17 widely ranging issues under review. Recommended positions on the issues included in the final report of the commission fell into four categories:

1. Issues recommended for concurrence
    a. goals and quotas
    b. voluntary vs. involuntary duty
    c. fitness and wellness standards
    d. occupational physical requirements
    e. basic training standards
    f. pre-commissioning standards
    g. gender-related occupational standards
    h. special operations
2. Issues recommended for further extensive analysis
    a. parental and family policies
    b. pregnancy and deployability policies
3. Issues recommended for concurrence with modification
    a. combat roles for women
    b. ground combat
    c. combatant vessels
    d. transition process
4. Issues of nonconcurrence with proposed alternatives
    a. combat aircraft
    b. Risk Rule
    c. conscription[82]

The commissioners' final recommendations on the 17 issues were based on majority vote. Not all 15 members voted on each issue, or even noted their abstention, even though abstention was an accepted response. There were times when members physically left the room rather than vote, and insistence on presenting a dissenting opinion as part of the official report was a condition for including the vote of the most conservative members on policy issues.[83] Commissioner Major General Mary E. Clarke, USA (Ret), in her written statement for the final report, put it this way:

> Early on in the deliberations, it became clear that a number of the Commissioners had come with a set agenda and no amount of facts or testimony would change their minds for expanding opportunities for women in the military. This was evident in their questioning techniques of those whose testimony they thought might support women in combat, absenting themselves when they knew testimony would not support their views, and their

* The Tailhook scandal and its fallout is discussed in greater detail in chapter 7.

insistence upon using equal opportunity as a red herring rather than recognizing women's capabilities and contributions to the military services.

In their comments, they consistently used the words "degradation of the mission" when discussing women in the military, even though testimony from commanders of mixed-gender units in all of the services disputed their assumptions.

They refused to acknowledge that [Desert Shield/Desert Storm] was the type of action that would make a case for expanded roles of women in combat. It would be interesting to interview the families of those who lost their loved ones in this intense conflict as to whether it was combat or not.

Finally, I would comment on those Commissioners, presumably professional adults, who walked out on the rest of the Commission because they were out-voted on their proposal to amend the agenda. This resulted in their refusal to participate in the process of all of the issues.[84]

Six of the majority recommendations were to change existing policy. The 17 issues and final voting recommendations were, as reported by the presidential commission:

1. **Policy change:** DOD should establish a policy to ensure that no best-qualified person is denied assignment to a billet open to men and women. (9 yes; 6 no; 0 abstention)
2. The Services should adopt gender-neutral assignment policies, providing the possibility of involuntary assignment of any qualified personnel to any position open to them. (10 yes; 2 no; 3 abstention)
3. The Services should retain gender-specific physical fitness tests and standards to promote the highest level of general fitness and wellness, provided they do not compromise training or qualification programs for physically demanding combat or combat support military occupational specialties. (12 yes; 0 no; 1 abstention)
4. **Policy change:** The Services should adopt specific requirements for those specialties for which muscular strength or endurance and cardiovascular capacity are relevant. (9 yes; 4 no; 2 abstention)
5. Entry level training may be gender-specific as necessary. (8 yes; 6 no; 1 abstention)
6. Military pre-commissioning training may be gender-normed inasmuch as post-commissioning training is designed specifically for individual specialties, combat, combat support, and combat service support. (10 yes; 4 no; 1 abstention)
7. The Services should adopt gender-neutral muscular strength/endurance and cardiovascular capacity requirements for those specialties for which they are relevant. (14 yes; 0 no; 0 abstention)
8. DOD should review existing policies concerning deployment of single mothers or fathers, or of dual-service parents, due to the possible effect on the children left behind and concerns of the public and military communities. (9 yes; 0 no; 1 abstention)
9. DOD should review rules regarding pregnancy to ensure consistency among the Services and force readiness. (8 yes; 0 no; 2 abstention)
10. **Policy change:** Military readiness should drive assignment policies; there are circumstances under which women might be assigned to combat positions. (8 yes; 1 no; 1 abstention)
11. **Policy change:** Women should be excluded from direct land combat units and positions. Existing Service policies concerning direct land combat exclusion of servicewomen should be codified. (10 yes; 0 no; 2 abstention)
12. **Policy change:** The recently repealed laws

restricting assignment of servicewomen to Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force aircraft should be reinstated and codified, and the Army aviation exclusion policy codified. (8 yes; 7 no; 0 abstention)

13. **Policy change:** Combatant exclusion laws and policies prohibiting servicewomen to serve on combatant vessels should be repealed with the exception of submarines and amphibious vessels. (8 yes; 6 no; 1 abstention)
14. Retain existing policies restricting assignment of servicewomen with respect to Special Operations Forces. (14 yes; 0 no; 0 abstention)
15. Retain the current DOD Risk Rule, intended to reduce the probability that women will be exposed to direct land combat, with modifications made to reflect the commission's recommendation to allow women to be assigned to most combatant ships. (9 yes; 4 no; 2 abstention)
16. If servicewomen are given the opportunity to be assigned to combat positions, ensure the integration process is accomplished in an orderly fashion and without undue haste. (11 yes; 3 no; 1 abstention)
17. Women should not be required to register for or be subject to conscription. (11 yes; 3 no; 0 abstention)[85]

Congress had repealed aviation combat exclusion laws with the National Defense Authorization Act of 1992 and 1993, so the commission's recommendation—by one vote—to revoke that action flabbergasted many, especially as the commission also recommended Congress rescind the remaining Title 10 restriction for women by opening most combat vessels to them. Several panel members had predicted that voting on most issues would be divided nearly evenly with even tighter splits on major issues.[86] Rather, this was the case only for aviation exclusion. Brigadier General Draude included this in his commissioner statement for the final report:

> After evaluating the information gathered through testimony, public and military polls, fact-finding trips, and intense research, I concluded that the issue of women in combat—ground, sea and air—comes down to two questions: "can they?" and "should they?"
>
> Without question, they can serve in combat aviation and aboard combatant vessels, to include submarines and amphibious ships. Moreover, I believe they should serve in these specialties and would succeed. The noncombat sectors of these specialties already experience gender integration. The empirical data proves that women are valued members of the aviation communities of the Army, Navy and Air Force, and the shipboard environments of the Navy and the U.S. Coast Guard. . . . I am convinced from the evidence presented that women can compete and win. (I found it disturbing that the Commission voted down a proposal to merely assign women to combat aviation on a test basis. What have we to fear—success?)[87]

Commissioner Newton N. Minow Esq., a World War II veteran, could not have then imagined the opportunities that now exist for women in the military. Nevertheless, as a parent of three daughters and grandparent of two granddaughters and one grandson, he wrote in his statement for the final report, "All six are eligible someday to become President of the United States and thus Commander in Chief. Why should our country be deprived of the talent and commitment all six could contribute to keeping our nation safe and free?"[88]

Within Congress, there was strong belief that Democratic presidential candidate William J. "Bill" Clinton would win the November 1992 election, and at that point the presidential commission's findings would not make much difference.[89]

The commission report was signed and delivered to President Bush on 15 November 1992, a week following his loss to Clinton. President Bush passed the report to Congress without endorsement or even comment.[90] Many presumed his loss to Clinton led to the "without comment" delivery. However, President Bush's inaction followed weeks of discussions between White House senior staff and Secretary of Defense Cheney. President Bush's abstention also left Republicans hanging in the Democratic-majority Congress. Conservatives had hoped President Bush would include "a forceful statement opposing all forms of direct-combat roles for women."[91] In the month between receiving the report and passing it on to Congress, despite internal debate and discussion between the White House and Pentagon, President Bush also declined to include DOD recommendations. It now fell to President-elect Clinton and the Democratic-majority Congress to take "full responsibility for putting women in nontraditional war-time roles."[92]

A Matter of *Best Qualified*

Secretary of the Navy Sean C. O'Keefe, in one of his final days in office pending the inauguration of President-elect Clinton, signaled the change in Department of the Navy attitude toward the role of women. In an address to midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy, he said, "the Navy should permit women to fly combat aircraft missions and to serve aboard all Navy ships, including submarines and amphibious vessels."[93] He added that he "favored expanding the role of women in combat in all the armed forces."[94] His remarks stood in sharp contrast to the recommendations of the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces. However, his remarks were aligned to what Pentagon officials presumed would be the wider range of options in the military that President-elect Clinton was expected to initiate following his 20 January 1993 inauguration.

Dr. Charles Moskos, a member of the commission and a sociologist at Northwestern University, predicted quick action by the incoming Clinton administration to open combat vessels and aircraft to women. In his words, "Congress has already shown its support for letting women serve in combat aircraft, so lawmakers will disregard the commission's advice to keep the cockpits male-only." He added, "Since the commission and the Navy are on record in support of women on combat ships, Congress will probably go along."[95]

Three months later, newly confirmed Secretary of Defense Les Aspin also made known his disagreement with many of the commission's recommendations. On 28 April 1993, Secretary Aspin rescinded most remaining billet restrictions against women in the military. In his words:

> Two years ago, Congress repealed the law that prohibited women from being assigned to combat aircraft. It is now time to implement that mandate and address the remaining restrictions on the assignment of women.
>
> Accordingly, I am directing the following actions, effective immediately: The Military Services shall open up more specialties and assignments to women.
>
> The Services shall permit women to compete for assignments in aircraft, including aircraft engaged in combat missions.
>
> The Navy shall open as many additional ships to women as is practicable within current law. The Navy also shall develop a legislative proposal, which I will forward to Congress, to repeal the existing combat exclusion law and permit the assignment of women to ships that are engaged in combat missions.
>
> The Army and Marine Corps shall study opportunities for women to serve in additional assignments, including, but not limited to field artillery and air defense artillery.
>
> Exceptions to the general policy of opening assignments to women shall include units engaged

in direct combat on the ground, assignments where physical requirements are prohibitive, and assignments where the costs of appropriate berthing and privacy arrangements are prohibitive. The Services may propose additional exceptions, together with the justification for such exceptions, as they deem appropriate.

An implementation committee shall be established to ensure that the policy on the assignment of women is applied consistently across the Services, including the Reserve components.

The Committee shall be chaired by the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Military Manpower and Personnel Policy, and should include the Deputy Chiefs of Staff for Personnel of the Services and the Director of Manpower and Personnel of the Joint Staff.

The Committee shall review and make recommendations to me about the Services, parental and family policies, pregnancy and deployability policies, and the appropriateness of the "Risk Rule."

The Service Secretaries and the Chair of the Implementation Committee shall report their progress and plans to me in 30 days, and keep me apprised thereafter.

[signed] Les Aspin[96]

Secretary Aspin's rationale for the policy was clearly stated: "As we downsize the military to meet the conditions of the post–Cold War world, we must ensure that we have the most ready and effective force possible. In order to maintain readiness and effectiveness, we need to draw from the largest available talent pool and select the most qualified individual for each military job."[97]

Secretary Aspin drew from the Services' more than 20 years of experience with women serving in military aircraft and decades of experience with women serving aboard combat and support ships, and within various combat support units, in times of peace and war. "This experience has shown us that women can perform well in difficult and dangerous circumstances, contributing enormously to the overall quality of our force," he noted.[98] On 28 April 1993, President Clinton approved Secretary Aspin's order to assign women to combat aircraft.[99]

Nearly 10 years earlier, in 1983, then-Representative Aspin (D-WI), chair of the House Military Personnel and Compensation Subcommittee, had prepared a press release titled, "Manning The Military: The Female Factor."[100]

He wrote that in 1983 many new recruits chose the military because "they lost their jobs, or the family business went bankrupt, or their money for college dried up because of hard economic times."[101] However, with the November election of Ronald Reagan to U.S. president, the economy was expected to improve and the Reagan "administration plans substantial force structure growth over the next few years."[102] Aspin's alternative to reinstating the draft was to "expand the pool of young people available for military service by greater utilization of women."[103]

Representative Aspin thought increasing the number of women in the military would reduce cost because the Services spent less money and manpower to recruit high-quality women than men.[104] However, while he listed suggested places where the Army, Navy, and Air Force could increase their number of female servicemembers, by law "of the total enlisted positions in the Marine Corps, 82 percent were closed to women."[105]

In 1985, Aspin had become chair of the powerful House Armed Services Committee. He supported repeal of Title 10's Section 8549—the Air Force combat aircraft exclusion clause—two years prior. Now, with his decision to expand billet opportunities for servicewomen, Secretary Aspin sent a clear and encouraging signal to Congress to lift the remaining combat

exclusion (Section 6015) restricting women from serving aboard combat vessels for more than six months per deployment.[106]

Sure enough, on 14 June 1993, legislation was introduced in Congress to rescind the amended Section 6015.[107] The Navy, in anticipation of the expected rescinding, had already decided to make billeting available for women aboard approximately 50 of its combat ships, to include aircraft carriers, *Spruance*-class destroyers (DD 963), *Arleigh Burke*-class guided missile destroyers (DDG 51), and *Whidbey Island*-class dock landing ships (LSD 41).[108] Marine expeditionary units routinely deployed on the *Whidbey Island*-class amphibious platforms.[109]

On 30 November 1993, Congress passed the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 1994, Public Law No. 103-160, repealing the last ban: that which prohibited women from more than temporary duty aboard naval combat vessels.

Secretary Aspin's action gave the Navy and Air Force secretaries responsibility to establish exclusion policies for military women. The secretary of the Army had always held this responsibility. Each military secretary followed Secretary of Defense Aspin's directive with plans to assign qualified female aviators to combat squadrons. Women in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard had been flying military aircraft for 20 years, but the Marine Corps, the only Service still excluding women from the cockpit, had to start from ground level.

Marine Corps assignment policy was changed in April 1993 to provide female Marines the opportunity to serve in billets commensurate with their individual abilities and in keeping with their potential to contribute to the fulfillment of the Marine Corps roles and missions.[110] Secretary Aspin's public affairs department released a multipage message to all Service public affairs officers regarding a DOD news briefing held for members of the press, detailing implementation of the secretary of defense's policy.[111]

Navy Lieutenant Kara Hultgreen's comment in a *Navy Times* article echoed the sentiments of many military women. "This is sort of like being able to vote," she said.[112] Marine Private First Class Isabella Mendoza also looked forward to new opportunities: "I'd like to go out on a float. . . . The only chance we have to go overseas is Okinawa, Iwakuni or embassy duty. I want to go on a WestPac [Western Pacific Ocean deployment]."[113]

The New Risk Rule

Secretary Aspin gave his resignation on 15 December 1993 and was replaced by William J. Perry on 3 February 1994. Before he stepped down, Secretary Aspin issued a defense memorandum rescinding the 1988 Risk Rule in favor of a new policy with a new ground combat definition restricting women from "assignment to units and positions whose mission requires routine engagement in direct combat on the ground."[114] It still excluded women from infantry, armor, most field artillery, and Special Forces combat units below the brigade level.[115] But all three Service secretaries, rather than Congress, now had the authority to determine the best assignments to accomplish a given mission. The revised Risk Rule included four exceptions for cases in which

1. costs of appropriate berthing and privacy arrangements are prohibitive;
2. units or positions are doctrinally required to physically collocate and remain with direct ground combat units;
3. units are engaged in long-range reconnaissance operations or Special Operations Forces missions; or
4. job-related physical requirements would necessarily exclude a vast majority of women servicemembers.[116]

The new Risk Rule became effective on 1 October 1994. It, and repeal of the Title 10 combat exclusions, suddenly doubled the number of occupational

specialties open to women in the Marine Corps.[117] Hot on the heels of policy opening aviation billets to women, General Carl E. Mundy Jr., the Commandant, published a paper recommending to new Secretary of Defense Perry the opening of 33 new MOSs to women. Female Marines were eligible to serve in 40,000 new billets, representing 93 percent of Marine Corps occupational specialties and 62 percent of all Marine Corps billets.[118] They also could serve within missile firing batteries and communication companies of Marine Corps Divisions.

Women were eligible for assignment to 276 of 327 Marine Corps enlisted primary MOSs. Of 127 officer primary MOSs, 115 were opened to women.[119] Of the 38 percent closed billets, one-fifth were within the three MOSs still closed to women: infantry, artillery, and armor. The remaining 18 percent were closed due to remaining combat restrictions: billets within units with a direct ground mission to locate, close with, and destroy the enemy by fire and close combat.[120]

Overall, about 101,740 Marine Corps billets were now open to women.[121] Forty thousand of the new billets resulted from the repeal of Title 10 combat restrictions, opening deploying rotary wing aviation and McDonnell Douglas AV-8 Harrier squadrons to women.[122] In an address before Congress, Lieutenant General G. Ron Christmas, the deputy chief of staff for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, noted two direct benefits of the expanded role for female Marines. First, with women able to deploy aboard ships, especially with aviation squadrons, deployment time for both men and women would be balanced. Second, women would have better opportunity to move into top enlisted and officer leadership billets.[123]

Summary

The gender exclusion laws of 1948 and 1956 were based upon World War II and then Cold War scenarios and upon gender roles and social mores of the time. The passing of the Equal Rights Amendment of 1972, although not fully ratified, brought public attention to the equal role of women in the workforce. More recently, Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm demonstrated that when the U.S. military goes to war, women are among those deployed; and the forward line of troops—the *front*—is no longer clearly defined.

As the 1990s drew to a close, the Marine Corps, along with the other military Services, worked to improve entry-level training to give women the same tools as men, with respect to physical training, instruction, and leadership opportunities. Of note is the importance placed on maintaining the same high standards during this process so that the title "Marine" is earned, never given.

Since the end of the draft in 1973, no law has forced a young person to join the Corps; all men and women do so voluntarily. They take the obligation to serve their country freely. Lance Corporal Mary Scott of 3d Force Service Support Group, Okinawa, Japan, spoke for many in a 2001 *New York Times* article: "I joined the Marine Corps myself. . . . That means that is my job. I have to serve my country now and this means not being selfish; and I'm not scared."[124]

Regardless of gender, Marines know that the possibility of combat is as real as the Eagle, Globe, and Anchor emblem they receive upon completion of training. They share a special sense of responsibility knowing they will likely be the first to respond in military conflicts. As male Marines have always had, female Marines now have the training necessary to perform their jobs in any clime and place—in the air, on land, or at sea.

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CHAPTER 4

COMBAT

Since 1978, the combat exclusion laws had prohibited the assignment of women in the Navy and Marine Corps to duty on ships or aircraft engaged in combat missions, other than as aviation officers within an air element assigned to such a vessel; prohibited their assignment on Navy vessels for longer than 180 contiguous days, with a few exceptions; and prohibited the assignment of women in the Air Force to duty in aircraft engaged in combat missions.[1] Keeping women from potential military targets and out of harm's way was a key motivator behind several changes in policy that had been enacted. However, many of the barriers to women's service in relation to combat operations were being slowly but systematically dismantled and removed, clearing the way for women to reach their maximum potential. As modern combat became more fluid in the post–Vietnam War era, with the lines delineating forward and rear areas increasingly blurred, the definition of combat was revised to reflect current Service needs as well as societal concerns over women's military roles and assignment.

Combat, according to the DOD's Risk Rule, has been interpreted as "physical proximity with the enemy rather than merely performance of functions that may invoke killing or being killed."[2] As of January 1990, it has been policy that the Marine Corps could preclude assigning women to units, ships, or aircraft "when the type, degree, and duration of risk of direct combat, exposure to hostile fire, or capture are *EQUAL TO OR GREATER* than the reasonably anticipated risks for combatant units with which they are normally associated in a theater of operations."[3]

Media interest in women in the military intensified during Operation Just Cause, 20 December 1989–3 January 1990, in Panama.[4] Press reports of military policewomen involved in a 20 December firefight gave rise to concern that Army women were assigned combat missions in violation of Army policy.[5] The Army responded: "They found themselves in a situation where they had to take appropriate action to defend themselves and perform their mission. It's a good example of why women in the military receive training and equipment the same as their male counterparts."[6]

This was the very reasoning Marine Corps leadership had used to reduce inequities in entry-level training for female recruits, officer candidates, and newly commissioned officers at The Basic School. Women were by this time commanding companies and platoons and leading work sections within many technical fields, notably communications and intelligence. The success of the Corps in integrating women would be validated months later in the deserts of southwest Asia.

Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm*

On 2 August 1990, Iraqi Army Forces invaded Kuwait. When the United Nations passed resolutions supporting movement of forces to the Persian Gulf region to oppose Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, women were among those forces.[7] The largest U.S. deployment since

* Operation Desert Shield (6 August 1990–16 January 1991) included the planning and logistical response of allied forces to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Operation Desert Storm (17 January 1991–28 February 1991) encompassed the military offensive.

Department of Defense photo

U.S. Marines walk through the sand at an undisclosed location during Operation Desert Shield. Desert Shield was the buildup of international Coalition forces in the Persian Gulf in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

Vietnam included more than 37,000 military women—6.8 percent of the total U.S. forces—of which approximately 2,200 were female Marines.[8] Women represented 12 percent of the U.S. ground presence in the initial force buildup, owing to the large number of women in medical and combat service support billets.[9]

During this time, the potential degree of offensive or defensive combat rather than the risk of hostile fire distinguished combat billets. Paradoxically, a Marine Corps direct support group that supplied a large warfighting headquarters was often well in front of other Services' forward areas. With the expanded reach of modern war, even a rear support area—the long tail of a fighting tiger—was arguably a richer prize than frontline soldiers. A missile could target personnel a hundred miles or more behind the forward line of troops, as happened when a scud missile demolished a barracks more than 200 miles from the front, wounding 99 soldiers and killing 28, including three women.[10] The 14th Quartermaster Corps Detachment from Greensburg, Pennsylvania, alone suffered 13 killed and 43 wounded; they had been in Saudi Arabia only six days.[11]

Transporting female Marines to the Persian Gulf was not accomplished with usual Marine Corps precision. Policy since the 1980s had been that, since female Marines were not assigned to any combat units nor to those combat service support units likely to engage in combat, they would not be removed from their units in time of crisis.[12] Marine Corps leadership, however, was initially "uncertain of the Saudi reaction to the presence of female Marines" and would not permit female Marines to deploy with their units in the initial wave of troops headed for the Persian Gulf.[13] In

some instances, women were pulled from deploying units and replaced with men. Other women were told they would deploy, then that they would not, and then again that they would, which frustrated all Marines and family members.[14] Marines were the most forward deployed forces in Saudi Arabia, and the official Marine Corps reaction was that combat seemed very likely in the first days of Operation Desert Shield in Southwest Asia.

The reasoning given to Marines for delaying women's deployment to the Persian Gulf theater was to avoid offending Saudis by placing women in what the local culture considered men's roles, which could damage the Marines' relations with the Saudi people with whom they must work.[15] Despite the conflicting information and confusion, however, some female Marines did deploy with the rest of their units. Gunnery Sergeant Becky L. Morgan was a staff sergeant with Marine Air Control Squadron 1 (MACS-1) and the lone military intelligence specialist in her unit when it was deployed to the Persian Gulf; she deployed with it. "I donned my gear, my weapons and a very concealing flak jacket. Ten days after the beginning of the war I was in-country with my fellow Marines. I kept a low profile and did the job that I had trained with my unit for 3 years to do. I am told that I was one of the first women in-country at that time. This passed without fanfare, without ceremony, and more women came," she wrote on an internet forum for veterans.[16]

Lieutenant Colonel Robert M. Shea, commanding officer, 9th Communication Battalion, I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF), was so adamant about taking his female Marines that he directed them to tuck their hair under their helmets when boarding aircraft to Saudi Arabia. He had heard that some women were being pulled off the aircraft just prior to departure, and he was not deploying without all of his Marines.[17] His concern proved to be a nonissue; the Saudis welcomed all Marines.

Department of Defense photo

Gen Walter E. Boomer (right), Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps, converses with a Marine officer aboard the amphibious transport dock USS *Trenton* (LPD-14) following his arrival on base to observe a special warfare demonstration, 11 November 1992, Naval Station Rota, Spain. Then-LtGen Boomer served as commanding general, Marine Corps Central Command/I MEF during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm prior to selection as Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps.

Lieutenant General Walter E. Boomer, commander of I MEF, reported that the front lines were safer, as Iraqis would not use nerve gas so close to their own frontline troops.[18] His Marines, female and male, deployed together.

Marine Corps representatives said their intention was not to bar women from the operation and that some would rejoin their units later. This provided little comfort, especially as Army, Navy, and Air Force women were already participating. The

policy prompted much anger and frustration within units.[19] By the beginning of September 1990—less than one month after deployment started—Headquarters Marine Corps issued clarifying policy that permitted women to deploy.[20]

Reserves Called Up

During the initial weeks of Desert Shield, reservists also expressed concern that very few had been activated. General Alfred M. Gray "assured Marine Corps Reservists that they would be called when needed and tasked them to use the time available to get fully ready."[21] On 22 August 1990, a shortage of combat service support personnel prompted the largest Reserve call-up since Vietnam.[22] More than 25,000 of nearly 44,000 selected Marine Corps reservists and more than 7,000 of the Corps' 36,000 Individual Ready Reserve Marines were activated to meet operational requirements throughout the world, including the Persian Gulf.[23] Many of these initial reservists were women. In June 1971, *MCO 1001R.47, Marine Corps Reserve Administrative Management Manual*, had integrated women within the Reserves; women then comprised about 5 percent of the Marine Corps Reserve components.[24] In 1991, women comprised 37 percent of the total Reserve force, due primarily to the large number serving in health care and combat service support specialties.[25] Of the 30 women assigned to the 10th Marine Regiment, 2d Marine Division, during Operation Desert Storm, 10 were reservists from the following units:

Company D, 8th Tank Battalion, Columbia, South Carolina
Company C, 8th Tank Battalion, Tallahassee, Florida
3d Battalion, 24th Marines, St. Louis, Missouri
HQ Company, 3d Battalion, 24th Marines, Chicago, Illinois
Company G, 3d Battalion, 24th Marines, Bridgeton, Missouri
Company H, 3d Battalion, 24th Marines, Johnson City, Indiana
HQ Company, 4th Light Anti-Aircraft Missile Battalion, Camp Pendleton, California
Battery M, 4th Battalion, 14th Marines, Chattanooga, Tennessee
Company I, 3d Battalion, 23d Marines, Little Rock, Arkansas[26]

Photo by Col Charles W. Anderson

LtCol Nancy Anderson, about to depart for a 3d FSSG field exercise, Okinawa, Japan, September 1991. Family Care plans were required for all Marines beginning with Operation Desert Shield in August 1990.

Women from Marine Reserve companies and batteries were mobilized to fill critical billets.[27] Well before Desert Shield and Desert Storm, single military personnel with dependents, as well as dual-military service couples, were required to establish

a plan detailing contingencies (such as deployments) and the care and support of those dependents. The policy helped alleviate the stress associated with leaving children in the care of others during an already stressful time.

Staff Sergeant Jodi M. Lewis, a single parent with a 21-month-old son, was activated for Desert Shield on 11 October 1990, necessitating the activation of her family care plan. She stated, when later asked about the experience, "It was a very effective tool to my smooth activation." Assigned to Combat Service Support Detachment-40, 1st Expeditionary Brigade, Kaneohe, Hawaii, Staff Sergeant Lewis worked long hours to establish the new Reporting Unit Code.*[28]

Commanders are responsible for ensuring their Marines, including reservists, with dependents maintain a family care plan.[29] The swift, large-scale deployments during the Gulf War prompted DOD to further codify policy; *DOD Instruction 1342.19, Family Care Plans*, was published on 13 July 1992.

The CNN Effect

Globally, the Persian Gulf conflict unfolded in real time over radio and television stations and across internet links from embedded reporters, photographers, and videographers. Whether watching broadcaster Peter Arnett of Cable News Network (CNN) describe stealth Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk attacks on Baghdad or seeing aircraft carrier flight deck operations, the people watching at home perceived that the press was everywhere. Such coverage not only helped garner public support for the Gulf War but also helped secure political funding for the associated expansion of personnel and logistics. Chief Warrant Officer-5 Margarette Chavez, the first woman selected as a permanent warrant officer 4302, public affairs officer, and the first female Marine permanently promoted to this rank, served as the joint protocol officer at Camp Pendleton, California, during Desert Shield and Desert Storm. She remembered the chief of staff, Colonel Dennis Damon, telling her, "Today we fight a war on two fronts: the battlefield and the political arena. Make any mistakes and we'll be just as dead."[30] Extensive on-the-ground press coverage during the Gulf War was critical to the political aspect of the war effort at home.

Press coverage also was beneficial for building at-home support of women Marines in the field. Like a Marine Corps four-member fire team, there appeared to be one camera operator for every three women deployed in the Persian Gulf. The attention, although annoying, had some positive results. For the first time, according to retired Major General Jeanne Holm, "national leaders began referring routinely to the 'men and women' of the armed forces and to service personnel rather than servicemen."[31] Military historian Carl von Clausewitz had argued nearly 200 years earlier that public opinion was one of the most essential elements of war.[32] As a result of the media exposure, the public for the first time saw the roles and work women performed in combat operations; greater acceptance and support were the results.

During Desert Shield and Desert Storm, the public watched and read news reports showing that women and men acted and were treated as equals in accepting the same risks and sharing the same patriotic and military responsibilities. The experience of eating meals, ready-to-eat (MREs) for weeks at a time; waking, often several times a night, to air-raid sirens and then fumbling into boots, helmets, and flak jackets and running to bunkers until the all-clear was sounded; excelling despite the stress and exhaustion of sleep deprivation; and feeling the irritation of talcfine sand everywhere was shared by men and women.[33] Fifteen U.S. servicewomen were killed and two were taken prisoner of war.[34] The death and capture of

* Reporting Unit Codes are four- or five-digit codes for the names of Marine Corps commands and their locations, used for directing fiscal and logistical resources.

KEEP THE HOME FIRES BURNING

By the end of the 1980s, one-third of junior enlisted servicemembers were married, continuing a trend that started with the all-volunteer force.[1] Even without adding the stresses of combat deployments, many young married couples found themselves struggling with their relationships, new financial responsibilities, and the demands of military life, often while living away from home and family for the first time.[2]

Although military pay, housing, family support programs, and junior servicemembers' marriages were initial concerns affecting unit readiness as deployments began for Operation Desert Shield, DOD studies on these issues "found no statistical link between marital status and readiness."[3] The Marine Corps remained concerned that lengthy deployments for young enlisted Marines led to marital problems and higher divorce rates.[4] Several programs established by the Army and Marine Corps well before events in the Persian Gulf were later adopted by the other Services and provided assistance for all Marine families whether or not a spouse was deployed. Programs included:

- the Key Volunteer Program, which provided a neighborhood-level communication link between the unit headquarters and the individual family via other Marine spouses;
- the New Parent Support Program, which provided families expecting a child with important parenting skills and support;
- the Exceptional Family Member Program, which identified families with members requiring special medical or education support; and
- the Child Development Program, which provided neighborhood or work-centered childcare options and subsistence.[5]

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[5] Ibid.

women were accepted with no less, but no more, sorrow than that of men and created an emancipating feeling for military women.[35] Most had long felt that removing them from their deploying units at the first sniff of trouble wrongly implied that their lives were somehow worth more than that of men in the same jobs, but that women had no choice in the matter. Even though laws still excluded women from 48 percent of Army billets, 80 percent of Marine Corps billets, 41 percent of Navy billets, and 3 percent of Air Force billets, press coverage portrayed a mostly gender-equal military.[36]

M. V. Ginger Jacocks Oral History, Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections and University Archives, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, NC

This photo shows the entrance to dugout offices in the desert, possibly in Kuwait, circa 1990.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Setting up a bulk fuel depot in Saudi Arabia during Operation Desert Shield.

Life in the Desert

To servicemembers involved in the Gulf War, the desert terrain in Southwest Asia seemed entirely flat and khaki colored. To avoid detection by the Iraqis, everything but the vehicles were located in deep, rectangular holes dug by bulldozers, recalled then-Major Mary V. Jacocks.[37] The desert was a dark and quiet place at night, due in part to light and sound discipline. Wristwatch alarm features commonly alerted personnel to their time to prepare to stand watch. The Marines who had duty on the defensive perimeter, which was about one-half mile to one mile from the main camp, would usually have to find their way on foot out to the Browning .50-caliber machine guns at the watch posts. Major Jacocks served as the G-2, intelligence officer, for Brigadier General Charles C. Krulak, who commanded the 2d Force Service Support Group (2d FSSG), now known as the 2d Marine Logistics Group. She recalled that "sometimes the 2 Marines heading out to the defensive position went together and other times not. There was very strict light discipline so changing watch at night was tricky. The middle of one night we had a Marine stumble into the hole our tent was in. When we checked it out, he had been walking around the area for over an hour trying to get to stand his watch—his unit was contacted and the poor Marine on watch just had to do a double watch that night—another good reason for having 2 people to a fighting position on the perimeter."[38]

Work section staff set watch schedules for the Marines working within their sections depending on operational needs. Shifts were usually 12 hours on and 12 hours off unless something happened, which it often did.

Water was a major concern in the desert. For many units, water was scarce and what was available—transported to the field and stored—was desalinated and purified water directly from the Persian Gulf; use was prioritized.[39] Bottled water was reserved for use in the event of chemical or biological warfare; in

Courtesy of LtCol Kathryn A. Allen

Capt Kathryn A. Allen prepares for chemical warfare drill during Operation Desert Shield, Saudi Arabia.

the event of such actions by the enemy, water from the gulf would be rendered nonpotable, and bottled water would be the only remaining source. Water for drinking was the first priority, and water for chemical decontamination was the second. Showers depended upon location and timing. Jacocks recalled that short showers were allowed "only a couple times a week. . . . A few days after the cease fire was established we were allowed to drink the bottled water and shower hours increased—yea!!"[40]

Jobs Well Done

In preparing remarks for the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services' (DACOWITS) 40th anniversary in spring 1991, the 29th Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Alfred M. Gray, requested input from commanders on the participation of and performance by female Marines during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Without exception, the field commanders reported that the overall performance of their women Marines was nothing short of outstanding. The women "worked and lived side by side with their male counterparts, held key billets and shared in the harsh living conditions."[41] Some of the inputs provided to General Gray follow.

From Major General James M. Myatt, commanding general, 1st Marine Division:

> Four [female] communicators with 11th Marines served at the tactical C. P. (command post). They entered Kuwait on G-1 (23 February 1991) [the

Department of Defense photo, by Stephan Thompson

The nuclear-biological-chemical (NBC) warfare threat was real to all Coalition forces. Here, Kuwaiti soldiers wearing M-17 gas masks make a victory sign for the camera as they prepare to enter a gas chamber during NBC warfare training. The soldiers were trained in combat techniques in preparation for conflict with Iraqi forces then occupying Kuwait, January 1991.

> day before the ground campaign commenced], passed through first breach on G-day (24 February 1991) [the day the ground campaign commenced], and encountered Iraqi arty [artillery] fire. All 4 qualified for the Combat Action Ribbon; three recommended for Meritorious Masts.[42]

And:

> Seven motor transport and one supply [female] Marine served with the forward logistics base of the 11th Marines. They drove as many miles, stood as many guard details, manhandled as much ammunition and served at as many decontamination stations as the male Marines. One driver of an ammo truck hit a land mine which disabled the truck. She kept composure, jumped on another truck and continued on with the convoy. Women Marines appreciated being allowed to do the job they were trained to do. They also appreciated the fact that they were treated with the respect and professional courtesy they deserved. I am proud of the women in this division—they did what had to be done—with style.[43]

From Brigadier General James A. Brabham, commanding general, 1st FSSG:

> After initial concerns about deploying women Marines to Southwest Asia passed, about 320 women were assigned to the First Force Service Support Group. They began arriving in August and served alongside their male counterparts

throughout the operation in nearly every job skill within the organization. They served as truck drivers, radio operators, supply clerks, [U.S. Navy] chaplains, maintenance officers and commanding officers. Women Marines within the Group performed very well during the operation as evidenced by the numbers promoted and recommended for awards. For example, women Marines made up 8 percent of the population of Headquarters and Service Battalion, but received 20 percent of the meritorious promotions and 13 percent of the regular promotions. In Landing Support Battalion eight of ten women Marines were recommended for awards.[44]

From Major General William M. Keys, commanding general, 2d Marine Division:

Ninety female enlisted, 12 female officers and one female corpsman deployed with the Second Marine Division. Their performance stands as a testimony of their dedication and was indicative of their critical role in the operation and in the Marine Corps overall. Specifically, Lieutenant Colonel Mary K. Lowery served as the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1 (Personnel and Administration) during the operation and her performance as well as that of her section during the division's deployment was outstanding. During Desert Shield and Desert Storm, Lieutenant Colonel Lowery successfully accomplished her assigned tasks in the rigorous field conditions of winter desert warfare. She displayed exceptional motivation and a totally professional approach to her duties and was an inspiration to all. Her performance clearly established a role for women Marines in an FMF (Fleet Marine Force) unit in a combat zone. [45]

And:

The 30 women serving with the Second Marine Division's 10th Marine Artillery held motor transport, communications, supply, guard, administration, engineering, and logistics billets. Sixty percent of the combat and field train [truck] communicators were women, as were half of the mechanics and 30 percent of the combat train drivers. Women stood watches, performed guard duty, and made resupply runs at all hours throughout the operation, across Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The women assisted fully in setting up and breaking down camp for the numerous moves made by 10th Marines [the 10th Marine Artillery Regiment, 2d Marine Division] throughout the deployment. The women, as expected, performed professionally, and without friction or special consideration, even when under fire at the combat train. They are an integral and essential component of Headquarters Battery, 10th Marines. Without their presence during DESERT STORM, in the critical MOS billets they hold, the Regimental headquarters would have been hard-pressed to maintain the billet stability, staffing level, and professional achievements demonstrated during the past three months.[46]

Major Randolph S. Lenac, assistant chief of staff, G-1, I MEF, wrote that Corporal Patricia L. Foster, a single parent with a three-year-old child, volunteered for duty to augment the Manpower Information Systems Support Office (MISSO) in Southwest Asia (SWA). Activating her family care plan, Corporal Foster's sister stepped in to care for the toddler. "Corporal Foster arrived in SWA 23 Dec 1990. Although never having served in a MISSO her performance of duty has been excellent."[47]

From Colonel Forest L. Lucy, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2 (Intelligence), I MEF:

Of note, is the 1st Radio Battalion, though limited in the number of women assigned, gave one of its captains, a female, one of the most challenging

tasks within the unit. Captain Kate [Kathy L.] Tate was responsible for SENIOR WARRIOR operations, the first airborne intelligence collection platform that any Marine Corps Signals Intelligence battalion has operated. Through her efforts SENIOR WARRIOR provided, perhaps, the most critical and timely intelligence during the Khafji attack.[48]

And:

> Permanently assigned to the Marine Corps Air Station, Camp Pendleton, Captain [Kim E.] Foss received TAD (temporary additional duty) orders to I MEF for deployment to Southwest Asia in January 1991. Departing for Camp Lejeune six days later to link up with other augmentees enroute [*sic*] to SWA, she left behind her son who was less than 5 months old in the care of her husband who is also an active duty captain. He has cared for him since my [the I MEF command element] departure. Captain Foss has been fortunate in having a husband who can successfully handle a Marine Corps career, part-time graduate school, and a small child. Captain Foss' confidence in his abilities has allowed her to concentrate on her duties in Southwest Asia.[49]

M. V. Ginger Jacocks Oral History, Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections and University Archives, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, NC

The primary staff of the Direct Support Command of 2D FSSG, for the support of both Marine divisions committed to Operation Desert Storm, circa 1991. (LtCol M. V. "Ginger" Jacocks is pictured front and center.) All Marines pictured wear Desert Battle Dress Uniforms in chocolate-chip camouflage.

The Female Gulf War Experience

Brigadier General Krulak commanded the 2d FSSG during the Persian Gulf War. He was determined that his command could go to war only if his Marine Corps and Navy women were allowed to fill their assigned billets.[50] Fifty percent of Krulak's staff were women. On 24 December 1990, 2d FSSG deployed to Saudi Arabia as the I MEF Direct Support Command (DSC) responsible for providing direct combat service support to the 1st and 2d Marine Divisions and the forward deployed aviation group assets. In early January 1991, the command moved to Abraq al-Kibrit, Saudi Arabia (called al-Kibrit).

Lieutenant Colonel Ruthanna Poole served as the G-1 in charge of manpower and administration. Lieutenant Colonel Poole's husband, Lieutenant Colonel John Poole, also deployed. He remained with the I MEF Command Element in Saudi Arabia. The couple's four-year-old daughter remained at home with her grandparents.[51] Krulak reported that "command billets were held by women at the company and platoon level in Motor Transport Battalion, Medical Battalion and Headquarters and Service Battalion."[52] Also, according to General Krulak:

> Perhaps the most noteworthy performances were turned in by our truck drivers and communicators. Operating at both the Direct Support Level and the Direct Support Group (Division) level, the drivers ran resupply of ammunition, food, water, and POL [petroleum, oil, and lubricants] to the forward mobile CSSDs [Combat Service

AN INTERVIEW WITH BRIGADIER GENERAL KRULAK

Excerpt from an interview with Brigadier General Charles C. Krulak, USMC, for the U.S. Naval Institute's *Proceedings Magazine*

Marine Corps History Division

Charles C. Krulak, as general and 31st Commandant of the Marine Corps.

PROCEEDINGS: How did the combat service support troops hold up under the high tempo of operations?

KRULAK: They did fine. The infantrymen—and I'm one—train in specific tactics for specific missions that have a beginning and an end. But every day is the same for a wrench-turner. He might be working on hardstand [paved area for heavy vehicles] back at Camp Lejeune or in the sand of Saudi Arabia, but he still turns that wrench the same way every day. So getting our guys up to speed for their combat service support jobs in the desert was relatively easy compared, say, to training and equipping the 1st and 2d Marine Divisions to make those historic breaches of the Iraqi barriers and minefields.

For us, the really different thing was that nobody had ever mounted out a full force service support group before. Most thought it couldn't be done. But we deployed as a full FSSG to Al Jubayl, moved to Al Mish'ab, from there to Kibrit, from there to Al Khanjar, and then on to Al Jaber, in Kuwait. Then we rolled back to Al Khanjar, then to Kibrit, then to Al Mish'ab, and finally back to Al Jubayl. The whole shooting match—the whole damned FSSG. That is something to accomplish!

PROCEEDINGS: Back at Camp Lejeune, the FSSG would have its share of female Marines, doing everything from punching typewriters to running heavy earth-moving equipment. As you moved farther and farther forward in a combat environment, did you have to make allowances for the females, and leave them in the rear?

KRULAK: We took all of them with us. They were magnificent. The first Marine out of the 2d FSSG to be recommended for a Bronze Star medal was a woman. My G-1 [personnel officer] was a female lieutenant colonel; my G-2 [intelligence officer] was a female major. The noncommissioned officer in charge of our communications center was a woman; 50 percent of the communications watch sections were women. We had female platoon commanders. After dark on the first day of the ground attack, ten of my female truck drivers went through the breach to bring back enemy prisoners, so they actually cleared the breach ahead of some of our hard-charging infantry units. I had a couple hundred female Marines up north with me, and none of them ever shied away from anything. None of them went home on emergency leave—zero! None of them got pregnant in Southwest Asia—zero! The women, as well as the Marine Corps Reservists, did a truly phenomenal job.

I'm a firm believer in the capabilities of our female Marines to perform under pressure. I'm not saying that they should be infantrymen, but there is a role for them in combat—certainly in the combat service support arena. They did a great job.

PROCEEDINGS: Is there a question I didn't ask that you would like to answer?

KRULAK: I've been an infantry officer for 26 of my 27 years in the Marine Corps. But as a temporary logistician, I have never been prouder of any group of men and women than my FSSG. Nobody who was not there will ever know what it took to build the support area at Al Khanjar. General [Walter E.] Boomer had never seen anything like it. It was so big that you could not see from one end to the other; it faded into the horizon. And the Marines who put that together in two weeks didn't stop to rest on their oars; they went through the breach with the combat units and continued to do their thing.

You can talk all you want about the air and ground campaigns, and—God bless them—those warriors did a magnificent job. I'd never begin to take anything from them. Ten years from now, however, when historians and strategists and tacticians study the Gulf War—what they will study most carefully will be the logistics. This was a war of logistics.[1]

[1] "A War of Logistics," U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings Magazine* 117, no. 11 (November 1991): 55–57.

> Support Detachments] and never missed a delivery. In addition, when the rate of captured EPWs [enemy prisoners of war] threatened to slow the advance of the attacking divisions, at least 10 WMs manned the vehicles that transported the EPWs to our holding area. During and since the war these drivers have passed through the breaches in the minefields on hundreds of occasions. We literally could not have provided the support we did without these fine Marines.[53]

General Krulak believed in using intelligence and in providing good intelligence guidance. The Combat Service Support Operation Center (CSSOC) "was underground and unless you ventured outside there was no way to tell if it was day or night—and the desert nights were definitely dark."[54] Krulak's primary staff officers "rated their own CP tents and were situated in dugout positions inside a berm, which surrounded the CSSOC."*[55]

Major Jacocks, the G-2, and Lieutenant Colonel Ruthanna Poole, the G-1, were the only female primary staff officers and chose to share a tent. Major Jacocks appreciated having someone to talk to and to be with during the many anxious times they experienced.[56] For example, the night they saw—and felt—a far-off artillery strike from the G-2 location in the CSSOC: "One night as we each sat in the head [toilet facility], there was a flash of light, a distant boom, and you could feel the earth shake—we had just witnessed one of the first Iraqi artillery attacks into Saudi Arabia."[57] Because of the desert terrain, the attack appeared to be fairly close, but from her earlier assignment as an artillery regiment intelligence officer, Jacocks knew the impact was probably at least 20 kilometers (km) away. She knew the location and ranges of the enemy artillery and knew the Marine camp was in range of enemy weapons. Iraqi aim did not improve while they were at al-Kibrit.[58] Jacocks further recalled:

> On the night of 29 January 1991, the Iraqis crossed the border into Saudi Arabia. Most people remember that night as the "Battle for Khafji," but actually the Iraqis crossed at three different

* A command post tent is approximately 10 feet by 20 feet.

sites. Al-Kibrit was only about 20 km [20,000 meters/12.4 miles] south of the Kuwaiti border directly in front of the center force of that 3-pronged attack. A study of the map would lead one to believe there was a possibility that an envelopment of the Direct Support Command was the enemy mission. We were monitoring the MEF and 2d Marine Division intelligence nets as well as the command net, enabling us to hear the reports directly from the forward reconnaissance teams and the intelligence elements that were in contact; that allowed our G-2 Marines to plot the situation as it unfolded and to keep the CG informed. The MEF and both Divisions were behind us and the MEF was forwarding little intelligence information, so monitoring the nets was our main source of information. That was the first night I really felt we were in a combat situation. It was also the night I knew that I was doing what I'd been trained to do and was capable of doing it well. We always think we are prepared but we never really know until really tested.[59]

Captain Kathryn A. Allen was the assistant battalion operations officer for 8th Communication Battalion (8th CommBn). The battalion swelled to nearly twice its size by absorbing the majority of 6th CommBn, a Reserve unit from New York City. Deployed on 24 December 1990 to reinforce 9th CommBn, already in Southwest Asia, most of 8th CommBn was sent to Camp 5 at the northern outskirts of al-Jubayl, Saudi Arabia. There they supported the hub of the USMC communications network.

During this time, the potential degree of offensive or defensive combat, rather than the risk of hostile fire, distinguished combat billets. The site kept all Marine Corps major commands and logistics positioned in the area of operations connected to one another, to adjoining U.S. military units, and the Joint Command Center in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, maintaining external theater links to Germany, Japan, and Guam, which linked the Southwest Asia units to the United States.[60]

Almost immediately, the battalion executive officer was reassigned to the 3d Marine Aircraft Wing to fill a gap. In the ripple of key personnel that followed, Captain Allen became the S-3, battalion operations officer; as the former S-3, Major Rudy Kowalcyk fleeted up to become the battalion executive officer. Allen's new job was to employ the reinforced 8th CommBn in support of the overall communications plan and to work on a day-to-day basis as one of the two I MEF communication systems planning and engineering officers in preparation for offensive combat operations. In the most extensive network created by the Marine Corps to operate during peace or combat, Allen and her Marines worked to ensure complete, robust, data-capable, encrypted, and uninterrupted communications coverage for all major subordinate commands, the Joint higher headquarters, and the worldwide links crucial to every aspect of combat operations—from offensive planning and logistics to intelligence dissemination and medical evacuations.[61] While there was no typical day for Allen, the routine was busy, lasting from dawn until dusk. "Our operations were, obviously, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week for the duration of the deployment," she recalled. "We faced and overcame some very interesting and unusual challenges related to equipment shortages and incompatibilities, foreign nation communications, new equipment fielded as we deployed (the AN/TTC-42), location and climate, and squeezing the most usage out of limited bandwidth."*[62]

When the war was over and the other combat

* AN/TTC-42-Central Office, Telephone, Automatic: The AN/TTC-42(V) is a sheltered telephone central office that provides automatic switching service and subscriber service functions to the TRI-TAC family of four-wire, digital secure and nonsecure voice terminal telephone instruments (DSVTs) and four-wire digital trunks, including both single channels and Time Division Multiplexing (TDM) groups. The AN/TTC-42(V) allows automatic and semiautomatic switching for selected analog loops and trunks and is sized so as to provide switching among 150 channels.

forces began to withdraw from the desert and redeploy to their home stations, the communications challenge was every bit as critical as before and during combat. As units left the network, preventing any remaining unit linked through the departing unit's communications from being cut off was imperative. Captain Allen recalled a heated discussion she had with a communications unit commander "in which I told him in no uncertain terms that he would NOT take down his microwave link for the next 12 hours and then only when he was granted permission from us to do so. The commander was two ranks senior to me, but he got the point, begrudgingly." A U.S. Army unit on the commander's electronic "far side" had been delayed in its redeployment. If rolling up the communications network was carried out incorrectly "our own people could die in the desert for want of a means to get food/water or a medevac aircraft. Further, the time delay in reinstalling anything that was erroneously terminated or terminated early was unacceptable. Both the equipment and the Marines, soldiers, and airmen were very tired and still operating at their limits."[63]

Captain Allen noted, "This was the first deployment in which the infantry officers didn't say that 'the operation was a success, chow was great and comm sucked.' Communications were the most reliable, secure, and clear in USMC history."[64]

Captain Leslie N. Janzen was originally attached to the I/II MEF G-4 logistics staff when she deployed to the desert on 17 January 1991, but she was immediately sent on temporary additional duty to the 3d Marine Aircraft Wing (3d MAW) at al-Jubayl airfield to serve as the maintenance management officer for the ground equipment.[65] Her daily routine varied but involved everything from correcting Marine Corps Integrated Maintenance Management System computer malfunctions caused by the hostile environment of blowing sand in the tent work spaces and liaising with FSSG and wing staff to counting tanks and holding owning units accountable for returning the equipment to maritime prepositioning ships.[66]

Captain Janzen recalled one very significant event: meeting her husband in the mess hall while deployed for Desert Storm. The pair started talking, then "spent the next three weeks walking around the [3d MAW] base conducting a very chaste courtship." When he was sent to the Marine's expeditionary airfield Lonesome Dove, 3d MAW's motor transport officer hand carried their letters between al-Jubayl and Lonesome Dove. "I would go out of my tent for a head call or chow, come back, and find a stack of letters on my desk. We wrote one another every day, and have saved those letters. We got engaged on 15 April [1991], over a USMC radio, and married on 30 June."[67]

Six months of living and working in the desert had done more to advance acceptance of women among male military members and the DOD leadership than two decades of political argument and human relations training. As submitted by Colonel Forest L. Lucy, I MEF assistant chief of staff, G-2: "At this point, Women Marines would probably prefer to be referred to as 'Marines,' rather than 'Women Marines'."[68]

General Gray relayed Colonel Lucy's comment three weeks later during his formal remarks to DACOWITS members and guests as a keynote speaker during the organization's spring 1991 conference and 40th anniversary celebration. "Perhaps we can broaden out," admitted the 29th Commandant. "Your Women Marines want to be known as Marines. They're getting tired of being singled out as women."[69] Of course, women had considered the terms *woman Marine* and particularly *WM* as pejorative for a generation, since former Commandant General Louis H. Wilson first pushed to abolish the terms. On official correspondence, at least, the terms WM and woman Marine were replaced throughout the Corps with the term *female Marine* when gender distinction was necessary.

CLASSIFICATION OF WOMEN MARINES

A Marine Corps memorandum dated 6 November 1948 directed that women entering into the Marine Corps be referred to as "women Marines," with USMC-W for Regular Marines and USMCR-W for Reserve Marines as the short reporting form. Colonel Katherine A. Towle, the first director of Women Marines, took great exception to the "W." A compromise regulation was approved on 17 March 1950 and the "W" was placed before the service number (later the social security number) of women Marines. Colonel Towle also preferred the word "woman" to "female."[1] In a 26 September 1949 memo, she wrote:

> The use of "female" instead of "woman" in referring to the distaff side of the Marine Corps was gone into quite thoroughly when the new Marine Corps Manual was written. It was finally agreed upon that "women" should be the accepted terminology even when used as an adjective. The usage follows that established in Public Law 625, "Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948."[2]

For this reason, the term *woman Marine* remained in use and was generally accepted. It was the continued use of a gender modifier only for women even when no such designation was necessary that many female Marines took exception to, and Commandants Wilson, Mundy, and Krulak sought to eliminate.

[1] Stremlow, *A History of the Women Marines, 1946–1977*, 27.
[2] Ibid.

Awards

Following Desert Storm, East and West Coast commands used different criteria for awarding the Combat Action Ribbon and Bronze Star to Marines. Lieutenant General Mundy, commanding general, Fleet Marine Forces, Atlantic, required a "by letter of the order" litmus test. Neither he nor his subordinate commanders wished to dilute the awards.[70] When word of the far greater number of West Coast awards reached the East Coast, new and revised awards were submitted.[71] By 31 March 1992, about 8,000 personal awards had been bestowed upon the 92,500 Marines deployed for Desert Shield and Desert Storm.[72] By 18 September 1992, that number had grown to 34,808 awards, to include 508 Bronze Stars, 24,805 Combat Action Ribbons, 199 Meritorious Service Medals, 2,876 Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medals, and 4,353 Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medals.[73] Twenty-three of the 24,805 Combat Action Ribbons, for firing at or being fired upon by the enemy, were awarded to women.[74]

Several female Marines were nominated for the Bronze Star medal, including a female corporal truck driver who "passed through the breaches

DENIED THE BRONZE STAR

Elaine E. Davies (née Filkins) joined the Marine Corps in December 1960 and rose to the rank of colonel. Her early billets included working with female recruits and serving as executive officer of the Woman Marine Company and later as recruit company commander, Parris Island, and woman officer selection officer.* For 13 months in 1970–71, then-Captain Filkins served with the Military Assistance Command-Vietnam/Naval Forces Vietnam. She was recommended for the Bronze Star Medal at the end of her tour, but she was turned down because, in the words of the male Marine colonel in charge of the Republic of Vietnam Marine Corps advisors, "WMs didn't rate them!"[1] All the males got bronze stars in that office.[2]

* Female Marines were administratively joined to all-female companies until the end of the 1970s.
[1] Col Elaine Davies (Ret), history submission to author, undated.
[2] Col Elaine Davies (Ret), telephone intvw with author, 5 December 2001.

in the minefields on hundreds of occasions."[75] Only two were awarded: Major Leslie J. Tomlinson served as the operations directorate executive officer for the commander-in-chief of U.S. Central Command (USCENTCOM), Army General Norman Schwarzkopf; and Master Sergeant Joy E. Elliott served as chief of administration, Joint Visitors Bureau and Programs and Budget Division, USCENTCOM, also under General Schwarzkopf.

The senior Marine commander in Southwest Asia, Lieutenant General Boomer, did not award a Bronze Star medal to any of the female Marines nominated to receive the award. He did award a Bronze Star to one woman in the Navy on his staff. Chief Navy Counselor Marie D. Helgeland, USN, was awarded the Bronze Star "for meritorious service while serving as Command Career Counselor, I MEF, Saudi Arabia, from 1 September 1990 to 7 March 1991."[76]

Subsequent to a 3 March 1992 letter from Brigadier General Carol A. Mutter, deputy commander, Marine Corps Systems Command, concerning perceived inequity of Persian Gulf awards to women, Manpower and Reserve Affairs (M&RA), Headquarters, staff researched awards by gender. "Of the 90,300 deployed male Marines, 7,817, or 8.6 percent, received awards" compared to 183 awards presented to 2,200 deployed female Marines, or 8.3 percent.[77]

While the medal ratio of 8.6 percent of male Marines deployed to the Persian Gulf to 8.3 percent of female Marines deployed seemed fair, the gender disparity in the level of awards caught the eye of officers assigned to M&RA. In one instance, nearly identical Bronze Star Medal nominations for three communications officers were altered to remove gender identifiers and independently circulated among Manpower staff officers. All three, a male captain, a female captain selected for major, and a male chief warrant officer 2, served as operations officers responsible for real-time decisions and actions. In every review, the Bronze Star was considered appropriate for the captains and a Meritorious Service Medal for the chief warrant officer. In reality, the two men were awarded

MEDAL CRITERIA

BRONZE STAR

Awarded to any person who, while serving in any capacity with the Armed Forces of the United States, distinguishes himself after 6 December 1941, by heroic or meritorious achievement or service, not involving participation in aerial flight.

1. while engaged in an action against an enemy of the United States;
2. while engaged in military operation involving conflict with an opposing foreign force; or
3. while serving with friendly foreign forces engaged in an armed conflict against an opposing armed forces in which the United States is not a belligerent party.

To justify this decoration, accomplishment or performance of duty above that normally expected, and sufficient to distinguish the individual among those performing comparable duties is required, although less than the requirements for the Silver Star or Legion of Merit. Minor acts of heroism in actual combat, single acts of merit or meritorious service connection with military or naval operations may justify this award.

Combat Distinguishing Device. The Combat Distinguishing Device may be authorized.

NAVY/MARINE CORPS COMMENDATION MEDAL

Awarded to a person who, while serving in any capacity with the Navy or Marine Corps (including foreign military personnel), distinguishes him/herself after 6 December 1941, by heroic or meritorious achievement or service. To merit this award, the acts or services must be accomplished or performed in a manner above that normally expected and sufficient to distinguish the individual above those performing similar services, as set forth in the following:

1. For Acts of Heroism. Worthy of special recognition, but not to the degree required for the Bronze Star Medal when combat is involved or the Navy and Marine Corps Medal when combat is not involved.
2. For Meritorious Achievement. Outstanding and worthy of special recognition, but not to the degree required for the Bronze Star Medal or Air Medal when combat is involved or the Meritorious Service Medal or Air Medal when combat is not involved. The achievement should be such as to constitute a definite contribution to the naval service, such as an invention, or improvement in design, procedure, or organization.

3. For Meritorious Service. Outstanding and worthy of special recognition, but not to the degree required for the Bronze Star Medal or Air Medal when combat is involved or the Meritorious Service Medal or Air Medal when combat is not involved. The award may cover an extended period of time during which a higher award may have been recommended or received for specific act(s). The criteria, however, should not be the period of service involved, but rather the circumstances and conditions under which the service was performed. The performance should be well above that usually expected of an individual commensurate with his grade or rate, and above that degree of excellence which can be appropriately reflected in the individual's fitness report or personnel records.

Combat Distinguishing Device. The Combat Distinguishing Device may be authorized.

NAVY/MARINE CORPS ACHIEVEMENT MEDAL

Awarded to members of the Navy and Marine Corps, including members of Reserve components on active or inactive duty, of the grade of lieutenant commander/major and junior thereto, for service performed on or after 1 May 1961. The award shall be given for meritorious service or achievement in a combat or noncombat situation based on sustained performance or specific achievement of a superlative nature, and shall be of such merit as to warrant more tangible recognition than is possible by a fitness report or evaluation sheet, but which does not warrant a Navy & Marine Corps Commendation Medal or higher. The Navy & Marine Corps Achievement Medal may also be awarded to members of the armed forces of a friendly foreign nation consistent with the eligibility requirements specified in chapter 6.

1. Professional achievement which merits the award must:
    a. Clearly exceed that which is normally required or expected, considering the individual's grade or rate, training, and experience; and
    b. Be an important contribution of benefit to the United States and the naval service.
2. Leadership Achievement which merits the award must :
    a. Be noteworthy;
    b. Be sustained so as to demonstrate a high state of development or, if for a specific achievement, be of such merit as to earn singular recognition for the act(s); and
    c. Reflect most creditably on the efforts of the individual toward the accomplishment of the unit mission.

Combat Distinguishing Device. The Combat Distinguishing Device may be authorized.

Source:
www.marines.mil/Marines/Combat-Awards

the Bronze Star and the female captain's Bronze Star nomination was downgraded to a Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medal.[78]

In another instance, a chief of staff credited a female intelligence officer with predicting the folding of the Iraqi front line. The Bronze Star nomination and summary of action credited the officer with thwarting a three-pronged Iraqi advance on the DSC on 29 January 1991 by providing vital information to higher and adjacent headquarters on enemy activity directly north.[79] Further, "the planning information she provided to our Engineer Battalions in support of the breaching operations was directly responsible for no loss of life during this phase of the operation." Although a major, she was awarded the Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medal.[80]

Awards presented to Gulf War Marine Corps veterans (combined male and female recipients)

Navy Cross: 2
Defense Service Medal: 8
Silver Star: 14
Legion of Merit: 69
Distinguished Flying Cross: 21
Bronze Star: 508
Defense Meritorious Service Medal: 1
Meritorious Service Medal: 199
Air Medal: 1,949
Joint Service Commendation Medal: 6
Navy/MC Commendation Medal: 2,876
Joint Service Achievement Medal: 5
Navy/MC Achievement Medal: 4,345
Army Commendation Medal: 4
Army Achievement Medal: 114
Combat Action Ribbon: 24,805

Getting the Word: Humanitarian Missions

One immediate result of women's successful participation in Desert Shield and Desert Storm was an even greater use of female Marines on deployments and tours on Okinawa, Japan. With respect to deployments, women had proven themselves in the desert and, notwithstanding the remaining Title 10 restrictions barring women from serving more than 180 contiguous days aboard naval vessels, they were trained to go. They continued to prove themselves on deployment throughout the 1990s, even in the face of continuing confusion regarding their roles in the field.

In the fall of 1991, Haitian Army officers launched a coup d'état against Haiti's newly elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Thousands of Haitians fled to nearby Caribbean neighbors, including the 45 square miles of Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, in the United States' possession. The 2d FSSG, Camp Lejeune, was called upon as the nucleus of a Joint task force to execute the humanitarian mission of caring for the Haitian refugees. Major Jacocks, fresh from the Gulf War, was selected to serve as the J-2 (Joint service level intelligence officer).[81]

Arriving at Guantánamo Bay on Thanksgiving Day, the Marines were soon assigned to a tent city, set up by U.S. Air Force personnel. However, Jacocks could not find her name on the assignment sheet for tents. She recalled reporting to the Air Force noncommissioned officers (NCOs) handling tent assignments regarding the mistake and was told that no female Marines were expected because "women in the USMC did not go to the field; I asked who had told them that and they replied that in all the operations they had supported overseas, the male Marines had always told them that female Marines were not allowed to go to the field—mind you, this was only 6 months after my return from Desert Storm," Jacocks said. She corrected the NCOs and was assigned to share a tent with two Army captains, an Army second lieutenant, and an Air Force master sergeant.[82]

In late 1992, conflict erupted in Somalia, East Africa. The situation was soon serious enough to deploy U.S. military forces to make the country safe for international relief organizations to administer

humanitarian aid and assistance.[83] More than 18,000 U.S. servicemembers participated in Operation Restore Hope in Somalia.[84] As in Southwest Asia the year before, those forces would include more than 1,000 women between 1992 and 1994.[85] To avoid a repeat of initial uncertainty with regard to deploying women, the Commandant established manpower guidance up-front. General Mundy's personnel deployment guidance was clear:

> Female Marines will deploy with their units or be flown into theater if the unit must transit by amphibious shipping. CMC White Letter 14-92 pertains. Our intent is to fully employ women in the skills they are trained for. And the combat exclusion policy is meant to keep women out of direct combat action, not out of danger.[86]

Among the 400 Marines establishing camp in Mogadishu were 20 women.[87] Major Wendy A. Smith was the assistant aircraft maintenance officer for Marine Aviation Logistics Squadron 16, deployed from Marine Corps Air Facility, Santa Ana, California. She planned and directed logistical support for Operation Restore Hope. She recalled:

> We were very much involved with the logistical support of providing aircraft/parts/people to the efforts. Specifically, I had to put together a "plan" of aircraft that were able to complete the mission without having high time components or heavy scheduled maintenance come due during the operation. I had to look at all the MAG [Marine aircraft group] assets in order to propose the plan to the Group Commander.[88]

Servicewomen's full participation in the Gulf War had built a level of confidence in abilities among Marine men and women in action that carried over to future humanitarian, relief, and combat operations. "Sometimes you have to prove to these guys that although you're a woman, you can do the job," commented Corporal Patricia O'Rourke about her supply unit in a *USA Today* article. Lance Corporal Gina Tomasello, a military police officer, was quick to add, "What I can see now is that they're [female Marines] treated with respect and allowed to contribute to this operation. . . . We're all here to feed the people."[89]

Summary

Lieutenant General Carol Mutter perfectly summarized the glass ceiling-breaking period of the Gulf Wars and the humanitarian relief missions that followed in an interview for *Henderson Hall News*.

> A new chapter in our history has been written based on the superb service of our women during Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Our women Marines handled the jobs, the hardships and the stress necessary for our Corps to deploy, prepare for and conduct combat operations. They endured the same living conditions, duties and responsibilities in the field as similarly assigned men.[90]

Notes

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2. Hixson, "Equal Rights, Equal Risks," 37.
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6. Ibid.
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11. Ibid.
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13. BGen Mike Myatt, CG, 1st Marine Division message 221433ZMAR91, "Women Marines Performance in Desert Shield/Desert Storm," 22 March 1991.
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15. GySgt Becky L. Morgan (Ret), comment on "Women at War," Voice for Veteran Services, 18 March 2016, http://www.vfvs.com/WomenAtWar.html.
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24. Stremlow, *A History of the Women Marines*, 105.
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26. MajGen William M. Keys, CG 2dMarDiv, letter to LtGen Walt Boomer, CG I MEF, "DACOWITS 50th Anniversary," 29 March 1991.
27. Commanding Officer 10th Marines, 2d Marine Division, letter 1300/CO to MajGen Keys, "The Women Marines of 10th Marines," 27 March 1991.
28. SSgt Jodi M. Lewis, email to author, 6 October 2001.
29. *DOD Directive 1342.17, Family Policy* (Washington, DC: DOD, 30 December 1988).
30. Cpl Theresa E. Seng, "Woman Marine Blazes Trails," Marine Corp Air Station New River, 20 November 2002.
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32. Culler thesis, 6.
33. LtCol Leslie N. Janzen, email to author, 30 August 2001.
34. Manning, *Women in the Military: Where They Stand*, 7.
35. Blanpied, "Women in Desert Storm," 4.
36. Francke, *Ground Zero*, 33.
37. LtCol Mary V. Jacocks (Ret), email to author, 4 April 2015.
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78. Ibid.
79. Col John Woodhead, telephone intvw with author, 8 January 2002.
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88. LtCol Wendy A. Smith, email to author, 12 December 2001.
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CHAPTER 5

AVIATION

While existing combat exclusion laws prohibited female Marines from serving as pilots and naval flight officers, female enlisted Marines and officers had served in aviation occupation fields since 26th Commandant General Louis H. Wilson Jr. opened many Fleet Marine Force billets to women in 1978.

Lou Ann Rickley completed recruit training on 23 December 1977 and completed Aircraft Powerplants Mechanic training the following year. She was assigned to Marine Attack Squadron 513 (VMA-513), Marine Corps Air Station Yuma, Arizona, as the first female Marine Harrier engine mechanic and plane captain.* In 1985, Staff Sergeant Rickley received both the Marine Corps Aviation Association Plane Captain of the Year Award and the Navy League Captain Winifred Quick Collins Award for inspirational leadership from an enlisted woman. As a limited duty officer (LDO) captain, Rickley received the 2000 Captain Charles J. Nechvatal Aviation Ground Maintenance Officer of the Year Award.**

In 1983, Sergeant Lorria McKnight served as the only female Marine air crew chief stationed west of the Mississippi serving aboard Hawker Beechcraft C-12 Huron multimission twin turboprop aircraft at Marine Corps Air Station Yuma. To become a crew chief entailed 13 weeks of school—including passing the Dilbert Dunker test while blindfolded, which simulates crashing into water, exiting the simulator aircraft, and reaching the surface of the water at the deep end of the training pool—followed by 50 hours of flight school.[1]

Also in 1983, Lance Corporal Debra F. McCoy and Private First Class Sherre Enzminger were working in aviation (on the side of things gone terribly wrong), serving with the Fire Fighting and Rescue Division (Crash Crew) at Marine Corps Air Station New River, North Carolina. For them, a typical training day meant battling 2,000-degree heat and flames and lifting a 220-pound pilot from an aircraft.[2] The entire course was quite physical, with an average of 20 fires per day once course work was completed, as Private First Class Enzminger commented in a *Marines* magazine interview: "Even though we worked in teams, each individual had to pull the pilot out, and only then was the teammate permitted to help get him down from the aircraft."[3]

Behind the scenes since 1984, Lieutenant Colonel Wendy A. Smith had been busy ensuring aircraft were available for pilots and crew, male or female. As an aviation maintenance officer, she "was responsible for providing the aircraft in support of the flight schedule."[4] Smith, who enlisted in the Marine Corps in August 1978, was commissioned a second lieutenant through the Marine Corps Enlisted Commissioning Educational Program in 1983. She recalled,

> A normal day was supervising the Marines that worked on aircraft repairables in order for the aircraft to remain mission capable. My position

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* V = fixed wing; M = Marine aircraft; A = attack. Although normally one of the junior enlisted aviation mechanics, the plane captain is responsible for the safety of the aircraft and pilot—inspecting the aircraft and immediate surroundings at length before authorizing the pilot, usually with a hand salute, to take off.

** An LDO is a technical officer specialist performing duties requiring extensive knowledge, training, and experience.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Enlisted female Marines served as plane captains several years ahead of the policy changes that authorized female Marine officers to serve as naval aviators and naval flight officers.

Courtesy of Maj Lou Ann Rickley

Aircraft Maintenance Officer Capt Lou Ann Rickley (right) inspecting an AV-8B Harrier engine.

Historical Reference Branch, Marine Corp History Division, by Cpl Burnett

Marine Corps Air Station Cherry Point, NC. A woman Marine works at the aviation supply computer terminal in Marine Aircraft Group 14, January 1979.

required that I set the priorities in order to meet our production goals, which directly related to [squadrons] meeting their flight hours . . . I had to quickly ascertain whether I had shortfalls that could hinder the flight phase, and the fix. The flight phase was day and night sorties involving every aircraft in the Marine Corps inventory. What a sight to behold watching 12 CH-46s [Sea Knights] lift off, followed by 6 [CH-]53s [Sea Stallions], not to be outdone by 10 [AH-1] Cobras and 6 [UH-1] Hueys. Plus multiple fixed wing sorties launching. I did this for 7 Weapons and Tactics Instructor courses and outside of not seeing too much of my family, I thoroughly enjoyed coming to work every day. I felt that my efforts made a difference in training that aviator to use his/her T/O [table of organization] weapon, their aircraft. The upbeat to that story too is that I was able to fly in every type model series ([McDonnell Douglas] F/A-18 [Hornet] my favorite) except for the AV8B.[5]

Department of Defense photo, by PFC Jennifer A. Arndt

The Marine Light Attack Helicopter Squadron-267 (HMLA-267) UH-1N "Huey" pilots run through start-up procedures before taking off during the Exercise Millennium Edge on Osan Air Force Base, Osan, Korea, 25 March 2001.

In early November 1991, the Navy and Marine Corps developed positions and options concerning approaches they could take should the 102d Congress choose to modify or rescind the combat exclusion laws of Title 10's Section 6015.[6]

Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs Barbara S. Pope was charged with developing a Department of the Navy position on women in naval aviation.[7] She signed an information memo to Under Secretary of the Navy J. Daniel Howard on 8 November 1991 titled "The Future Role of Women in Combat Aviation." Each proposed position and option was developed under four execution guidelines, with pros and cons for each:

1. Combat readiness must remain paramount.
2. To the extent that combat readiness is not decreased, the guiding principal should be that personnel, male and female, will be assigned duties commensurate with their capabilities and qualifications to the maximum extent possible.
3. Once accepted into combat aviation, career assignments should continue to be made based on needs of the services, regardless of gender.
4. Qualification standards will be based on mission/equipment requirements, not on gender alone.[8]

Appendix A of Pope's memo contained proposed implementation plans from the Navy and the Marine Corps with four options: maintain status quo; take minimal action; take measured, moderate action; and take measured, proactive action.[9] As the Marine Corps had no female pilots or naval flight officers, and no female flight crews organic to deploying squadrons, their task was more formidable. The 30th Commandant, General Carl E. Mundy Jr., believed that there were "unique demands placed on Marine aviators, including serving aboard amphibious ships and with

J. Walter Thompson marketing poster, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

1stLt Jeanne M. (Buchanan) Woodfin, first female Marine naval flight officer, poses beside an EA-6B Prowler as part of a Marine Corps recruiting campaign.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Sgt Clark works the morning shift at MCAS Cherry Point Air Traffic Control Radar room guiding aircraft to safety.

ground forces, which may preclude women from serving as Marine aviators."[10] However, if required to open fixed-wing and rotary aircraft to women, it would take an estimated 25–31 months for fixed-wing jet naval aviators, 19–25 months for fixed-wing propeller and rotary-wing naval aviators, and 14–21 months for naval flight officers (NFOs).[11]

It was not the first time Marine Corps leadership had worked to prepare itself should the Corps lift its ban on female aviators. Bowing to the public's changing perceptions of women's roles in society and the equal rights movement, Congress had passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 1972 (although it was only ratified by 35 states, fewer than required for a constitutional amendment). Congress also began addressing the expansion of women's roles in the military.[12] The end of the draft and beginning of the all-volunteer force in 1973, coupled with ERA pressures, led to an expansion of military opportunities for women. The Army and Navy opened flight training to women later that year.[13] Noncombat aircraft flight training opened to women in the Air Force in 1976.[14]

Navy and Marine Corps analysts agreed that there were no physical fitness thresholds that would bar women from flying any aircraft in the inventory.[15] However, regardless of gender, aviation candidates needed a sitting height of 32 inches to fly two types of combat helicopters and a sitting height of 34 inches to fly any aircraft in the naval inventory.*[16]

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* Although women have piloted aircraft since 1910, little attention was paid to physical differences until aviation fields were opened to women in the Army, Navy, and Air Force in the early 1970s. Anthropometric (the measurement of size and proportion of the human body) measures were not a point of main effort until Congress and the secretary of defense opened far more aviation opportunities to women. Air Force studies (based upon males) in the 1950s put women at a disadvantage, as approximately 75 percent of the female population falls below the established male minimum for sitting height (34 inches). Cass D. Howell, "Gender Differences in an Aviation Physiology Environment," *Journal of Aviation/Aerospace Education and Research* 10, no. 1 (Fall 2000): 12.

Lifting the Aviation Restrictions

The 102d Congress did repeal the combat aviation restrictions for the Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force through the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993.[17] The law also created the Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces and put assignment of women in abeyance until the commission presented its findings and recommendations to President George H. W. Bush in November 1992.[18]

Among its 17 proposals, the commission voted for Congress to rescind those portions of the defense authorization act that opened combat aviation billets to women.[19] However, President Bush was defeated by President-elect Bill Clinton a week prior to receiving the final report, and Bush passed it to the Democrat-controlled Congress without comment.[20] Soon after his confirmation, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin rescinded most remaining combat restrictions on women in the military.[21]

Two months following Secretary Aspin's policy message, General Mundy directed that selection and assignment for flight training would be made on a gender-neutral basis.[22] *MCO 1542.1G, Naval Aviation Program*, and *MCO 1040.22J, Naval Flight Officer Program*, both dated 9 June 1993, opened Marine Corps aviation to women. Female Marine officers finally were able to apply for naval aviator and naval flight officer training.* Additionally, qualified enlisted female Marines could compete for aviation flight crew and maintenance jobs, to include aerial navigator, Lockheed Martin KC-130 Hercules multirole tactical aircraft flight engineer, and airborne radio operator/loadmaster.[23]

Not everyone handled the opening of combat aviation billets to women well. Among them was Kate O'Beirne, Washington editor of the conservative *National Review*, fellow at the Heritage Foundation, and member of the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces (see chapter 3). "The Department of Defense 'seems to have largely ignored the $4 million study'," she said in a *Navy Times* interview, referring to the presidential commission effort.[24] O'Beirne was among the staunch conservative members on the commission.

First Female Marines in Aviation

Second Lieutenant Sarah M. Deal of Pembersville, Ohio, was halfway through aircraft controller school at Naval Air Station Memphis, Tennessee, when she read that Secretary Aspin had opened combat aviation to women. She phoned Headquarters and asked to be considered. On 23 July 1993, Deal received approval of her application to flight school, making her the first female Marine to be accepted. She was promoted to first lieutenant while in flight school.

Reporting to the Naval Aviation Training Command, Pensacola, Florida, in August, she understood her challenge. Friends from TBS already in aviation pipelines no longer behaved as friends. "Overall it was not a very warm welcome and many peers did not like it that I was there."[25] In an October 1993 *Marine Corps Gazette* letter to the editor, Second Lieutenant George B. Rowell, one of Deal's TBS classmates currently undergoing flight training, wrote as much: "The general feeling among Marine Corps students here in Pensacola is one of shock and disbelief."[26] The author further wrote that only five aviation billets were open to the Company E, Basic Officer Class 5-92 students, all going to students in the top one-third of their class, and he took umbrage that Deal was "magically plucked from her current MOS to become a pilot" five months after Company E's graduation.[27] In truth, most Marine naval aviators and naval flight officers receive an aviation contract

* Naval flight officers in the Marine Corps or Navy are not pilots, but they are specialized in airborne weapons and sensor systems; however, NFOs do undergo initial flight indoctrination training at Pensacola, FL.

MARINE CORPS AVIATION ACCESSION PROGRAM

The Aviation Manpower and Support Branch at Marine Corps Headquarters conducts a Field Accession Board during the first month of each fiscal quarter. Quotas are determined by the Manpower Policy, Plans, and Programs Branch and vary per board. The following qualifications pertain:

- must not have been separated from similar training in the Army, Navy, or Air Force
- must be younger than 29 years of age at application date
- cannot have more than four years of commissioned service
- must be physically qualified and aeronautically adaptable
- must score at least 4 (out of 9) on the Academic Qualification Rating and 6 (out of 9) on the pilot or flight officer Flight Aptitude Rating.[1]

[1] Maj Phillip D. Patterson, "Aviation Accession: It's Still a Fair System," *Marine Corps Gazette* 78, no. 1 (January 1994): 33.

prior to TBS, and within four years of commissioned service, can compete before the Field Accession Board held at Headquarters Marine Corps during the first month of each quarter.[28]

While true that Deal received an aviation slot because of the recent change in law and the expansion of eligibility criteria for student naval aviators and student NFOs to include female officers, she was already a licensed pilot and was selected for the lateral move.[29]

In a newspaper interview, First Lieutenant Deal was adamant that she neither wanted nor expected different treatment from male aviation candidates. "I don't want to be 'a female Marine.' I just want to be 'a Marine'."[30]

On 21 April 1995, just 21 months following selection for training, Deal received her gold aviator wings; her father, a former Marine, assisted in the winging ceremony. Deal was assigned as a Fleet Replacement Squadron pilot with Marine Heavy Helicopter Training Squadron 302 (HMHT-302) in Santa Ana, California, as a Sikorsky CH-53E pilot. The CH-53E Super Stallion is the Corps' premier troop carrier.

On 16 August 1996, First Lieutenant Jeanne Buchanan made history by becoming the Marine Corps' first female NFO. First Lieutenant Buchanan learned about the newly opened Marine Corps NFO program while she was majoring in computer science at the United States Naval Academy. She chose the Marine Corps over the Navy, as discussed in a *Marines* magazine interview, because "everyone I've ever met who was a Marine impressed me with their discipline. I also think the Corps has a different type of personality and I tend to blend in well with that personality."[31] First Lieutenant Buchanan, assigned as an electronics-countermeasures officer in the Northrop Grumman EA-6B Prowler electronic warfare aircraft, also downplayed her aviation distinction.

FIRST IN FLIGHT SCHOOL

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

1stLt Sarah M. Deal, the first female helicopter pilot, flies a CH-53 Sea Stallion helicopter from HMH 466, MCAS Tustin, CA, over Camp Pendleton while training during exercise Kernel Blitz, 1997.

First Lieutenant Sarah M. Deal said in an interview that being the first female Marine accepted for flight school was "a small issue compared with being allowed the chance to earn her wings."[1]

Deal's interest in aviation was long-standing. She joined the Young Explorers while in high school and worked as part of the flight line crew at the Kent State Airport for about five years. Her interest was honed during college, where she majored in aerospace flight technology at Kent State University. While there, she earned her private pilot's license for single and multiengine commercial aircraft.[2] The approval and orders to aviation indoctrination training at Naval Air Station Pensacola, Florida, arrived the day Deal graduated from Air Traffic Control School—the military occupational specialty she was assigned from TBS.

Following training, Deal reported to HMH-466 at Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) Tustin, Santa Ana, California, where she served as Airframes Division officer and scheduler. She deployed twice to Okinawa, Japan. Deal was transferred to serve as group adjutant for Marine Aircraft Group 16, MCAS Miramar, San Diego, California, and then reassigned to HMH-361, which was short of pilots. From there, now-Captain Deal was transferred to the Fleet Aviation Specialized Operations Training Group, NAS North Island, California, where, as of 2001, she served as an instructor for the Survival, Evasion, Resistance and Escape School, and as senior Marine.[3]

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[1] SSgt Keith W. Stoeckle, "Marine 2nd Lt First Woman in Corps Selected for Flight Training," *Henderson Hall News*, 6 August 1993, 1.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Deal history submission.

"Even though I'm the first female Marine NFO, I'm first a Marine."[32] She added, "They're not easy programs—Marine Corps or NFO training, but I've had a lot of fun doing it."[33]

Buchanan married an F/A-18 Hornet pilot following flight school, but it was she who deployed—twice—to Aviano, Italy, in 1999. As First Lieutenant Jeanne Woodfin, she began round-the-clock sorties over Yugoslavia in support of NATO's Operation Allied Force.[34] She also flew combat missions in Kosovo for Operation Noble Anvil, spending 12 of her first 17 months with the Marine Tactical Electronic Warfare Squadron 2 (VMAQ-2) deployed to Aviano.[35] Using the Prowler's electronics to jam enemy radar, she helped clear the path for fighter jets to bomb targets.[36] "When we shoot our missiles, both the back seats and the front seats play a role," she said. In true fire team fashion, Woodfin likes to say "that

Department of Defense photo, by TSgt Jeff Clonkey, USAF

A U.S. Marine EA-6B Prowler aircraft with Marine Technical Electronic Warfare Squadron (VMAQ) 2, stationed out of Marine Corps Air Station Cherry Point, NC, launches for combat exercises during Cope Tiger 2002 held at Wing 1 Air Base Korat, Thailand, January 2002.

Department of Defense photo, by SSgt Wayne A. Clark, USAF

A USMC F/A-18 Hornet Strike Fighter, its refuel probe still out, continues its mission as it slides away after an air-to-air refueling in support of Operation Enduring Freedom, during which Navy jets conducted bombing raids against Taliban positions in Afghanistan. The Hornet is armed with two AIM-9 Sidewinder missiles and two GBU-16 (MK-83 1,000-pound bomb with MAU-169 [Paveway II] laser guidance kit, and MXU-667 tail), a centerline fuel pod, and an Advance Targeting Forward Looking Infrared (ATFLIR) pod attached to the left engine, 18 December 2001.

every person touches the missile before the trigger is pulled."[37] Like her male peers, she loves "the adrenaline rush during missions and doesn't worry too much about the danger."[38]

Likewise, when Lance Corporals Elizabeth Deal and Lori Privette along with Private First Class Christina Richard began recruit training, they had no idea they would also become female Marine aviation firsts. In the December 1996 issue of *Leatherneck*, Sergeant Keith Desbois of the Camp Pendleton, California, public affairs office, reported that the three women were given aviation ordnance (6500) MOSs following graduation and "were the first female Marines selected as UH-1N Huey crew chief candidates."[39] The rigorous 16-week program consisted of 10 weeks of crew chief school; 2 weeks of survival, evasion, resistance, and escape (SERE) training; and 4 weeks of air candidate school in Pensacola.[40] The training covered "inspecting the aircraft, informing the pilots of possible malfunctions, all mechanical functions during flight, post-flight inspections and assisting passengers."[41]

Lance Corporal Rebecca D. White of Pensacola, Florida, also won wings of gold—those of a first navigator (MOS 7372) and took her first flight as an overland qualified navigator.[42] Lance Corporal White joined the Marine Corps in 1999 mostly to fly but also to take a break from college. Following recruit training and Marine Combat Training, she attended Air Crew Candidate School in Pensacola, Marine Aerial Navigation School in San Antonio, Texas, and C-130 Hercules Flight Training with Marine Aerial Refueler Transport Training Squadron 253 (VMGRT-253) at Cherry Point.[43]

More than 60 female Marines wore aviation wings of gold as the twenty-first century opened. Among the Marine Corps aviation trailblazers were:

21 April 1995—First Lieutenant Sarah M. Deal—CH-53E Super Stallion pilot

16 August 1996—First Lieutenant Jeanne M. Buchanan—EA-6B Prowler electronic countermeasures officer

13 December 1996—First Lieutenant Traci B. Benjamin—Boeing CH-46 Sea Knight pilot

—Captain Mary Margaret Kenyan—UH-1W Huey pilot

10 January 1997—First Lieutenant Susan L. Jenkins—Sikorsky CH-53D Sea Stallion pilot

27 February 1997—First Lieutenant Keri L. Schubert—F/A-18 Hornet weapons systems officer

17 October 1997—First Lieutenant Karen F. Tribbett—F/A-18 Hornet pilot

16 January 1998—First Lieutenant Ann Hout—KC-130 Hercules pilot

30 January 1998—First Lieutenant Esther F. Wingard—McDonnell Douglas AV-8B Harrier pilot

2 April 1999—Captain Roni R. Elmore—Bell AH-1W Super Cobra pilot[44]

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

1stLt Esther F. Julicher is briefed by her crew chief before takeoff in the AV-8B Harrier.

Offical U.S. Marine Corps photo

Female Marine air crew member.

FLIGHT TRAINING PHASES

Naval Flight School consists of four phases: Aviation Pre-flight Indoctrination, Primary Flight Training, Intermediate Flight Training, and Advanced Flight Training. After completion of Advanced Flight Training, student naval aviators receive their gold aviation wings. However, newly winged naval aviators must report to a replacement air group (now known as fleet replacement squadron) to learn to fly their designated aircraft. Marine Corps Aviation Selection Boards meet quarterly. After selection, there could be a training delay before and/or after each phase, accounting for the wide interval between acceptance into naval flight training and entry into a squadron within the Fleet Marine Forces. The first female Marine aviators could expect to enter the operating forces 23 to 50 months following a change in Marine Corps policy and selection to an aviation program, depending on their aircraft pipeline and the wait time between training phases.[1]

[1] Pope memo, Appendix A, A-4.

Female Aviators in Combat Deployment

On 28 April 1999, the men and women of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit, Special Operations Capable (26th MEU [SOC]) replaced the 24th MEU (SOC), ending the 24th MEU's six-month deployment to the Mediterranean. Elements from the 26th MEU (SOC) went ashore in Albania to provide security for a 20,000-person refugee camp for displaced Kosovar Albanians as part of Operation Joint Guardian. The 26th MEU (SOC) also assisted in delivering food to thousands of displaced refugees as well as supporting the Operation Allied Force bombing campaign. The next month, 26th MEU (SOC) participated in Operations Noble Anvil and Shining Hope. While supporting Noble Anvil, the NATO bombing campaign in Kosovo with AV-8B Harrier attack aircraft, the MEU also provided security for Kosovar refugees at Camps Hope and Eagle in Albania. During June and July 1999, 26th MEU (SOC) participated in Operation Joint Guardian as the first U.S. peacekeepers in Kosovo. The Marines and the sailors of the MEU provided stability to the embattled region.[45]

Two years later, Captain Stacy K. Hayes of Stilson, Georgia, deployed with her CH-46E Sea Knight section as part of 26th MEU (SOC), setting sail on 19 September 2001. She flew 23 combat hours while participating in Operation Enduring Freedom from forward operating base (FOB) Rhino (an undisclosed location in Afghanistan) and Kandahar Airfield. There were two female pilots in the aviation combat element. The other woman was a CH-53E Super Stallion pilot.* Not only was she a senior pilot in the unit, but she was also a graduate of the Weapons and

* Post-9/11 security measures dictate that Services do not release the names of servicemembers involved in combat actions. Capt Stacy Hayes also did not disclose her colleague's name.

Tactics Instructor's Course in Yuma, Arizona.[46] Captain Hayes remembered of her colleague:

> When the call came for the 53's [*sic*] to insert into FOB Rhino, she took charge of her detachment, briefed the Colonel and was ready to insert her package. And then the word came down that "higher" instructed her to get out of her helicopter when it landed at Rhino and return to the ship, leaving her aircraft and crew behind. It was an outrage to everyone. We argued that our training was for this type of conflict and pointed out how ridiculous it is to train women if you have no intention of utilizing them. It seemed to be a knee-jerk reaction to dealing with real-life conflict and the potential backlash of losing women on the battlefield. . . . In addition, it seemed to violate some Congressional directives from the past decade. We maintained that [we] were prepared to go, that we were cleared to go and that we would have it no other way. As women in combat arms, we would gladly give our lives for our country. It is a hard concept to understand, but it is a common thread in the thinking of Marines. "Higher" maintained its position throughout the night and revoked it just before the package launched. She flew into FOB Rhino and I followed into Rhino and Kandahar a week later.[47]

Summary

Although 20 years behind the other Services, when the Marine Corps did open naval aviator and naval flight officer specialties to women, those who sought to compete for selection were high performers in college, at TBS, and in aviation training. Several of the female firsts were U.S. Naval Academy graduates or NROTC commissions, majoring in science, math, or engineering. When breaking gender barriers, women often have had to work twice as hard as their male colleagues to be considered half as good. The first women to wear wings of gold performed so well that those who followed had an easier time gaining acceptance on their own merit.

Women completed the necessary aviation training and were assigned to combat squadrons, however, they still faced roadblocks to acceptance by their male seniors and peers, as in the instance provided by Captain Hayes. Female Marines were qualified to fly missions, but the ongoing tug of war within the Corps over women's place in combat often prevented them from serving as they were trained to do, and it seemed to further marginalize them. The issue is a matter of achieving established standards and qualifications rather than one of gender.[48] As the twenty-first century begins, there is hope that the proven records and achievements of these trailblazing women in aviation will nudge the culture, as cited in Marine Corps Orders on the subject, to a gender neutral mind-set.

Notes

1. "Woman Crew Chief Takes Pride in Work," *Marines*, July 1983, 14.
2. MSgt Gary Mosley, "Women Marines Fight Fires and Save Lives," *Marines*, December 1983, 22.
3. Ibid.
4. LtCol Wendy A. Smith, email to author, "Research Wrap," 12 December 2001.
5. Ibid. The McDonnell Douglas AV-8B Harrier is a single-seat jet.
6. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Barbara S. Pope, memo to the Under Secretary of the Navy J. Daniel Howard, "The Future Role of Women in Combat Aviation," 8 November 1991, 1, in author's possession, hereafter, Pope memo.
7. Assistant Secretary Pope also chaired the Standing Committee on Military and Civilian Women in the Department of the Navy, established by Acting Secretary of the Navy Sean C. O'Keefe immediately after he replaced Secretary of the Navy H. Lawrence Garrett III, following the Tailhook Scandal. Patrick Pexton, "Harassment Rules to Get Teeth," *Navy Times*, 18 January 1993, 6.
8. Pope memo.
9. Ibid., A-2.

10. "Mundy Addresses Female Aviators Issue," *Marine Corps Gazette* 75, no. 12 (December 1991): 7.
11. Pope memo.
12. Culler thesis, 13.
13. Ibid., 15.
14. Ibid.
15. Pope memo, Appendix B, B-2.
16. Ibid., B-1.
17. National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992–1993, Pub. L. No. 102-190 (1991), Part D, Subpart 1: Statutory Limitations, 5 December 1991.
18. Ibid., Subpart 2: Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces.
19. Gordon, "Panel Is Against Letting Women Fly," 24.
20. Scarborough, "President Declines Comment," 1.
21. Office of the Secretary of Defense, Les Aspin, "Policy on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces," public affairs guidance, 28 April 1993.
22. *MCO 1542.1G, Naval Aviation Program* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 1993).
23. Lawson, "Marine Aviators Must Start from Ground Zero," 16.
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25. Capt Sarah M. Deal, history submission to author, 16 September 2001.
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29. Capt Kyle M. Walton, letter to the editor, *Marine Corps Gazette* 78, no. 1 (January 1994): 34.
30. Gidget Fuentes, "She's Off to Earn Her Wings," *Navy Times*, 12 August 1993, 24.
31. Scott D. Hallford, "1st Female Marine NFO Gets Wings," *Marines*, September 1996, 6.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Misti C. Lee, "For Female Pilot, It's Sorties as Usual," *Navy Times*, 7 June 1999, 16.
35. Capt Jeanne M. Woodfin [née Buchanan], email to author, 26 November 2001.
36. Lee, "For Female Pilot, It's Sorties as Usual."
37. Woodfin, 26 November 2001 email.
38. Lee, "For Female Pilot, It's Sorties as Usual."
39. Sgt Keith Desbois, "Aviation Firsts for Women Marines," *Leatherneck*, December 1996, 45.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. LCpl Rebecca D. White, history submission to author, 21 September 2001.
43. Ibid.
44. Capt Jeanne M. Woodfin, email to author, "Aviation Flow," 4 October 2001.
45. Headquarters Marine Corps ComdC, 1999 (Quantico, VA: Archives Branch, Marine Corps History Division).
46. Capt Stacy K. Hayes, email to author, "Women Marine History," 16 May 2002.
47. Ibid.
48. Cdr Clifford A. Skelton, "Welcoming Aboard Female Aviators," U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings Magazine* 120, no. 7 (July 1994): 68.

CHAPTER 6

PHYSICAL FITNESS

While much progress toward gender equality was made in the early 1990s, on one issue the Marine Corps continued to exaggerate gender differences: the physical fitness test (PFT). The Marine Corps remained the only military Service with different physical fitness tests for women and men.

Female Marines had always been tested on their physical fitness at entry-level training; however, they were not required to take a standard PFT until May 1968.[1] Then, for the next seven years, their five-part test included a jump-and-reach, shuttle run, sit-ups, bent-knee push-ups, and a 600-yard dash.[2] The male PFT consisted of dashes, a fireman's carry, and a 3-mile run in utilities with helmet and rifle.

In 1974—after Title IX, and with increasing numbers of women entering the military—the Marine Corps contracted with California State University, Los Angeles, "to conduct a task analysis of all Marine Corps military occupational specialties (MOSs) and then develop criteria which would measure a person's capacity to meet the physical and environmental demands of those MOSs."[3]

Regardless of Service, PFTs are wellness tests designed to measure the overall physical fitness of a servicemember. In a December 1993 letter to *Marine Corps Gazette*, U.S. Army Major Lillian A. Pfluke wrote:

> Marines that score well on the PFT have the self-discipline, motivation, and dedication to the values of the Corps that make them good Marines and good leaders. The test is gender normed and age normed to challenge Marines at their own level of excellence. When the 38-year-old first sergeant doesn't run as fast as his 17-year-old troops, no one gives him a hard time. Similarly, it should not be disturbing that most women run slower than most men. Those women that do score well on the test have exactly those leadership characteristics prized in all Marines.[4]

Although the performance standards were pertinent to all Marines, the Corps was particularly interested in their applicability to women.[5] Results of the study were used to reexamine physical conditioning

TITLE IX

The U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights enforces, among other statutes, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX protects people from discrimination based on sex in education programs or activities that receive federal financial assistance. Title IX states that:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.[1]

[1] Title IX, Education Amendments of 1972, 20 U.S.C. § 1681–1688 (1972).

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Officer candidates undergo physical conditioning, OCS, Quantico, VA.

expectations for men and women, and in September 1975, the PFT was changed to a three-part semiannual test all Marines were required to complete with a passing score based upon age and gender.[6] The intention was to replace existing female and male PFTs with a more targeted cardiovascular and strength test. The men's events changed to a 3-mile run, pull-ups or chin-ups, and bent-knee sit-ups for two minutes. The women's events became a 1.5-mile run, bent-knee sit-ups for one minute, and a flexed-arm hang.[7] The new PFT was intended to test upper body strength, abdominal strength, and cardiovascular endurance.[8] The new test also required less equipment and fewer stations than previous tests. However, the differences between the male and female PFTs only maintained the perceived physical fitness inequality gap between men and women.

In 1993, with repeal of most combat billet restrictions for women in the military, then-Major General Carlton W. Fulford Jr. directed a group from Marine Corps Training and Education Center, Quantico, to sponsor a study to determine how female Marines would do on the male PFT. All those tested passed the male sit-ups (80 sit-ups within two minutes for a perfect score); 80 percent passed male standards for a 3-mile run; and nearly half met male standards for pull-ups without specific conditioning.[9] The next spring, then-Brigadier General Jack W. Klimp, commanding

general of Marine Corps Recruit Depot Parris Island, recommended to senior leaders that the female PFT be changed to include the same 3-mile run and 80 sit-ups as the male PFT.[10]

In autumn 1995, soon after becoming the 31st Commandant, General Charles C. Krulak directed Training and Education Center officials to rethink the PFT.[11] Krulak took a sincere interest in the results of the two earlier physical fitness studies. He also recognized the negative effect separate PFTs had on Marines. To maintain a sense of equity, Krulak was about to raise the fitness bar for female Marines.

Physical Fitness Test Changes

As a result of a Training and Education Center 1993 study, the Corps' semiannual PFT was changed. The changes to the female PFT were outlined in *ALMAR 70/96* (change one to the existing physical fitness order) and *ALMAR 213/96*.[12] Beginning 1 January 1997, men and women had to complete the 3-mile run.[13] Aside from inflating morale, the increased distance for women prompted them to run farther and more often, which kept bones and muscles stronger. Effective 1 July 1997, men and women had to complete two minutes of abdominal crunches rather than the standard 80 crunches for men or 50 bent-knee sit-ups for women that had been required during the previous decade. One hundred crunches within two minutes yielded 100 points, which eased scoring. The Corps chose not to have women invest conditioning effort to accomplish pull-ups or chin-ups. Men were still required to perform at least three pull-ups or chin-ups, but now without kipping, and women still had to hang from an overhead bar for up to 70 seconds with their arms bent at the elbow.*[14]

Eliminating Pull-ups and Chin-ups

Krulak was sensitive to the morale issue associated with separate PFT events. The Army had just completed a study showing "that most women could, with proper training, meet stiff requirements such as being able to lift 100-pound loads."[15] The researchers discovered another benefit to the strenuous physical conditioning: "It also improves the self-image of women."[16] To prepare for the 1997 PFT changes, female recruits and officer candidates took part in a chin-up and pull-up study; both are isotonic exercises involving more than one muscle and a range of movement.[17] The study showed that pull-ups and chin-ups result in only nominal strength gains for women, as the generally weaker pectorals, biceps, latissimus dorsi, and trapezius muscles are the primary muscles used for these exercises. According to Lieutenant Colonel Leon M. Pappa, then head of the PFT Branch within the Marine Corps' Training and Education Division, the reason was simple: "Most of a female's lean muscle mass is located below the waist, which makes pull-ups a more difficult exercise since 100 percent of body weight must be pulled."[18]

Despite the 1997 Marine Corps PFT changes, frustrations with the flexed-arm hang—that it was an isometric exercise and that it differed from the male test—remained. In light of the 1997 pull-up and chin-up study findings and accounting for how a woman's typical muscle distribution affects her ability to perform pull-ups or chin-ups, an alternative upper-body strength test that would level the playing field but maintain high standards was required. In 1998, a push-up evaluation for women was conducted by the Naval Health Research Center San Diego, with the purpose of replacing the flexed-arm hang with a test that measured upper body strength and endurance.[19] Approximately 1,000 female Marines ages 18–48 from 13 Marine Corps commands took part in the three-month study from July to September 1998.[20] Women and men in the Army and Navy had

* Kipping involves a hip snap that helps lift the body with minimal upper body pulling. With the deadhang pull-up, the body should not move, except for the elbows and shoulders.

RESTRICTING OXYGEN

The flexed-arm hang is an isometric exercise. Made popular during the early to mid-twentieth century by bodybuilder Charles Atlas's Dynamic-Tension methods, isometrics involve contracting muscles in opposition to each other, as when pushing against a structure with the muscles flexed.[1] For a flexed-arm hang, the opposing biceps and triceps muscles contract while the person hangs with bent elbows from an overhead bar. The contraction tones the involved muscle fibers by working against already-toned muscles. Most isometric exercises require no more than a 10-second muscle contraction, then rest, followed by 5–10 repeated contractions.

Toned muscle fibers require oxygen, which is carried by blood. Contracting the biceps and triceps for 70 seconds, as with the flexed-arm hang, cuts the blood flow. A favorite PFT dare as the women took turns hanging like a leaf was, "If you think this is easy, jump on up." Men and women with developed biceps and triceps began to shake after about 40 seconds as their muscles sent signals for more oxygen.

The Marine Corps Physical Fitness Test and Body Composition Program directed use of metal bars between 1 inch and 1.75 inches in diameter for pull-ups or chin-ups and the flexed-arm hang.[2] At the test site, the thinner bar was normally used for women and the thicker for men.

[1] Jonathan Black, "Charles Atlas: Muscle Man," *Smithsonian*, August 2009, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/charles-atlas-muscle-man-34626921/.

[2] *MCO P6100.12, Marine Corps Physical Fitness Test and Body Composition Program Manual* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 2002), Appendix 2-2, encl (1).

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Push-ups during morning physical fitness training, OCS, Quantico, VA.

completed push-ups, an isotonic exercise, as part of their semiannual physical fitness tests for many years; the Air Force added push-ups in 2003.[21]

The Marine Corps' push-up program was a modification of the one used by cadets and staff at the United States Military Academy (West Point) to increase muscular strength without significant risk of musculoskeletal injury.[22] The Marine Corps study monitored the change in the number of push-ups a woman could complete within two minutes using the West Point pyramid model (see sidebar). The study was a success judging by the statistical results. By the end of the Marine Corps study, most women could complete 44 push-ups within two minutes, and 10 percent of the women could complete 65 or more.[23] Interestingly, the average number of push-ups female Marines involved in the test could complete was 11 more than an equal test population (by sample age and number) of women in the Navy, and higher still than a similar sample of women in the Army.[24] The result was attributed to the higher baseline physical fitness level required of all Marines. Push-ups, along with the 3-mile run and two minutes of crunches, were

seen as positive changes in how the level of fitness for all Marines could be more accurately determined.[25]

Rumors ran rampant that the Corps might consider replacing male pull-ups and chin-ups with the push-up event and join the other Services in administering a gender-neutral PFT—one that did not require chin-up bars. However, push-ups were rejected; the flexed-arm hang for women and chin-ups or pull-ups for men remained.

Staff Sergeant Charlotte A. Billings was among the many Marines seeking an identical PFT for men and women. She expressed her views in a *Navy Times* article: "It is the seeming insignificant details that affect the way people treat us. Reducing the illusion of greater differences between men and women helps us become closer to our male counterparts."[26] The Armed Forces Female Athlete of the Year, Captain Karen Krajicek, also proposed toughening the PFT. A world-class triathlete, she suggested a PFT consisting of a rope climb, a 500-meter swim in the camouflage utility uniform, followed by a 6-mile run, and ending with a second rope climb.[27] Women and men could more easily develop the large leg muscles used in rope climbing, and both swimming and running capitalized upon non-gender-specific lean muscle and aerobic capacity. Captain Krajicek's point was that "we may not be thinking about all the options we have when it comes to measuring a Marine's true physical ability."[28]

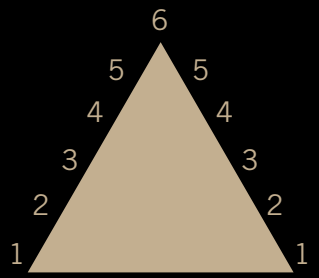
Recruit Injuries

At about the same time, Marine Corps Recruit Depot leadership at Parris Island was working to produce a greater number of fit recruits. As more physically demanding training in the mid-1990s began, Parris Island medical personnel closely monitored how it affected recruits, especially women.[29] A predictive model developed in 1993 at MCRD San Diego had shown that lower-extremity stress fractures were reduced by 44 percent in men who exercised at least three times

HOW THE WEST POINT PYRAMID WORKS

The West Point pyramid model is a multitiered fitness strategy that is easily understood when visualized as a one-dimensional pyramid with five numbered steps ascending its sides toward the point, which is step 6. The steps are numbered 1–5 up the first side and descend the opposite side in reverse order (5–1).

Each numbered step represents a set and dictates how many times to perform a combination of pull-ups, push-ups, and sit-ups. Step one represents one pull-up, two push-ups, and three sit-ups. For each step on the pyramid, multiply each set number by one to determine the number of pull-ups in the set; by two to determine the number of push-ups; and by three to determine the number of sit-ups. For example, at step one perform 1 pull-up, 2 push-ups, and 3 sit-ups; at step two, perform 2 pull-ups, 4 push-ups, and 6 sit-ups; at step four, perform 4 pull-ups, 8 push-ups, and 12 sit-ups; etc., through step six, which represents maximum effort. Descending the opposite side of the pyramid, perform the same number of exercises in reverse order.[1]



[1] Stew Smith, "The PT Pyramid," Military.com, accessed 15 March 2013.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Female recruits during physical fitness conditioning, MCRD Parris Island, SC.

per week for at least two months prior to reporting to recruit training.[30] The San Diego study of 1,136 male recruits showed 310 recruits received 503 injuries (27.3 percent). Of that number, 42 recruits reported 45 stress fractures (3.7 percent). The study found that "in male recruits, femoral fractures were uncommon and no pelvic fractures were documented."[31]

In 1996, Dr. Kenneth Long, a Navy captain, and Dr. Richard A. Shaffer, a Navy commander, initiated a study of 1,054 female recruits at Parris Island to develop a predictive injury model for women. The recruit mean age was 19 years and the racial background was 62.2 percent Caucasian, 17.3 percent African American, 14 percent Hispanic, and 6.5 percent "other." The women were asked to complete a lifestyle questionnaire and were screened for incidence of injury, stress fractures, and graduation or separation.[32]

The study found that nearly half of female recruits were injured during training.[33] While injuries ranged from blisters and shin splints to fractured hips, the great majority of injuries were lower extremity stress fractures, according to Long.[34] Five hundred twenty-six female recruits (49.9 percent) suffered 914 injuries during training. Fifty-two recruits (4.9 percent) had 56 stress fractures. The most common injury site was the metatarsals (34 percent), followed by the pelvis (32 percent), tibia (20 percent), and femur (14 percent). Shaffer noted that "fractures of the pelvis and femur require 3–5 months for rehabilitation

versus the 4–6 weeks required for metatarsal or tibial stress fractures."[35]

The injuries seemed linked to the extensive marching, running, and hiking now required of all recruits.[36] To the maximum extent possible, injured recruits were removed to a male or female platoon with other injured recruits until they recovered and could return to training; both were expensive outcomes. A 1993 analysis estimated that recruits' medical treatment for injuries and lost training days cost the Corps $16.5 million annually.[37]

Stronger Recruits

Only 50 percent of U.S. high schools had mandatory physical education programs by the mid-1990s, and only half of those required more than one year of physical education.[38] At Long's recommendation, fitness changes were made to help recruits arriving less fit to strengthen safely. Physical training for men and women was gradually increased through the first 11 weeks of instruction. In previous years, fitness had been concentrated during the first three training weeks. Marine Corps leadership also followed Long's recommendation to make running shoes with low, medium, and high arches available to recruits for a better individual fit.[39]

Within two years of Long and Shaffer's study, the female recruit attrition rate for injuries had decreased from 49.9 percent to less than 25 percent.[40] The lower rate was still unacceptably high. Lieutenant Colonel Adrienne Fraser-Darling, commanding officer of the 4th Recruit Training Battalion at Parris Island from June 1998 to June 2000, continued efforts to graduate a higher percentage of arriving female recruits. Fraser-Darling aimed for an alternative physical fitness program designed to increase strength in the larger muscles that would help compensate for weaker bones. Conditioning runs for female recruits were moved from hard surface roads to dirt tracks, and recruits were issued a higher quality running shoe.[41]

As one *Navy Times* article stated, "Women build bone mass throughout their teens and twenties. Calcium is the major structural constituent of bone."[42] Even though Fraser-Darling and her OCS counterpart recognized that the four months required to develop thicker, stronger bones in women were not available at entry-level training, the commanders provided calcium-rich foods at every recruit and officer candidate mess hall meal to build bone mass, and they encouraged exercises to strengthen the larger leg muscles that compensate for weaker upper-body muscles.[43] Fraser-Darling closely tracked female recruits and found "lower limb injuries decreased by almost 30 percent, while final PFT scores averaged an increase of over 19 points."[44]

Illusory Double Standards

For the vast majority of junior enlisted Marines, prior civilian experience consisted of gender-neutral school environments that were more sensitive to double standards. Some male Marines resented the lower physical standards set for female Marines, while others recognized that Marine service depends on more and greater qualities than the merely physical.

Captain William M. Marcellino, a former Marine infantry corporal, attended both OCS and TBS in gender-integrated companies. He was frank when responding to the *Wall Street Journal* regarding a 14 November 1996 editorial by former Marine First Lieutenant Adam G. Mersereau about physical strength standards within the military being lowered to allow women to join combat ranks and leading to a decline in both troop morale and readiness.[45] In his response, Marcellino wrote of two members of his TBS company—Second Lieutenants Karen B. and Veronica C.* Karen served as platoon commander during the TBS company's grueling nine-day war described as "a

* Names abbreviated to protect identity.

miserable collage of continuous operations through wicked terrain and winter weather," to culminate the students' tactical training.[46] Marcellino remembered that "the incredible physical and mental stress of that exercise brought out the real you for everyone to see, and many 'supergrunts' folded up."[47] He continued:

> One night when Karen B. was our acting platoon commander, she took us through the rear area of Tan Company and led them on a merry chase all night long.* Although we were exhausted, and it was way below freezing, she had us moving with a purpose, and she had an almost preternatural ability to be where Tan Company least expected, shooting up their C. P. [command post], and getting their whole company steppin' and fetchin' like its head was on fire and the rest was catching. Karen was a tiny, blue-eyed, blond-haired girl, cute as a bug. But whatever quality of leadership it is that allows a small-unit commander to motivate others to perform at their utmost, she had it. And whatever leadership ability it is that allows one commander to outthink another, to read the terrain and your enemy, and run circles around him, she had it. Karen was a leader, and her abundance of moral virtues, like courage, endurance, enthusiasm, and decisiveness, would make her a deadly enemy in combat. I would be happy to have her commanding the company on my right or left.[48]

Marcellino was equally impressed by Veronica, saying that "she could outperform most male officers I know (including me). She [carried] a heavy PRC-77 radio in addition to the other gear we all carried for days, without complaint, while some male Marines sniveled while carrying only the minimum load."[49] Marcellino and Veronica met again a few years later as captains assigned to train Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps (NROTC) midshipmen at OCS for a summer program. At the obstacle course, another infantry officer challenged Marcellino to a double-rope climb, which entails grasping one rope in each hand and climbing 15 feet with successive one-armed yanks. While the infantry officer was still lauding himself for beating Marcellino, "Veronica interrupted to ask [the victor] if he cared to race her. He laughed at her at first, and then agreed. She crushed him like a bug. Highly motivating."[50] Marcellino explained that his purpose in responding to the earlier editorial was "to show anecdotally that there are many women in the Corps who are worthy comrades in the profession of arms. Not all of them are physical animals, but then again, not all male Marines are. Moral virtues are of enormous import in our profession, and I would much rather have a platoon of honest, brave young women than a platoon of strong men who are scoundrels. Women can do the job."[51]

PFT Strong versus MOS Strong

Military personnel readiness implies not only knowledge of tasks related to the unit mission but also optimum health and fitness. Repeal of combat exclusion laws in 1993 increased the opportunities for women to serve and to advance their military careers. Thus, in spite of post–Desert Storm force reductions, the percentage, age, and diversity of women serving in the military continued to grow. The Marine Corps ensured new Marines were given the academic skills required of their MOS but had no physical skills breakdown by military specialty. Rather, the PFT requirement alone was expected to maintain a fit and healthy force. Marines often devised their own routines to ensure their physical fitness met the requirements of their MOSs. Common fitness routines included running with faster Marines, interval (speed) training, participating in frequent 5K and 10K races, aerobics, and other motivating cross-training.

* Tan Company is one of two warring parties created by dividing a TBS class.

Staff Sergeant Christine Weber provides an excellent case in point. An 0451, air delivery specialist or parachute rigger, she packed parachutes and rigged cargo for aerial delivery of items as small as a box of MREs and as large as bridge pieces and howitzers.[52] Weber also was a qualified static line jumpmaster and pathfinder responsible for ensuring each jumper's equipment and parachute were properly rigged and inspected. That responsibility also meant that she often jumped out of perfectly good aircraft. She did lots of push-ups for upper body strength to help control her parachute because "all of the steering comes from your upper body."[53]

Musculoskeletal Injuries

Gazing along a line of Marines in sharp uniforms and regulation haircuts, it would not take long to spot a plaster cast, knee brace, or wrapped wrist. Ending the twentieth century, the Marine Corps was annually discharging more than 2,200 Marines with a physical disability—a number equivalent to a Marine expeditionary unit.[54] Musculoskeletal injuries associated with vigorous physical training, the leading cause of military disability, were found twice as often in women than men.[55] According to a yearlong study by members of the Department of Preventive Medicine and Biometrics, Uniformed Services University of Health Sciences, Bethesda, Maryland, 38 percent of female musculoskeletal injuries affected the knee, 17 percent the ankle, and 14 percent the hip.[56] The increasing number of women completing recruit training or OCS in the 1990s is more striking when injury attrition numbers are examined.

During the 1990s, overuse injuries accounted for nine out of 10 injured female officer candidates, a particularly high toll for women. Sixty-six percent of Marine Corps female officer candidates attended the two 10-week Platoon Leaders Course and Officer Candidates Class programs. Those programs accounted for 93 percent of all injured female candidates.[57]

Unlike recruit training with its year-round training series, TBS had fewer recycling options for injured officer candidates, who were often released from training if they could not complete their assigned course. Attrition numbers of female officer candidates tracked between FYs 1978 and 1989 did not distinguish between drops for medical, personal, or leadership reasons. Also, female candidate numbers were small, averaging 50 for platoon leadership class or officer candidate course companies and 35 for NROTC companies. An attriting female had greater statistical impact. Collective percentages ranged from a low of 13.6 percent to a high of 71.4 percent with an average of 40.7 percent between FYs 1978 and 1989.[58] The Marine Corps began taking a more determined look at female injuries in the early 1990s as nearly all MOSs opened to women.

Making Officer Candidates Stronger

When asked about the PFT, Major Brian J. McGuire, physical fitness program analyst for the Marine Corps Training Command, gave a purely technical response: "When strength is expressed per unit of muscle cross sectional area, the potential for force production is the same for men and women." He went on to say, "Absolute strength is a different matter but muscle is muscle and will adapt to the demands placed on it." For this reason, "there is little difference in how we should approach training for males and females."[59] In the short term, female candidates were encouraged to develop their larger muscle groups (lower body) to compensate for their generally weaker upper-body muscle groups.[60]

In a longer-term solution for the sustained high attrition rate of female officer candidates due to injury, Colonel George J. Flynn, the OCS commanding officer, undertook a proactive research study to develop candidate fitness from the bone and muscle level.[61] A summer 1997 study had examined injury rates and injury types during a six-week NROTC course.

1997 OCS STUDY

A study of 480 officer candidates ranging in age from 18 to 30 years and nearly 30 percent prior enlisted personnel included 30 women.[1] Physical training included conditioning three to five times each week, plus formation runs, individual runs, conditioning hikes, the leadership reaction course, obstacle course, land navigation and other field training, drill, the combat confidence course, and the 54-hour Crucible. Each candidate underwent 222 hours of physical training during the six-week course: 26.1 percent on physical conditioning, 13.1 percent on drill, and 60.8 percent on field training. Weeks two, three, and four had the largest concentration of physical training hours, which was an intentional physical discriminator used by the OCS leadership to separate those not physically qualified or motivated to serve as commissioned officers.[2]

Among male candidates, there were 378 injuries; overuse injuries accounted for 65.2 percent and traumatic injuries accounted for 34.8 percent. For female candidates, there were 27 injuries; overuse injuries accounted for 70.3 percent and traumatic injuries accounted for 29.7 percent. The most common injury locations for men and women were the foot and ankle region, the lower leg, and the knee. The highest injury rates occurred during weeks three and six.[3]

[1] Piantanida, "Injuries during Marine Corps Officer Basic Training," 515.
[2] Ibid., 515–16.
[3] Ibid.

Dr. Scott Pyne, a lieutenant commander in the Navy Medical Corps and the OCS orthopedic specialist, worked with Army doctors from Social Services and Primary Care Sports Medicine of the Uniformed Service University of the Health Sciences, and the Directory of Epidemiology and Disease Surveillance, U.S. Army Center for Health Promotion and Preventive Medicine, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland.[62]

The study determined that most lower-extremity injuries in men and women would manifest during week six or seven. For this reason, the running and hiking schedules were reshaped and spread more evenly over the course, even though total mileage increased.[63] This schedule balanced the cardiovascular and strength program, particularly for the college juniors in the Platoon Leaders Course and candidates in the Officer Candidates Class, who tended to arrive in poorer physical condition. Combined hiking and running mileage was increased from 63.5 to 75.5 miles. Of that, hiking distance was kept at 25 miles, but running distance was increased from 38.5 to 50 miles.[64] Candidates' runs were also interrupted for strength training exercises at stations along the given route.

At both OCS and TBS, women and men carried the same load. The prescribed all-purpose lightweight individual carrying equipment (ALICE) pack weight was 30 pounds, but the helmet, load-bearing vest and harness, and rifle were added to this weight. The total weight was thus about 52 pounds.[65] Women were taught to load backpacks with the heavier items centered over their lower center of gravity—their hips.[66] Many women also were taught to keep their strides

more natural rather than striding out like men, since the longer stride strained a woman's leg bones and muscles. Using a shorter but faster stride enabled women to maintain a set pace with less risk of injury.[67]

Medical evidence collected during the mid-1990s led to the belief that a woman's wider pelvis increased the biomechanical stress to the hips, knees, and legs and that repetitive, weight-bearing loads and activities, such as marching with a pack or running, exposed bones to repetitive axial compression, torsion, and bending stresses.[68] The Marine Corps requested that the U.S. Army Natick Research, Development and Engineering Center in Massachusetts conduct a study to create an anthropometric database for both men and women. Twelve anthropometric dimensions chosen to describe all major body segments were measured on a sample of 470 female Marines and 493 male Marines.[69] Based on the findings, use of the ALICE pack frame—which was too long for the torso of most shorter-legged wearers—was sharply scaled back during FY 1997, mainly being used for training. The Marine Corps still struggles with the issue of finding lightweight packs that fit all users or that are adjustable to the wearer's frame.

Climbing to Fitness

One of the most helpful strengthening exercises at OCS was the 20-foot rope climb. "Rope climbing was a confidence builder," wrote Colonel Flynn.[70] Most women had difficulty with the rope climb at first, he noted. Flynn continued, "Part was technique and part was strength. My approach was to give them every opportunity to learn."[71] Candidates—male and female—soon learned that their larger hamstring and calf muscles made easier work of the rope climb than upper-body muscles, especially when the rope was draped over one boot and under the other, creating a step. Climbers gave a quick, above-the-head tug on the rope, hoisted their legs up, and secured their legs in a standing position before tugging again. Female candidates embraced the mantra, "See a rope; climb the rope."[72] Candidate physical training also was modified to include strengthening exercises four or five times per week, including push-ups (pectorals, triceps, and deltoids), crunches (abs, hip flexors, and obliques), incline pull-ups (latissimus dorsi and biceps), squats (quadriceps), shoulder press (deltoid and triceps), bicep curl (biceps), and dips (triceps).[73]

In late 1999, the 32d Commandant, General James L. Jones, visited MCRD Parris Island. The Commandant was briefed by Fraser-Darling, commanding officer of 4th Recruit Training Battalion, on the fewer numbers of female recruits injured during recruit training. The most seriously injured were discharged. The majority graduated following recovery. Between June 1998 and December 1999, only three female recruits were recycled due to injuries sustained during the Crucible. During this same period, 3,016 female recruits (97.5 percent) completed the Crucible without injury.[74]

Jones directed the commanding general of Training and Education Command at Quantico to study ways to reduce lower-extremity injuries. The study focused on the Crucible, and in particular, on pack weights carried by female recruits and officer candidates.[75] The study determined that the combat loads carried in packs were not causing increased injury. Rather, their "lower extremity injuries are more attributed to the cumulative effect of physical activity throughout the training continuum," echoing the findings of the two earlier studies.[76]

Fitness Training Evolution

In response to the Training and Education Command study, the Commandant directed the Marine Corps Recruiting Command to develop online and print versions of physical fitness tips and suggested training schedules for potential recruits and officer candidates to better prepare both genders for entry-level training. Motivating young women to prepare themselves

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Female candidates negotiate the day movement course.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Weary but proud female recruits complete the Crucible, MCRD Parris Island, SC.

physically before reporting for training was the harder task.

Marine Corps-wide by the end of the 1990s, conditioning emphasis shifted to strength training as a complement to the decades-old standard PFT. Men and women now headed to the gym to lift dumbbells, use the universal weight machines, and hone martial arts skills along with good old push-ups. Softball, yoga, Pilates, and even bowling—all good for bones—appeared on the unit physical training schedule.[77] As the decade ended, injury rates for female Marines steadily decreased from nearly 19 percent in 1997 to 14 percent in 1998 and to more than 12.5 percent in 2000.[78]

Weight Maintenance

Working against the Corps' positive physical conditioning changes was the fact that almost 20 percent of

Department of Defense photo, by Sgt R. Klika

Department of Defense photo, by Sgt R. Klika

Top: Women Marine recruits rappel down the face of a rappelling tower during basic training at MCRD Parris Island, SC, August 1985.

Bottom: A drill instructor gives directions to a woman Marine recruit as she goes over the side of a rappelling tower during basic training, August 1985.

women arriving for recruit training in 1999 exceeded Marine Corps weight standards. Women arriving unfit, overweight, or with a prior bone injury were at increased risk for stress fractures. Despite the stress associated with recruit training, too often female recruits would actually gain weight at Parris Island. An average of 35 recruits per series did not meet Marine Corps height and weight standards while at recruit training and were sent home.[79]

The Marine Corps master menu for dining facilities provided three meals each day, totaling between 3,600 and 3,800 calories. A busy female recruit or officer candidate required between 2,200 and 2,500 calories each day. The extra 1,200 daily calories added up.

To combat the creeping weight problem, Fraser-Darling and her staff worked with a certified nutritionist to develop the first low-calorie master menu for the Marine Corps.[80] A controlled diet menu plan averaging between 1,800 and 2,100 daily calories was designed for the overweight recruits. Additionally, a morning aerobic exercise program was instituted to further help the recruits meet their weight goals.

One year into the change showed significant benefits. The number of female recruits on weight control hold in 2000 fell from 38 to 7.[81]

Whole-Body Fitness

General Jones also sought to steer the institution's mind-set away from physical training as merely preparation for the PFT. Team sports, martial arts, and weight training soon filled physical training schedules and provided varied, whole-body workouts. Fitness philosophy stressed variety and rest between workouts; however, unit physical training schedules reflected a week with two days of weight training between three days of cardiovascular exercise. The long-lived "Daily 7" warm-up program was replaced by a comprehensive series of 16 warm-up, conditioning, and cool-down exercises. The "Daily 16" facilitated general distribution of blood flow to the muscles, preparing both the cardiovascular and musculoskeletal systems for exercise.[82] A unit's weekly conditioning program (table 4) was planned "to hold interest and provide self-motivation."[83]

Semper Fu

The Marine Corps Martial Arts Program (MCMAP), also known as Semper Fu, uses the physical discipline of defensive combat fighting skills to develop muscular

TABLE 4.
RECRUIT WEEKLY PHYSICAL TRAINING SCHEDULE

DAY	DURATION	ACTIVITY
1	45 mins.	Cross-country running
2	45 mins.	Circuit interval training
3	45 mins.	*Fartlek** or distance run
4	40 mins.	Martial arts conditioning
5	90 mins.	Speed march
6	90 mins.	Team sports
7	45 mins.	Individual weight training

Source: *MCO P6100.12, Marine Corps Physical Fitness Test and Body Composition Program Manual* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 10 May 2002), appendix B.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Marine Corps Martial Arts Program conditioning.

strength and trained reflexes.[84] The program ties character discipline (core values and leadership) and mental discipline (professional military education, job skills, and warfighting doctrine) with the physical discipline inherent in martial arts.[85] Advancement through the MCMAP tan, gray, green, brown, and black belt levels is tied to completing academic and military skills training requirements. Recruits and TBS lieutenants must earn their tan belt while in basic training, and all Marines are provided the facilities and opportunity to progress during their career.[86]

Unlike older Marine Corps leadership programs, MCMAP incorporates values training along the path to earning a belt. Hours of kicking, blocking, and punching mixed with weapons, warrior cultures, first aid, and nutrition classes are required parts of the program.[87] With exercise for the mind as well as for the body, part of each MCMAP class is spent on basic leadership and readiness training; for example, mastering the following leads to the tan belt:

- mind and spirit training
- body training
- core values
- punches
- suicide awareness and prevention

* *Fartlek*, Swedish for "speed play," combines fast and slow runs along a course.

falls
leadership fundamentals
bayonet
self-discipline
pugil sticks
sexual harassment prevention
upper body strikes
substance abuse prevention
chokes
equal opportunity
leg sweep
personal readiness
counters to strikes
fraternization
unarmed manipulation
sexual responsibility
knife techniques
warrior study
lower body strikes and counters to holds

Reaction to the MCMAP was overwhelmingly positive. Despite the bruises that resulted from 100 repetitions of body-hardening thumps on the forearms and abdomen, feedback indicated that the training empowered women, and all Marines learned the advantages of quickness and leverage over height and weight.

Women in Competition

While women were competing in Marine Corps and Armed Services sports programs from the late 1970s, teams were ad hoc at best. The Marine Corps became serious about welcoming women into its official sports programs in 1985 when Corporal Cassandra Best won the title of Marine Corps Female Athlete of the Year for basketball. Women were eager to participate and were soon involved in the same wide range of sports as men, with the exception of rugby. In 1991, Staff Sergeant Roxane Thompson, a nationally ranked shooter, took the U.S. Armed Forces Female Athlete of the Year honors. Captain Karen L. Krajicek, a triathlete, followed with U.S. Armed Forces Female Athlete of the Year honors in 1995.[89]

Staff Sergeant Julia Watson continued her own high-scoring ways by taking Marine Corps Female Athlete of the Year honors in 1998 for shooting. She firmly established herself as one of the Marine Corps' premier shooters by becoming the first woman to win the prestigious Daniel Boone Trophy in the National Trophy Individual Rifle Match. Staff Sergeant Watson went on to become the first woman to win the 1999 National Service Rifle Championship. She worked next to win the Marine Corps Cup Match, and in doing so, helped the Marine team to victory at the National Trophy Infantry Team Match at Camp Perry, Ohio.[90]

The first All-Marine Women's Soccer Team competed in the All-Armed Forces tournament from 3–10 October 1999. From mid-September through 2 October, the team of 18 Marines trained at Parris Island. Their determination was apparent when the team refused to quit practicing even during Hurricane Floyd. While all other depot personnel were evacuating to Marine Corps Logistics Base, Albany, Georgia, the team headed for Aiken, South Carolina, to drier soccer fields. Captain Patricia S. Bacon recalled competing against the other Service teams, saying that "the majority of the other Services had very experienced soccer players from the academies . . . and the majority of each team played together at their respective academies."[91] The new Marine Corps team made up in esprit what they may have lacked in depth of experience. Captain Bacon further recalled, "During the first All-Armed Forces Tournament opening ceremony, every service attempted to march out as a team, but they bumped into each other and looked like a gaggle, like a scene from [the movies] *Private Benjamin* or *Stripes*. We had a drill instructor on the team, Sergeant Ronnie Green, who barked out crisp cadence when we marched out in close order drill, which impressed the spectators immensely. We

may not have been good soccer players but we were sharp Marines!"[92]

Major Bridget L. Brunnick, Major Catherine A. Payne, and First Lieutenant Susan Stark, Marine Corps Reservists, won the gold medal for the United States during the Confederation of Interallied Reserve Officers' Military Pentathlon in Berlin, Germany, 2–4 August 2000.[93] As specified by its regulations, the pentathlon consists of five grueling events spread over several days: firing the host country's service rifle and service pistol; negotiating 20 (16 for women) land obstacles on a 500-meter course; negotiating four water obstacles while swimming a 50-meter course; tossing 16 inert grenades onto targets of varying distances; and completing an 8-km (4 km for women) cross-country run through rugged terrain, tunnels, and jumps from second-story rooftops.[94] The three Marines were more than up to the task. Major Brunnick, an intelligence officer with the 4th Reconnaissance Battalion in San Antonio, Texas, ran twice with the All-Marine Marathon Team and was also an All-Marine Cross Country Team member.[95] Major Payne, a systems integration officer with the Manpower and Reserve Affairs Department at Quantico, was a collegiate track star and held The Basic School obstacle course record for six years. She also qualified expert with the M16A2 service rifle multiple times. A supply officer with the 2d Transportation Support Battalion, 2d Force Service Support Group, Camp Lejeune, as well as a top collegiate swimmer, First Lieutenant Stark was the 1999 Marine Corps Female Athlete of the Year (table 5) and participated in the 1999 Military World Games.[96]

Women competed in the following All-Marine and Armed Forces programs:

basketball
bowling
boxing
cross country
golf

TABLE 5.
MARINE CORPS FEMALE ATHLETES OF THE YEAR, 1985–2000

1985	CORPORAL CASSANDRA BEST	BASKETBALL
1986	CORPORAL JOANNE RUFOLWITZ	SOFTBALL
1987	CORPORAL VALAINE BODE	SOFTBALL AND VOLLEYBALL
1988	LANCE CORPORAL SHEREE BURNS	POWERLIFTING
1989	LANCE CORPORAL SHEREE BURNS	POWERLIFTING
1990	SERGEANT LINDA SORBO	SOFTBALL
1991	STAFF SERGEANT ROXANNE THOMPSON	SHOOTING
1992	SERGEANT BARBARA MEINKE	SHOOTING
1993	CORPORAL JULIE INGERSOLL	VOLLEYBALL
1994	FIRST LIEUTENANT BRIDGET BRUNNICK	TRACK
1995	CAPTAIN KAREN KRAJICEK	TRIATHLON
1996	SERGEANT DANIELLE DILLARD	VOLLEYBALL
1997	CAPTAIN SARA FULLWOOD	RUNNING
1998	STAFF SERGEANT JULIA WATSON	SHOOTING
1999	SECOND LIEUTENANT SUSAN STARK	SWIMMING
2000	FIRST LIEUTENANT SUSAN STARK ALSO THE U.S. ARMED FORCES FEMALE ATHLETE OF THE YEAR	TRIATHLON[98]

marathon
powerlifting
shooting
softball
soccer
swimming
track
volleyball
wrestling[97]

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CHAPTER 7

SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND DISCRIMINATION

Sexual harassment in the workplace is an ongoing issue in the civilian world, and the military has always been a reflection of society at large. When a work environment that was traditionally the domain of one gender is opened to another and integrated, a certain amount of friction, discomfort, and even outright hostility often occurs at first. Despite the policies and efforts of DOD and Marine Corps leadership, however, sexual harassment and gender-based discrimination within the Corps—as elsewhere—persists. The problem came under particular scrutiny in the 1980s, when the Services added sexual harassment identification and prevention to existing leadership and human relations programs. The annual training sought to instill understanding of the demeaning effect of such harassing behavior as catcalls, vulgar language, pornography, unwanted contact, and calling women by their first names while using ranks and last names for men, regardless of rank.

On 1 December 1980, the 27th Commandant, General Robert H. Barrow, issued a white letter stating, "There is no place in our Corps for what has become known as sexual harassment. An attitude of respect as a person and as a Marine must prevail."[1] General Barrow told his commanders that while the increasing numbers of female Marines would "be a major factor in maintaining and enhancing the quality of our Corps," he was concerned about the way female Marines were viewed by their male counterparts, and how they viewed themselves.[2] All Marines were to be treated with fairness, firmness, and dignity, he stressed.[3] Sexual harassment prevention training lasted into the early 1990s, and positive strides were made toward the goal of eliminating harassment and discrimination. There were bumps along the way, some chronicled below, but by the end of the century, as women gained greater acceptance in nontraditional jobs, significant strides were made in reducing harassment and discrimination.

2dLt D. A. Fuzessery, USMC

It did not seem to matter that female second lieutenants had earned their commissions alongside many of their male TBS peers at gender-integrated OCS. The derogatory caricature sketch in the Charlie Company yearbook for Basic Class 3-78 (15 January–15 June 1978), titled "Typical 'C' Co. WM," also did not seem to matter to the senior staff of Charlie Company.

In the process of gathering information for this book, history submission forms were sent to nearly

200 female and male Marines.[4] More than 100 submissions were returned, covering a wide demographic: Marines who entered initial (recruit or officer) training between 1966 and 2000, including ranks from private first class to lieutenant general. The form consisted of 11 questions and provided the opportunity for comments and anecdotes. Question 10 read, "How were you treated by seniors and peers of both genders?" The responses demonstrated the evolution of gender equality over more than a generation.

According to the responses, female Marines—enlisted and officer, junior and senior—were very aware of their limited presence within most units, particularly when Fleet Marine Force (FMF) billets and expanded overseas base billets were opened to women. In many cases, male Marines in leadership positions, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, were Korean War and Vietnam War veterans raised to believe a woman's role was homemaker and mother. Popular music and social mores, and even images of women in sports, reinforced this belief.

Defining and Identifying Sexual Harassment

In 1979, the U.S. Office of Personnel Management issued a policy statement defining sexual harassment as "deliberate or repeated unsolicited verbal comments, gestures, or physical contact of a sexual nature, which are unwelcome."[5] In 1981, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission published guidelines defining sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination—and so illegal under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—if it creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment.[6] Within the U.S. military, no DOD-wide sexual harassment studies among active duty personnel were conducted until 1988, although informal accounts suggested such behavior was commonplace.[7] Everyone referred to female Marines as "WMs." "Skirts" was another moniker in the time when utilities or slacks for women were not generally accepted. A common theme among the history submissions for this book was that a female had to work twice as hard, particularly in nontraditional jobs, to earn the same respect as a male.

Before passage of Title IX, few girls and women had the opportunity to participate in school or league sports.* This disadvantage fostered a belief that strenuous physical activity could actually be harmful to women. Women were not expected to sweat. After passage of Title IX, however, women entering the Marine Corps in the 1980s and 1990s often did participate in sports, some since childhood, and were healthier and more confident for it. Consistently scoring high first class on the semiannual physical fitness test also helped a female Marine gain acceptance within her unit.

Sexual harassment was commonplace in the 1970s and 1980s. It was part of the culture to objectify and subordinate women, especially women infringing on anything men considered theirs; and women were accustomed to it—even if grudgingly. But for the most part, the harassment was not interpreted as having malicious intent.

On Okinawa, Japan, however, harassment often took a hostile and even physical turn. Until 1990, comparatively few female Marines deployed or were part of FMF's six-month unit rotations to bases on Okinawa or Iwakuni Marine Corps Air Station (on mainland Japan). Most female Marines on Okinawa were attached to one of six permanent on-island Marine Corps units, primarily as administration, communication, computer, disbursing, motor transport, and supply personnel. Most Marines, regardless of gender or rank, arrived on a one-year unaccompanied

* Title IX protects people from discrimination based on sex in education programs or activities that receive federal financial assistance. Title IX states: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Title IX, Education Amendments of 1972, 20 U.S.C. § 1681–1688.

tour to replace an individual ready to rotate back to the United States. One negative aspect of this methodology was the lack of family or social cohesiveness within units, particularly among more senior Marines. What happened on Okinawa stayed on Okinawa.

Incidents of male SNCOs and officers groping female Marines when alone in the senior's office were not uncommon. Often the female Marine was very junior and did not have the advance presence of mind to ask that another Marine accompany her. Likewise, such incidents were rarely reported except among female peers: "The gunny touched you? He touched me too." Most harassing behaviors, however, took the form of catcalls, vulgar language, and sexually suggestive comments and innuendo, both on and off camp.[8]

The Okinawa pattern of harassment came to public attention in late 1987 when seven DACOWITS members visited several Marine Corps units as part of their Pacific tour, including all six on Okinawa (Camps Butler, Courtney, Foster, Hansen, Kinser, and Schwab). Harassing behaviors toward women were found to be both condoned and encouraged and sometimes perpetrated by senior officers.[9] The perception among women, according to a DACOWITS memo to 29th Commandant General Alfred M. Gray summarizing the DACOWITS Western Pacific command visits, was "that the chain of command does not work in attempts to redress grievances or complaints."[10] In addition, gender bias toward women and on-base burlesque shows that denigrated women, were found to be commonplace, and contributed to overall low morale among female Marines.

Responding to the Okinawa Review

Official response to the DACOWITS findings was swift. On 10 September 1987 the commander of all Marine Corps forces in the Pacific, Lieutenant General Edwin J. Godfrey, gave verbal instruction to Major General Norman H. Smith, commander, Marine Corps Bases, Japan/Commanding General, II MAF, to establish an Okinawa task force to review the DACOWITS allegations.[11] Major General Smith charged the Okinawa task force "to investigate the allegations, identify causes and where substantiated, recommend corrective action."[12] The task force was headed by a male Marine colonel and included women officers, a Navy chaplain, judge advocates, and administrative personnel. The Okinawa effort included a survey questionnaire, administered to 505 male Marines (2.5 percent of a male population of 20,000) and 617 of the 1,000 female Marines on Okinawa and included 22 commanders with women in their units. "The results of the survey confirm the existence of sexual harassment and discrimination towards Woman Marines," General Smith informed General Godfrey. Smith continued,

> It is reassuring to find from our survey that almost one-third of our women have never been the subject of sexual harassment on Okinawa, and the same number of our male Marines find vulgar language in mixed company, off color jokes and sexually suggestive remarks to be as offensive to them as it is to their female counterparts.[13]

The percentage was not reassuring to the nearly 70 percent of women who had suffered harassment.

The task force examined each allegation presented by DACOWITS. Among the immediate actions taken by General Smith, in concert with the DACOWITS visit and his task force survey results, were:

1. To discontinue use of female entertainers performing sexually oriented dances in military clubs
2. To eliminate all-female barracks and integrate female Marines within blocks of rooms adjacent to male Marines in their work section, to the maximum extent possible
3. To develop a women's intramural sports program similar to the ones existing for men
4. To investigate allegations of lesbianism

The Western Pacific DACOWITS tour was a watershed in publicizing, and then prompting, Service-wide corrective action against sexual harassment and other demoralizing treatment of female Marines. Department of Defense officials read the DACOWITS report, examined the documentation, and had to agree with its findings. The problem was deemed a failure of leadership rather than anything linked to serving with operating forces.[14] The report leaked to the national media, further embarrassing the Department of the Navy.[15]

Concurrent with the Marine Corps and Navy task force reviews, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger established the DOD Task Force on Women in the Military, chaired by Dr. David J. Armor, principal deputy assistant secretary of defense and acting assistant secretary, Force Management and Personnel. Armor stated in a *Navy Times* article that the purpose of the task force was not to validate DACOWITS charges but to "discuss ways of fixing the problem."[16] His belief was that elimination of sexual bias and harassment was a matter of changing attitudes, which would take years.[17] Secretary Weinberger's 16 September 1987 "Women in the Military" memorandum to the secretaries of the three military departments on this subject directed the task force to address three areas:

1. Attitudes toward the treatment of women in the military and their impact on the morale and quality of life for women
2. Consistency in application of combat exclusion statutes and policies and their impact on effective utilization of women
3. The manner in which various force management policies may adversely impact women's career development

The 1988 DOD Task Force on Women in the Military was small and powerful. Led by Dr. Armor, the other six principal members included the assistant secretaries for Manpower and Reserve Affairs of the Army (Delbert L. Spurlock Jr.), Navy (Chase Untermeyer), and Air Force (Richard E. Carver).[18] The task force delivered its report to Secretary Weinberger's successor as secretary of defense, Frank C. Carlucci, in January 1988. As expected, sexual harassment topped the list of findings. The report immediately prompted directives by the new secretary of defense, including:

1. Improve sexual harassment complaint procedures and become more responsive to complaints
2. Develop new materials and techniques for improved education and training about sexual harassment
3. Clearly define standards of good taste for on-base entertainment
4. Improve medical care unique to women
5. Conduct DOD-wide surveys to determine the incidence of sexual harassment

Secretary Carlucci affirmed his policy against sexual harassment with the Service secretaries and Joint Chiefs of Staff. In November 1988, Carlucci ordered distribution of an extensive survey of sexual harassment in the active duty military. The survey, known as the "DOD Survey of Sex Roles in the Active-Duty Military," was distributed the next month to 34,000 men and women on active duty and to 4,000 currently serving members of the U.S. Coast Guard, under the Department of Transportation.[19] Respondents were asked about specific uninvited and unwanted sexual attention in the workplace rather than about sexual harassment experiences.[20] Results and analyses were completed in spring of 1990. The results were not unlike the Okinawa survey. Sixty-four percent of military women considered themselves victims of crude behavior, insulting or condescending attitudes, unwanted sexual attention, or assaults (table 6).[21]

The following year, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney signed a memorandum summarizing DOD strategies to eradicate sexual harassment within the

department.[22] The secretary wrote that the cost of sexual harassment was high, particularly in reduced mission effectiveness and wasted personnel resources. To that end, Secretary Cheney directed each DOD component, at a minimum, to incorporate the following actions and report their implementation plans within 30 days (by 12 August 1991):

1. Continue to issue clear policy statements annually that explain sexual harassment and reaffirm that sexual harassment will not be tolerated.
2. Require training programs at all levels of leadership, and for all civilian and military personnel, with special emphasis on coworkers, to teach our people how to identify and prevent sexual harassment.
3. Establish quality control mechanisms to ensure that sexual harassment training is working for military and civilian personnel.
4. Make prompt, thorough investigations and resolution a priority in every sexual harassment complaint.
5. Establish procedures to hold every commander, supervisor, and manager accountable for providing guidance to their subordinates on what constitutes sexual harassment and how DOD personnel may seek redress if they believe they are victims.
6. Make sexual harassment prevention and education a special interest item for review in appropriate IG (Inspector General) inspections/visits of DOD facilities/agencies.
7. Inform DOD personnel, military and civilian, that failure to comply with these guidelines will be reflected in annual performance rating and fitness reports and may lead to the loss of benefits and the imposition of penalties.[23]

Never in Pairs

Following entry-level military training, women in all Services often migrate toward informal mentoring

MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD

The DOD appeared to take a more public stance on defining, ending, and preventing sexual harassment in the workplace in the late 1980s, following release of the results of two massive surveys in 1981 and 1988 by the Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB). The MSPB was the first federal agency to establish the frequency of sexual harassment reported by civilian workers in a variety of governmental departments and offices, and it was the first to provide a baseline against which to measure progress in reducing sexual harassment.[1]

Recognizing the problem sexual harassment created in the federal workplace, the Office of Personnel Management issued its "Policy Statement and Definition on Sexual Harassment" in 1979, and the military Services were asked to incorporate the guidance into their own personnel policies and procedures.[2] The MSPB surveys included civil service employee subjects from most major branches of the federal government, but it excluded people in the active duty military. Of the 24 federal agencies mentioned in the 1988 report, civilians working in the three departments of the military (Army, Navy, and Air Force) scored in the upper quartile of sexual harassment incidents.[3]

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[1] Patricia A. Mathis and Ruth T. Prokop, *Sexual Harassment in the Federal Workplace: Is It a Problem?* (Washington, DC: U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981), 4.

[2] Policy statement, "Policy Statement and Definition on Sexual Harassment," 1979, Lisa D. Bastian, Anita R. Lancaster, and Heidi E. Reyst, *Department of Defense 1995 Sexual Harassment Survey* (Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center, 1996), 1.

[3] John B. Pryor, *Sexual Harassment in the United States Military: The Development of the DOD Survey* (Normal: Illinois State University, 1988), 8.

networks, within which they can discuss issues with other women. In 1984, DACOWITS raised concern that these networks were strongly discouraged by chains of command, and pressed Service chiefs to permit this opportunity to discuss mutual concerns and to brainstorm issues—as women do.[24] Because networking among female Marines was at least discouraged, the teacher-student relationship espoused by former Commandant John A. Lejeune remained a men's club. Underscoring the ingrained gender discrimination, no concern was raised when two or three male Marines walked or socialized together; however, such was often not the case with female Marines. A prevalent attitude among male Marines, particularly those stationed in Japan, was that a woman who joined the Corps, as Sergeant Catherine Hoskin Carr recalled, "had to be either a lesbian or a whore. There was no middle ground."[25] Men could spend time with other men, juniors and seniors, but a woman seeking to do the same was fraternizing.[26] Female officer candidates

TABLE 6.
ANY TYPE OF UNWANTED SEXUAL ATTENTION, BY SERVICE, GENDER, AND YEAR

	PERCENT			
SERVICE	MEN		WOMEN	
	1988	1995	1988	1995
ARMY	21	14	68	61
	(.98)	(1.38)	(.98)	(1.54)
NAVY	18	16	66	53
	(.91)	(1.69)	(.91)	(1.54)
MARINE CORPS	14	15	75	64
	(.95)	(1.67)	(.96)	(1.32)
AIR FORCE	14	12	57	49
	(.62)	(1.61)	(.78)	(1.73)
COAST GUARD	16	13	62	59
	(.44)	(1.86)	(1.06)	(4.32)

Source: *Department of Defense 1995 Sexual Harassment Survey* (Arlington, VA: Department of Defense Manpower Data Center, 1996), 10.

TABLE 7.
PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES WHO REPORTED EXPERIENCING UNPROFESSIONAL, GENDER-RELATED BEHAVIORS IN 1995 AND 2002, BY SERVICE

	DOD											
	TOTAL DOD		ARMY		NAVY		MARINE CORPS		AIR FORCE		COAST GUARD	
	95	**02**	**95**	**02**	**95**	**02**	**95**	**02**	**95**	**02**	**95**	**02**
SEXIST BEHAVIOR	63	50	67	53	62	56	77	64	59	40	65	56
CRUDE/OFFENSIVE BEHAVIOR	63	45	68	48	61	49	72	53	57	36	58	52
UNWANTED SEXUAL ATTENTION	42	27	48	31	40	30	53	33	35	20	32	23
SEXUAL COERCION	13	8	18	11	11	10	17	12	8	4	8	6
SEXUAL ASSAULT	6	3	9	3	6	3	9	5	4	2	4	2
MARGIN OF ERROR	*±2*	*±2*	*±2*	*±3*	*±3*	*±3*	*±5*	*±5*	*±2*	*±3*	*±6*	*±6*

Source: *Armed Forces 2002 Sexual Harassment Survey* (Arlington, VA: Department of Defense Manpower Data Center, 2003), 13.

DOD SEXUAL HARASSMENT SURVEYS

One goal of the 1988 DOD survey was to assess the range of harassing behaviors and incidence rates of sexual harassment across the various branches of the military.[1] As in the MSPB studies, subjects were asked to estimate the frequency with which they experienced each of seven behaviors during the past 24 months:

1. Uninvited pressure for sexual favors
2. Uninvited deliberate touching, leaning over, cornering, or pinching
3. Uninvited sexual looks, staring, or gestures
4. Uninvited letters, phone calls, or materials of a sexual nature
5. Uninvited pressure for dates
6. Uninvited sexual teasing, jokes, remarks, or questions
7. Actual or attempted rape or sexual assault[2]

The DOD conducted its own sexual harassment surveys of active duty men and women in the Army, Marine Corps, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard in 1988, 1995, and 2002, reporting sexual harassment climates between 1981 and 2001.* As in the MSPB surveys, respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they viewed each behavior as sexually harassing when performed (a) by a supervisor and (b) by a coworker. For the DOD surveys, five potential settings for harassing behavior—an office building, an open work area, aboard base grounds, in the field/at sea, and off base—were used for each of the categories.[3]

The 1988 survey was mailed to 34,000 men and women on active duty in the armed forces and 4,000 men and women serving in the Coast Guard. Approximately 20,400 personnel responded—54 percent of enlisted and 76 percent of officers who received the survey. Of active duty personnel (64 percent of women and 17 percent of men), 22 percent reported one or more incidents of unwanted, uninvited sexual attention at work during the year prior to the survey.[4]

In 1995, 19 percent of active duty personnel (55 percent of women and 14 percent of men, across all Services) reported one or more incidents of unwanted, uninvited sexual attention at work during the prior year (table 6). In 2002, 19 behavior-based items representing unprofessional gender-related behaviors, rather than sexual harassment-specific behaviors alone, during 2001 were surveyed (table 7).[5]

MAJOR FINDINGS

Ruth T. Prokop, chair of the MSPB in 1981, stated in her executive summary to the report *Sexual Harassment in the Federal Workplace: Is It a Problem?* that "A 'boys will be boys' atmosphere will not be condoned in

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[1] Pryor, *Sexual Harassment in the United States Military*, 9.

[2] Ibid., 3–4.

* The U.S. Coast Guard is part of the Department of Transportation (now Department of Homeland Security) but falls under the Department of the Navy in time of congressionally approved war or conflict.

[3] Rachel N. Lipari and Anita R. Lancaster, *Armed Forces 2002 Sexual Harassment Survey* (Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center, 2003), iii, 4.

[4] Melanie Martindale, *1988 DOD Survey of Sex Roles in the Active Duty Military* (Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center, 1990), 1, 5, iv.

[5] Lipari and Lancaster, *Armed Forces 2002 Sexual Harassment Survey, iii*.

DOD SEXUAL HARASSMENT SURVEYS (*CONTINUED*)

any Federal Agency."[6] However, her message was not understood by many male active duty servicemembers, as documented in the 1988 DOD survey. The results from that survey showed that of active duty female Marines surveyed, 75 percent reported experiencing at least one sexually harassing incident, compared to 68 percent in the Army, 66 percent in the Navy, 62 percent in the Coast Guard, and 57 percent in the Air Force (table 6). It must be noted that as the numbers of women serving in the Marine Corps and Coast Guard were so small, survey responses had a higher statistical value.[7]

SURVEYS EXPANDED

The 1995 DOD survey sought to broaden DOD's understanding of sexual harassment in the active duty Services. It was considerably different from the 1988 survey in that it: (1) greatly expanded the context for reporting experiences (e.g., off base, not during duty hours) and asked if members considered any of the behaviors they reported to be sexual harassment; (2) contained items on key areas of importance to policy officials (e.g., the complaint process, reprisal, training); and (3) expanded the previous 10-item behavior reporting list to 25 behaviors, including items in new areas (e.g., suggestive looks, gestures, teasing).[8] The 2002 DOD survey followed this methodology as well.[9]

The 1995 and 2002 DOD surveys further expanded questions, asking why a harassing behavior or action was not reported. From responses, it appears both that Service efforts were succeeding in reducing instances of sexual harassment and that targets of harassment felt able to take care of the problem on their own (table 7).[10]

[6] Mathis and Prokop, *Sexual Harassment in the Federal Workplace,* 4.

[7] Bastian et al., *Department of Defense 1995 Sexual Harassment Survey, iv.*

[8] Ibid., iii, 9.

[9] Lipari and Lancaster, *Armed Forces 2002 Sexual Harassment Survey, iii.*

[10] Ibid., 34.

(including this author) were told by female officers never to walk in pairs to avoid being labeled as lesbians. A woman's rank did not matter. Female Marines were thereby made a little fearful of each other, further isolating them.

Brigadier General Gail M. Reals, who rose from private to general officer, stated in a *Navy Times* interview, "I had to watch very carefully who I associated with. When I was able to have my own apartment, I certainly never had a roommate. It was a concern how you wore your hair, how you wore your watch, whatever."[27] For this reason, too, women were often reluctant to seek mentors, or even to associate with other women.

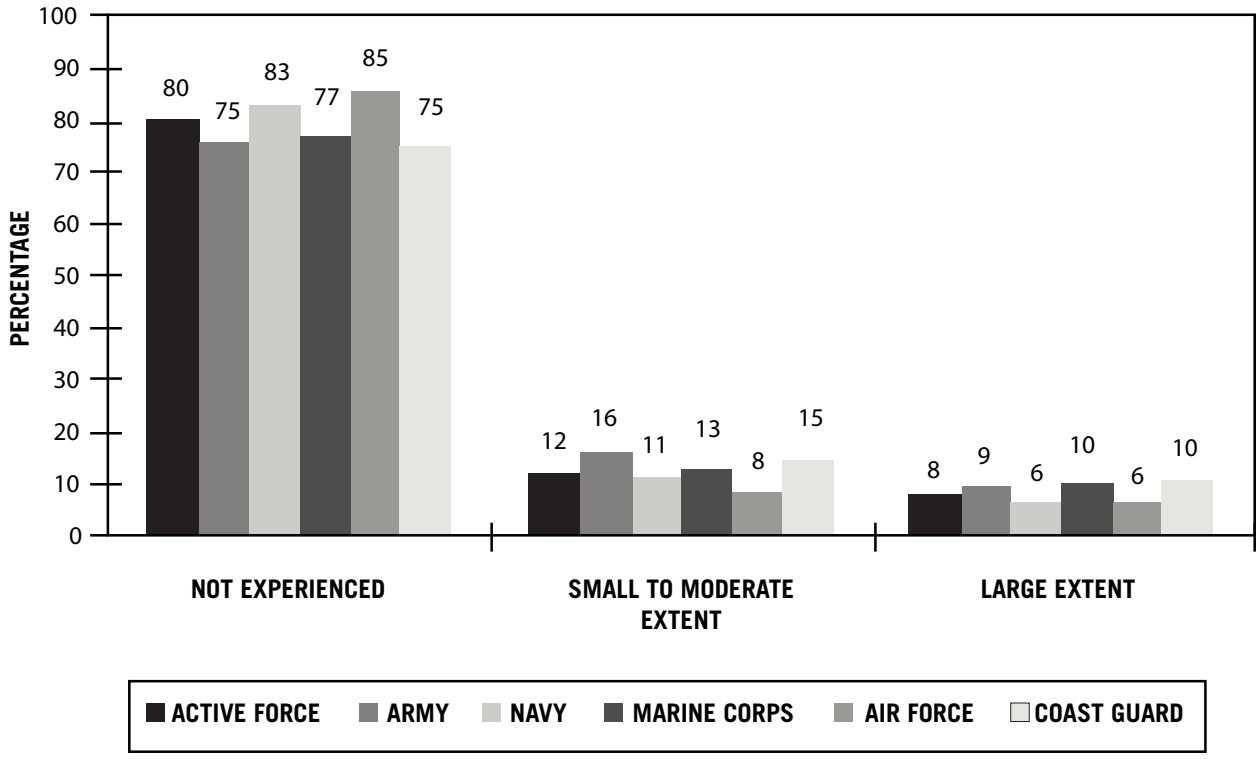
One incident in particular illustrates the general's concern. An allegation against a female Marine

TABLE 8.
PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES AND MALES EXPERIENCING ADVERSE BEHAVIORS, BY SERVICE

	TOTAL DOD		ARMY		NAVY		MARINE CORPS		AIR FORCE		COAST GUARD	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
EVALUATION	11	5	12	6	12	5	17	3	8	4	12	5
ASSIGNMENT	8	2	9	3	9	3	12	2	5	2	10	2*
CAREER	9	2	11	2	8	2	13	2	6	2	12	1*
MARGIN OF ERROR	*±1*	*±1*	*±2*	*±2*	*±2*	*±2*	*±3*	*±2*	*±2*	*±1*	*±4*	*±2*

** Low precision and/or unweighted denominator size between 30 and 59..*
Source: *Armed Forces 2002 Sexual Harassment Survey* (Arlington, VA: Department of Defense Manpower Data Center, 2003), 44.

FIGURE 1.
EXTENT TO WHICH FEMALE TARGETS SAID THEY EXPERIENCED A PERFORMANCE RATING THAT WAS UNFAIRLY LOWERED, BY SERVICE



Source: *Department of Defense 1995 Sexual Harassment Survey* (Arlington, VA: Department of Defense Manpower Data Center, 1996), 29.

in 1986 "snowballed into accusations of homosexuality against seventy women at Parris Island, many of them drill instructors."[28] The leadership qualities highly sought by the Corps—strength, aggressiveness, and athletic prowess—were those most likely to bring women under suspicion. They were also the qualities required of a drill instructor, male or female.

The subsequent 18-month investigation, called a "witch hunt" by scores following it in the press, affected more than 100 women stationed aboard MCRD Parris Island.[29] During this period, three female Marines were jailed and more than a dozen were discharged for homosexuality.[30] Between 1983 and 1988, female servicemembers were "discharged for homosexual conduct at a rate almost 10 times that of homosexual military men."[31] While the Corps viewed as critical its mission to remove homosexuals from this key training and leadership environment, there were collateral damages. Often, women who testified on behalf of accused Marines were bullied. Many watched their solid careers vaporize. One female captain who had helped check the written statement prepared by one of her senior enlisted Marines watched as her well-deserved end-of-tour Navy Commendation Medal and citation were thrown into the trash by the depot's commanding general.[32] The Marine Corps lost 10 percent of its female drill instructors from fear and intimidation.[33] The Manpower Management Enlisted Assignments Branch at Headquarters was forced to go into overdrive to locate, and then to convince, qualified women to serve as drill instructors.[34]

The Tailhook Scandal

A witch hunt of a different sort occurred following the 35th Annual Tailhook Symposium, held 5–7 September 1991 in Las Vegas, Nevada.* The event draws thousands of current and former naval aviators and naval flight officers from the Navy and Marine Corps, as well as civilian government employees and government contractors. The 1991 symposium promised to be particularly interesting, as Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm had ended fewer than seven months earlier; aviators would be trading war stories and senior aviators would give briefs on tactical maneuvers.[35] On 7 September, 2,500 attendees were present for the Flag Panel (a panel of eight Navy flag officers and Marine Corps Lieutenant General Duane A. Wills, deputy chief of staff for aviation), a question-and-answer session led by Admiral Richard M. Dunleavy, vice chief of operations for air warfare.[36] During the discussion, a Navy female aviator asked, "When will women be assigned to combat roles in aviation?"[37] A young male officer yelled, "We don't want women in combat!" and the room erupted in applause, cheers, and catcalls, which senior leadership did nothing to quiet.[38] According to some of the women present, this seemed to set the stage for what would follow that evening—the alleged assault of 83 women and 7 men on the hotel's third floor. This was less than two months following distribution of Defense Secretary Cheney's memorandum seeking the eradication of sexual harassment; the Tailhook convention had already gained a reputation for drunken, lewd behavior among those currently serving.[39]

Hundreds of Marine officers stationed at Marine Corps Air Station El Toro, California, were among those interviewed as part of the subsequent investigations. Males were terrified of being falsely accused of sexual misconduct, while females wondered why it took a national scandal to make the military take sexual harassment seriously.[40] The sergeant major responsible for all El Toro enlisted Marines, Sergeant Major Sylvia D. Walters, said the Navy's vaunted policy of zero tolerance for sexual harassment acquired teeth when the Tailhook scandal began generating daily headlines. "If your shorts don't get snapped, it

* Tailhook: the retractable hook on the underside of the tail of carrier aircraft, extended during a carrier landing to catch one of four arresting gear cables on the carrier deck.

doesn't pertain to you," said Sergeant Major Walters, one of the Corps' 20 highest-ranked enlisted women.[41]

Despite investigation by the Naval Investigative Service, and later by the DOD inspector general, the young male officers actually involved emerged relatively unscathed.[42] Such was not the case with senior Navy leadership. Sean O'Keefe was named acting secretary of the Navy in July 1992, replacing Secretary H. Lawrence Garrett III, who resigned over the Tailhook sexual assault scandal.[43] Immediately upon taking office, Secretary O'Keefe established the Standing Committee on Women in the Navy and Marine Corps to run damage control following the Tailhook incident and to examine and prepare Navy positions for the 17 issues under examination by the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces.[44] A *tiger team* of Navy and Marine Corps military and civilian personnel drafted a comprehensive Department of the Navy policy on sexual harassment.* The new policy also dealt with nonsexual but equally harassing rituals associated with promotions, crossing the equator, or joining special units. Many of the initiations associated with these events had made headlines due to their abusive or hazing nature.[45] Navy and Marine Corps members also brainstormed expanding roles for women for "optimal integration" of men and women to assign the best people to the right jobs.[46] Secretary O'Keefe was on record saying "gender is not a liability or a disqualification for any military job."[47]

Secretary of the Navy Instruction (SECNAVINST) 5300.26B, Department of the Navy (DON) Policy on Sexual Harassment, published on 14 May 1993, was comprehensive. Not only did it clearly codify the Navy's definition of sexual harassment but also provided measurement standards for types of behaviors based on the idea of traffic light colors (green = acceptable behavior, not sexual harassment; yellow = behavior that may be unwelcome and could become sexual harassment; red = always unacceptable, always considered sexual harassment) to provide individuals, male and female, something clear and easy to understand.[48] *SECNAVINST 5300.26B* was signed by acting Secretary of the Navy Admiral Frank B. Kelso, who was very involved in the Tailhook repercussions.

Incremental Improvements

Nearly a decade following the initial DOD, Navy, and Marine Corps task forces examining allegations of sexual harassment and job discrimination against women, the Marine Corps had not recorded much improvement. The 1996 Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Survey on attitudes and behaviors, sent to 6,795 male and female active duty and Reserve Marines, showed slight gains in educating Marines to the Corps' zero-tolerance policy toward sexual harassment, compared to results of a similar 1994 survey.[49]

Only slightly fewer women reported harassment on the 1995 survey—down from 37 percent to 34 percent for enlisted females and from 21 percent to 19 percent for female officers.[50] The same survey noted that 4 percent of enlisted male Marines reported being sexually harassed, up from 1 percent in 1994, and that 1 percent of male officers reported being sexually harassed. The 1995 survey results reinforced existing evidence of a culture in which female victims felt helpless. More women reported that they felt they would not be believed, or that the commands would retaliate by lowering performance or promotion evaluations (figure 1).[51]

The 31st Commandant, General Charles C. Krulak, was not pleased and sent a 15 November 1996 message to all Marines, stating, "Discrimination in any form degrades unit cohesion and weakens our

* A *tiger team* is a specialized group tasked with attempting to undermine an organization's ability to protect its assets as a means to reveal the deficiencies or prove the effectiveness of the organization's internal and external security.

fighting power and spirit."[52] General Krulak directed his equal opportunity advisor, Lieutenant Colonel Anthony L. Jackson, to focus on four areas:

1. Disciplining convicted harassers
2. Handling sexual harassment complaints
3. Improving sexual harassment training attendance
4. Thoroughly investigating sexual assault allegations

During his tenure as Commandant through June 1999, General Krulak worked to eliminate sexual harassment and gender discrimination within the Marine Corps. Training and expectations were made the same for women and men, and increasing numbers of women were assigned to command and other leadership billets.

When Brigadier General Reals commented to hundreds of Marines gathered for her 1990 retirement, she spoke of her time and place as a Marine and about women's acceptance within the Services.

> I regret that after more than 47 years of women in the military, they are still on the edge of acceptance. I don't feel I've made a dent.[53]

Summary

The DOD is a national melting pot. It is inherently diverse; members represent all races and creeds, and regularly transfer among geographic locations. Marines have a singularly distinctive identity among the U.S. Services; but while the civilian image of Marine as male warrior continues, Marine Corps ethos is officially gender-blind. The core values of honor, courage, and commitment apply to all Marines, male or female.

The issue of meaningful military service is not one of gender but of the defense of the nation by those who choose to serve. The DOD is the nation's largest employer of women.[54] Policy changes in 1993 and 1994 removed most remaining gender-based institutional barriers, allowing the best-qualified individuals to fill all but those billets most likely to engage in direct ground combat. More than two-thirds of Marine Corps specialties are now open to women. However, it still takes sound leadership to maintain a work environment free from sexual harassment. Society is responsible for much of the decrease in reported sexual harassment incidents in the Marine Corps. Women, although still a single-digit percentage of the total force, and their male colleagues, are raised in an increasingly gender-equal society. Both genders have sports in common, and certainly Marine Corps entry-level training experiences. Also, both genders are increasingly more willing to relay their discomfort with respect to vocal or physical behaviors.[55] The Armed Forces 2002 Sexual Harassment Survey, produced in November 2003, seemed to validate these aspects.[56]

By 2000, the second lieutenants from the first gender-integrated TBS classes in 1978 had risen to the ranks of colonel and senior lieutenant colonel. For a generation, male and female Marines competed on footing that was more level than not. When Lieutenant General Carol Mutter, the first woman of any military Service nominated by a president to three-star rank, retired in 1998, she expressed her feelings about women's progress in the Services:

> Women in Military have come a long way in my 31 years. We still have more progress to make, but it won't and shouldn't all happen overnight! Sometimes when we walk up to that door of opportunity and find it's locked we may be tempted to blast it open. I've learned to be careful—by blasting it down, we could destroy what we're trying to get on the other side. . . . There are still challenges, but women today are holding their own, and then some, in Iraq and Afghanistan, and around the world.[57]

Gender remains a hurdle to women in the Marine Corps, but it's a hurdle of leadership. The men and women serving in today's military, as always, mirror

the society from which they are drawn. Retired Lieutenant General Bernard E. Trainor alluded to this in a 1997 *Marine Corps Gazette* article, saying, "Dealing with sex related problems is now part [and] parcel of a leader's responsibility at every level."[58]

The fact that women in the military are still considered an issue frustrates today's leaders. Even the hoopla given over modifying barracks and ships to accommodate women amuses those who lived through the 1960s and 1970s, some of whom first asked whether a female officer was to use the ladies' or the officers' head.

It is clear that while the Marine Corps has worked diligently to eliminate sexual harassment and gender-based discrimination, the incremental changes that were instituted from the top down in response to incidents and reports did not result in broader systemic changes (table 8). The core problem persists, and the Corps fights a constant battle against it.

Notes

1. Gen Robert H. Barrow, white letter 18-80, "Leadership and Responsibilities Pertaining to Women Marines," 1 December 1980, 2, in author's collection.
2. "Commandant Stresses Equality of Sexes," *HQMC Hotline*, January 1981, 11.
3. Ibid.
4. To read the history submission questionnaire form, see appendix F in this work.
5. Col Charlene H. Lee (USAR), "Sexual Harassment of Women in the American Workplace" (executive research project, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, National Defense University, 1991), 2.
6. Ibid.
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CHAPTER 8

UNIFORMS

Military uniforms with appropriate insignia show at a glance the branch of Service and grade of the individual authorized to wear them.[1] Marines are known as much for their distinctive uniforms, worn with precision and polish, as for their warrior ethos. As specified by regulation, "it is a Marine's duty and personal obligation to maintain a professional and neat appearance. Any activity which detracts from the dignified appearance of Marines is unacceptable."[2]

Between 1943 and 1951, female Marine uniforms bore no style or color resemblance to those worn by male Marines. In the autumn of 1950, then-Commandant General Clifton B. Cates directed a search for clothing designers to create a blue dress uniform for female Marines.[3] Several fashion designers were interviewed. Haute couture designer Main Rousseau Bocher (1890–1976), known as Mainbocher, was the unanimous favorite and agreed not only to design a blue dress uniform for female Marines but also an entire wardrobe, including accessories. He was presented with photographs of current male Marine uniforms and prints of past Marine Corps uniforms.[4]

Understanding the importance of Marine Corps traditions and standards, Mainbocher designed and produced a blue dress uniform, summer and winter service uniforms, raincoat, and overcoat for all female Marines; new chevrons for female enlisted Marines; and a white dress uniform for female officers. His requested fee: one dollar.[5] Mainbocher's designs for the blue dress and winter service uniforms remained basically unchanged for more than 40 years.

In June 1977, winter and summer service uniforms in officer-weight 14.5- and 9.5-ounce gabardine were authorized for female officers. Before then, all female Marines wore the issue service and blue dress uniforms available through military clothing stores known as Cash Sales. Male enlisted Marines were issued or purchased summer, winter, and blue dress uniforms through military clothing stores, while all male officers and enlisted Marines wishing to do so purchased corresponding, albeit more expensive, uniforms in higher-quality materials, usually from The Marine Shop in Quantico, Virginia.

In 1977, female Marines began wear testing a black beret. The participants liked the beret but not the color.[6] In February 1978, an olive wool beret was approved for optional purchase and wear by female Marines but was removed in 1982. On 22 June 1978, an optional high-gloss oxford shoe was introduced.

On 2 October 1978, long- and short-sleeve khaki shirts in the same material as that worn by men were authorized for women. The new shirts enabled women to wear standard Marine Corps colors year-round. The shirts were worn outside the green uniform skirt, except by those Marines required to wear a duty belt, who wore them tucked into the skirt. Olive collar necktabs replaced the green ascot tie when the long-sleeve shirt was worn with or without the service coat. The female khaki shirts had no breast pockets along which to align ribbons or badges. When worn, ribbons or badges were placed on the left side, one to two inches above the first visible button and centered in approximately the same position as they were worn on the service coat.[7] An olive service pullover sweater

Capt Donna J. Neary, USMCR, *U.S. Marine Corps Uniforms, 1983: Twelve Full-color Prints* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps History Division and the Permanent Marine Corps Uniform Board Headquarters, 1983)

OFFICERS' BLUE DRESS UNIFORMS

The figure in the center is a female major in blue dress "A." The uniform shown on this figure is the result of a redesign intended to render the female uniform more harmonious with that worn by male Marines. Uniforms worn by enlisted women also were redesigned to more closely parallel those of enlisted men. Although this uniform is shown with a skirt, sky blue slacks are also a component and may be prescribed under certain conditions set forth in uniform regulations. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 4218)

At the right is a female lieutenant in blue dress "C." This uniform is the women's equivalent to that worn by the male captain at the far left. This uniform is worn when climatic conditions make it impractical to wear the blue dress coat. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 3205)

Capt Donna J. Neary, USMCR, *U.S. Marine Corps Uniforms, 1983: Twelve Full-color Prints* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps History Division and the Permanent Marine Corps Uniform Board Headquarters, 1983)

ENLISTED BLUE DRESS UNIFORMS

Second from the left is a female sergeant in the blue dress "B" uniform. The style of this uniform was modified in 1981, and while the uniform shown in this figure was authorized for wear during 1983, it was gradually replaced by a uniform similar to that shown on the previous page. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 3400)

The fourth figure from the left is a female sergeant in the blue dress "D" uniform. The blue cap and darker blue skirt shown gradually replaced the old-style blue cap and skirt. The blue dress "D" uniform is usually worn under climatic conditions that render it impractical to wear the blue dress "A" or "B" uniform.

SERVICE CHIC MAINBOCHER'S LEGACY

Main Rousseau Bocher, known internationally as Mainbocher, was born on 24 October 1890 in Chicago, Illinois. He studied at the Lewis Institute, Chicago Academy of Fine Arts, the University of Chicago, and at the Königliche Kunstgewerbemuseum in Munich, Germany, before moving to New York City to work as a sketch artist for clothing manufacturer E. L. Mayer. Mainbocher served in the American Ambulance Corps and Intelligence Corps from 1917 to 1918 and remained in Europe following the war, taking a job as an illustrator for *Harper's Bazaar.* In 1922, he was hired as a fashion correspondent at French *Vogue* and later served as its editor. In 1930, Mainbocher opened a couture house in Paris, France, and became the first American to operate a financially successful couture house in that city. He returned to the United States in 1939 as war began in Europe, opening a couture house in New York City.

Well-known for his high-fashion designs, Mainbocher also created what he called "working chic," an aesthetic exemplified in the uniforms he designed for the U.S. Navy's Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) in 1942, the Girl Scouts of America in 1946, the American Red Cross in 1948, and the U.S. Marine Corps in 1951. Mainbocher retired in 1971 and died on 27 December 1976.

[1] Katherin Stewart, "Mainbocher Main Rousseau Bocher," *Odea Fashion NY* (blog), accessed 3 December 2014 (website has since been removed).

Official U.S. Marine Corps photos, courtesy of Nancy P. Anderson

Top: Maj Lorraine G. Sadler (right) wearing the field grade evening dress uniform and 1stLt Nancy P. Anderson (center) wearing the company grade evening dress uniform for the inauguration of President Jimmy Carter, January 1977.

Bottom: The author models the olive beret, authorized for wear 1981–82.

adopted from the British Royal Marines, known as the "wooly pully" or (among female Marines) "lumpy bumpy," was authorized for all Marines.

Gone were the winter service green shirtwaist and ascot, red (winter) and white (summer) scarves, black (winter) and white (summer) gloves, and the summer service green and white uniform. Also gone—and never to be missed—were the plastic overshoes and havelock; most havelocks had never been worn but had been folded under the watchful eye and detailed instruction of a female drill instructor at recruit training or that of a sergeant instructor at OCS for the first junk-on-the-bunk inspection.*

On 2 April 1979, a major gender victory was reached within the conservative male leadership: women were authorized to wear olive wool serge and polyester/wool-blend slacks as components of the winter and all-season uniforms. After 35 years, there was actually uniformity among all Marines in uniform, although slacks were "not authorized for wear in formal formations, inspections, parades or ceremonies" when male and female Marines were likely in mixed-gender formations.[8] Most women were convinced that the ill-fitting slacks had been designed by men with no understanding of the female figure, but they were nevertheless a mighty step forward.

A gender concession of equal importance also occurred in April when a maternity uniform was approved.[9] Until that time, pregnant Marines had worn civilian maternity clothes, although some commanders authorized them to wear utilities as long as practicable to maintain a uniform appearance in the workplace. The maternity uniform consisted of an olive tunic top, slacks, and skirt. The older green shirtwaist or khaki shirts were authorized for wear under the tunic until maternity khaki shirts were made available. Pregnant Marines in billets requiring a more durable uniform often chose to buy a utility uniform in a larger size.

When Second Lieutenant Mary L. Forde and her husband arrived for duty in Quantico in October 1979, she was due for a promotion to first lieutenant on 1 November, and she was beginning the second trimester of her pregnancy. The new maternity uniforms were not yet available in the uniform shop or Cash Sales, so she purchased utilities large enough to cover her abdomen; the fit elsewhere was less than ideal and amused those she met, she recalled.

> Being that it was the first Monday in November, the seasonal uniform change kicked in, and we were required to wear our sleeves down. Well, being rather petite and small boned, the cuffs of my sleeves did not fit tightly enough [around] my wrist[s] to prevent [the sleeves] from slipping past my hands. So as I was struggling to keep [the sleeves] from flapping around while walking to [the Facilities Department, Support Division] the Colonel's office in Lejeune Hall, a gunnery sergeant drove up to me and yelled, "Hey, Lieutenant, who's your tailor?" When the Colonel saw me, he laughed and said, "I'm not sure whether I should promote you or put you on weight control!"[10]

In the rush to provide the new uniforms, shortages were commonplace and quality assurance placed second to mass production, particularly with the new long-sleeve shirts. Female recruits were issued one short-sleeve and one long-sleeve khaki shirt due to production shortfalls. Women were authorized to wear the short-sleeve khaki shirt and green necktab with the service coat while waiting for the long-sleeve shirts to arrive. Due to nonstandard sizing practices among manufacturers, a woman was likely to own khaki shirts in sizes 6–12 without any change in her

* During a junk-on-the-bunk inspection, Marines display all of their required uniforms in a wall locker and equipment, or junk, on a rack or bunk, and leaders confirm possession of items identified on the seabag minimum requirements list.

Capt Donna J. Neary, USMCR, *U.S. Marine Corps Uniforms, 1983: Twelve Full-color Prints* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps History Division and the Permanent Marine Corps Uniform Board Headquarters, 1983)

OFFICERS' SERVICE UNIFORMS

Shown in this plate are various categories of the service uniform worn by Marine officers. At the left is a female major in the service "C" uniform. This uniform normally includes a green skirt; however, slacks may be authorized under specific conditions prescribed in uniform regulations. Slacks were not worn on occasions for which the wearing of the skirt is more appropriate. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 4218). The service "C" uniform is routinely worn as a working uniform during summer months or in warm climates.

The figure fourth from the left is a female captain in the service "A" uniform. Slacks were allowed to be worn with this uniform in lieu of the skirt but were not to be worn on occasions for which the wearing of the skirt was more appropriate. The black handbag was carried by all women Marines in service uniforms except when in formation. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 4209)

Capt Donna J. Neary, USMCR, *U.S. Marine Corps Uniforms, 1983: Twelve Full-color Prints* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps History Division and the Permanent Marine Corps Uniform Board Headquarters, 1983)

ENLISTED SERVICE UNIFORMS

Second from the left is a female corporal in the service "C" uniform with the service sweater worn in lieu of the service coat. The sweater is an optional item of uniform, not a part of the uniform allowance. When enlisted Marines wear the service sweater, metal grade insignia is worn on the shirt collar. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 5403). This figure is also shown wearing slacks in lieu of the skirt. Slacks are authorized only under circumstances for which wearing of the skirt is not appropriate. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 4218). When slacks are worn, the prescribed footwear is oxfords, as shown. Pumps will not be worn. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 4207). Finally, this figure is shown wearing the garrison cap in lieu of the service cap. Women Marines are issued both caps and may wear either, at their option, unless a particular cap is specified by the local commander. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 4204). The service "C" uniform is routinely worn as a working uniform during summer months or in warm climates. It is also authorized for wear by Marines on leave or liberty. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 3305). Enlisted grade is denoted by green on khaki chevrons worn on the shirt; there is no enlisted grade insignia on the garrison cap. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 5303)

The figure in the center is a female sergeant in the service "B" uniform. This figure is shown with the service cap in lieu of the garrison cap and with the skirt rather than slacks. When the skirt is worn, footwear will normally be pumps. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 4207). The service "B" uniform is authorized as a working uniform and will not be prescribed as the "uniform of the day." (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 3400)

own measurements. The deadline for possessing the new garrison uniforms was extended to April 1982 while women waited for military clothing stores to receive back-ordered shipments.[11]

In December 1979, a camouflage utility uniform, referred to as "cammies," replaced the blue utility uniform for women and green sateen utility uniform worn by men. Producing sufficient quantities of the new uniform in smaller sizes remained a problem, but women were better able to make do with the loose-fitting cammies. Although men were required to possess four sets of cammies, enlisted women were required to possess three sets and female officers only one set until inventories of smaller sizes were increased.[12]

Uniform Additions for Female Officers

In October 1980 a new blue dress uniform—including blue dress slacks—for female officers was announced.[13] The new uniform was adopted to make female and male officer blue dress uniforms more compatible; the female coat and skirt were made of the same material as the male officer blue dress uniform. The female officer blue dress slacks were similar in design to the female green service slacks but had a 1.5-inch-wide scarlet stripe—the "bloodstripe"—on the outer seam of both legs.* A new white shirtwaist, similar in style to the khaki short-sleeve shirt, was also introduced. When the blue dress coat and skirt or slacks were worn (blue dress A or B), the white shirtwaist and a new scarlet necktab were required.** When blue dress C was prescribed, the long-sleeve khaki shirt with a new black necktab was worn; the short-sleeve, open collar khaki shirt was worn when blue dress D was prescribed.[14]

At the same time, a new white vinyl dress cap with black visor and gold chinstrap was also adopted to replace the old blue and kelly green female dress caps. Dress caps for female warrant officers and company grade officers (second and first lieutenants, and captains) had a high-gloss, black synthetic leather visor, while those for field grade officers (majors, lieutenant colonels, colonels, and general officers) had a black cloth-covered visor with gold ornamentation known as "scrambled eggs."[15]

Making Uniforms More Uniform

Women lauded the late 1970s and early 1980s changes that made male and female Marine uniforms more similar; however, for the next two decades, they selected uniform items while deploring the lack of quality control and availability. In March 1995, the 30th Commandant, General Carl E. Mundy Jr., sent a letter to his generals, commanders, and officers-in-charge reiterating his commitment to provide uniforms that were "flexible and responsive to the needs of our Marines without sacrificing the traditional distinctiveness."[16] The Commandant added, "We will continue to seek those improvements which will enhance the appearance, practicality, comfort and durability of our uniforms without imposing undue financial burdens."[17] The officer white dress uniform was phased out that same year. Instead, female Marine officers wore the white shirt and scarlet necktab with the blue dress jacket over the old white dress skirt.[18]

Field grade and general officers had long been required to possess the evening dress uniform; the uniform was optional for all other officers and for SNCOs. The evening dress A uniform with white waistcoat for male officers and long black skirt for female officers was prescribed for white tie occasions, such as state occasions at the White House or foreign embassies. The officer evening dress B uniform with scarlet waistcoat (general officers only) or scarlet cummerbund (all other officers) was prescribed

* Though not based on historical fact, Marine Corps tradition has it that the bloodstripe is a tribute to the Marines killed in the assault at Chapultepec Hill on 13 September 1847 during the Mexican War.

** Large medals are worn with blue dress A; corresponding ribbons are worn with blue dress B.

Capt Donna J. Neary, USMCR, *U.S. Marine Corps Uniforms, 1983: Twelve Full-color Prints* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps History Division and the Permanent Marine Corps Uniform Board Headquarters, 1983)

FIELD UNIFORMS

Second from the left is a female enlisted Marine wearing the older-style poplin camouflage utilities. As shown here, the service sweater, when worn, is worn under the utility coat. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 4129). Enlisted Marines shall wear their metal/plastic insignia of grade on the utility coat and field coat. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 5303). The utility uniform is only authorized for wear for field type exercises, for work conditions where it is not practical to wear the service uniform, and within the Fleet Marine Force where the wear of utility uniform is an enhancement of readiness. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraphs 3108, 3209, 3306, 3408)

Capt Donna J. Neary, USMCR, *U.S. Marine Corps Uniforms, 1983: Twelve Full-color Prints* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps History Division and the Permanent Marine Corps Uniform Board Headquarters, 1983)

DESERT STORM CAMOUFLAGE UNIFORMS

The female lance corporal at far left wears the desert pattern camouflage uniform with desert brimmed hat; she also has a gas mask/pouch on her left hip.

for official social functions at which civilians would normally wear dinner dress or black tie during both winter and summer. Females could wear the long or short skirt, depending on the degree of formality of the function.

Marine Corps female general officers were presented with a unique dilemma. Soon after Carol A. Mutter was promoted to brigadier general on 1 June 1991, she phoned her female general officer predecessor, Brigadier General Gail M. Reals (Ret), to ask for insights and advice on the job and also discuss the evening dress uniform, as there were only two preceding examples to follow. "She said, essentially, 'You can do whatever you want since you're the only one'," recalled Mutter. There was little to no policy governing the specific details of female general officer mess dress uniform, and Mutter's predecessors had not worn the red waistcoat that was part of the male uniform. "I thought it was important that female GOs [general officers] wear the waistcoat, too, because it was the single most noticeable difference (other than rank insignia, of course) in mess dress uniforms between GOs and field grade officers," wrote Mutter.[19]

The Marine Shop in Quantico that made the waistcoats for male officers declined to handle women's uniforms because of the low demand for the service, but Mutter reached out to Marine Corps Logistics Base Albany, Georgia; the uniform shop there proved more accommodating. Based on her measurements, the shop adapted the standard Marine Corps waistcoat pattern for the female figure and sent the result to Mutter. After a few try-ons and fitting adjustments, including a tailor from the shop traveling to Quantico to fit her in person, Mutter had a workable, very well-fitted, red waistcoat.

She also had to decide which shirt to wear with the mess dress uniform. Field grade female Marines wore the same white shirt with ruffles down the front as those in the Navy and Air Force, accompanied by a scarlet cummerbund. "I felt the ruffles were too much with the waistcoat (and in fact they continued down the front of the shirt under the waistcoat creating bulges) so I opted for a plain white silk shirt with jewel collar," Mutter remembered. "Fran Wilson [Frances C. Wilson] was selected for GO after me, and we agreed to continue with that uniform."[20]

During the next year, design changes were made to the uniform skirt, slacks, shirt, and all-weather coat, as detailed in *ALMAR 129/96*.[21] The olive seasonal uniform skirt and blue dress skirt were given a straighter cut, and a short kick pleat was added at the center back. With the changes, not only did the skirts fit better but also thanks to the kick pleat, a woman wearing the uniform skirt no longer needed to hike up the skirt to climb into a bus or van. Also, a tiny front pocket, just large enough to hold a Marine's military identification card while standing inspection, was added at the waistband. The uniform slacks were also given a straighter cut, and two side pockets were added. The khaki and white dress uniform shirts were manufactured according to identical measurements, and an elastic loop replaced the top buttonhole for more comfortable wear with the necktab.

Jeannine Marie Franz Papers, Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections and University Archives, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, NC

Jeannine Marie Franz while pregnant with daughter, Hawaii, 1999. She wears the service A maternity uniform.

The all-weather coat was given a complete overhaul and tailored for the female figure. The maternity uniform tunic was also revamped for a more professional appearance.[22]

In a long-awaited change, *ALMAR 129/96* also outlined sizing and labeling changes. Marine Corps uniform sizes had never adhered to commercial clothing sizing schemes, and nonstandard sizing meant shirts labeled sizes 6–12 could still appropriately fit the same female Marine. General Mundy determined to standardize production and ensure use of sizing charts conforming to the civilian clothing market. In July 1996, the labeled sizes on female Marine uniforms were lowered by three—for example, old size 12 uniform shirt, skirt, and slacks labels were changed to size 8. Uniform labels were also added to provide bust and hip circumference and garment length measurements on all skirts, slacks, shirts, and coats.[23] The guesswork in determining what size to choose was gone.

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EVENING DRESS UNIFORMS

Shown are the various evening dress uniforms worn by Marine officers and staff noncommissioned officers. The male and female officers' evening dress "A" uniform is normally worn for year-round affairs of state at the White House or embassies and other "white tie" formal social events. The evening dress "B" uniform is prescribed for "black tie" social events during the winter months and evening celebrations such as the Marine Corps' birthday.

Second from the left is a female lieutenant colonel in the evening dress "A" uniform, which is always worn with long skirt. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 3201). The figure is shown wearing a Presidential Service Badge and miniature medals. Illustrated here are the circa-1983 new-style white dress shirt with black necktab, clutch purse with black slip-on cover, and black suede or fabric pumps. The white waistcoat is not prescribed for women; the red cummerbund is worn with both women's evening dress "A" and "B."

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MESS DRESS AND WHITE DRESS UNIFORMS

Mess dress was adopted by women officers in 1964, changing in 1972 and again in 1982. Male staff noncommissioned officers were allowed to wear white mess dress beginning in 1971, while their female counterparts were allowed this uniform in 1973.

Second from the left is a female captain in white dress "B." When this uniform is prescribed, ribbons and badges are worn on the left breast. Medals are not worn. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 6301). The white dress is a summer uniform, and white dress "B" may be prescribed for a variety of social or official functions. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraph 3204)

The fourth figure from the left is a female captain in mess dress. This uniform is authorized for wear by officers of all ranks, but it is not a required uniform for company grade officers. It is generally prescribed for social affairs during the summer uniform period at which civilians would normally wear dinner dress (black tie). Women officers, depending upon the degree of the formality of the function, may choose to wear either the long black skirt shown, or a short black skirt. Miniature medals and breast insignia will be worn on the left front panel of the jacket. No cap is worn with the women's mess dress uniform. (Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, paragraphs 3202 and 6204)

In 1998, the female Marines began wear testing a blue dress skirt with a scarlet bloodstripe down both side seams. The design was intended to duplicate the scarlet bloodstripe worn on the male and female blue dress trousers; Marine corporals through generals wear the bloodstripe.[24] Reaction was more negative than positive, and the idea was rejected.

Donning the Campaign Cover

Male Marine drill instructors and male and female Marine Corps marksmen at the ranges had worn the distinctive flat-brimmed campaign cover—referred to as the "smokey"—since July 1956.[25] The stiffly felted brown hat was chosen for both occupations because it was cool and shaded the eyes against the South Carolina and California sun. The smokey became widely regarded in the Corps and in film as the mark of a drill instructor.

Thanks to the smokey, one could spot a male drill instructor across the lengthy parade deck but not a female drill instructor. Instead, female drill instructors wore the camouflage utility cover or female Marine service cap and either a web belt with a brass plate bearing the Eagle, Globe, and Anchor emblem, or a black leather belt. The belts distinguished between the billet: drill instructor or senior drill instructor. From 1976 to 1983, a scarlet epaulet was used to identify female drill instructors; it was replaced in 1984 by a thin scarlet cord worn over the left shoulder.[26] They still wore the same covers.

The question of why female Marine drill instructors wore a distinct cover from male drill instructors had been raised initially by female Marines when the first women graduated from the Drill Instructor School in 1978.[27] It was asked again on 8 November 1984, when Lieutenant Colonel Shelley B. Mayer, 4th Recruit Training Battalion commanding officer, first presented each female drill instructor a scarlet shoulder cord. The cord was authorized for wear with all but the blue dress uniform, a nod to the increasing wear of utilities by female drill instructors and recruits.[28] Through the 1980s there was a sense among Marine Corps leadership that the service cap was a very distinguishing feature of a female Marine and no other Service had such unique headwear.[29]

HISTORY OF THE SMOKEY

The introduction of the pre–World War II campaign or field hat worn by Marine Corps drill instructors originated in an advisory council meeting in 1956, during which senior noncommissioned officers strongly recommended the adoption of better headgear. The framed khaki barracks cap had a bill, but it did not shade the eyes. The soft khaki garrison cap did not have a bill, and the green herringbone cap worn with the field uniform was inadequate in the summer sun. The pressed-fiber pith helmet was a practical alternative for the hot South Carolina summer. The helmet was cool, and its wide brim provided good shade for the eyes and neck. It later became the hat used by marksmanship instructors at the rifle range.

Further study indicated that the field hat was the item most preferred by drill instructors. The field hat was a tradition going back to the Corps' pre–World War II days. It shaded the neck and eyes well, but it did not keep the head as cool as the pith helmet. It also was more suitable for year-round wear than the pith helmet. By early June 1956, the Parris Island and San Diego training depots had requisitioned 1,000 field hats for delivery on 1 September 1956, but General Wallace M. Greene Jr. wanted to order 700 hats for immediate delivery. On 21 July 1956, all 603 drill instructors received their new hats, soon nicknamed smokey after the hat worn by the famous forest fire prevention mascot, Smokey the Bear.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Female drill instructor inspecting a recruit, showing the scarlet cord worn by female drill instructors before the campaign cover was authorized by Commandant Krulak.

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Commandant Krulak authorized female DIs to wear the smokey on 13 September 1996.

However, the question did not go away, particularly as female and male recruit training grew more identical, and as the role of women in the military expanded in the 1990s. Increasingly, female Marines saw themselves simply as Marines, without distinction from their male counterparts. Upon her June 1996 assumption of command of the 4th Recruit Training Battalion, then-Lieutenant Colonel Angela Salinas asked Commandant General Charles C. Krulak, who was present, about the disparity. He replied, in essence, "Valid point."[30]

On 13 September 1996, General Krulak announced via *ALMAR 327/96*, that effective immediately, all female drill instructors were authorized to wear the previously male-only smokey. The Recruit Depot's service division officer, First Lieutenant Michael J. Prouty, ordered $15,000 worth of Marine Corps campaign covers, which seemed a small sum to have stood in the way of this important gender equalizer.[31] During the 26 September 1996 graduation ceremony, each female Drill Instructor School graduate was issued a smokey.

Transforming young women into Marines was, and remains, a tremendous leadership opportunity, irrespective of the cover worn. However, wearing the smokey for the first time surely must have brought a tiny, crisp smile to even the sternest female drill instructor's lips. On 2 October 1996, with General Krulak present, the scarlet female drill instructor cord was retired and placed in the Parris Island Museum.[32]

Updating Grooming Regulations

The *Navy Times*' Gidget Fuentes observed, "Sharp looks and short hair are what makes Marines stand out from among the other military services."[33] For male Marines, that implied a fresh "high and tight" trim. Female Marines were required only to maintain their hair neatly above the lower edge of the uniform collar, so they had many more style options. The unwritten recruit depot and officer candidate school rule

normally applied: if it took more than five minutes to prepare a hairstyle, then it was not the right style.

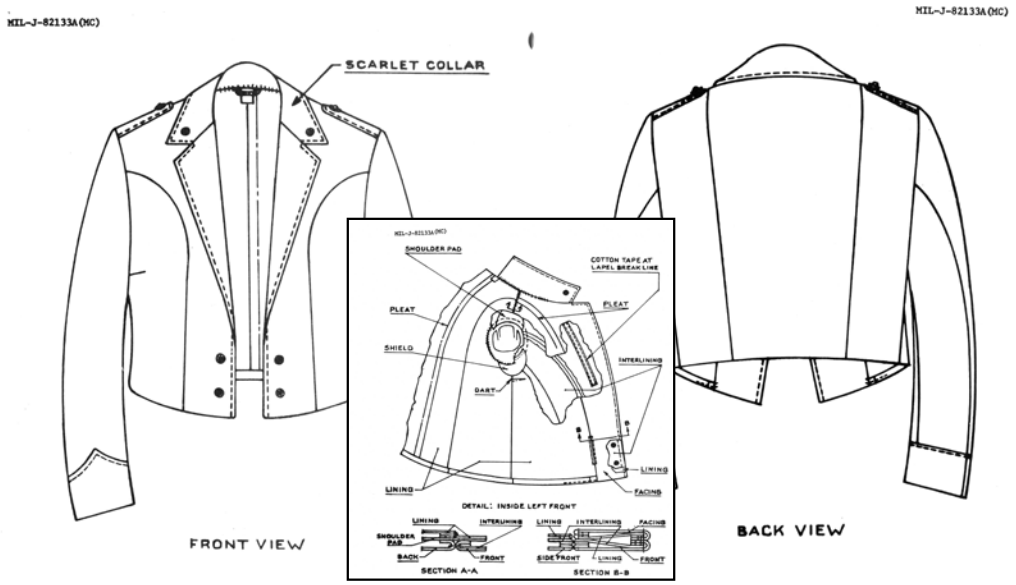
One unforeseen response to expanded gender equality after the repeal of Title 10's combat exclusion statutes was the desire among some female Marines to adopt extremely short, more masculine hairstyles that were easy to keep neat and clean in the field, but which proved too severe for Marine Corps leadership's acceptance.[34] Lieutenant Colonel Marsha Lee Culver headed a process action team chartered by Assistant Commandant General Richard I. Neal. The team spent several months crafting new grooming standards for male and female Marines.[35] The team was comprised of men and women of different races who examined newer variations of hairstyles and chemical treatments. Their effort resulted in "rules that were understandable but weren't too restrictive—without sacrificing the Corps' reputation and traditional uniformity and discipline."[36] Their intention was also to craft positive guidance, such as "Marines are allowed to do this . . . ," rather than negative guidance, such as "doing this is not authorized in the Marine Corps."[37] In 1996, the Marine Corps' grooming goal was to maintain uniformity, as described in a *Navy Times* article:

> Women may wear their hair down during physical training. African-American women may wear multiple braids with simple holders, as long as the braids do not fall below the lower edge of the uniform collar. Women with long hair may use barrettes, combs, rubber bands and bobby pins to keep their hair in a neat style above the lower edge of the collar, as long as any such device remains completely hidden in the hair. No female Marine is allowed a haircut that shaves portions of the scalp other than at the neckline. If the neckline is shaved, it must be balanced. No design is allowed at the neckline or cut into the hair. By Marine Corps Order P1020.34F, Marine Corps Uniform Regulations, this applies to male Marines also.[38]

With respect to makeup, many Marine Corps regulations began as positive guidance only to be transformed into negative guidance because Marines took liberties. Nail polish was one example for which regulations became prohibitive due to abuse of the positive guidance. Initial regulations had specified that noneccentric lipstick and nail polish colors could be worn. A significant number of commanders asked the Marine Corps Uniform Board to provide more detailed guidance.[39]

The original proposal sent to the Permanent Marine Corps Uniform Board members asked "that regulations clarify appropriate nail polish colors and to prohibit its wear with the utility uniform."[40] The discussion moved from the Marine Corps Uniform Board to the Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps' process action team and ultimately to the Commandant. The Marine Corps Uniform Board determined that "cosmetics in the utility uniform do not complement the intent of the uniform, just as spit-shining boots and starching the utility uniform do not serve a 'combat utility' purpose."[41] The final result changed the 1996 uniform regulation to read:

> Cosmetics, if worn, will be applied conservatively and will complement the individual's complexion tone. Exaggerated or faddish cosmetic styles are inappropriate with the uniform and will not be worn. If worn, nail polish and non-eccentric lipstick will harmonize with the scarlet shade used in various service and dress uniform items (i.e. scarlet cord on green service cap, scarlet trim on blue dress uniform, and scarlet background on enlisted insignia of grade), in shades of red, and may be worn with the service, blue dress, blue-white dress and evening dress uniforms. Colored nail polish will not be worn with the utility uniform. Fingernails with multiple colors and decorative ornamentation are prohibited. Nail length will be no longer than 1/4 inch from the tip of the finger.[42]



Official U.S. Marine Corps photo

Until the early 1990s, female evening dress and mess dress uniforms could not be purchased ready-made. Each female officer was responsible for making her own or to have them made by a contracted tailor. The patterns were very detailed.

Conclusion

Between 1977 and 2001, female Marine uniforms underwent several changes and gender equality advances. Female uniforms gradually changed to create uniformity among Marines and to remove many gender disparities. Steps to standardize uniform sizing, fit, and quality and to increase availability took far longer than most female Marines wished. Interestingly, as the number of female Marine field grade officers was so small, even into the early 1990s a woman selected for major, and thus required to possess the evening dress uniform, had to have it custom made or had to sew it herself. The patterns and material were ordered from Marine Corps Logistics Base Albany.*

The sewing instructions—one booklet for each of the six uniform items—read like a war plan.

By the end of the 1990s, female Marine uniforms and uniform regulations had become as consistent as those for male Marines, and female uniforms were as readily available as male uniforms at the military clothing stores.

Notes

1. *MCO P1020.34G, Marine Corps Uniform Regulations* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 31 March 2003), 1–3.
2. Ibid.
3. Stremlow, *A History of the Women Marines*.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

* Uniform patterns, printed on blueprint paper, were for a jacket (black), jacket (white), blouse (white), cummerbund (scarlet), short skirt (black), and long skirt (black).

6. "Windbreaker Is in, Swagger Stick Is Out," *Marine Corps Gazette* 62, no. 10 (October 1997): 3.
7. *Marine Corps Bulletin (MCBul) 1020, Wearing of Khaki Shirts by Women Marines* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 2 October 1978).
8. *MCBul 1020, Women Marines' New Service Uniform Items* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 2 April 1979).
9. *MCBul 1020, Maternity Uniforms for Women Marines* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 23 June 1979).
10. LtCol Mary L. Forde, email message to author, 2 October 2001.
11. *MCBul 1020, New Service Uniform Items for Women Marines* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 22 May 1979).
12. *MCBul 1020, Uniform Regulations Regarding the Wearing of Utility Uniforms* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 28 December 1979).
13. *MCBul 1020, Marine Corps Uniform Regulations* (Washington, DC: Headquarters Marine Corps, 14 October 1980); and "Uniform Changes," *HQMC Hotline*, October 1980, 2.
14. "Uniform Changes," 2.
15. Ibid.
16. "Uniforms," *Navy Times*, 29 May 1995, 13.
17. Ibid.
18. "Officer Whites Being Phased Out," *Leatherneck*, June 1995, 58.
19. LtGen Carol A. Mutter, email message to author, 17 February 2016.
20. Ibid.
21. "Uniform Changes," *Marines*, July 1996, 2.
22. "Uniforms," 14.
23. Ibid.
24. Steve Vogel, "For Marine Corps Women, a Fashion Advance?," *Washington Post*, 3 December 1998, B3.
25. "Parris Island Drill Instructors," Marines.mil, http://www.mcrdpi.marines.mil/Recruit-Training/Drill-Instructors.
26. Col Pamela A. Brill, email message to author, 10 April 2003.
27. LCpl William M. Lisbon, "Female Drill Instructors Don Campaign Covers," *Tri-Command Tribune*, 20 September 1996, 1.
28. Ibid.
29. Col Pamela A. Brill, email message to author, 20 November 2001.
30. Col Angela Salinas, email message to author, 2 January 2002.
31. Lisbon, "Female Drill Instructors," 1.
32. Gidget Fuentes, "The Right Hat for the Job: Female Drill Instructors Authorized to Wear 'Smokey'," *Navy Times*, 26 August 1996, 14.
33. Gidget Fuentes, "Do You Need to Have Hair to Look Sharp?," *Navy Times*, 23 August 1996, 14.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Gidget Fuentes, "The Long Struggle to Come up with New Guidelines," *Navy Times*, 23 August 1996, 14.
37. Capt Daniel W. Dukes, email message to author, 8 August 2001.
38. Fuentes, "The Long Struggle," 14.
39. Dukes email.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

APPENDIX A

FEMALE MARINES STRENGTH, 1977–2001 (ACTIVE DUTY)

YEAR	OFFICERS	ENLISTED	TOTAL
1977	422	3,506	3,928
1978	433	4,652	5,085
1979	459	5,501	5,960
1980	487	6,219	6,706
1981	526	7,091	7,617
1982	560	7,875	8,435
1983	623	8,273	8,896
1984	648	8,577	9,225
1985	654	9,041	9,695
1986	643	9,246	9,889
1987	649	9,140	9,789
1988	653	8,960	9,613
1989	696	9,012	9,708
1990	677	8,679	9,356
1991	685	8,320	9,005
1992	649	7,875	8,524
1993	639	7,206	7,845
1994	643	7,028	7,671
1995	690	7,403	8,093
1996	750	7,814	8,564
1997	788	8,498	9,286*
1998	854	8,928	9,782
1999	889	9,275	10,164
2000	932	9,530	10,462
2001	979	9,572	10,551**

* Data for years 1977–97 obtained from table 2-19 in *Department of Defense Selected Manpower Statistics, Fiscal Year 1997* (Washington, DC: Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1998), 79–80.

** Data for years 1998–2001 obtained from table 2-19 in *Department of Defense Selected Manpower Statistics, Fiscal Year 2001* (Washington, DC: Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 2002), 73–25.

APPENDIX B

FEMALE MARINE UNITS, 1977–2001

Woman Recruit Training Command, Recruit Training Battalion,
Marine Corps Recruit Depot, Parris Island, South Carolina
1977–2001

Activated 23 February 1949 as 3d Recruit Training Battalion,
Marine Corps Recruit Depot, Parris Island, South Carolina

Redesignated 1 November 1986 as 4th Recruit Training Battalion,
Marine Corps Recruit Depot, Parris Island, South Carolina

COMMANDING OFFICERS

LtCol Vera M. Jones	1 August 1975 – 14 September 1977
LtCol Gail M. Reals	15 September 1977 – 31 August 1979
LtCol Barbara Ward Entriken	1 September 1979 – 17 May 1982
Maj Carol Sue Crooker	18 May 1982 – 27 June 1982
LtCol Judybeth Dorothy Barnett	28 June 1982 – 14 May 1984
LtCol Shelley Bliss Mayer	15 May 1984 – 2 July 1986
LtCol Helen Darlene Kruger	3 July 1986 – 5 May 1988
Maj Pamela Anne Brills	6 May 1988 – 4 July 1988
LtCol Frances Carlotta Wilson	5 July 1988 – 4 July 1990
LtCol Sheryl E. Murray	5 July 1990 – 24 June 1992
LtCol Maria Matlak	25 June 1992 – 7 July 1993
LtCol Kathleen G. Bergeron	7 July 1993 – 8 June 1994
LtCol G. Jane Harmon	8 June 1994 – 1 August 1996
LtCol Angela Salinas	1 August 1996 – 28 June 1998
LtCol Adrienne K. Fraser-Darling	28 June 1998 – 26 June 2000
LtCol Mary L. Hochstetler	26 June 2000 – 31 December 2001

SERGEANTS MAJOR

SgtMaj Jeffry E. Nadeau	1 January 1977 – 13 September 1977
SgtMaj Edward P. Grealish	14 September 1977 – 15 December 1978
SgtMaj J. E. Walls	16 December 1978 – 8 November 1979
SgtMaj Thomas Roy Hicks	9 November 1979 – 29 September 1980
SgtMaj Raymond Joseph Jacques Jr.	30 September 1980 – 26 March 1982

SgtMaj George Olivar	27 March 1982 – 31 October 1982
SgtMaj Charles Edward Ledford	1 November 1982 – 5 October 1984
SgtMaj Richard William Doray	5 October 1984 – 29 May 1986
SgtMaj Fred Ciotti	30 May 1986 – 30 June 1988
SgtMaj James Ennis Moore	1 July 1988 – 6 September 1990
SgtMaj Raymond P. Menne	7 September 1990 – 26 April 1991
SgtMaj James P. Kirby	27 April 1991 – 24 June 1991
GySgt Leslie M. Chang	25 June 1991 – 16 October 1991
SgtMaj John M. Mersino	17 October 1991 – 5 April 1993
SgtMaj Gloria J. Harden	5 April 1993 – 21 August 1995
SgtMaj Carl W. Bratton Jr.	22 August 1995 – 29 February 1996
SgtMaj Royce S. Restivo	29 February 1996 – 13 February 1997
SgtMaj Beverly Morgan	13 February 1997 – 18 August 1999
SgtMaj Laurie A. Hart	19 August 1999 – 31 December 1999
SgtMaj Laurie A. Pynn	1 January 2000 – 17 November 2000
1stSgt Stephanie M. Neilan (acting)	17 November 2000 – 6 April 2001
SgtMaj Denise Kreuser	6 April 2001 – 31 December 2001

With the exception of 4th Recruit Training Battalion, MCRD, Parris Island, all-female Marine Corps units were deactivated prior to or during 1977 as women were integrated within the U.S. Marine Corps.

Woman Marine Company, Headquarters Battalion, Headquarters Marine Corps,
Henderson Hall, Arlington, Virginia
Deactivated 4 August 1977 (activated 19 August 1946 as Company E, Headquarters Battalion,
Henderson Hall, Arlington, Virginia)

Woman Marine Company, Headquarters and Service Battalion, Marine Corp Base,
Camp Lejeune, North Carolina
Deactivated 2 August 1977 (activated 13 October 1950 as Company W, Marine Barracks,
Camp Lejeune, North Carolina)

Woman Marine Company, Headquarters and Service Battalion, Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic,
Camp Elmore, Norfolk, Virginia
Deactivated 15 April 1977 (activated 1 April 1952)

Woman Marine Company, Headquarters and Service Battalion, Marine Corps Recruit Depot,
San Diego, California
Deactivated 24 February 1977 (activated 16 June 1952)

APPENDIX C

TRADITIONS

Since 1918, when then-Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels allowed women to enroll for clerical duty in the Marine Corps, women have answered the call to serve proudly as United States Marines. The more than 300 women who entered the Service during World War I to take the places of battle-ready male Marines needed overseas were discharged at the end of the Great War. When the Marine Corps Women's Reserve was established on 13 February 1943, again to "free a man to fight," female Marines were here to stay. On 12 June 1948, Congress passed the Women's Armed Services Integration Act and made women a permanent part of the regular Marine Corps.

While the role of women in the Marine Corps has evolved and greatly expanded, several traditions set into place during the 1940s continue, such as the unique female Marine garrison cover; presentation of the Eagle, Globe, and Anchor emblem to female recruits at the successful completion of recruit training (a tradition adopted by male recruits in August 1988); and *Molly Marine*. This appendix details some of those traditions.

Songs We Sing

Cadence, defined as the beat, time, or measure of rhythmic motion or activity, keeps entry-level recruits, officer candidates, and Marines in step for unit runs at double time (180 steps per minute). The cadence call has taken the name *Jody* for more than a century among each Service. Jody calls for female recruits (and for female officer candidates prior to OCS integration in 1977) were almost always sung to familiar tunes. Some favorites are included here.

"We Are the O. C. Girls"

(to the tune of "Ta-ra-ra boom de ey")
We are the O. C. girls. We wear our hair in curls. We wear our dungarees; they'recalled utilities. We never flirt with men; we have no time for them. As you can plainly see, we are in W. O. C. C. Women.

"Four Years at College"

(to the tune of "Glow Little Glowworm")
Four long years we went to college; learned all sorts of useful knowledge. Left there thinking we knew something; got here finding we knew nothing. Shine our shoes and pull our bunk tight. 2200—we say goodnight. 0600 on the go—go little O. C. go!

"I Wanna Go Home"

They say that in the Marine Corps, the chicken's mighty fine. But mine rolled off the table and started marking time.

REFRAIN: I don't want no more Marine Corps life! Gee, mom, I want to go away from Quantico. Gee, mom, I want to go home!
They say that in the Marine Corps, the biscuits are mighty fine. But one rolled off the table and killed a friend of mine. (REFRAIN)
They say that in the Marine Corps, the coffee's mighty fine. It's good for cuts and bruises, and tastes like iodine. (REFRAIN)
They say that in the Marine Corps, the men are just divine. You ask for Clark Gable; they give you Frankenstein. (REFRAIN)
They say that in the Marine Corps, the uniforms are fine. But it would take Jane Mansfield to fill the front of mine. (REFRAIN)

"Been Drilling on the Drill Field"

(to the tune of "I've Been Working on the Railroad")
I've been drilling on the drill field, all the live long day. I've been drilling on the drill field just to pass the time away. Can't you hear the DIs calling, "Hup two; column right!" Can't you hear the DIs shouting, "The dress is to the right!"
Giants to the front; midget out of sight; one feather merchant guiding right.
And strange as it may seem, this is not a dream. For we are the U.S. Women Marines.

"I Dreamed I Drilled All Night"

(to the tune of "I Could Have Danced All Night," from *My Fair Lady*)
I dreamed I drilled all night. I dreamed I drilled all night; and then they asked for more. My feet were killing me; my legs were killing me. And oh, my back was sore! I'll never know what makes it so confusing; why all at once he called, "Column right!" I only know when he began to yell at me. I dreamed I drilled, drilled, drilled all night!

The unofficial fourth verse to "The Marines' Hymn"

You can tell a girl in the Marines; you can tell her by her walk.
You can tell a girl in the Marines; you can tell her by her talk.
You can tell her by her manners, by her attitude, and such.
You can tell a girl in the Marines.
But you cannot tell her much!

Women Marines Association national song

We're the Women Marines Association.
We're proud of our motto—Semper Fi.
And we're doing our patriotic duty, keeping faith in America alive.
We're one for all and all for honor; and we'll work to keep our country strong.
We're the Women Marines Association, come Marines and join us in our song.

WMA (sung to the tune of "Edelweiss")

Women Marines . . . Women Marines; we're the best in the Nation.
Freedom's cry, standards high, for the next generation.
Women united who served our land, we will stand together.
In WMA, WMA, We'll be faithful forever.

Women Marines Association

At a February 1958 anniversary luncheon of women who served in the Marine Corps, held in Los Angeles, California, Jean Durfee announced her idea for a larger reunion of female Marines. She continued her plans for a reunion after moving to Colorado. She organized a group of former female Marines in the Denver area and obtained mailing lists of other female Marines around the country from any and all sources that would make one available.

The Denver committee incorporated under Colorado law and chose the name Women Marines Association (WMA). In July 1960, 125 female Marines (former and current) assembled for the first national reunion in Denver. They established a permanent association, defined its purpose, set up bylaws, and elected national officers. All women who joined through May 1962 became charter members. The initial term closed with 678 charter members.

Members in the Washington, DC, area adopted bylaws on 30 July 1962 to organize the first chapter, DC-1. Early chapters represented an entire state or commonwealth; for example, most DC-1 chapter members lived in Virginia. The DC-1 chapter charter was ratified on 6 August 1964 along with five additional chapters:

Missouri (bylaws adopted 13 May 1963)
Indiana (bylaws adopted 2 September 1963)
Pennsylvania (bylaws adopted 17 November 1963)
Oregon (bylaws adopted 30 March 1964)
California (bylaws adopted 6 June 1964)

The official WMA seal was approved by the association on 7 September 1972. The WMA's national headquarters opened in 1984 with a major celebration and with the assistance of Brigadier General Gail M. Reals, commanding general, Marine Corps Base, Quantico. After a number of years, the national headquarters moved to Camp Pendleton, California, where it has remained. The Marine Corps provided space for the headquarters; WMA volunteers have staffed it since its opening.

The WMA's Mission is multifaceted:

1. To preserve and promote the history and traditions of women in the Marine Corps from World War I to the present
2. To conduct programs for charitable and educational purposes
3. To counsel, assist, and mutually promote the welfare and well-being of elderly, disabled, and needy women Marine veterans, as well as women currently serving in the Marine Corps
4. To provide entertainment, care, and assistance to hospitalized veterans and members of the Armed Forces of the United States

5. To sponsor or participate in activities of a patriotic nature, particularly those that perpetuate the tradition and esprit de corps of the U.S. Marine Corps
6. To foster, encourage, and perpetuate the spirit of comradeship of women who have served or now serve the U.S. Marine Corps, Regular or Reserve components[1]

Every two years, WMA holds a national convention and professional development conference, lasting five or six days, where members gather for educational seminars and business meetings to ensure the working order of the organization. All active-duty Marines, female and male, may attend via temporary additional duty orders, at their own expense and duty availability.

WMA Chapter Projects

Chapters are involved in many projects that promote WMA, support members of the armed forces, and encourage volunteering within chapter communities. Through its projects, the WMA and its members preserve the history of women Marines; support Marines and servicemembers deployed in harm's way; volunteer at military hospitals offering support and assistance to wounded Marines and their families; assist Marine Corps Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps programs with awards and special needs; give aid and attend to elderly members and veterans in need; encourage volunteering at Veterans Association hospitals and homes and at United Service Organizations facilities at numerous airports; educate the community about women in the military and raise veteran awareness; organize runs and other events to raise funds to further the activities of the chapters; and many other charitable and community support activities.

WMA Assistance Programs

The WMA has several programs and services that benefit and assist women Marines, their families, and veterans, including scholarships, emergency funds, and volunteer opportunities.

The WMA Scholarship committee administers a program of grants that are awarded to qualified applicants sponsored by WMA members and that may be used at any accredited institution of higher learning. These grants are in the form of seven scholarships: the WMA Memorial Scholarship, the Lily H. Gridley Memorial Scholarship, the LaRue A. Ditmore Music Scholarship, the Ethyl and Armin Wiebke Memorial Scholarship, the Major Megan McClung Memorial Scholarship, the Agnes Sopcak Memorial Scholarship, and the Virginia Guveyan Memorial Scholarship. A number of additional scholarships in various amounts may also be given.

WMA's Veterans Affairs Volunteer Service encourages members to volunteer in support of the veteran communities found at the Regional Veterans Administration and other medical facilities.

The WMA also has established an emergency fund grant for veterans who have short-term emergency financial needs, such as skills training, loss of support, severe illness, and catastrophic accidents. It is a one-time-per-person grant limited to no more than $1,000.

For additional information on WMA programs, scholarships, and services, visit www.WomenMarines.org.

Molly Marine

The original *Molly Marine* statue, the first statue depicting a military woman in the United States, was dedicated on 10 November 1943 in New Orleans, Louisiana, on the Marine Corps' 168th birthday and nine months

Official U.S. Marine Corps photo,
by LCpl Aaron Bolser

Molly Marine stands tall during the rededication ceremony 16 October 2015, as part of the centennial celebration on Parris Island, SC. The statue bears the inscription, "in honor of women Marines who serve their country in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Marine Corps." This is a replica statue of the original *Molly Marine* monument located in New Orleans, which was first erected in 1943, the year the women's reserve first activated.

after women were allowed to volunteer for duty as Marines with the Marine Corps Reserve. The statue was the idea of recruiting officer Captain Linus Hardy and recruiter technical sergeant Charles Gresham, and it was intended to serve as a recruiting tool for the Marine Corps.[2]

Standing 20 feet tall from the base of her pedestal to the top of her barracks cover, *Molly Marine* was sculpted by renowned French Quarter and Mexican artist Enrique Alférez, who donated his time and talent. Alférez had once been a cartographer in the Mexican Revolutionary Army of Francisco "Pancho" Villa.[3] He based the most important parts of the sculpture on five women who served as models: Judy Mosgrove, a professional model and former Marine, and four members of the U.S. Marine Corps Women's Reserve from Marine Corps Recruiting Station, New Orleans.

Sergeants Louise Godal and Neilson Strock were the artist's inspiration for *Molly's* face; First Lieutenant Annie Delp and Sergeant Hazel Parker served as models for her body.[4] Static or pose work was done by Mosgrove when the Marines were busy with military duties.[5] *Molly* has a tree branch display on her back and base to act as a cover for the steel rod that provides her structural strength.[6]

Originally made of granite and marble chips due to wartime restrictions on bronze, she stands proudly at the corner of Elks Place and Canal Street. At her unveiling, *Molly Marine* represented the 22,000 women who "freed an entire Marine division [the 6th Marine Division] to fight" by serving during World War II.

By 1961, the excessive heat, humidity, and vehicle exhaust of New Orleans had caused the original statue to deteriorate. Collaboration between the WMA and Marine Corps League, beginning in 1961, led to fundraising to recast *Molly* in bronze. The unveiling of the new bronze *Molly* took place during the WMA's fourth biennial convention, held in New Orleans in 1966. She now represents the innumerable contributions made by all women who have served as U.S. Marines.[7]

Lieutenant General Mutter and (Medal of Honor recipient) Major General James E. Livingston cochaired the Molly Marine Restoration Society fund-raising committee, which was formed in 1998 by the Marine Corps League, the Marine Support Group of New Orleans, and the WMA to restore and preserve *Molly* in

perpetuity. The Molly Marine Restoration Society raised more than $40,000 for another restoration of the original *Molly Marine* statue in New Orleans and the creation of two cast-bronze replicas of the statue. The society is responsible for the maintenance of all *Molly Marines*.

In October 1999, the first of two bronze casts made from the original *Molly Marine* was dedicated at Memorial Park, Marine Corps Recruit Depot Parris Island. On 2 September 2000, the second replica was dedicated aboard Marine Corps Base Quantico in front of the Gray Research Center, during a ceremony attended by more than 750 people, many of whom were members of the WMA attending its 21st convention.

REMARKS FROM LIEUTENANT GENERAL CAROL A. MUTTER (RET) ON THE 64TH ANNIVERSARY OF WOMEN IN THE MARINE CORPS, 2 SEPTEMBER 2000

Over the years women Marines have frequently contributed to helping maintain the original statue in New Orleans that is so special to all of us.

When the Marine Corps opened its ranks permanently to women in February 1943 they were recruited to "free a man to fight"—and they did. By June 1944, women reserves constituted 85 percent of the enlisted personnel on duty at HQMC and from 1/2 to 2/3ds of the personnel manning all major posts and stations in the U.S. At their peak, there were over 19,000 women in Marine uniforms, enough to free men to form the 6th Marine Division—a unit that was most essential to our victory in the Pacific.

It's most appropriate to celebrate the anniversary of the opening of the Marine Corps to women at the Molly statue. In 1943, the local Marine recruiter in New Orleans was looking for a way to let women know they were now welcome—in fact, needed—in the Marines. He spoke to Enrique Alferez, an artist who wanted to get into the Marines, about doing a statue. We now have full size copies of this statue at both bases where we train women entering the Corps: MCRD, Parris Island, SC and Quantico, VA. It's been too many years since we've had an anniversary celebration at the New Orleans Molly statue. I couldn't be more delighted that there are those who have made the effort to do this again. I thank you the organizers for all their work and all the others who are in attendance. I wish I could be there, as well.

On the surface, Molly may not look like the women today who wear the Marine Corps uniform, but on the inside, I can assure you, the patriotism, the honor, courage and commitment are very much the same.

Best wishes to all and Semper Fidelis,

Carol A. Mutter[1]

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[1] LtGen Carol A. Mutter (Ret), "Remarks at the Sixty-fourth Anniversary of Women in the Marine Corps, at the Molly Marine Statue" (speech, New Orleans, LA, 13 February 2007).

The ceremony featured many guest speakers, including Major General John F. Cronin, commanding general of Marine Corps Base, Quantico, and retired Lieutenant General Carol A. Mutter.[8] Mutter later recalled:

> The original idea of the Molly Marine Restoration Society was to raise funds to again restore the original statue in NOLA [New Orleans, Louisiana]. The Society then got donors with deep pockets interested (primarily former Marines who made it big in oil in NOLA) and were able to fund two more statues—Quantico and Parris Island. The Quantico dedication was in 2000 in conjunction with the WMA convention in DC.* We bussed those from the convention who wanted to attend to Quantico, and dedicated the statue in front of the Gray Research Center.[9]

A fourth *Molly* was dedicated in front of the National Museum of the Marine Corps on 5 July 2013, by Major General Angela Salinas, at that time the Corps' senior female general officer, on her last day of active duty.

Courtesy of Rhonda LeBrescu

This *Molly Marine* statue, awarded to recruit Rhonda LeBrescu in 1976, was "wounded on active duty" and now sports a homemade Purple Heart.

Molly Marine Award

The Molly Marine Leadership Award was established in 1969 to recognize noteworthy achievement by active duty female Marines. A ceramic statuette in the likeness of the *Molly Marine* statue was presented to recipients, along with a Certificate of Noteworthy Achievement.

Initially, the awards were presented to the honor graduates of each Woman Officer Basic Course and of each Woman Marine NCO Leadership Course and to the most exemplary female recruit in each graduation platoon. The awards to the Woman Marine NCO Leadership Course and to the Woman Officer Basic Course were discontinued in 1972 and 1978, respectively.

Currently the Molly Marine Award is presented to a recruit in each graduating platoon who has been selected by her peers as best demonstrating the qualities of a Marine. A certificate, photo of *Molly Marine*, and a commemorative coin are now presented. In addition, an entry is made in the Marine's Service Record Book of her receiving the award.

Prayer for a Woman Marine

> Creator of us all,
>
> Make me ever aware of your presence. Grant me the vision, patience, and courage to be always faithful in carrying out your purpose for my life. Help me that I may ever live as one, who, conscious of the blessings of country, evidence by my responsible actions, the highest ideals by which I have sought to serve and live. May I do all things to the honor and glory of your holy name.
>
> Amen.
>
> (The Reverend Mrs. Gladys E. Davis, National Chaplain, WMA [Undated])

* The convention was hosted by the WMA DC Chapter, but it was actually held in nearby Arlington, VA.

The Lady Marine Rose

The Lady Marine Rose—Montezuma red in color—was presented to the Women Marines Association at the 11th Biennial Convention in Seattle, Washington, in 1980. It was a 10-year dream of the Greater Oregon Chapter in Portland (known as the City of Roses) to have a rose developed in this special color, originally created as a lipstick shade by Elizabeth Arden during World War II to match the "Marine Scarlet" accents on female Marine uniforms. The idea originated with chapter member Eva Rae Briscoe, and the roses were developed especially for WMA by the Northwest Rose Growers Association in Woodland, Washington.

The then-national president of the WMA, Mary Knapp, announced the adoption of the Lady Marine Rose as the official WMA flower, and the Greater Oregon Chapter changed its name to the Lady Marine Rose Chapter.

A National Rose Committee was established in 1982 to handle orders of the rose. Soon, approximately 2,000 Lady Marine Roses were blooming throughout the United States and as far away as Japan, including at the home of the Commandants of the Marine Corps.

All profits from the sale of the rose were used to fund WMA's scholarship program. However, the Pacific Northwest winter of 1983–84 was quite severe. Roseway Nurseries, which grew and distributed the Lady Marine Rose, lost its entire stock, which drove it out of business.[10] The Lady Marine Rose was not resurrected, but it may still grow in gardens around the United States.

Photo by Carol Highsmith, courtesy of Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation

The Women in Military Service for America Memorial at Arlington Cemetery, Arlington, VA.

Women in Military Service for America Memorial

On 30 October 1986, the 99th U.S. Congress authorized a memorial to honor women who had served in the U.S. Armed Services.[11] The Women in Military Service for America (WIMSA) Memorial is located at the ceremonial entrance to Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia. It was dedicated on 18 October 1997, and it is the only major national memorial in the United States that honors all women who have defended the country throughout history, which recognizes their patriotism and bravery as a part of the nation's heritage.

The WIMSA Memorial documents and displays the stories of individual servicewomen as well as their shared history, illuminating their contributions to the nation's history. According to its literature, the memorial "recognizes all women who have served in or with the U.S. Armed Forces (past, present and future); documents their experiences and tells their stories of service, sacrifice, and achievement . . . illustrates their partnership with men in defense of our nation; and serves as inspiration for others."[12] The memorial features an education center as well as theater and exhibit areas, and it houses a collection of personal and military artifacts from women's service, their oral histories and memoirs, personal and military records, photographs, and documents.

The memorial is operated and maintained by the Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization founded in 1985.

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4. Pridemore, "Molly Marine Monument Dedicated at Parris Island."
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APPENDIX D

WOMEN MARINE TRAILBLAZERS

The Marine Corps was fortunate in having leaders who did not let gender interfere with their desire to put the best Marine, male or female, in senior staff billets. In 1978, the 26th Commandant, General Louis H. Wilson Jr., opened Fleet Marine Force assignments to female Marines due, in part, to the consistently high quality of women choosing to serve as Marines.[1] This gender-blind policy came to the fore during the 1990s. The 30th Commandant, General Carl E. Mundy Jr., had fostered that philosophy while serving as commanding general of all Marine Forces in the Atlantic, before he assumed the commandancy. General Charles C. Krulak did the same as commander of Marine Forces, Pacific/Commanding General, Fleet Marine Forces, Pacific, 1994–95, before being appointed as the 31st Commandant.

Some of the trailblazing female Marines proven best for the job are mentioned in this appendix. They are just a sample of those who did not let gender deter them from achieving success in their service as Marines. Female Marines are justly proud of their accomplishments and thrilled at what the future holds.

The primary reference for these "firsts" is the "Trailblazers" speech presented by retired Sergeant Major Ellie L. Judge and retired Lieutenant Colonel Nita Bob Warner to the Women Marines Association 2000 biennial convention in Washington, DC, on 2 August 2000, unless otherwise cited.

1977	Master Gunnery Sergeant Mary Vaughn, who had been the first African American female Marine to hold that rank, received her warrant officer commission, adding another first to her credits.[2] Gayle Ann (Fitch) Robbins, having spent two years as a deputy sheriff cadet before joining the Marines, was particularly qualified to become one of the Corps' first female military police (MOS 5811).[3]
1978	Second Lieutenant Jo Duden, one of 15 women in the 224-member Echo Company at TBS, was selected as the honor graduate.[4] Lieutenant Colonel Jane Wallis became the first female G-1 (administration and personnel officer) to serve at Fleet Marine Forces, Pacific, Camp Smith, Hawaii. Private First Class Anita Jackson, a 5811 military police, was the first female Marine security guard at Marine Helicopter Squadron 1 (HMX-1), which provides direct aviation support to the president of the United States. Second Lieutenant Mary Forde was the first female supply officer assigned to the 3d Marine Division on Okinawa, Japan.[5] Second Lieutenants Beth Salamanca and Marcia Schaffer were assigned MOS 2302 explosive ordnance disposal (the MOS is now restricted to warrant and limited duty officers, MOS 2305).[6] Major Lorraine G. Sadler was among the first female Marines to attend Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Marine Corps Base Quantico.[7]

1979	Lance Corporal Anita Claytor, another early military police, was the first female Marine presidential security guard assigned to HMX-1 at Quantico.[8] Second Lieutenant Michele Venne became the Corps' first woman engineer, graduating top of her engineer class in the process. Colonel Valeria F. Hilgart was recalled to active duty and became the first female Marine to serve as chief of staff at a major command—the Marine Corps Logistics Command Albany, Georgia. Major Shelley Mayer was the first female Marine assigned to command a company of male and female midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland. Sergeant Jeanne Jacko became the first female Marine security guard and was posted to the U.S. embassy in Amman, Jordan. From 1979 to 1982, Major Lorraine G. Sadler served as the first female Marine assistant chief of staff for Intelligence, 2d Force Service Support Group, Camp Lejeune.[9]
1981	Evelyn Potts, who had been a driving force in the class action suit against the Marine Corps to authorize female limited duty officers (LDOs), was among the first female Marines selected after *ALMAR 002/81* made women eligible for appointment as LDOs.
1983	Sergeant Lorria McKnight, stationed at Marine Corps Air Station Yuma, Arizona, became a C-12 Huron crew chief.[10] Lance Corporal Debra F. McCoy and Private First Class Sherre Enzminger joined the Fire Fighting and Rescue Division (Crash Crew) at Marine Corps Air Station New River, North Carolina. They were two of the four women in the New River Crash Crew.[11] Major Karen I. Kelly was assigned duty as watch officer at the Marine Corps Command Center, Headquarters Marine Corps (then at the Navy Annex in Arlington, Virginia), which served as a continuous link between Headquarters and the National Military Command Center and enabled the Commandant to communicate securely with all Marine Corps commands.[12]
1985	Colonel Gail M. Reals was selected by a board of general officers as the first woman for advancement to brigadier general. Colonel Jan Scott became the first female officer within the Department of the Navy appointed commanding officer of a Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps (NROTC) unit when she was assigned to the University of Idaho, one of the nation's 64 NROTC units.[13] Captain E. Deborah Elek was among 18 Marines selected by the Marine Corps Astronaut Candidate Selection Board.[14] In 1987, NASA interviewed her for Mission Specialist Astronaut Candidate. Although not selected, it gave new meaning to the phrase "new frontier."[15] Then-Recruit Anita Lobo was in the first series of female recruits to drill and be inspected with the M16A2 service rifle and to fire for qualification—where she scored 246 out of a possible 250, setting a range record.[16] Then-Private First Class Betty J. Kramer became the first female Marine to attend the CH-53E Super Stallion Fleet Readiness Aviation Maintenance Program (instruction to aviation enlisted maintenance personnel between initial school training and MOS assignment).[17] She was assigned MOS 6323 (aircraft avionics technician) for the Super Stallion. Staff Sergeant Lou Ann Rickley was the first female Marine to receive the Marine Corps Aviation Association Plane Captain of the Year Award and also won the Navy League Captain Winifred Quick Collins Award for inspirational leadership from an enlisted woman within the Department of the Navy.[18] Corporal Cassandra Best was the first female Marine named Marine Corps Athlete of the Year, winning for basketball.
1986	Captain Rhonda G. LeBrescu was the first female Marine assigned as attaché to the U.S. consulate in Hong Kong. In 1976, then-Private First Class LeBrescu had been the first female Marine to graduate from the Defense Language Institute, Monterey, California, as a Chinese Mandarin linguist.[19]

1987	Major Mitzi Manning created the table of organization and the table of equipment for Headquarters and Headquarters Squadron, Marine Corps Air Station Camp Pendleton. She created the Fleet Augmentation Program agreement to staff the organization, then wrote the 5400 series Marine Corps Bulletin, approved and signed by direction of the Commandant, that activated the squadron. On 18 February 1987, she became the squadron's first commanding officer.[20] Sergeant Roxanne Conrad, as a member of the Marine Corps Pistol Team, was authorized to wear the smokey brimmed hat. In July, Sergeant Conrad outscored every active duty Marine in the National Trophy Individual Match during the national competition at Camp Perry, Ohio.[21] Lieutenant Colonel Lori G. Sadler was the first female Marine assigned as assistant chief of staff for Intelligence, 1st Marine Amphibious Force, serving until 1990.
1988	Brigadier General Gail M. Reals was reassigned from the Corps' Manpower Division to Marine Corps Base Quantico, as the Corps' only female general officer and its first female base commander.[22] Captain Angela Salinas was assigned to be the executive officer at Recruiting Station Charleston, West Virginia. Within a year she assumed command, becoming the first woman to command a Marine Corps recruiting station. Colonel Carol A. Mutter became the first woman of any Service to gain qualification as division chief for the operation of the commander in chief, Space Command Center. Lieutenant Colonel Lori Sadler (née Garcia) became the first Latina promoted to colonel.[23]
1989	Captain Kathleen V. Harrison was transferred to Panama City, Panama, to assume the duties as U.S. Southern Command intelligence watch chief and participate in Operation Just Cause.[24]
1990	Captain Kathleen V. Harrison served as executive officer, Tactical Analysis Team (TAT) in Bolivia, and then for the TAT in Peru, where she both supported counterdrug operations with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration and served as senior military advisor to the U.S. ambassador.[25] Colonel Lori G. Sadler was the first female Marine assigned as director of intelligence, C4I (command, control, communication, computer, and intelligence) Division, Headquarters Marine Corps—another female Marine first.[26] Private First Class Wynette C. Perry became the first African American female Marine assigned the 6222 MOS (AV-8B Harrier jet mechanic).[27]
1992	Doris Daniels became the first African American woman promoted to lieutenant colonel while serving as commanding officer, Military Entrance Processing Command, Atlanta.[28] Debra A. Woodard was promoted to lieutenant colonel not long after Lieutenant Daniels and commanded the Personnel Management School, Camp Johnson, North Carolina (1992–94), one of the first women to command a major activity.[29] Major Melinda Hofstetter became the first female Marine officer selected for the Latin America Foreign Area Officer Program. While serving as the assistant intelligence officer at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, her shop, N2, managed the Cuban Asylum Seeker Program.[30] Brigadier General Carol A. Mutter was the first woman of any military Service given command of a major tactical organization: the 3d Force Service Support Group (now called Marine Logistics Group), Okinawa, Japan. General Mutter was responsible for more than 6,000 Marines and Navy personnel providing combat support to the 3d Marine Division and 1st Marine Aircraft Wing in the Western Pacific.[31] Among her principal staff officers were Lieutenant Colonel Sheryl E. Murray (G-1; administration and personnel), Major Karen S. Prokop (G-2; intelligence), Lieutenant Colonel Nancy P. Anderson (G-6; communications and information technology), Major Catkin M. Burton (comptroller), and Lieutenant Colonel Ellen B. Healey (staff judge advocate). Major Angela Salinas became the first female Marine assigned as a combat service support ground monitor, responsible for assigning more than 1,000 majors in combat service support MOSs.[32]

1992	Lieutenant Colonel-select Mary V. Jacocks received orders to serve as commanding officer, Marine Security Guard (MSG) Company A, Frankfurt, Germany, making her the first female Marine assigned MSG command.[33] Gunnery Sergeant Melody Naatz earned the right to wear the flat-brimmed smokey cover while working with male and female recruits as a primary marksman instructor (MOS 8531) during the two weeks of recruit marksmanship training. Gunnery Sergeant Joan Straub deployed aboard the USS *Independence* (CV 62) as an intelligence analyst with the 3d Surveillance, Reconnaissance and Intelligence Group.
1993	Colonel Mitzi Manning served as the assistant chief of staff, G-1, at Marine Forces Pacific (July 1993–May 1995); she was the first woman to hold the billet since it had become an operating forces headquarters. She handled manpower, personnel, billet structure, equal opportunity, and all quality-of-life issues for Marines in the Pacific—at the time, more than 90,000 of the 177,000 Marines on active duty.[34] Gunnery Sergeant Lisa Streicher was the first female Marine to serve at Naval Air Station Keflavik, Iceland, in February, taking over as supply chief for Marine Security Forces aboard the air station. Second Lieutenant Sarah M. Deal was the first female Marine selected for naval aviation training. Gunnery Sergeant Major Shanda L. Elkins was picked to go before the selection board for the Recruit Training Regiment drill master program.[35] Elkins was selected and became the Corps' first female Recruit Training Regiment drill master.[36]
1994	Sergeant Michelle Bransom was selected as the only female member of the All-Marine Rifle Team after impressing team captain, Chief Warrant Officer-2 Joseph Pereira, with her performance in Marine Corps division matches.[37] Sergeant Bransom earned the 1994 Annie Oakley trophy—awarded to the best female shooter at the annual inter-Service competition. She hoped the award would attract other women to try for the team.[38] Major General Carol A. Mutter became the first female Marine selected for two-star rank and was assigned to lead the Marine Corps Research, Development and Acquisition Command. She was also the senior female on active duty in the U.S. military.[39] Sergeant Major Sylvia Walters was the senior enlisted woman on active duty. Captain Annette K. Kehoe deployed with the 31st Marine Expeditionary Unit, October 1994–May 1995, a Marine Corps first. She was joined in January 1995 by Captain Patricia M. Hannigan.
1995	First Lieutenant Sarah Deal received her gold wings as the Marine Corps' first female aviator on 21 April and became the Corps' first CH-53E pilot. Gilda A. Jackson became the Corps' first female African American colonel. Captain Laura Little deployed as a data communications platoon commander in support of Operation United Shield, the withdrawal of United Nations forces from Somalia. In what was perhaps the strongest show of female equality, Corporal Chesty XI, a brindle-and-white English bulldog, became the official mascot of Marine Barracks Washington, DC, on 24 August, during a ceremony at the oldest post in the Corps. Its first female canine leatherneck, she was affectionately referred to as "Molly" by her human Marine Barracks Marines. In typical can-do fashion, not only did Molly march in 127 consecutive Friday evening Marine Corps Barracks parades, but she also spent her off-duty hours as a therapy dog in Washington, DC, area hospitals and nursing homes.[40]
1996	Major General Carol A. Mutter was nominated by President Bill Clinton to lieutenant general.[41] She became the deputy chief of staff for Manpower and Reserve Affairs. Private First Class Michelle L. Thompson, a field radio operator, was the first female Marine communicator attached to a firing battery, as a member of the 1st Light Anti-Aircraft Missile Battery, Marine Corps Air Station Yuma.[42]

1996	First Lieutenant Jeanne M. Buchanan became the Corps' first female naval flight officer. Lance Corporals Elizabeth Deal and Lori Privette and Private First Class Christina Richard became the first female Marines to serve as crew chiefs for the UH-1N Huey helicopter.[43] First Lieutenant Traci B. Benjamin became the first female Marine CH-46 Sea Knight pilot and First Lieutenant Mary Margaret Kenyan became the first female Marine UH-1W Huey pilot.[44]
1997	Master Sergeant Patricia A. Crimmins was selected as the first female Marine to hold the drum major MOS (5521) in the U.S. Marine Band. Staff Sergeant Julia L. Watson, a distinguished marksman, was assigned to Weapons Training Battalion, Marine Corps Combat Development Command, Quantico, as an instructor and competitor. Sergeant Major Shiela Skinner was the first female sergeant major of an operational squadron—Marine Fighter Attack Squadron 312 (VMFA-312), Marine Corps Air Station Beaufort, South Carolina. She made two six-month deployments with the squadron aboard the USS *Enterprise* (CVN-65). Master Gunnery Sergeant Patricia McLane reported to Marine Corps Base Camp Lejeune, as the equal opportunity advisor and was subsequently selected the Marine Corps' senior equal opportunity advisor. First Lieutenant Susan L. Jenkins became the first female Marine CH-53D Sea Stallion pilot, and First Lieutenant Karen F. Tribbett did the same for the F/A-18 Hornet. First Lieutenant Keri L. Schubert became the first female Marine weapons systems officer for the F/A-18.[45] Sergeant Major Charlene K. Wiese Perisho was named the Marine Forces Reserve Sergeant Major, the first female to hold the post.[46] First Sergeant Lisa Roe became the first female Marine company senior enlisted leader at the U.S. Naval Academy. Sergeant Major Cherry McPherson was assigned to the West Coast Weapons and Field Training Battalion, Marine Corps Recruit Depot San Diego, California, and Sergeant Major Leslie Chang held the same billet at the East Coast Weapons and Field Training Battalion, Marine Corps Recruit Depot Parris Island. Personnel from both battalions provide instruction to recruits in marksmanship, Marine Corps common skills, and facilitate conduct of the Crucible. While serving as secretary to the Joint Staff, Colonel Frances C. Wilson was nominated for brigadier general; she assumed command of Marine Corps Base Quantico, on 5 September—her fourth major command during her 25-year career.[47]
1998	First Lieutenant Esther F. Julicher became the first female AV-8B Harrier pilot, and First Lieutenant Ann Hout became the first female KC-130 Hercules pilot.[48] Sergeant Christine Weber completed Jumpmaster School at Fort Benning, Georgia, and was also the first female Marine to occupy MOS 0451, airborne delivery specialist (parachute rigger).[49]
1999	Sergeant Tracy Coles became the first female Marine crew chief for HMX-1, responsible for transporting the president of the United States. Captain Roni R. Elmore became the first female AH-1W Super Cobra pilot.[50] Colonel Marsha Lee Culver assumed command of the Corps' largest battalion—Headquarters and Service Battalion, Quantico—with more than 4,000 personnel. Colonel Nancy P. Anderson assumed command of the Corps' second largest battalion—Headquarters and Service Battalion, Henderson Hall, Arlington, Virginia, and also served as the first Henderson Hall base commander, with nearly 3,000 personnel. Sergeant Kelly L. Anderson became the first female Marine to complete Designated Marksman School at Fleet Combat Training Center, Dam Neck, Virginia.

2000	Colonel Gilda Jackson became the first woman to command the Naval Aviation Depot Cherry Point, North Carolina.[51] Captain Lou Ann Rickley won the Captain Charles J. "Chuck" Nechvatal Award for Aviation Ground Maintenance Officer of the Year; she was also the first female Marine limited duty officer captain in this MOS (6004).[52]
2001	First Lieutenant Vernice Armour became the Corps' first female African American naval aviator, going on to pilot the AH-1W Super Cobra. Lance Corporal Lisa A. Bethke became one of the first women on the All-Marine Wrestling Team.[53]

Notes

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APPENDIX E

CORE TRAINING PROGRAMS

Recruit Training

By 1999–2001, female recruit training had been developed as follows. Potential recruits and officer candidates visit a Military Entrance Processing Station, where they take a series of tests including the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB). The ASVAB assesses academic, verbal, and mathematical abilities as well as skills in science, electronics, and mechanics. The General Technical (GT) score, which remains on a Marine's permanent Service record, and the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) scores are derived from the ASVAB.

The GT helps determine MOS and whether a recruit can apply for warrant or commissioned officer programs. To serve as a commissioned officer requires at least a 120 on the ASVAB. The AFQT score helps determine whether a recruit enlists with an open contract (meaning no MOS is promised) for the recruit with a lower, but qualifying score, or under contract for a particular MOS for the recruit with a higher qualifying score.

If the ASVAB score is sufficient to enter the Marine Corps, the potential Marine is administered a medical exam and meets with a Marine recruiter to sign the enlistment contract and enter the recruit "pool." The poolee then enters the Delayed Entry Program from 14 to 365 days, depending on whether they have already earned a high school diploma or been assigned a training start date. Recruiters maintain contact with awaiting poolees and encourage them to participate in drills and volunteer projects with their local Marine Corps Reserve unit. More importantly, poolees are urged to participate in a physical conditioning program available from the recruiters and via the Marine Corps Recruiting Command website.

All female recruits train in the 4th Recruit Training Battalion at Marine Corps Recruit Depot (MCRD) Parris Island, South Carolina. Within the upcoming 1,518 training hours, young civilians transform into basically trained Marines, imbued with the Corps' core values of honor, courage, and commitment. Upon arrival, recruits spend four or five days undergoing physical examinations, taking mental and occupational skill classification tests, and receiving uniforms and equipment to begin their assimilation.

Within the 4th Recruit Training Battalion, 40–45 female recruits form a platoon and will live and train together with their drill instructors. Approximately 600 women are in training at Parris Island on any given day.[1] The recruit training experience is divided into several parts: processing, basic training, swim and marksman training, team week, and field training. Omnipresent drill instructors guide their recruits every waking moment.

Cohesion: A Core Concept

People cannot be forced to like one another, but they can be motivated to work together. One depends upon social cohesion, while the other can be fostered through task cohesion. Within any group, smaller social groups

appear. People tend to socialize with others like them. In 1992, *cohesion* was defined to include the relationship that develops in a unit or group where members

1. share common values and experiences;
2. conform to group norms and behaviors to ensure group survival and goals; and
3. focus on group activities and goals.

Unit and task cohesion are important to the successful transformation from civilians to Marines. Some basic military skills are taught at the recruit depots, but training to work and survive as a team comes after the title "Marine" is earned. For the vast majority of Marines, unit and task cohesion are developed during Marine Combat Training (MCT). MCRD San Diego graduates (all of whom are men) attend MCT at Camp Pendleton, California. Beginning in 1997, all Parris Island graduates, both male and female, attend MCT at Camp Geiger, North Carolina. Until billeting was added at Camp Geiger, women received separate MCT at Parris Island.

The 12 weeks of recruit training complete the transformation step of changing young civilians into basically trained Marines. Marine Corps recruit training is a socialization process: basic civilians are forged into basic Marines by drill instructors who instill in them the discipline to respond immediately to orders under stress.

Processing Week

A recruit's first week at Parris Island is not included in the official count of training days, even though tremendous learning occurs. From the first step on Monday onto the yellow footprints to Sunday's instruction in series procedures, a recruit is clothed, equipped, and tested for health and fitness—and probably remembers none of it.

The process begins with vocabulary. The pronoun "I" is immediately banned from the recruit's vocabulary and replaced with "this recruit" or "the recruits." There is no such word as "you" or "I" at Parris Island. The bathroom is *the head*. The floor is *the deck*. Walls are *bulkheads* and the stairs to the upper floor becomes taking the *ladder topside*. Food is *chow*. A bed is a *rack*. A uniform hat becomes a *cover*. In turning front, right, back, and left, the recruit faces *forward*, *starboard*, *aft*, and *port*. The drill instructor is always "Drill Instructor."

The training schedule also provides recruits countless hours to spend with their M16A2 rifle—taking it apart, cleaning it, putting it back together, drilling, and cleaning, and more drilling and cleaning. Recruits take on the mantra: "This is my rifle. There are many like it, but this is mine." Their service rifle's serial number becomes easier to recall than a best friend's telephone number. A recruit will also keep their rifle ready just as they are ready.

Basic Training

At 0500 (5:00 a.m.) on training day one, recruits meet their drill instructors. The senior drill instructor and two or three assistants make a unique and lasting impression on each recruit. At first, the impression is one of in-your-face commands with impossible time limits to accomplish each order. By graduation, drill instructors are mentors and role models who have earned the recruits' loyalty and respect.

Drill instructors use their command voice and incentive physical training (IPT) to ensure instruction sticks. IPT is especially common during the first days of training, when recruits can do nothing well enough

to please their drill instructors. Individually and in groups, recruits can be seen and heard perfecting push-ups, jumping jacks, bends, thrusts, and side lunges. Individual or small group infractions are corrected with physical exercises indoors on the quarterdeck—within the series' bunk area.

Weeks One through Four

Week one: Introduction to the core values: honor, courage, and commitment.

Week two: Recruits continue learning combat skills with pugil sticks training. Recruits are protected by a football helmet and mask, rubber neck roll, and flak jacket.

Week three: More pugil stick and close combat training, and the obstacle course.

Week four: Recruits learn the steps to marking military clothing and standing a detailed clothing inspection. Drill instructors pass along folding and wrinkle-prevention tips that will remain throughout one's career. The highlight of week four is drill evaluation, on training day 23. Drill competition between platoons is keen. The winning platoon receives an impressive trophy and a possible respite from IPT.

Combat Swim and Marksman Training

Week five: Week five's greatest challenge is Combat Water Survival. Training days 24–27 are filled with the smell of chlorine and the feel of soaking uniforms. Time is made during subsequent weeks to coach any recruit unable to achieve level 4 water survival skills.

Weapons Training

Weeks six and seven: Recruits learn to use and qualify with the M16A2 rifle. Recruits also throw a live hand grenade and fire other small unit weapons for familiarization. To graduate, a recruit must score at least 190 out of 250 points firing her rifle. Women are generally not raised shooting weapons and are often uncomfortable around them. This, and hesitating to fire a rifle due to fear of the noise and recoil, initially contributed to low first-time qualification rates, which averaged about 50 percent for women compared to 85 percent for men.[2] Female recruits are now provided a familiarization course before heading to the rifle range. Additionally, all recruits have up to a dozen opportunities to qualify with the rifle following an initial failure. Only an average of 7 out of 2,000 female recruits fail to qualify and are sent home.[3]

The last training day of week seven is the Confidence Course. It consists of 11 obstacles, each with names indicative of their physical challenge, such as the Inclining Wall, the Monkey Bridge, the Tough One, and the Sky Scraper. Two of the more difficult are the Slide for Life and the Confidence Climb. In the Slide for Life, recruits shimmy along a rope partially suspended over a muddy pond. Along the first half of the rope, a recruit must slide along on her stomach. For the second half, over the pond, she must flip over and move with her back to the water. For the Confidence Climb recruits move up, over, and down a 39-foot-long log ladder.[4] Like pugil sticks, the Confidence Course is a morale builder. The emphasis during all training is to develop confidence and self-discipline. The two worst offenses a 4th Recruit

Training Battalion recruit can commit "are making excuses and giving up on a task before putting forth her very best effort."[5]

Team Week

Week eight: The training calendar pauses following the Confidence Course at training day 41. For seven days, recruits look at a schedule of chores rather than training. Recruits spend their time pulling duty in the mess hall, beautifying the grounds, and performing depot maintenance. By week eight, they are "old salts" and can smile at the brand-new recruits side stepping with glassy eyes through the chow line.

Field Training and the Crucible

Week nine: Week nine is filled with small unit instruction. Recruits practice small unit movement and first wear the field protective mask, commonly known as a gas mask. They learn the fundamentals of patrolling and setting up camp and generally tie in what they have learned over the past eight weeks. Week nine ends on training day 47 with a conditioning march and probably a few blisters.

Week 10: Week 10 is the most competitive for the drill instructors, as everything they have taught their recruits is tested. Recruits undergo the company commander's inspection, company drill, and the final physical fitness test. All count toward honors for the series. Week 10 also brings Basic Warrior Training. Basic Warrior Training includes rappelling, martial arts training, and the gas chamber.

All recruits (and second lieutenants at TBS) undergo gas chamber training. Individuals don and clear (put on then snort/blow to remove inside air) their gas masks inside the chamber, while chemical smoke, a type of tear gas, is pumped in. If an individual's mask has been properly donned and cleared according to training, all is well. If not, the gas will infiltrate the mask, stinging eyes and hurting lungs. As a special treat, recruits and TBS second lieutenants must remove their masks at the end of the test, hold their breaths, and exit the chamber.

Week 11: Recruit training culminates in a 54-hour "Crucible." As a crucible burns away lesser substance to leave pure metal, so the Crucible produces the essence of a Marine. The Crucible begins on training day 55 at 0200 (2:00 a.m.) with drill instructors yelling, "Get out of the rack; get your gear on and get outside—NOW!" It will end at 0800 (8:00 a.m.) two days later, on the parade deck, with each recruit clutching the Marine Corps emblem: the Eagle, Globe, and Anchor.

The Crucible consists of eight core events and 29 exercises at 36 stations. Exercises are comprised of physically and mentally demanding activities designed to develop teamwork and problem-solving skills. Physically strenuous activities include an infiltration course, a resupply mission, and a sprint to a firing range. Mentally challenging activities include the leadership reaction course, a dozen "Warrior" stations with problem-solving obstacles and discussion of Marine Corps core values. The station's name often implies the challenge: Stairway to Heaven, Timmerman's Tank, Garcia's Leap.

Each Warrior station bears the name of a Marine hero. Beside each station is a photograph of the Marine for whom the station is named and, for all but one, a copy of the Medal of Honor citation for that hero. The exception is Station 6—Corporal Laville's Duty. It is named for Corporal Germaine C. Laville, who died saving others from certain death during World War II in a fire at Marine Corps Air Station Cherry Point, North Carolina.

Two constant themes within the Crucible are selflessness and the fact that each hero was about the age of the recruits undergoing their own ordeals. Corporal Laville's Duty requires recruits to develop a plan to move their platoon from one platform to another without touching the ground, using a row of tires suspended from a cable. Before negotiating each event, a drill instructor recounts the hero's story for the platoon. Afterward, the drill instructor discusses the platoon's success or failure and talks about the challenges the honored Marine must have faced, and the values that enabled sacrificing their lives helping other Marines.

During the Crucible, sleep is limited to four hours each night. Each recruit receives only 2.5 MREs over the 54-hour period. Following the second four-hour rest period, recruits begin a nine-mile hike at dawn. Feet and muscles ache, but recruits position their backpacks, shoulder their rifles, and fasten their helmets; then they check their buddies. They think instinctively as a team. Four hours later, they are beside Parris Island's replica of Felix de Weldon's U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial (depicting the American flag raising on Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima, Japan), adjacent to the parade deck. There, backpacks are removed, rifles are stacked, and the utility uniform cover replaces the Kevlar helmet.

It is just minutes until morning colors. The chaplain speaks of the difficulties just surmounted and prays each recruit will remain worthy of the honor about to be bestowed. Recruits are reminded of the five young Marines and Navy corpsman depicted in the memorial. The color guard raises the flag on the memorial. Drill instructors present each recruit with the Eagle, Globe, and Anchor insignia, saying, "Good work, Marine." Tears stream down cheeks, irrespective of gender, as all sing the "Marines' Hymn" to conclude the insignia ceremony. A steak-and-trimmings warrior breakfast follows for the Corps' newest Marines.

By the 11th week of training, recruits possess the physical condition to complete the Crucible. The series of challenges require each to draw upon their character strengths such as tenacity, resilience, and courage, in addition to their physical strength. Individuals are successful only by working as a team. The Crucible demonstrates the power and effectiveness of a diverse, morally strong unit. Recruits discard any self-centered baggage they carried to the recruit depot and assume the Marine Corps ethos. Most recruits face some personal fears and physical weaknesses during training. They are given the tools to find and reinforce their strengths and to overcome those weaknesses. Drill instructors have controlled the transformation through 24/7 interaction with their recruits during the previous 11 weeks.

Week 11 is also referred to as Transformation Week. Now acknowledged as privates, the new Marines are given greater responsibility. Drill instructors are less visible but nonetheless guide their charges in the transition from recruit training to the "real Corps."

Week 12: The highlights of the 12th and final week of training are the Battalion Commander's inspection, family day, and the graduation ceremony and pass-in-review, and perhaps regaining use of the pronoun "I." It is a full schedule, but the 1,518 hours of recruit training are but a step in the transformation process.

After completing initial training and at each reenlistment, enlisted Marines take the following oath of enlistment:

> I, (state name of enlistee), do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to the regulations and the Uniform Code of Military Justice. So help me God.

Officer Candidates School

From day one, officer candidates are evaluated for their ability to lead. Approximately 2,200 Marine Corps officer candidates attend one of the 10 classes offered annually at OCS. Of that number, approximately 1,240 successfully graduate and elect to accept a Marine Corps commission.[6] Another 160 or so are given Marine Corps commissions upon graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy, based upon the needs of the Marine Corps. Female candidates are formed into one all-female platoon within a coed OCS company.

OCS exists for one reason: "To train, evaluate, and screen officer candidates to ensure that they possess the moral, intellectual, and physical qualities for commissioning and the leadership potential to serve successfully as company grade officers in the operating forces."[7] While the mission of recruit training is to produce a basic Marine able to obey, react, and follow orders under the stress of combat, the mission of OCS is to produce a lieutenant able to think and lead under the stress of combat.

The motto of OCS is *ductus exemplo*: leadership by example. Not only are the highest-caliber officers chosen to lead candidates but also the highest-caliber drill instructors. It is from the enlisted examples that officer candidates learn, first-hand, the critical leadership skills needed to inspire young Marines to follow. One who does not set a good example may be obeyed but is not followed.

Enlisted leaders—drill instructors known as platoon sergeant or sergeant instructors—seem always present. As with recruits, an officer candidate will never forget the name of their platoon sergeant or sergeant instructors. An event as memorable as a candidate's commissioning at graduation is the tradition of providing a silver dollar to the first enlisted Marine to render a salute to the new officer.

Leadership evaluation is the centerpiece of the OCS experience. Candidates are constantly judged on their performance during assigned billets and jobs. The evaluation philosophy is designed to push candidates physically while they complete academic requirements and execute leadership tasks. Stresses are applied to elicit "meaningful responses."[8] The sergeant instructors add their own brand of chaos; training situations are rarely repeated. Time management, leadership, and mission accomplishment are evaluated. Candidates are evaluated by instructors and by their peers. As captured in the commander's philosophy:

> Although academics and physical fitness are of great importance, always keep in mind that, above all else, future Marine officers must be leaders. If there is a common thread that is woven through the fabric of the Marine Corps, it is the quality of our leadership. Those who do not show the potential to develop the leadership qualities we have come to expect of Marine officers must not be commissioned.[9]

Constructive criticism permeates the leadership evaluation process. There is also sufficient incentive physical training to reinforce sage advice.

Varied officer and enlisted commissioning programs provide the Marine Corps the necessary new second lieutenants from a variety of academic backgrounds and military experience levels. Officer Selection Officers (OSOs) are assigned to regional Marine Corps recruiting stations and focus their officer recruiting efforts on college and university campuses within their region. OSOs seek out and educate students and recent graduates about the Marine Corps at the college level and help guide young women and men to prepare for Officer Candidate training, primarily through physical fitness conditioning programs.

One Marine officer instructor (MOI) and one assistant Marine officer instructor (AMOI) are assigned to each college and university that has a Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps (NROTC) unit. They help identify potential Marine Corps officer options among the Midshipmen or other non-NROTC students. Additionally, the MOI, usually a captain or junior major, is tasked to teach Marine Corps-related courses within the NROTC curriculum. The AMOI, usually a staff sergeant or gunnery sergeant who has served as a drill instructor, instructs all NROTC midshipmen in close order drill.[10] Both work to ensure Marine Corps-option midshipmen are prepared mentally and physically for the challenges of Officer Candidates School.

United States Naval Academy

As of 2001, a maximum of 16.66 percent of Naval Academy classes were allowed to take commissions in the Marine Corps.[11] This percentage became customary in the late 1960s when Marine Corps officers comprised one-sixth (16.66 percent) of all officers in the naval Service. In 1972, the custom was formalized. The chief of Naval Operations and Commandant of the Marine Corps signed a memorandum of agreement to set the Marine Corps limit on U.S. Naval Academy graduates seeking a Marine Corps commission at 16.66 percent.[12] The agreement also set down other principles:

- The decision for a midshipman to select the Marine Corps is voluntary.
- Former Marines or sons of active duty or honorably retired Marines are given priority.
- Selection of other midshipmen volunteers is based upon overall class standing.
- If a midshipman selected for Marine Corps commission later withdraws that request, the vacancy will remain unfilled.[13]

While the percentages have varied between 9 percent and 17 percent in the past 25 years, an average of 12 percent (160 Naval Academy graduates) each May are selected to receive Marine Corps officer commissions. When women first entered the academies in the summer of 1976, the 1972 memorandum of agreement was extended to permit up to 16.66 percent of graduating female midshipmen to seek Marine Corps commissions.[14] Approximately 11 percent of female midshipmen vie for Marine Corps commissions annually.

In 1993, following secretary of defense policy changes expanding military billets for women, a second memorandum of agreement was signed between the Marine Corps' deputy chief of staff for Manpower and Reserve Affairs and the Navy's chief of naval personnel. The new agreement made academy selection gender-neutral and based upon class standing. It also changed the priority for Marine Corps selection to include sons and daughters of Marines currently serving on active duty, or deceased or disabled while on active duty, or retired from the regular Marine Corps. Many of the Corps' first female aviators were Naval Academy graduates. Although Naval Academy graduates are not required to attend OCS, most choose to do so.

The Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps Program

The NROTC program provides another 190 new second lieutenants annually for Marine Corps commissioning, to include 34 women.[15] Those interested in a Marine Corps rather than Navy commission enroll in the Marine Corps Option program at their college or university. They must attend a six-week "Bulldog Course" at the Marine Corps Officer Candidates School, Quantico, Virginia. There the NROTC midshipmen are evaluated for their leadership and physical fitness suitability for a Marine Corps commission. Although they attend the shortest of the OCS courses, NROTC midshipmen must successfully complete the Bulldog Course before they are accepted for a Marine Corps commission. This class produces the highest overall academic averages and lowest injury rates among the 10 annual OCS classes. Physical and military preparation during the academic year pays tremendous dividends.

Enlisted Commissioning Sources

The Marine Corps puts special emphasis on its three enlisted commissioning sources—the Enlisted Commissioning Program (ECP), the Meritorious Commissioning Program (MCP), and the Marine Enlisted Commissioning and Education Program (MECEP)—to produce future officers. The ECP allows qualified Marines of any enlisted rank who already possess a bachelor's degree from a regionally accredited college or university to compete before a selection board for assignment to OCS.[16] ECP Marines attend a 10-week Officer Candidate Course at OCS, Quantico.

The MCP requires applicants of any enlisted rank to have completed at least 60 semester hours at a regionally accredited college or university, but it does not require a degree. Those selected for MCP are expected to continue study toward a bachelor's degree following commissioning, to be competitive for further (officer) promotion, and when commissioned an officer, receive a regular rather than a reserve commission.[17]

The MECEP applicant requires no previous college coursework for selection. Applicants compete before a selection board but must have also been selected for admission to a regionally accredited college or university. The Marine, and not the Marine Corps, pays all tuition and fees. However, MECEP students remain on Marine Corps active duty rolls and receive all pay and allowances due their rank and family status.[18]

Platoon Leaders Course

The Marine Corps is the only Service with a non-ROTC program for college students desiring a future Marine Corps commission.[19] The Platoon Leaders Course (PLC) program targets college freshmen and sophomores, although it is open to juniors.[20] The OCS course or courses taken by PLC candidates depend upon when they enrolled in the program. A student joining as a freshman or sophomore attends the six-week PLC Junior Course at OCS and then returns for the six-week PLC Senior Course between their junior and senior academic years. Students choosing to enroll in the program during their junior year attend a single, 10-week PLC Combined Course at OCS. Graduates of the PLC Senior and PLC Combined courses are offered a Marine Corps commission following college graduation.

Officer Candidate Class

The Officer Candidate Class (OCC) program seeks college seniors or recent graduates. OCC candidates attend the 10-week OCC course at OCS following college graduation.

OCS is not recruit training; the approach to training and evaluating candidates is fundamentally different and the physical training is more rigorous. Classes include fireteam and squad tactics, drill, safety, and Marine Corps history and traditions. There is almost daily physical training. Marksman training, martial arts, and combat swim survival are saved for The Basic School. Also, officer candidates must purchase about $220 worth of items ranging from mouth guards and face paint to campstool and flashlight batteries, plus uniform physical training gear. Candidates are issued camouflage uniforms and boots, but they must bring their own running shoes.

OCS used to have a Crucible event that consisted of a night hike, small unit leadership evaluation-II (SULE-II), squad problems and leadership reaction course problems, two squad night problems, a helicopter insert problem, "Washboard" run, obstacle course, and warriors' meal during three days. OCS leadership determined the entire officer candidate program was a crucible. The SULE-II is a close Crucible equivalent and, as of 2002, is held during week eight. SULE-II consists of a night hike, SULE squad and leadership reaction course problems, and a night defense problem. Candidates who make it through SULE-II and the battalion commander's motivation run, held during graduation week, move on to the emblem ceremony.[21] This change ensures only those about to be commissioned Marine Corps officers are awarded the Eagle, Globe, and Anchor.

The Marine Corps screens approximately 2,200 candidates through OCS annually. Half do not become commissioned officers. Either they fail to complete OCS or college, or they choose not to accept their commission. Women have higher OCS and precommissioning attrition than men—by about 20 percentage points.[22] Regardless, the product is Marine officers who have what it takes and have made the choice to accept the privilege and responsibility of leading Marines.

Commissioning

Fewer than 40 percent of the annual officer accessions are from the U.S. Naval Academy, NROTC, ECP, MCP, and MECEP sources. The remaining 60 percent are drawn from the PLC and OCC programs. Less than 1 percent are the result of inter-Service transfers from another military branch, from the U.S. Military Academy or the U.S. Air Force Academy, or from direct commissions due to individual meritorious action.[23]

When commissioned, new officers take the following oath of office:

> I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely; and without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God.

The Basic School

"What now, lieutenant?"

This question is emblematic of the difference between enlisted Marines and the officers leading them. In the words of Colonel Roy R. Byrd, who assumed command of The Basic School (TBS) in April 2001, "It is a call for decisive leadership, characterized by action or inaction and measured in victory or defeat, life and death."[24]

TBS is the Marine Corps' graduate leadership program; it prepares students to lead with confidence and

to address uncertainty resolutely. Newly commissioned officers are expected to graduate with the knowledge, attitudes, and values necessary to effectively discharge the diverse duties of a company grade officer (second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain).[25] To exact good followership—to demand discipline—an officer must have learned self-discipline. In short, what officers expect of their Marines, they must demand of themselves.

Emphasis is placed on the duties, responsibilities, and warfighting skills required of a rifle platoon commander. The curriculum is operationally relevant and academically challenging. The stated mission of The Basic School is to

> Educate newly commissioned or appointed officers in the high standards of Professional Knowledge, Esprit-de-Corps, and Leadership required to prepare them for duty as a company grade officer in the Operating Forces, with particular emphasis on the duties, responsibilities and Warfighting Skills required of a rifle platoon commander.[26]

Student grades fall into three weighted evaluation categories: leadership (36 percent), academics (32 percent), and military skills/fitness (32 percent). The 36 leadership points are based upon two command evaluations, both incorporating platoon command and platoon peer evaluations, at weeks 11 (for a score of 14) and 23 (for a score of 22). Upon TBS graduation, a student's final class standing determines where they rank in lineal rank standing—the order in which they are eligible for subsequent promotion.

The first week of TBS is known as Zero Week and is used for medical and dental exams, textbook and field gear issue, and uniform purchases. Lieutenants also undergo combat swim qualification. Officers must achieve a combat water survival/class 2, which involves longer water treading and recovering and swimming with a "rescued" buddy, rather than the class 4 level, which Marine Corps recruits must attain. Students with an intended MOS of 0303 (light-armored vehicle officer) or 1803 (assault amphibian vehicle officer) (women cannot hold these specialties), and all students with aviation or flight officer contracts must achieve combat water survival/class 1. Although very busy, Zero Week is followed by 26 real training weeks covering 18 leadership, academic, and military skills/fitness categories:

Marine Corps martial arts	Logistics
Intelligence	Patrolling
Water survival	Field engineering
Marine Corps history and traditions	Infantry weapons
Military law	Vertical envelopment operations
Land navigation	Supporting arms
Communications	First aid
Aviation support	Drill, command, and ceremonies
Amphibious operations	Marine Corps organization/staff function

The Basic School gives newly commissioned Marine Corps officers a common base; as all Marines are trained as riflemen, all officers are trained rifle platoon commanders. The TBS program of instruction focuses on officership, leadership, and the value of education rather than only training. Training develops skills, such as marksmanship and physical fitness, weighed against a standard of excellence. The education facet of TBS develops decision makers who lead with their critical thinking skills. There is no one standard; rather, there

can be numerous excellent courses of action.[27] Successfully preparing Marines means "leaders must be trained for certainty and educated for uncertainty."[28]

The six-month course of study consists of five phases.

PHASE 0 (in-processing)	
Personal Financial Management	Family Readiness Programs
Role of the Chaplain	Uniforms
Military Correspondence	Terms and Graphics
Risk Management	

PHASE 1	
Warfighting	Combat Lifesaving
Officer Foundations	Prevention and Treatment of Field Related Injuries
Communications Equipment Practical Application I and II	Responsibilities of the Interior Guard
Communications Equipment I and II	Standards of Conduct
Lensatic Compass	Security of Classified Material
Military Topographic Map I	Law of War
Location	Moral Reasoning
Direction	Human Factors
Military Topographic Map II	Phase 1 Written Exam
Casualty Evaluation and Evacuation	Combat Conditioning

PHASE 2	
Ethics I and II and Combat Ethics Discussion	6 Functions of Marine Aviation
Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Warfare	Call For Indirect Fire
Patrol Orders and Overlay Workshop	Principles of Fire Support
Ambush Patrol	Using Terrain Models
Scouting and Patrolling Operations	Combat Orders Foundations
Government Property	Tactical Planning Process
Combat Service Support Functions	*Tactics*, Marine Corps Doctrine Publication 1-3
Rifle Squad Tactics	Decision Making
Squad Weapons and Munitions I	Detainees
Aviation Employment Considerations	Profiling and Tactical Tracking
Assault Support Capabilities and Operations	Introduction to Observation Theory and Night Operations
Phase 2 Written Exam	Fire Support Planning

PHASE 3	
Rifle Platoon in the Offense	Marine Corps Awards
Manual of the Judge Advocate General	Fitness Reports
Military Law	*Marine Corps Individual Records Administration Manual*

Movement to Contact	Enlisted Promotion System
Machine Gun Employment	Personnel Records
Heavy Machine Gun	Rifle Platoon Night Attacks
Medium Machine Gun	Rifle Platoon in the Defense
Introduction to Crew Served Weapons	Unit Readiness Planning
Improvised Explosive Device	Phase 3 Written Exam
Engineering in the Offense and Defense	

PHASE 4	
Motorized Convoy Operations	Counterinsurgency Measures
Urban Operations-I, Introduction	Urban Operations-IV, Security Operations in an Urban Environment
Urban Operations-II, Offense and Defense	Introduction to Amphibious Operations
Urban Operations-III, Patrolling	Amphibious Operations-II
Cultural Awareness	Amphibious Planning
Antiterriorism Force Protection	Phase 4 Written Exam

Highlights from some of those weeks follow.

Week 1: Begins with the General Classification Test (GCT). The GCT score becomes part of a Marine's permanent record, which means it is among the first entries seen by members of promotion and selection boards. Also during this week, staff platoon commanders begin to establish the one-on-one mentoring relationship key to the process of sustaining young leaders.

Week 3: For 10 days, lieutenants go to the rifle and pistol ranges. There they fire for score on both the M16A2/5.56mm rifle and the 9mm pistol. The culmination of weapons training is the Iron Man Lee course, where lieutenants are evaluated on their ability to move around obstacles and shoot at targets at varying distances.

Week 8: Includes the gas chamber.

Week 10: Lieutenants spend the first of many TBS nights in the field. The first event is a two-day field exercise during which lieutenants conduct a series of squad-size (13 Marines) attacks on known enemy locations. At week's end, senior officers from most officer occupational specialties meet with students to discuss career paths and other facets associated with each specialty. Lieutenants have the opportunity to select three occupational specialty preferences from those open to their class, driven by the needs of the Marine Corps. While class standing does play a part, nearly everyone will receive their first or second choice.

Week 11: Lieutenants evaluate each other in the first set of peer evaluations. Initial command evaluations are held at week's end. Both occur following the company 20-mile hike, where endurance features prominently.

Week 16: The Endurance Course. Women have 90 minutes and men have 80 minutes to complete a combination of three courses located at TBS: the Obstacle Course, the Echo Trail, and the Stamina Course. The Obstacle Course consists of a series of hurdles, climbs, and jumps, including an 8-foot-tall wall and 8-meter-long rope climb. The running distance is about 10 kilometers, much of it uphill and over rugged terrain. Both men and women carry a standard combat load, including backpack and rifle, for a total of 52 pounds. Helmet and equipment are removed and the rifle stacked before running the Obstacle Course. All equipment is worn, and the rifle carried, for all remaining parts of the Endurance Course.

Week 17: Defense Week. The lieutenants travel to the field, split into two half-companies, and establish defensive positions. Each half conducts ambush patrols and a night attack upon the other. Between weeks 19 and 20, lieutenants tie in what they have learned about terrorism and force protection in an urban environment. They conduct a two-day exercise at the nearby FBI Academy's replica town and must use real-time decision making to respond to potential terrorists or innocent bystanders.

Week 21: "The War," the culminating TBS tactical exercise. Lieutenants fill virtually every tactical billet and are expected to correctly execute the duties associated with their billet from knowledge gained during the preceding 20 weeks.

Week 23: The second set of peer and command evaluations. Also, senior officers who have led Marines in real-world battles are brought together for a panel discussion to share their leadership experiences.

Graduation arrives after six very full months of training and practical application. Officers are not yet finished, however. Each will attend a follow-on school specific to their assigned MOS.

Officers, by the words contained in their commission, are granted "special trust and confidence" by the president of the United States. TBS is designed to provide newly commissioned officers with the knowledge, attitude, and values to effectively lead. Instructional situations are presented as realistically as possible and are designed to provide the experience of performing under stress.[29] The officer students are exposed to the intangible traits and core values that distinguish them as Marine officers. Again, the students are assigned numerous billets and tasks during the six-month school and are evaluated by staff officers and by peers.

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28. Ibid., 11.
29. Ibid.

APPENDIX F

IN OUR OWN WORDS

The preparation of this monograph was supported by dozens of email and "snail mail" history submission forms (below) sent by Marines who served during the 1977–2001 range of this work. Quotes from these submissions are sprinkled throughout the chapters and appendices; however, there is more to gain from the expanded stories than is apparent from these Marines' history submissions. Their personal stories follow. Where a hometown was provided to the author, it is included.

WOMAN MARINE HISTORY SUBMISSION

1. Name _____
2. Hometown _____
3. Reason(s) for joining the Corps _____

_____

_____

4. Date completed entry-level training _____
5. Recruit Training_____or TBS _____
6. Highlight(s) or initial training_____

_____

_____

_____

7. Initial MOS and school dates _____
8. Sequence of billets and duty stations _____

_____

_____

9. Significant events _____

_____

_____

10. How were you treated by seniors and peers of both genders? _____

_____

_____

_____

11. Why did you leave the Marine Corps (if applicable)? _____

_____

_____

_____ Date received: _____

Signing Up

Sheryl E. Murray was a college senior majoring in political science in South Dakota in 1972 when she realized she wanted something different. One day, she walked into the Student Union,

> and there was Captain Kellogg, USMC, OSO [Officer Selection Officer], recruiting Marine officers. He talked about the opportunities for advancement, AND if you didn't like the [officer candidate] training you could DOR (drop on request) at a certain point in OCS. Here was the answer to what I was going to do. I called my parents and told them I was going to join the Marine Corps. I recall my Mother saying, "What will you do in the Marines?" And I recall my response was "I don't know." All I knew was that I had the opportunity to do something different! And the initial requirement was for two years . . . I could do that![1]

Retiring as a colonel in 2006, Murray was appointed to the Senior Executive Service in 2007 and today serves as assistant deputy commandant, Manpower and Reserve Affairs, Headquarters Marine Corps.

Lori Humiston was working at her school store at Jordan-Elbridge Junior/Senior High School in Jordan, New York, in 1979 when Staff Sergeant Dale Kolstad came up to her and asked what she planned to do after graduation that June. When Humiston replied that she did not know, Staff Sergeant Kolstad asked her about a career in the military.

> I took the ASVAB (Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Test) a week later and joined the delayed entry program. I was 17 at the time and my mother refused to believe that I had joined the Marines so when SSgt Kilstad came over to the house to get the parent's permission for me to join, she went in her bedroom and would not come out to sign the paperwork. She signed a week later.[2]

Mary K. Boyt was in Naval ROTC (Reserve Officer Training Corps) at Virginia Polytechnic Institute in Blacksburg, Virginia, in 1989 when, as a junior, she switched to the Marine Corps option. She says,

> I dreaded telling my father (he was career Navy), but he backed me all the way, and had tears in his eyes as he commissioned me. My most vivid moment at OCS (Officer Candidates School) was standing in line outside the chow hall and seeing my family on their boat fishing on the Potomac River, bordering OCS. I'm sure they had binoculars and spent just as much time looking for me as they did fishing. It made me feel both loved and homesick.[3]

Elizabeth M. Paul heard about the Marine Corps for the first time from her high school Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) commander in Beaumont, Texas, who said, "the Marine Corps was the best branch of the service to belong to . . . that one comment was enough to make me want to join." While in boot camp in summer 1990, she learned she was more afraid of failing than of obstacles, heights, swimming, or firing weapons. "I learned a lot about myself and the confidence I gained in myself will never be parallel to anything. . . . Everything I did emulated what I believed in at an even higher level so I would not discredit Chesty Puller, SgtMaj Dan Daley or Cpl Desmarais (one of my Marines)."[4]

Marguerite J. Campbell spent her first 21 years of life in the "Old Corps" and moving frequently. Her father, a senior staff noncommissioned officer (SNCO) still on active duty, offered her some advice:

My dad only insisted that I go into the Corps as an officer—a recommendation he would have made regardless of my gender. His only *advice* was that I should always deeply respect the SNCOs that I would be privileged to work with, that I always keep in mind that I had chosen to enter a male dominated macho world and would have to "deal with it professionally and in context," and that I should never settle for the "box" others would want to put me in, but fight for what I believed in and could do best. I never forgot his advice and tried to always follow it—it proved outstanding.[5]

Colonel Campbell retired in 1993, following a 26-year career.

Entry-Level Training

Then-First Lieutenant Nancy P. Anderson (the author) from Quantico, Virginia, served as assistant platoon commander for 1st Platoon, Company D, 104th Officer Candidate Course (all males) in preparation to serve as platoon commander for the first gender-integrated OCS company in summer 1977. A few days into the training, the company hiked to its first bivouac site and pitched pup tents. The staff spent the afternoon observing the candidates as the platoon sergeants led field training. The author remembers:

That evening, enjoying C-rats [rations] and a bonfire, the company Gunny asked if I'd like to add some zip to my ham and limas. In his hand were several tiny peppers. I had eaten Hungarian wax peppers for years—my Slovak father (who had retired as a Marine Corps master gunnery sergeant) loved them—and so said, "Thanks, Gunny!" I bit the stem and spat it out then popped the entire pepper into my mouth, swallowing it whole—so as not to release the capsaicin. I asked for another, and the Gunny obliged while offering one to Captain Miller, the platoon commander. Captain Miller was not familiar with the Hungarian "hots." He bit the pepper in half and within seconds was in agony, suffering a fire mouth and running eyes and nose. He recovered but I gained respect from the Company Gunny and other Staff Noncommissioned Officers. Sometimes it's the little things.[6]

Two candidate companies later, the author and her female platoon candidates and staff marched three miles to the forested area that was to be their first bivouac. It was February 1978. Not only was the ground frozen, it was also blanketed with six inches of snow. Shelter halves were pitched; afternoon training was conducted, and the C-rats dinner was consumed around campfires. The author walked the three miles back to OCS headquarters, squared herself away, and changed from cold sateens into her blue dress "A" uniform. The commanding general of Marine Corps Education Command was hosting a Mess Night for all of his officers. At its conclusion, it was back into sateens and the walk back to the snow-covered bivouac site, feeling a lot like Cinderella.[7]

Wendy A. Smith was born in Quantico, Virginia, and raised in San Bernardino, California. Her father was a retired lieutenant colonel. She began recruit training in October 1978 and graduated with several vivid memories:

I remember that I had to wear a wig during inspections because I would not cut my long hair. We were all bussed to the exchange (Marine Corps Exchange/PX: military version of a small department store) to the beauty shop where they wanted all of us with long hair to cut their hair within regulation. I chose to

keep my hair long. I took some "grief" for doing so, but bought this ugly, but short-haired wig. Another memory was the chow hall experience. I will never forget that we had to eat everything on our plate if we asked for it. One day I chose liver and onions, not knowing it was liver. It was extremely difficult to choke that down, especially with a drill instructor yelling in my face to hurry up.[8]

As a sergeant, Smith was selected through the Enlisted Commissioning Program to become an officer, was commissioned a second lieutenant in October 1983, and began TBS the next month.

SgtMaj [David W.] Sommers was the SgtMaj [of TBS] at that time and worked extremely hard to make sure that we could all execute the manual of arms. . . . I ran my first 300 PFT (physical fitness test) at TBS, and although I was not the only one, I felt an immense personal pride that I had "max'd" it. The endurance runs and obstacle course were a source of dread, and yet midway through TBS, there were a handful of us that found it great fun to tackle these on the weekend. During simulated battlefield exercises, we would set up a defensive perimeter. We humped (hiked) with our rifles/machineguns/full packs and when we reached our designated area to defend, began setting up tents, digging foxholes, and setting up rear security. We went on night patrols as well. We were taught basic tactics along with the men and never felt segregated from the men. One exercise in particular had us running to board CH-46s and flown to our defensive area and having to quickly get out and set up security. We quickly were on our bellies looking for trees, hills, or anything else that would shield us from fire. In OCS and TBS there were lifetime friendships made and we all knew that as a team we would all succeed.[9]

Second Lieutenant Mary Boyt was with Echo Company at TBS during August 1991–February 1992. She had arrived months earlier, following commissioning, and was scheduled to be part of Charlie Company but was told when she arrived with her orders that since she was a woman, she would have to wait for the all-female company.[10]

While I was at TBS the Corps was still trying to decide what our (women's) role in the Marine Corps could be. The female company before ours had a [gender] segregated squad and while they participated in many events, they remained separate for most training exercises and rarely got to participate in any evolutions considered "offensive" in nature. They were relegated to defensive missions.

By the time my company formed, they'd decided that we would have tactical and administrative squads. In garrison, we were in a female platoon (5th platoon), but once we left garrison we were split up and interspersed with male squads. I was one of three women assigned to a male squad and the only female in my fire team. This allowed me to interact with my male counterparts in ways not previously experienced, and allowed me to go beyond the "defensive" posture we'd been relegated to in the past. I remember taking the lead on patrols. . . . I really enjoyed that position, as it made me feel more accepted by my male counterparts, and showed that they trusted in my abilities.

We were one of the first group of females to do trench warfare, participate in ambushes, conduct live fire exercises, lead patrols, do some physical training events previously restricted to males, plot and fire artillery. . . . In only two instances, I remember not being able to fully participate because of gender restrictions (the Corps/DoD wasn't quite willing to allow women into situations where we might get shot or were strictly offensive). One evolution was a live fire exercise where our male counterparts performed

a flanking movement on the enemy while we (5th Platoon) stayed in the reserves or provided live cover fire (which was offensive, but didn't put us directly in the bullet's path).

The other evolution was the BASCOLEX [Basic School Landing Exercise], which is an embarkation exercise concluding with an amphibious assault at Camp Lejeune. We boarded our LST [U.S. Navy landing ship, tank] in Norfolk and sailed down to Camp Lejeune. When we got there, the seas were very high and delayed our debarkation for hours. Eventually the ship's Captain gave us the go-ahead to launch, and off we went in our Amtracks [landing vehicle tracked, LVT]. . . . We'd been organized not by our tactical platoons for this event, as they decided at the last minute that it was "too offensive" and that we could only go in and set up a defensive perimeter. I also found this funny, as in a really amphibious landing the whole beach is considered offensive.[11]

Then-Major Rhonda G. LeBrescu, raised in central California, served as executive officer, 4th Recruit Training Battalion, MCRD Parris Island, during 1990–92. A mustang (prior enlisted Marine), she arrived 14 years, almost to the day, since first reporting to Parris Island as a recruit. She likened her battalion office window, which faced the courtyard by the chow hall, to a time-lapse camera.

While waiting for the entire platoon to finish their meal, they were allowed to practice "facing movements" (right face/turn right; left face/turn left; about face/turn 180 degrees). Within about a 30 minute [period], I would see a group of brand new recruits who appeared a bit disheveled in their new uniforms, then another group who had been there for a few weeks that looked a bit more squared away, but who were still tripping over themselves in a practiced "about face." Finally, I would see the platoon that was about ready to graduate, and they looked razor sharp in their uniforms and they had the pop and snap of a seasoned Marine. It was an amazing experience![12]

Lieutenant Colonel Kathleen M. Murney of Dublin, Ohio, served as a female OCS platoon commander and then executive officer of a male OCS Company (the first female Marine to hold this billet) at Quantico as a young captain during 1990–94. The experience with one female candidate during a summer cycle proved indicative of what the many motivated, dedicated, and capable women in the Marine Corps are handling today.

We were setting up our bivouac site for the evening. The officer candidates were aligning their shelter halves in somewhat uneven terrain. There were quite a few leaves on the ground from the previous winter that had formed a kind of wet gooey cushion over the rocky, root-lined spot below. The staff was walking around, supervising the events, as we often did, to ensure the candidates were progressing at a satisfactory speed. As I surveyed the work of one squad well ahead of the others, a female candidate filling a leadership billet at the time, came running to my position to ask a question. As she asked her question, she was standing smartly at attention. She stated, "Ma'am, this candidate wishes to speak to the platoon commander, ma'am!" I quickly gave her the authority to proceed with what appeared to be a very urgent concern. As she asked her question, I noticed she continued to stand absolutely still with her face barely registering any hint of what was occurring below. This candidate, so set in her mission, so self-disciplined and stoic, was standing on a bee nest. The bees, it turns out, had built a very nice home in the mud and leaves and were unhappy with this candidate that decided to stand squarely at attention right on their community. They were savagely attacking her through her camouflage utilities and inside her boots, yet she stood absolutely

still until she had finished her question, received her answer, and was dismissed. As she attempted to execute an about face, she fell to the ground and began swatting the bees that were now working their way up her trousers. She was quickly assisted by our corpsman and taken to the medical facility immediately. What an amazing young lady, and just one example of the caliber of young women we have in our Marine Corps. She was stung literally hundreds of times but never-the-less [*sic*] returned to training within 24 hours because she requested to return to training, not because she was forced to. We, of course, roped off that area to ensure no other unsuspecting candidate met with a similar fate that day, but the beehive candidate was a topic of discussion for several training cycles to follow.[13]

Patricia S. Bacon of Largo, Florida, arrived at OCS in summer 1993 mentally and physically prepared:

> The first days of Officer Candidate School were organized chaos. . . . I vividly remember the majority of the female candidates crying the first nights in their racks, but I felt a sense of reinforcement that I had finally arrived and was ready for the challenge. Officer Candidate School was a test of endurance in the physical, mental, emotional, and intellectual sense. The teamwork concept has a whole new meaning in the presence of stress, time restraints, and mission accomplishment.[14]

Then-First Lieutenant Wendy J. Goyette of Muscoda, Wisconsin, was serving as a series commander with Company O, 4th Recruit Training Battalion, MCRD Parris Island, in 1996 when she learned that the Crucible was to be part of recruit training and that Marine Combat Training (MCT) would move out of the recruit curriculum. She also learned that the School of Infantry (SOI) at Camp Geiger, North Carolina, was not ready to accept female Marines. Goyette told the 4th Battalion executive officer she wanted to be involved with MCT. She was selected to serve as the first commanding officer for the female Marine Combat Training company. She recalled:

> The company was going to be billeted in the "haunted white elephant" barracks out at the rifle range. While completing my last series, I simultaneously started drafting a Period of Instruction (POI) for the new MCT based on the new concept being driven by SOI for a 17-day intense training package. With the help of two 0302, hard core "grunts," Capt Pat Sefanek, Bn (battalion) S-3 (operations and training) and Capt Doug Cohran, Field Training Company CO (commanding officer), we developed a program that mirrored the new concept, even with our limited resources. In the October/November timeframe, we started selecting the platoon commanders and squad leaders. Approximately half were drill instructors and the other half Marines from other supporting billets on the depot. Half were male and half female. The course instructors were the same instructors that had been involved in training the recruits.
>
> The first few weeks involved preparing the barracks and training the squad leaders. . . . As each class progressed, we made changes to the POI to try to make the instruction even better. . . . Although everyone knew that this was temporary, the squad leaders and instructors gave 100% of themselves 100% of the time. We had molded into a unique and dedicated team that could do anything and I think everyone involved in that short phase of female training.[15]

Female MCT moved to Camp Geiger in March 1997 and combined with MCT for male Marine graduates of MCRD Parris Island; male Marine graduates of MCRD San Diego underwent MCT at Camp Pendleton, California.

Goyette explained to her recruits that their Crucible would not be documented; 4th Recruit Training Battalion's O (Oscar) series was the first to run the Crucible:

> It was a trial run before the "televised" version a few months later. It was a lot of fun and a great experience for the recruits, although we explained that "their" first would not be the one documented.[16]

Then-Sergeant Dawn R. Martin of Granite City, Illinois, was surprised to receive orders to Marine Combat Training Battalion, School of Infantry, Camp Geiger, North Carolina, in 1997. She served there as administrative clerk, squad leader, and then platoon commander/administrative chief for two years. She remembered:

> When I first got my orders to MCT, I said, "What is MCT?" When it was explained to me, I said, "I'm not a grunt, I'm an admin clerk." It was not easy, but I am so glad I did it. As an admin clerk/chief, I would never have experienced leading so many Marines at once. My company commander, Capt Nicholas E. Davis, once told me that I should feel good that I helped change the mind of an infantry officer about women in the Marine Corps. I take great comfort from that because I know that he will spread that word to his peers and subordinates, where many of them never have or never will experience working with us.[17]

Second Lieutenant Nancy Reid Walters of Golden, Colorado, considered the weapons, hand-to-hand combat, and urban warfare training and leadership billets at TBS as training highlights. However, she constantly ran into the problem of acceptance by her male peers.

> The men would look to each other before looking to a female for knowledge, help, or even just friendship, especially in the training environment. The men become friends and rank each other higher (peer evaluations), not necessarily because he is a better Marine, but because he's part of "the [boys] club." This "club" is usually not something that is stated outright, but it is an undertone that persistently drives a wedge between the genders.[18]

First Lieutenant Meridith L. Marshall of Glastonbury, Connecticut, a judge advocate (MOS 4402), joined the Marine Corps in 1998 to serve her country. She chose the Marines over other branches of the Service because the Marine Corps officer training challenged the individual mentally and physically and because she wanted to be a leader of Marines. Also, as a lawyer, she knew the Marine Corps would provide an excellent opportunity to develop trial advocacy skills.

> The crucible was the highlight of OCS. The coming together of the individual squads to accomplish the mission really demonstrated what the Marine Corps is all about. Each individual made the unit successful and the unit helped each individual succeed. The sense of accomplishment was felt by all.[19]

Then-First Lieutenant Patricia S. Bacon served as a series commander beginning in July 1996. Her first series (July–October 1996) was one of the last traditional series before core values training, combat hitting skills and pugil sticks, and the Crucible were added.

> Changing boot camp to be identical to the male recruit training series was significant. The twelve weeks of boot camp is the same, but the order of these weeks differed. Regardless, the most frequent

and persistent question asked to LtCol [Angela] Salinas, Commanding Officer of Fourth Recruit Training Battalion, during her tour after this change was, "Is the boot camp the same for men and women?" The reply was "Yes." "Exactly the same?" "Yes." It was a significant change that the public and media had a hard time grasping.[20]

It was very insightful for me to see the last traditional boot camp and then embrace the new boot camp. My first Crucible experience left an unforgettable impression on me. The Crucible is truly an endurance test that makes you dig deep every step of the way. To observe my recruits finish the Crucible at the Iwo Jima monument (a replica of the Marine Corps War Memorial, Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia) and watch my drill instructors present them the eagle, glove and anchor and call them "Marine" for the first time made me proud and humbled to be a part of their transformation.[21]

Corporal Candace C. Haas of Columbia Falls, Montana, was attending Unit Level Circuit Switch Operator school at Twentynine Palms, California, in early 1999 when her class was sent on a working party to help members of the 7th Marine Regiment, 1st Marine Division (based at Twentynine Palms), clean their communications gear coming in from the field.

After about half the day was done, a SSgt (Staff Sergeant) asked me where I had gotten my MCT shirt. I responded with "Camp Geiger," thinking he was asking whether east coast or west coast. He gave me a disgusted look and asked the same question again. After a pause and a questioning look from myself, the SSgt sharply asked if I had received the shirt from my boyfriend or brother. Now realizing the SSgt did not know that female Marines go through MCT and the crucible, I gave him a brief explanation of our training.[22]

Private First Class Kathleen A. Caruso of Naugatuck, Connecticut, says the highlight of initial training was MCT, which she completed in the fall of 1999.

I love going to the field and getting dirty; that's what Marines do and I love it. I loved doing the patrols, firing the 50 cal [.50-caliber machine gun], setting up ambushes, and doing the mock urban warfare. It gives you a rush. . . . It's doing what you love and preparing to defend your country at the same time. Nothing could be better than that.[23]

Second Lieutenant Jamie M. Fleischhacker, a 2000 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, attended "Bulldog," an optional OCS summer course for midshipmen, and decided to continue the academy as a Marine Corps option. She completed TBS in Echo Company at the end of that year.

I think one of the greatest things about attending the Naval Academy was the people I met there. . . . During our sophomore year, we voted on the class motto: Victory, Honor, Sacrifice. As I see it . . . victory in surviving, honor in serving, and sacrifice in our daily lives. . . . There were plenty of lectures and other mandatory events that I did not want, but had to go to. There is one in particular that strikes me as memorable. It was my senior year when they had [former Commandant] General Gray speak on behalf of the Semper Fi Society. The one thing I recall more than anything else in any lecture during my four years there (and there were plenty of speeches from the President to Elizabeth Dole and senior ranking military officials) was that you should never forget to tell your Marines that you love them.[24]

Alexandra L. Roe of Columbia, Maryland, completed OCS in August 1999 and TBS the following spring.

> I think when you throw women into the training the question on a lot of guys' minds is whether they can hold their load. When you can, you earn major respect. When you can train like the guys, but still be a woman, they respect even further . . . because you aren't trying to be something you're not. I think there are women out there that try to be like the guys; they dip, they use foul language, they TRY too hard to fit in. I have found in speaking with my male buddies that the females that are "one of the guys" are the ones that can fit in effortlessly by doing their job well, by pulling their own weight, and by maintaining their femininity. We can be a woman and be tough. We had fun. TBS is unique in that for a lot of men it will be the first and last time they train side by side with women.
>
> The impressions that young male officers have of women officers is largely based on what they see and experience at TBS. Just like the men, there are women who don't quite cut it. There are women who are weak in some areas . . . but there are men like that too. The frustrating part is that we stand out much more because there are fewer of us. My company of about 250 had only 20 women. Each platoon of 40 or so had between 2 and 4 females. It's like you're in a fish bowl. . . . It's certainly like that here on Okinawa. You stand out more. One of the things I have learned since TBS is perception is EVERYTHING. . . . I sometimes feel you have to be better than the guys, to justify why you belong. I want to be more squared away, more organized, do more pull-ups, be more professional than some of my peers not just because I have high expectations for myself, but because there shouldn't be any doubt that I belong.[25]

Initial Duty Station

Second Lieutenant Mary L. Forde, from Carlsbad, California, volunteered for assignment to Okinawa in October 1978 following her TBS graduation and received orders to the 3d Marine Division. She arrived in Naha, Okinawa, Japan, but no one was there to meet her. Forde reported to 7th Communications Battalion, 3d Marine Division, Camp Hanson, to serve as supply officer.

> I was absolutely snubbed by the male lieutenants for the first few days I was there. I had no idea what was going on until one of them said, "Must be nice not to have to stand the duty!" When I asked what he was talking about, he told me that the CO (commanding officer) had dictated that I would not have to stand the duty *because [I was] a **girl***. I made an appointment to see the XO (executive officer), pleaded my case, and was added to the duty roster.[26]

Lance Corporal Mae R. McNeal was ordered to Okinawa in 1984 and was "volunteered" to be part of a "WM Package," as it was termed. The package consisted of four six-person teams of three women and three men to perform training in the Northern Training Area (NTA) on Okinawa. Training included land navigation, rappelling, and the slide for life. Each team was given a PRC-77 radio, a six-foot length of rope, two flashlights, and rations in addition to their normal 782-field gear (rifle, backpack, poncho, sleeping bag, shelter half, and cartridge belt).

> For the record, this was before women were required to perform combat training or even qualify on the range—so carrying weapons while conducting field training/land navigation was almost [a] foreign concept. Add to that, the courses out at NTA are very difficult and there are no easy or standard trails to follow. To sum it up—there were no vehicles or instructors to come and find you if you get lost.

When we stepped off the first day, the guys were very chivalrous and did a lot of catering to the female team members. This attitude quickly changed, however, after a morning of climbing rocks, walking through swamps, seeing snakes, and getting extremely lost without finding our 1st check point. In the beginning, the guys insisted on carrying the radio, however, as the day grew hotter and our individual frustrations increased, the male Marines soon decided it was better if everyone took turns carrying the radio. In short, the men/women were slowly integrated into a team in which everyone was dependent on each other. In addition, the women proved themselves by [rappelling] from cliffs (not towers), slide for life (water drop), etc. Not once did a female Marine refuse to try an obstacle and for the most part the female Marines performed as good (if not better) than their male counterpart. Once I left NTA, I never saw those male Marines again, and even upon reflection, I cannot recall their names. I do know, however, that our experience—those male Marines were left with a new respect for the skills and capabilities of female Marines.[27]

Second Lieutenant Jamie Fleischhacker was ordered to Okinawa, Japan, following her December 2000 TBS graduation.

While I was not the most excited about getting orders to 3d MRB [Materiel Readiness Battalion, within 3d Marine Logistics Group—formally Force Service Support Group], I am thankful every day for the opportunity I have to be the Motor Transport Officer for the battalion. Unlike some of my friends in other MOSs, I have a platoon. Usually around 43 depending on PCSing. The Marines have taught me something every day that I have been here. . . . The Marines pick each other up, whether it is at PT or at work or in their personal lives. And they have done that for me. Running sprints isn't my favorite thing, but one of my SSgts always pushes me a little further when out on the track. And it was my Marines that made me smile after a rough day at the range. . . . I truly love them.[28]

Aviation

Sergeant Katherine A. Allen of North East, Pennsylvania, was attending the University of Utah through MECEP when she had the opportunity to attend Jump School. The U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division had a large Reserve unit in Salt Lake City, and every summer they conducted a two-week jump school at the U.S. Forestry Department's Smokejumper Training Facility in Missoula, Montana, and would invite six or so of the MECEP and Marine Corps option midshipmen. Allen was one of four women in her class of 152. She was the stick leader (each platoon of about 40 is divided into "sticks" of 10–12 individuals) for all five school jumps, even though there were officers within all sticks.

My whole stick made the DZ [drop zone], and although I was first of 12 out the door, I was the last on the ground. Newtonian physics I hadn't considered before. I also learned that those deeply plowed furrows of the DZ were finely ploughed and found the ground about 2 seconds before I thought I would, tearing all of the ligaments in my right foot on my first jump.[29]

Sergeant Allen was somewhat embarrassed about getting hurt and confided in a couple of her stick mates. They convinced her that, as the foot did not seem broken, she should not go to medical but should lace her boot as tightly as she could stand and press on; they also suggested Sergeant Allen volunteer to chant as often

as possible on the daily five- to six-mile "victory" runs so that she could change her stride to match her pain level "while sucking on as many Motrin (grunt candy) as I could." Also, as a female, it was unlikely she would be assigned to a jump unit where she could complete the four remaining required jumps to get her wings.

> I tightened my boots, made my jumps, drank from the airborne helmet at graduation, and tightened my boots for the rest of the summer at OCS at Quantico, VA [between her junior and senior university years]. It was a painful, yet successful summer. I still have my platoon black hat's subdued wings that he took off of his black baseball cap and pinned on me on the DZ.[30]

Sergeant Allen was the 12th female Marine to earn basic parachutist wings, however, by the time she reached 10 jumps, continuing to jump with the 101st Airborne Division on their Reserve weekends in Utah, the Marine Corps had changed the regulations on gold jump wings. To wear them, the jumps had to be made while in a jump billet rather than permissive jump order status. Allen had just earned gold wings that she could not wear.[31]

Lou Ann Rickley of Bellevue, Pennsylvania, enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1977. She rose in rank from private to gunnery sergeant to warrant officer to major during her more than 24-year career. In 1978, she was the first female Marine assigned MOS 6282 (fixed-wing aircraft safety equipment mechanic, AV-8), serving as a Harrier engine power plant mechanic and plane captain. In the early 1980s, then-Sergeant Rickley was the first female Marine authorized to spend a day sailing aboard the USS *Belleau Wood* (LHA 3).

> My squadron was doing workups for an upcoming deployment overseas and I was the Flight Line NCOIC [noncommissioned officer in charge]. We did the day ops but at the time the ship would not let females stay overnight so I had to be flown back to Yuma, AZ that night on a CH-46. I guess they saw we could actually operate on a ship and I would hope that helped to later let females do their jobs aboard ships.[32]

Lance Corporal Mary Lariviere was a (MOS) 6060 flight equipment Marine with the 2d Marine Aircraft Wing, Cherry Point, North Carolina, when she was aboard the USS *Theodore Roosevelt* (CVN 71) in August 1988 for a week of carrier qualifications for pilots about to deploy.[33]

> When I requested to go on the carrier, I supported my request with the fact that I was also cross-training in aircraft launch and recovery (MOS 7011) and had been doing it for a while. Well naturally, the Plane Captains liked that idea because it meant that one of them could stay home. Top [term used for master sergeant], however, was very resistant. "Women can't go on ships!" I told him we could and that they had just changed that. He said, "OK, I'll check with the people on the boat." When he checked and they said, "Yes." My Gunny [gunnery sergeant] was SO MAD!! He wouldn't let me up on the flight deck to launch aircraft. I was pretty bummed out. Then I received [airplane] parts from home base and Gunny said, "Come with me. Top wants to see you!" I thought I was in trouble. Well, Gunny took me right through the "six-pack." Aircraft are stacked 3 in front and 3 in back. You have to go between exhausts and intakes, one blowing and one sucking. I was so scared!! I said, "Top, Gunny's trying to kill me!!" (It's funny now.) He laughed as I told him what happened and told me to get back to the trouble shooter's area without using the flight deck.[34]

Second Lieutenant Sarah M. Deal of Pemberville, Ohio, and a licensed civilian pilot, was serving as an air traffic control officer (MOS 7301) when naval aviation and naval flight officer billets were opened to women. Deal applied for selection as a student naval aviator to the fiscal year 1993 Aviation Field Accession Board and was chosen. She reported to flight school in August 1993 and completed flight school and became the Corps' first female pilot in August 1995, flying the CH-53E Super Stallion. Deal joined the Marine Corps for two reasons: "I felt it was my duty to serve my country and the Marine Corps recruiters impressed me the most, and my father was a Marine." Of officer training, she recalled,

> TBS was awful; I was in Echo Company in 1992 and we were supposedly the 1st integrated company. We were the target of many arguments and reporters/media inhibited our training. Because of it, we were not treated as equal by the males or at least it sure didn't feel like it to me. OCS women were also the reason for every failure or problem of Bravo Company (OCS, summer 1991).

Of entering flight school, she recalled, "I always wanted to fly for the military; I never dreamed it would happen so soon. I definitely had my problems when I reported to flight school in Aug 93. Overall it was not a very warm welcome and many peers did not like it that I was there."[35]

First Lieutenant Jeanne M. Buchanan of Manderson, Wyoming, made history on 16 August 1996 by becoming the Corps' first female naval flight officer (NFO), and the first female Marine to fly in jets (EA-6B Prowler, as an electronic countermeasures officer).

> The EA-6B Prowler is an electronic warfare aircraft that seats four. (I like to call it the station wagon of the jet community. The good thing is that you have a fire team to party with wherever you go.) The crew make-up is one pilot and three EMCOs [electronic counter measures officer]. The seating arrangement is two in the front and two in the back cockpit. ECMO 1, who rides in front, does the communications, navigation, and basic Co-pilot duties. There is only one stick, though. The two in back, ECMO 2 and ECMO 3, run the mission specific equipment (Electronic Attack and Electronic Support). When we shot HARM missiles, both the back seat and the front seat play a role in getting it off the aircraft. I like to say that every person touches the missile before the trigger is pulled.[36]

First Lieutenant Karen F. Tribbett was accustomed to success. The University of Rochester NROTC graduate received the physical fitness award for her 1994 Gulf Company OCS class and was an honor graduate for Alpha Company at TBS in 1995. Selected for flight school, she graduated first in her class and received her gold wings in October 1997 as the Corps' first female jet pilot. She did well enough in the jet training pipeline to achieve her dream: Flying F/A-18 Hornets. Following training, Tribbett was assigned to Marine All-Weather Fighter Attack Squadron 242 (VMFA[AW]-242), Miramar, California.

> I think being able to prove yourself physically makes a HUGE difference to male Marines even though it is a small part of fitness reports. Guys really respect a female who can out PT them. Even though PT may have nothing to do with your MOS, those first impressions at OCS and TBS matters a lot.
>
> Then as far as being a pilot, I wanted to be fighter pilot since I was about 12 years old but women couldn't do that. When Congress passed the Combat Exclusion Act in the spring of 1995,

that opened the door for women to be fighter pilots . . . my timing happened to be perfect and I happened to be fortunate enough to do well in flight school so I got jets and then did well enough in jet training to get my dream: F/A-18s.

I have had instructors in flight school say to me "No one wants you in the Fleet," to much worse. I would say most of men don't want me there, but once I prove myself then 90 percent of them don't mind that I am there. The guys who are my peers seem to accept me fairly readily, but the guys who were there as little as one year ahead of me had a very negative attitude to my being there.[37]

Second Lieutenant Esther F. Wingard (née Jules), an aviation guarantee from college NROTC, checked into Aviation Preflight Indoctrination at Pensacola, Florida, in 1995 and learned there were 25 women in the aviation pipeline.[38] She completed follow-on training in Corpus Christi, Texas.

At Corpus Christi, I earned grades high enough to get my first choice: the jet pipeline, and I was assigned to NAS (Naval Air Station) Kingsville (Texas) as the second female Marine to start jet training, and the first to go to Kingsville and fly the [McDonnell Douglas] T-45 Goshawk. Karen Tribbett, in Meridian (Mississippi), was a few months ahead of me, and I was pleased to learn she was a stellar performer and was rocketing through the program. The Marine Corps would get a good "famous first" in their first female jet pilot.

I heard that Karen had selected (F/A-18) Hornets, and pondered my decision on what to put on the selection sheet as my first choice. As it turns out, some instructors talked me out of my first choice: (AV-8B) Harriers west coast, so I put Hornets, then Harriers with west coast as a priority over what I flew. I was the only Marine to select that week and was assigned Harriers west coast. Of course, I wondered whether they had assigned me to whatever Karen Tribbett hadn't been assigned, but I was told the monitor thought I was male when he made the call.

Reporting to MCAS (Marine Corps Air Station) Cherry Point (North Carolina) [for Harrier training ahead of final assignment] was an interesting experience. At the time, Capt Jeanne Woodfin (1st female Marine EA-6B ECMO), and Capt Ann Huot (1st female Marine [Lockheed Martin] KC-130 pilot) were the only other female aviators on board the station, and I got stares as I checked in in alphas. The S-1 (squadron personnel and administration officer) questioned my orders, and I was even mistaken for a (U.S. Navy) flight surgeon. The atmosphere was tense. . . . The instructors and students were quite professional, however, and the CO was outstanding. When others of my peer group started to arrive at [Marine Attack Training Squadron] VMAT-203, the atmosphere changed completely for me, and I began to be accepted as a pilot once everyone had "got the gouge" on me, realizing I had a reputation as a great stick.[39]

Corporal Crystal R. Sargeant of Carlsbad, New Mexico, joined the Marine Corps "for the challenge, travel and awesome uniforms we wear." She was meritoriously promoted to corporal for being first in her class at MOS school and reported to the Marine Aviation Logistics Squadron 11 (MALS-11), 3d Marine Aircraft Wing, Marine Corps Air Station Miramar, California, Powerplants Division, to serve as an F/A-18 Hornet engine mechanic (MOS 6227). She deployed aboard the aircraft carrier USS *Constellation* (CV 64) in the Western Pacific and Persian Gulf in March 2001. While there, Sargeant was assigned

temporary additional duty to the U.S. Navy's VS-38, a U.S. Navy S-3B Antisubmarine squadron (disestablished in 2004), where she was the only Marine.[40]*

> Well, a day on the ship could be pretty long, depending on what was going on. We were constantly flying, even when we were out of the [Persian] gulf, so the pilots could keep up their quals [qualifications]. Typically we worked 12 (hours) on, 12 (hours) off, sometimes longer if there was maintenance to be done. The days in the gulf were especially long. We would fly some long hours, and the temperature was reaching to around 130–140 [degrees] on the flight deck, with 98% humidity at the end of our time there. I imagine that an officer's viewpoint would be different, but that's the advantage of rank.
>
> I was sent to the ARS [aerial refueling store] shop. If you've ever seen a picture of a plane getting fueled in midair, think of the basket that flares out for the plane to hook up to. I was in charge of troubleshooting and upkeeping the store. . . . We are the people that look over the bird before flight and give the final thumbs up when the bird is about to launch off the catapults.
>
> There were fun times, though. Sometimes the ship's company would have ice cream socials to give us a break in the routine, or some other event to help us relax. Port calls were awesome; we hit Australia twice, ported four times in Jebel Ali [United Arab Emirates] in the Gulf, hit Singapore, Hong Kong, and Hawaii.

While in VS-38, Sargeant was selected as the junior Marine/Sailor of the Month for the squadron for June 2001. She then competed for the junior Marine/Sailor of the Quarter. After winning that too, she went on to win the junior Marine/Sailor of the Month for the carrier air wing.

> I noticed a big difference in their boards; a Marine board will ask you knowledge questions like "What are the dimensions of a fighting hole?" The Navy boards asked me questions like "What does leadership mean to you?" and so on. I was given a letter of commendation from the captain of the air wing, Captain Beemer, and later on, each TAD person to the shop received a letter of commendation from the Captain for having a 98% mission completion rate. I enjoy a challenge, though, and I dare say the next Marine will have to work pretty hard to fill the slot I left behind.
>
> Your mindset on a cruise is different than normal. You actually feel like you are accomplishing something important. Sometimes we fall into the routine, and forget why the military exists. You were reminded of that every day on the boat. . . . Coming home was the best feeling in the world, better than the Crucible. It was overwhelming to think that we had gone so far and done so much.

There were approximately 5,100 Sailors and Marines aboard the *Constellation*, and about 30 were women, officers included.[41] The carrier and crew were coming home to San Diego, California, from Hawaii when the attacks on the World Trade Center towers hit. Sargeant recalled, "We were told that we were going back out and guard the coast. Everyone was disappointed . . . but we were all ready to go."[42]

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* The Hornet was gradually taking over the aerial tanking role from the Lockheed S-3 Viking.

Staff Sergeant Wynette C. Perry of North Randall, Ohio, tore down and built up Rolls Royce engines for the AV-8B Harrier as part of her MOS. She served as a Harrier jet mechanic instructor with Marine Attack Training Squadron 203 (VMAT-203), Cherry Point, during November 1986–February 2001. She was the first African American female Marine to become a 6222 (fixed-wing aircraft power plants mechanic) and had two sisters also serving as SNCOs in the Corps.

> When I first joined, some male Marines made me feel as if I did not rate to be a Marine because of my gender. Therefore, I had to go the extra mile to show them I could hold my own. Then I had problems with some of the older female Marines because at times they can be harder than the male Marines. They have already proved themselves to other Marines, so at times they made me prove myself to them. Now I am a SSgt and I am treated with a lot more respect because my superiors can see that I have done what I need to do to become an SNCO.[43]

Then-Ensign Jenifer H. Nothelfer of Warrenton, Virginia, was standing the duty as an aviation student at advanced Helicopter Training Squadron 8 (HT-8) in Pensacola, Florida, before her request for an inter-Service transfer from the Navy to the Marine Corps was approved.

> I was the duty answering the phone. When I answered, as always, I went through the motions of "Good afternoon, HT-8, this is Ens. [Ensign] Nothelfer speaking, how may I help you?" The Petty Officer on the other end said, "I am calling from OLF Pace (one of the outlying fields for working external [helicopter] loads) and I was wondering if you were sending any hook birds?" (What I thought he said was, are you sending any HOOKERS, i.e., prostitutes!) I paused for a second . . . wondering why he would be asking if any "hookers" were coming out there. Confused, I put my hand over the phone, asked OUT LOUD to the 5 or 6 Navy LT flight instructors, "Gentlemen, is HT-8 sending any hookers out to OLF Pace?" Much to my surprise they were all rolling on the floor with laughter from my question. I was still confused . . . then one of them said to me, "Ensign Nothelfer, the Petty Officer was asking if we were sending any HOOK BIRDS out to do externals." Needless to say, I wanted to crawl under the desk. The instructors thanked me for a good laugh! [Helicopters have hook birds (pendants) hanging at the bottom; the pilot hovers over a load while the ground team hooks up the load.][44]

Captain Stacy K. Hayes of Stilson, Georgia, a CH-46E Sea Knight pilot, had a squadron commanding officer who "was a little hung up on [her] being the first woman phrog (the Sea Knight's nickname) pilot in the squadron."

> He gave me a long lecture on how the other fellas saw me as a "piece of meat." I think he was the only one concerned with my femininity, but, alas, a call sign was made. It started as sirloin, then T-bone, then A-1. You see the mentality of aviators shining through, I'm sure.[45]

Nontraditional Opportunities

Captain Katherine Allen, as a major-select, was chosen to attend the two-week Field Grade Officer's Winter Mountain Leadership Course at the Mountain Warfare Training Center, Bridgeport, California, in December 1991. There were 19 other field grade officers or major-selects in the course, all men. The first week was spent in the classroom and the second week was spent in the field and mountains.[46]

> After 3 days of class work, we were down at our field equipment and clothing draw at supply and the

instructor told us to "buddy up," that is to pick out who was going to be our "arctic buddy" for the field portion of the training. I drew a deep breath and decided to wait and see what happened. . . . And I didn't have to wait for but about the 10 seconds it took LtCol Clay Grubb, the Commanding Officer of 1st Force Reconnaissance Company, to make his way through the equipment and clothing that was all over the deck to ask me if I'd like to be his arctic buddy. He said he knew I could ski and I struck him as a solid officer and leader; we'd make a great team. When I accepted and thanked him, he added, "Well, I've eaten these winter rats [rations] before. I'm figuring that you'll never make it through a whole meal by yourself and arctic buddy means sharing leftovers. We both ate well, and made a great team. And I was relieved and truly blessed to have been invited to team-up with LtCol Grubb. As an infantry-recon type, he knew his stuff. He was also an avid skier and camper. Over a decade later, I still get a Christmas card from my "arctic buddy" and his wife, now-retired Colonel Clay and Carol Grubb.[47]

Then-Brigadier General Carol A. Mutter of Eaton, Colorado, took command of the 3d Force Service Support Group (FSSG, now Marine Logistics Group) in Okinawa, Japan, in June 1992, where a large number of her senior staff officers were female. This was due, in part, to the fact that so many senior male Marine Corps officers had deployed to Southwest Asia in support of Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm and so had current overseas rotation dates. In March 1993, Brigadier General Mutter and her assistant chiefs of staff deployed to the Republic of Korea as part of the annual Team Spirit exercise, leaving the 3d FSSG chief of staff and deputies on Okinawa. During a rare afternoon liberty at the conclusion of the exercise, the author, then-Lieutenant Colonel Nancy P. Anderson, 3d FSSG G-6 (communications and computers) purchased four colorful faux butterfly tattoos.

I gave one each to BGen Mutter, Major Catkin M. Burton [Comptroller], Major Kate Prokop [G-2/Intelligence]. I asked Catkin and Kate to join me and wear their tattoo under their left cammie sleeve for the weekly staff formation the Monday after our weekend return to Okinawa. Following formation, we three attended the weekly staff meeting, chaired by the 3d FSSG Chief of Staff. The colonel opened the meeting, saying how much he enjoyed spending two weeks with our deputies and asked how things went. I replied that we were busy the entire time, with almost no liberty, barely having time to get "these." Catkin, Kate, and I lifted our left sleeves [folded to short-sleeve length] and showed off our very realistic-looking "tattoos." The Sergeant Major nearly swallowed his teeth and the Chaplain gasped. It was quickly explained that they were pressed on. The Chief of Staff said that under no circumstances were we to wash them off until after the monthly battalion run that Wednesday, so all could see![48]

Staff Sergeant Julia L. Watson of Provo, Utah, a distinguished marksman, was among the dominant members while assigned as instructor and competitor with Weapons Training Battalion, Quantico.

A few men that I worked with could not accept that a female could be a better marksman than a male. You would think that some would be happy for me and that the Corps is getting another "atta-boy" [Staff Sergeant Watson set several national records and won numerous trophies between 1996 and 1999]. . . . But that is one moote [*sic*] point. I like to focus more on the positive things that make you who you are, and make your experiences rich.[49]

Laura Little of Endwell, New York, enjoyed the leadership experience of TBS, graduating 10th out of a class of 252 second lieutenants in July 1987. Following 18 months at the 1st FSSG (now 1st Marine Logistics Group), Camp Pendleton, California, she was selected to serve as S-3A for Marine Air-Ground Task Force 90 in support of Operation Ahuas Tara in Honduras. "I was one of approximately 16 women to deploy. An extremely rewarding experience," she wrote. As a captain in 1995, she served as the data communications platoon commander in 1995: "I deployed in support of Operation United Shield, the withdrawal of [United Nations] forces out of Somalia. My platoon led the USMC tactical effort to access NIPRNET [nonsecure internet protocol router network] in support of real world operations."[50]

In the Line of Duty

Lieutenant Colonel Pamela A. Brills served as the deputy G-1 (personnel and administration) at MCRD San Diego from 1992–93. During that year, when a VIP, such as a member of Congress or a visiting active duty or retired general was not scheduled to take a recruit graduation pass in review, members of the depot staff, lieutenant colonels and above, were given the opportunity to review the parade.

> The scheduled date [September 1992] for me was actually a week later and because the scheduled dignitary had to cancel at the last minute, I was moved up a week. It was very fortuitous because on that day in the stands were members of the Women Marines Association in San Diego for their [biennial] convention, and we also had actress Beverly Archer, who played Gunnery Sergeant Bricker on the "Major Dad" TV series in the reviewing stand.
>
> I met "Gunny Bricker" after the graduation ceremony, had my picture taken with her, and got it autographed later. The WMA members were very happy to see a woman officer take the parade while they were in attendance, although it was not planned to occur that day.[51]

Major Leslie N. Janzen of Hammond, New York, was assigned to the economics department while at the U.S. Naval Academy in 1998–2001, where she "had the privilege to work with some outstanding future leaders of our country and our services."

> I was very honored by their interest in my career and the questions that they asked. Even more astonishing to me were the number who came up to me (or who told other people who told me) how much of an impact I had had on them. One young woman and I spoke only briefly about the Marine Corps, and only in passing. However, she told me later that I had been her role model and her inspiration.[52]

Thirty-three percent of the graduating class of women during newly promoted Lieutenant Colonel Janzen's last year teaching went into the Marine Corps.[53]

Marisol Cantu of Splendora, Texas, the daughter and sister of Marines, thought her father, First Sergeant Israel Cantu (Ret), was "from the old school of thought that women should not be in the military. . . . However, when he knew that I was interested in joining, he was ecstatic. He was my first salute after I was commissioned." She completed TBS in 2000 and was assigned the 4302, public affairs officer (PAO), MOS. Following school at Fort Meade, Maryland, she was assigned as officer in charge of the television section, Consolidated Public Affairs Office, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. She was sent TAD for a month to Camp Fuji as the

PAO for 1st Battalion, 2d Marines, while they were on a unit deployment. "I tried to make it exciting by going out on attacks with some of the squads, firing weapons and staying in the field with them. . . . 1/2 [one-two for 1st Battalion, 2d Marines] is a grunt (nickname for infantry) unit so I was able to experience a lot." First Lieutenant Cantu's brother, Staff Sergeant Jason Cantu, was a platoon sergeant with 1/2, so she felt right at home.[54]

Major Mary V. Jacocks of Zachary, Louisiana, was the first female Marine officer assigned to an operational (S-2 or S-3) billet of a Marine regiment. When she reported in to the 10th Marine Regiment, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, she was informed the regimental headquarters was in the field on one of the 2d Marine Division's Tactical Exercise Without Troops (TEWT) and she should draw her 782 gear (standard issue field equipment, also known as "deuce gear") and weapon, then await transportation to the field the next morning.

> I arrived at the 10th Marines' site just before dusk and met the CO (commanding officer), Col Tim Roberts (who had also allowed me to be his S-2), most of the regimental staff, and the members of the S-2 Section. There was no tentage; everyone picked a spot to put their sleeping bag and "hit the rack"—many of the men were concerned that I might want a "space" away from them, but accepted my desire to just be "one more body/sleeping bag in the field." That exercise set the tone for my assignment at the regiment and, by and large, things went relatively smoothly.[55]

Kathleen A. Hoard of Grove City, Pennsylvania, enlisted in the Marine Corps in June 1980 for the education; she wanted to be a photographer. She was meritoriously promoted to private first class from boot camp and was assigned MOS 4641, combat photographer. A variety of photographer billets followed, most with aviation squadrons at Marine Corps Air Station Cherry Point. While assigned to Marine Attack Squadron 542 (VMA-542), she also trained as an aircraft electrical systems technician (MOS 6335) and was meritoriously promoted to sergeant. She was nominated for Marine Corps Avionics Technician of the Year in 1985 and was the Honor Graduate from the Sergeants' Course in 1990. She was selected to attend TBS in 1992 and then served in a number of visual information officer billets.

> When I first came in [to the Marine Corps] the treatment [of women] was old fashioned, in the respect that women are fragile and need help in all they do and in order to be thought of as a good Marine, a female would have to accomplish twice as much work. Over the years, I have seen a significant change in the acceptability of women in the Marine Corps. There is still work that needs to be done concerning attitudes but overall there has been a 180-degree turnaround for the better with attitudes.
>
> I have learned a great deal about myself and what kind of person I want to be because of the values instilled by the Marine Corps. I am proud that my daughter decided to follow in my footsteps. . . . She is a Lance Corporal stationed in Miramar [CA]. If it were up to me I would have all high school graduates enlist in the military service for the training, discipline, and growing up.[56]

War Stories

Lieutenant Colonel Ruthanna Poole and **Major Jacocks** shared a tent during Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm. Lieutenant Colonel Poole was the G-1 (personnel and administration) and Major Jacocks was the G-2 (intelligence). Major Jacocks remembered two stories:

> The desert is a dirty place, but LtCol Poole taught me that you could still try to keep things clean. During a rainstorm (don't let anyone tell you that it doesn't rain in the desert), our tent, like many others, flooded with water coming up just under the fabric on the cots. We bailed water out of the tent and then took the tent down one day to try to let the ground dry some in the sun. When we put the tent back up, we filled sandbags and made a solid dry (yet rocky) floor. Somewhere in the desert, we happened upon a couple pieces of plywood, which fit rather well over the sandbags and gave us a flat surface. Then LtCol Poole found an old broom—from that day on, the tent was swept out on a regular basis, though I have to admit that I never lifted a broom.[57]

Following the Desert Storm ceasefire in early May 1991, the 2d FSSG moved from al-Khanjar to al-Mishab, Saudi Arabia.

> One morning one of my sergeants came in [to the G-2 portion of the combat services support operations center] and said "Gee Ma'am, you're patriotic today." I had no idea what he was referring to, so asked. He said, "You have out red, white and blue in order." I then knew what he was talking about. LtCol Poole and I only used the field laundry service once and decided all our clothes would be destroyed in a week or two if we continued. We found an old plastic tub in the desert, hauled water over in five gallon water cans, and usually following a sponge bath (since showers were not available regularly) washed our clothes in the tub. Since our tents were dug in below ground level, I would tie a line from the top of one of the tent poles to a stake in the side of the berm around our tent—it was below ground level and could not be seen unless someone walked directly next to the tent/hole. We would hang our clothes on that line to dry—our cammies, T-shirts, underwear, everything. This particular morning, I had hung out three pairs of panties—one red, one white, and one blue. The sergeant had not been any place he shouldn't have been—but we had never thought of how our drying clothes might look to a passer by.[58]

Then-Captain Wendy Smith served as assistant aircraft maintenance officer in July 1992 for Marine Aviation Logistics Squadron 16 (MALS-16), Marine Aircraft Group 16, Marine Corps Air Station Miramar, California, where she planned and directed logistical support for Operation Restore Hope in Somalia.

> We were very much involved with the logistical support of providing aircraft/parts/people to the efforts. Specifically I had to put together a "plan" of aircraft that were able to complete the mission without having high time (long replacement delivery time) components or heavy scheduled maintenance come due during the operation. I had to look at all the MAG (Marine Aircraft Group) assets in order to propose the plan to the Group Commander.[59]

Captain Stacy K. Hayes, deployed with 26th MEU in 2001 for Operation Enduring Freedom, remembered a particular difficulty for the women serving at Forward Operating Base Rhino and Kandahar Airfield in Afghanistan:

> I was able to email home, phone home via sitcom, and even order my sister a birthday gift from Tiffany's. However, using the bathroom for the first week was the most difficult task I had ever faced. I was one of two women. [The other was a reporter.] The terrain was so open that you couldn't hide behind a bush or tree during the day. I found myself walking around for an hour or so the first day trying to find a place to go to the restroom. . . . Finally I was given a bucket and a small room within the airport. I was

directed to carry out the bucket when I was finished and dump it where the men used the restroom. Upon completion, I carried "my" bucket through the MEU HQ, past the MEU CO and XO out to the designated dumping place. All humility was lost that day![60]

Discrimination and Harassment

Lieutenant Colonel Kathleen V. Harrison of Columbus, Ohio, was a first lieutenant intelligence officer, when her commanding officer (CO), made a pass at her. He was "a colonel with more time in the Corps than I had on earth."

I was summoned to his office every day for intelligence updates, which were in fact excuses to make lewd comments followed by unwanted actions. . . . I decided to confide in my Executive Officer (XO) with a "hypothetical situation." We decided that whenever the CO requested my presence, the XO would accompany me. It only took two escorted visits for the CO to get the message. I don't know if he turned his attention elsewhere but I resolved the problem without calling attention to myself.[61]

Major Vicki Taylor Marsh of Kerrsville, Texas, in leaving a three-year tour as assistant G-1 for the 2d Marine Division, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, received a left-handed compliment from the executive officer, 10th Marine Regiment, a lieutenant colonel: "You've really made a contribution, for a woman"; she was deflated by that tag-on. While serving as administration officer for the Officer Assignment Branch, Manpower Department, Headquarters, in 1987, her reporting senior, a colonel aviator, wrote on her fitness report that Major Marsh "was 'the best female officer' he had seen. He justified the comment that it was high praise to be the best of any group. But what he failed to realize was that I was the only female officer with whom he had worked closely."[62]

Then-Captain Leslie Janzen of Hammond, New York, was assigned to the Headquarters Manpower and Reserve Affairs Department in 1987. As a junior captain, she was tapped for assignment to the Marine Corps Birthday Ball as an escort for the spouses of VIPs; all of the spouses were women.

I was told, the day before the Ball, that I was no longer on escort duty because "they" didn't want women escorting women. I was then assigned as the person in charge of the parking crew at the Sheraton [Hotel]. It was the most humiliating experience of my professional career. I complained but went ahead and did it. Later that evening, after a miserable time, I was in the women's head . . . venting to a friend. [Former Commandant] General [Leonard C.] Chapman's widow was there and heard me, and offered encouraging words. They helped ease the humiliation a little, because she was a wonderful lady, but I still have horrible memories of that event.[63]

Then-Lieutenant Colonel Sheryl Murray served as 4th Recruit Training Battalion commanding officer in the late 1990s as two DACOWITS members toured the recruit depot to weigh advantages and disadvantages of gender-integrated recruit training.

Their outbrief to the CG included a comment that the male recruits were throwing live grenades but the females were not allowed to and they asked the rationale and if there was any consideration to allow the women to throw live grenades. The CGs comment (I was in the room) was words to the effect, "Why would a woman have to throw a grenade when there will always be a man beside her to throw the

grenade!!!!!" Well, to make a long story short, female recruits were throwing live grenades within the next 6 months.[64]

Private First Class Janelle Renee Hardy (née Schardt) of Rancho Cordova, California, saw another Marine fall back during a field march while attending MCT. Hardy stayed with her to help, and she was soon joined by a "motivating female sergeant helping us to get back up. Then out of the blue a male sergeant made a comment about our sergeant and how cute she looked walking her little ducklings. Then the sergeant's Marines started to say stuff." The female sergeant reported the incident, but the damage was done. "What this sergeant did was give all his Marines a bad taste in their mouth regarding women in the Marines."[65]

Alfrita M. Jones of Goldsboro, North Carolina, now a master sergeant, signed up for the Delayed Entry Program in December 1979 ahead of entering recruit training the following September. She was sent to the Military Entrance Processing Station a few days early, in error. A recruiter who had worked closely with Jones's recruiter offered to drive her home, about an hour away.

> Enroute back he stopped at a motel and actually expected me to sleep with him. I didn't, but I learned a valuable lesson. As a young woman in a male dominated organization, I would have to be strong and stand my ground. The recruiter apologized and it was never spoken of again.[66]

Sergeant Lori Humiston, a senior sergeant assigned to Marine Corps Air Station Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii, gave as she received. During her first day on the job in quality assurance, a male staff sergeant came up behind her and pinched her on her bottom. "I was so appalled and offended that I instinctively turned around and slapped him across the face and told him that I did not act like I wanted that kind of treatment, did not talk like I wanted that kind of treatment, and would not tolerate that kind of treatment."[67]

Private First Class Christine M. Glynn of Island Park, New York, was assigned MOS 5811 (military police, MP) following recruit training in December 1988. While attending military police school, she was selected as a presidential security guard and assigned to HMX-1, Quantico, Virginia, where she served for two years. There she proved herself a good Marine and a good MP, but received a lot of unsolicited attention.

> The SgtMaj at the Air Facility at that time was a genuine man and Marine that protected everyone. . . . He guided me and told me that I was going to have problems from the moment I walked in there. He said it doesn't matter how pretty you are, there is no excuse for someone to make you feel uncomfortable. He assured me that I would never get in trouble as an MP by saying, "Don't confuse your rank with my authority."[68]

Full Careers

Master Gunnery Sergeant Patricia A. Orsino of Bellmawr, New Jersey, joined the Marine Corps in 1975 to finish her education. She recalled, "I wanted a challenge and new experiences, along with the chance to finish my education. Highlights of initial training: Meeting women from all over the country. Learning the real meaning of teamwork." Her first billet was course grader/assistant editor at the Marine Corps Institute (MCI), located

at the Washington Navy Yard, Washington, DC. She left active duty in 1978, spent the next 12 years on constant Reserve duty with the Select Marine Corps Reserve, Individual Ready Reserve, Full Time Support Program, and Individual Mobilization Augmentee programs. From April 1996, Master Gunnery Sergeant Orsino headed the Notice of Eligibility Benefits, Reserve Affairs Division, Headquarters, Manpower and Reserve Affairs, Quantico.

> My 26 years of combined and active and reserve duty in the Marine Corps have afforded me the opportunity to experience situations and to meet people that have left a lasting imprint on my life. . . . I have also been able to obtain my Bachelor's Degree. I only wish some of the opportunities that are now available to young women would have been available to me when I first enlisted in 1975. But I consider myself fortunate to have been a part of the years that brought us tremendous change and opportunity.[69]

Colonel Jackie Campbell of Wilmington, North Carolina, retired in 1993 following a trailblazing 26-year career, primarily in the Joint and international military arenas including Headquarters, United States European Command, Stuttgart, Germany; Force Development and Strategic Policies, J-5, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Marine Corps staff member to the Transition Planning Committee (Long Committee), National Defense University, Fort McNair, Washington, DC; and Joint Staff Support, Defense Intelligence Agency.

> I didn't get these assignments by fighting under the "female card"—I earned the right to compete (sometimes having to fight up the ladder over some relatively stiff resistance) on my record of success—and then competed well. . . . As far as I know, I wasn't sent to National War College in 1986 as some kind of quota to meet or overcome some major objection, but selected for top level school and then assigned to that one because I had the best background and potential for use to the Corps in that direction.[70]

At the request of Headquarters, Campbell researched and wrote an annual studies project, *Biennial Budgeting—A Solution for Defense?*, based on background knowledge of the budgeting process, research, and lengthy interviews with senior congressional heads and staffers.

Colonel Gilda Jackson prepared to relinquish command of the Naval Aviation Depot Cherry Point on 17 August 2001 and retired following more than 30 years in the Marine Corps.[71]

> The director of public affairs has just left the office after informing me that the press and news media folks would like an interview at the conclusion of today's event. He has provided me with a list of questions that they would like for me to address. The interview will be my last as the Commanding Officer and my last as an active duty Marine. Hidden in the long list of questions was a question that caused me to stop, ponder and reminisce. The question was, "During your thirty year career in the Marines has there been many changes for the women of the service and what event or events do you see having the most impact on your decision to stay a Marine for all these years? Do you see in the future for young women who would want to make the Marines a career?" What a question! Entering the Marines in the winter of 1968 and retiring some thirty years later has given me the opportunity to experience and witness many changes in the status of women in the Marines and the service.
>
> Today, many of our active duty women are both mothers and Marines. As a squadron commander, I was pleased with the growth of our family service activity and in the past few years, we have seen the

integration of the family services, exchange services, health and fitness, housing services, and child care facilities consolidate under the MCCS [Marine Corps Community Services] organization. We are providing umbrella services for the Marines and their families.

January 27, 2000, Cherry Point, North Carolina, Colonel Robert Leavitt relinquished command of the Naval Aviation Depot, Cherry Point, to Colonel Gilda A. Jackson. Many gathered to witness the event . . . for this was the first time in the 56 year history of Depot, Cherry Point that a female Marine would command the Depot. Today, women in all occupational fields are commanding companies, squadrons, and battalions. In the future, we will have a woman commanding tactical squadrons and may someday command an MEU (Marine Expeditionary Unit). Qualified Marines will have the opportunity to command.[72]

Colonel Roxanne W. Cheney of Beaufort, South Carolina, emailed a "thank you" as she prepared to retire, to all with whom she had been privileged to serve.

Not every day of the past 26 years was necessarily fun, but most were challenging, interesting, and a vehicle for personal as well as professional growth. "Once a Marine, always a Marine" isn't just a quaint phrase or recruiting slogan; it is the embodiment of an attitude, and an expression of the extent to which being a Marine is a life-altering experience—truly, a transformation. "Honor, courage, and commitment" aren't just words; they're the values by which we live our lives while in the Corps, and afterward. There is much I'll miss about being on active duty, but it's time for me to move on. The Corps will remain with me forever and, while the shadow I cast may not be as long as those of other more distinguished Marines, I hope the mark I've made on younger Marines and colleagues will allow my service to this unique band of brothers and sisters to continue after I leave the active ranks.[73]

Major Lucinda B. Wilks of Menomonee Falls, Wisconsin, thought back on the changes affecting female Marines during the past 20 years as she prepared for retirement.

I believe the most remarkable changes for women Marines occurred when General Gray was Commandant. His motto that "every Marine is a warrior first" hit home with me as a woman Marine with very little "warrior" training. I had processed through boot camp [1977], taking one small hike in blue utilities and oxfords, never being taught how to handle a weapon or go to the field and miraculously I'm supposed to be a "warrior." Needless to say, I believe many women were taken aback by the rapid changes that occurred and the rate that we were supposed to keep up with a total lack of knowledge. I was lucky; I had been selected for the Marine Enlisted Commissioning Program and I was fortunate enough to attend OCS in 1985. OCS gave me knowledge about the Marine Corps that female privates were learning in boot camp. It rescued me and propelled me into the Commandant's world of being a warrior. The Basic School, in 1988, added another chunk of knowledge that some of my sister senior enlisted Marines were never taught. Thanks to our current PME (Professional Military Education) system, those few forgotten women have progressed through the warrior training—albeit a little later in their careers.[74]

Traditions

Then-Private First Class Rhonda G. LeBrescu was the first female Marine to attend the Defense Language

Institute (DLI), Monterey, California, where she studied Chinese Mandarin, graduating in 1977. LeBrescu had been the Molly Marine Award recipient (see appendix C) from Platoon 1B in 1976 and proudly exhibited the statue in her barracks room at DLI. Her roommate accidentally broke it, so LeBrescu kept Molly in a shoebox for the next 25 years.

> When I retired I received the gift of a lifetime. In the same shoebox that housed my broken Molly all those years was a "rehabilitated/wounded" Molly (restored by my brother-in-law) and this time she was proudly wearing a purple heart. I was never so moved in all my life![75]

Second Lieutenant Patricia S. Bacon had close ties with some of our female Marine pioneers. While home on leave to Largo, Florida, en route to her first duty station as adjutant with Headquarters and Service Battalion, III Marine Expeditionary Force, Okinawa, Japan, in May 1995, she noticed a poster on a bulletin board with the flag raising on Mount Suribachi, announcing an all armed forces memorial ceremony at the local cemetery on Memorial Day.

> I felt compelled to attend and even inspired to wear my [white dress] uniform. As I proceeded to a chair at the Memorial Day ceremony, this charming mid-80 year old lady approached me and introduced herself as Lotus T. Mort. I recognized her name and instantly knew who she was [CWO3 Lotus Mort was the first female Marine appointed as a permanent Warrant Officer, 31 January 1956]. She invited me to a Women Marines Association picnic where she introduced me to her good friend LtCol Nita Bob Warner, another Woman Marine pioneer who served from 1943 to 1966.
>
> We kept in touch and would meet for breakfast or lunch whenever I was home on leave and we'd swap stories of the "good ole' days." The irony is that we both felt the other generation endured more trials and hardships compared to our/their own experiences. As I listened to the stories of Lotus and Nita Bob and the challenges of being a Woman Marine in their day, with the discrimination, limited career path, and having to constantly prove themselves, I was so humbled and grateful for their service to the Marine Corps. These women are truly remarkable in what they accomplished for Women Marines. In all their endeavors and accomplishments, while overcoming the odds, both ladies have become an inspiration to me. In contrast, Lotus and Nita Bob felt my experiences in the Marine Corps were more difficult due to the expanded role of Women Marines, higher expectations of women due to equal opportunity, and same training standards with our male counterparts.
>
> After my year in Okinawa, Japan, I PCSd to Fourth Recruit Training Battalion where I was assigned as series commander and tasked with developing a program of instruction of the history of Women Marines. As I researched through *The History of Women Marines, 1946–1977*, to my surprise, I read many inserts and viewed pictures of Lotus and Nita Bob. Then I realized Lotus and Nita Bob were truly pioneers for Women Marines and paved the way for others . . . like myself, and I am grateful for that. Without their perseverance and endurance, we would not be able to build on to their accomplishments and further expand on them.[76]

Continue the Dialogue

The author encourages all female Marines, past and present, to contribute to the history of female Marines by submitting stories of their experiences in the Service and digital photos to the Women Marines Association (WMA) at OwnWords@womenmarines.org for others to enjoy through the WMA archives and the WMA blog.

Progress of Women in the Marine Corps Task Force . . . The View from "Our" Side

T'was the night before Christmas
And all through the hall,
The task force was working
And time seemed to crawl.

The tables were littered
With notebooks and Cokes,
And the majors and captains
Were mumbling jokes.

The moon on the crest
Of the dirty window
Gave the luster of mid-day
To the cars parked below.

The holiday spirit had
Long since departed;
The natives were restless
And very disheartened.

When what to our wondering eyes
Was appearing,
But our 5-foot-nothing leader
Shouting, "They've done no steering!"

From out in the passage
There came a loud shout,
And Colonel Blaine King
Started storming about.

"On Campbell; on Geary;
On Walters; on Mayer!
Type Johnson; type Manning;
Who now has the Bayer?"

At the top of his voice
He urged them to hurry,
So that to Lejeune
He and Campbell could scurry.
The steering committee
Had minds of their own,
And General xxxx's comments
Were making us groan.

His stars, how they sparkled!
His teeth, oh how pearly;
Yet despite the facade,
His attitude—surly.

He preached and he ranted
Over each little item;
We restrained Major Mohyer,
Who wanted to bite him!

He read not a line
But went straight to his work
And vetoed our papers,
Then turned with a smirk.

Then throwing his notebook
In the circular file,
He danced out the door
And continued to smile.

We let him keep walking
On out to his car,
Then we gave him our comment
Out loud from afar.

And he heard us exclaim
As he drove out of sight,
"You're a general, it's true;
But that don't make you right!"*

* Composed by several female Marine members of the 1987 Progress of Women in the Marine Corps Task Force

Notes

1. Col Sheryl E. Murray, history submission to author, 28 November 2001.
2. SSgt Lori Humiston, email to author, 10 October 2001.
3. Maj Mary K. Boyt, history submission to author, 3 September 2001.
4. SSgt Elizabeth M. Paul, history submission to author, 16 November 2001.
5. Col Marguerite J. Campbell, email to author, 14 September 2003.
6. Col Nancy P. Anderson (Ret), personal remembrances.
7. Ibid.
8. LtCol Wendy A. Smith, history submission to author, 6 November 2001.
9. Ibid.
10. Boyt history submission.
11. Ibid.
12. LtCol Rhonda Lebrescu Amtower (Ret), email to author, 4 April 2015.
13. LtCol Kathleen M. Murney, email to author, 26 September 2001.
14. Capt Patricia S. Bacon, email to author, 29 September 2002.
15. Capt Wendy J. Goyette, history submission to author, 15 November 2001.
16. Ibid.
17. SSgt Dawn R. Martin, history submission to author, 18 September 2001.
18. Maj Nancy Reid Walters, history submission to author, 14 November 2001.
19. 1stLt Meridith L. Marshall, email to author, 22 September 2001.
20. Bacon email.
21. Ibid.
22. Cpl Candace C. Haas, email to author, 30 September 2001.
23. PFC Kathleen A. Caruso, history submission to author, 1 October 2001.
24. 2dLt Jamie M. Fleischhacker, email to author, 14 October 2001.
25. 2dLt Alexandra L. Roe, email to author, 1 October 2001.
26. LtCol Mary L. Forde (Ret), history submission to author, 2 October 2001.
27. GySgt Mae R. McNeal, email to author, 11 October 2001.
28. Fleischhacker email.
29. LtCol Kathryn A. Allen, email to author, 26 December 2001.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Maj Lou Ann Rickley, history submission to author, 30 January 2002.
33. LCpl Mary Lariviere, email to author, 23 September 2001.
34. LCpl Mary Lariviere, email message to author, 25 September 2001.
35. Capt Sarah M. Deal, history submission to author, 16 September 2001.
36. Capt Jeanne M. Woodfin, email to author, 30 August 2001.
37. Capt Karen F. Tribbett, history submission to author, 2 November 2001.
38. Capt Esther F. Wingard, email to author, 30 August 2001.
39. Ibid.
40. Cpl Crystal R. Sargeant, email to author, 4 October 2001.
41. Ibid.
42. Cpl Crystal R. Sargeant, email to author, 19 October 2001.
43. SSgt Wynette C. Perry, email to author, 12 October 2001.
44. ENS Jenifer H. Nothelfer, email to author, 24 August 2000.
45. Capt Stacy K. Hayes, email to author, 25 June 2002.
46. LtCol Katherine Allen, email to author, 26 December 2001.
47. Ibid.
48. Col Nancy P. Anderson (Ret), personal remembrances.
49. SSgt Julia L. Watson, history submission to author, 12 November 2001.
50. Maj Laura Little, history submission to author, 2 November 2001.
51. Col Pamela A. Brills, email to author, 29 October 2001.
52. LtCol Leslie N. Janzen, email to author, 30 November 2001.
53. LtCol Leslie N. Janzen (Ret), letter to author, 23 March 2004.
54. 1stLt Marisol Cantu, email to author, 19 November 2001.
55. LtCol Mary V. Jacocks, email to author, 8 November 2001.

56. Capt Kathleen A. Hoard, history submission to author, 15 November 2001.
57. LtCol Mary V. Jacocks, email to author, 9 November 2001.
58. Ibid.
59. LtCol Wendy A. Smith, email to author, 12 December 2001.
60. Capt Stacy K. Hayes, email to author, 25 June 2002.
61. Col Kathleen V. Harrison, email to author, 4 March 2003.
62. Col Vicki Taylor Marsh (Ret), letter to author, 17 November 2001.
63. LtCol Leslie N. Janzen, email to author, 30 August 2001.
64. Col Sheryl Murray, email to author, 28 November 2001.
65. Cpl Janelle R. Hardy, history submission to author, 26 November 2001.
66. MSgt Alfrita M. Jones, history submission to author, 13 November 2001.
67. Sgt Lori Humiston, email to author, 13 October 2001.
68. PFC Christine M. Glynn, email to author, 17 September 2001.
69. MGySgt Patricia A. Orsino, history submission to author, 24 September 2001.
70. Col Marguerite J. Campbell (Ret), email to author, 14 September 2003.
71. Col Gilda A. Jackson (Ret), email to author, 12 September 2001.
72. Col Gilda A. Jackson, letter to author, "Gilda Jackson's Story," 17 August 2001.
73. Col Roxanne W. Cheney, email to author, 13 September 2001.
74. Maj Lucinda B. Wilks, email to author, 21 October 2001.
75. LtCol LeBrescu Amtower, email to author, 4 April 2015.
76. Capt Patty S. Bacon, letter to author, 18 October 2001.

APPENDIX G

KEY DOCUMENTS

Reproduced here are extracts from key documents issued by the secretary of defense and the Commandant of the Marine Corps to promulgate new or updated policies regulating the service of women in the Marine Corps during the period of this history. More key documents cited as sources in this work have been placed on file by the author with the Archives Branch of the Marine Corps History Division, Quantico, VA.

The Secretary of Defense
Washington, the District of Columbia

April 28, 1993

Memorandum for the Secretary of the Army
Secretary of the Navy
Secretary of the Air Force
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management and Personnel)
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Reserve Affairs)

SUBJECT: Policy on the Assignment of Women in The Armed Forces

As we downsize the military to meet the conditions of the post-Cold War world, we must ensure that we have the most ready and effective force possible. In order to maintain readiness and effectiveness, we need to draw from the largest available talent pool and select the most qualified individual for each military job.

Throughout our nation's history, women have made important contributions to the readiness and effectiveness of our armed forces. Their contributions to the nation's defense have been restricted, however, by laws and regulations that have excluded them from a large number of important positions.

The military services, with the support of Congress, have made significant progress in recent years in assigning qualified women to an increasingly wide range of specialties and units. Two years ago, Congress repealed the law that prohibited women from being assigned to combat aircraft. It is now time to implement that mandate and address the remaining restrictions on the assignment of women.

Accordingly, I am directing the following actions, effective immediately.

A. The military services shall open up more specialties and assignments to women.

1. The services shall permit women to compete for assignments in aircraft, including aircraft engaged in combat missions.
2. The Navy shall open as many additional ships to women as is practicable within current law. The Navy

also shall develop a legislative proposal, which I will forward to Congress, to repeal the existing combat exclusion law and permit the assignment of women to ships that are engaged in combat missions.

3. The Army and the Marine Corps shall study opportunities for women to serve in additional assignments, including, but not limited to, field artillery and air defense artillery.
4. Exceptions to the general policy of opening assignments to women shall include units engaged in direct combat on the ground, assignments where the costs of appropriate berthing and privacy arrangements are prohibitive. The services may propose additional exceptions, together with the justification for such exceptions, as they deem appropriate.

Les Aspin

##

29 April 1993
CMC, Washington, DC//M-RA//
ALMAR
MSGID/GENADMIN/CMC MPP-56//
SUBJ/Policy on the Expansion of Roles for Women in the Marine Corps
REF/A/DOC/SECDEF/28APR93// [SECDEF memo 28 April 1993, "Policy on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces"]
REF/B/DOC/CMC ASM-33/29JUL92// [*MCO 1542.1F, Naval Aviator Program*]
REF/C/DOC/CMC ASM-33/29JUL92// [*MCO 1040.22H, Naval Flight Officer (NFO) Program*]
REF/D/DOC/CMC MPP-37A/12AUG88// [*MCO 1300.8P, Marine Corps Personnel Assignment Policy*]

RMKS/
2. Consistent with SECDEF's newly stated policy, effective immediately, women officers may apply for flight training.

A. Selection and assignment for flight training is now made on a gender neutral basis.
B. Women are eligible to qualify as pilots of Marine Corps aircraft.
C. Information regarding criteria, application, selection, and assignment to duty as naval aviators and naval flight officers is contained in References (B) and (C).
D. Enlisted women are eligible for assignment as aircrew members aboard KC-130 aircraft.

6. This ALMAR is cancelled 30 JUN 94.//
##

29 April 1993
CMC, Washington, DC//M-RA//
ALMAR
MSGID/GENADMIN/CMC MPP-56//
SUBJ/Female Marines in Combat Aviation

REF/A/DOC/CMC ASM-33/29JUL92// [*MCO 1542.1F, Naval Aviator Program*]
REF/B/DOC/CMC ASM-33/29JUL92// [*MCO 1040.22H, Naval Flight Officer (NFO) Program*]
REF/C/DOC/CMC MPP-56/12AUG88// [*MCO 1300.8P, Marine Corps Assignment Policy*]
RMKS/1. Effective immediately a gender-neutral policy for accession, training, and assignment of pilots, naval flight officers (NFOs), and KC-130 aircrew is established in the Marine Corps. The basis for selection will continue to be combat readiness. Those applicants best qualified will be selected, regardless of gender.
4. Assignment Policies. The following assignment policy changes will be incorporated in REFs A through C through a forthcoming change.

A. Gender-neutral Policy. All ships which embark Marine aircraft are expected to accommodate women officer aviators. Henceforth, selection for officer aviation training and assignment of Marine Corps naval aviator and NFO MOS's will be gender-neutral. There is no goal, quota, or upper limit on the number of female aviators.
B. Eligibility Criteria. All current standards and physical requirements for naval aviators, NFO, and enlisted aircrew will remain unchanged. The most qualified applicants, regardless of gender, will be selected for training. All aviator MOS's and billets are available to women Marine officers with the exception of battalion/regimental forward air controllers (FACs) or air officers (AOs).
C. FAC/AO. Women Marine officers, qualified as naval aviators or NFO's, may serve in air officer billets in the command element of MEB-sized MAGTF's or larger if required and approved by the commanding general of the MAGTF concerned. However, female Marines are not assigned to units of the ground combat element that are expected to engage in direct ground combat. Consequently, qualified women Marine officers may serve in all aviator assignments with the exception of FAC and battalion/regimental air officer billets.

7. This bulletin is canceled 30 JUN 94.//
##

The Secretary of Defense
Washington, the District of Columbia

January 13, 1994

Memorandum for the Secretary of the Army
Secretary of the Navy
Secretary of the Air Force
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness)
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Reserve Affairs)

SUBJECT: Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule
References:
(a) SECDEF memo, April 28, 1993

(b) SECDEF memo, February 2, 1988
(c) FY94 National Defense Authorization Act

My memorandum dated April 28, 1993, directed the Military Services to open more specialties and assignments to women and established an Implementation Committee to ensure that those policies are applied consistently. I also charged the Committee to review and make recommendations on several specific implementation issues.

The Committee has completed its first such review, that of the "appropriateness of the 'Risk Rule'", reference (b), and concluded that, as written, the risk rule is no longer appropriate. Accordingly, effective October 1, 1994, reference (b) is rescinded.

My memorandum restricted women from direct combat on the ground. The Committee studied this and recommended that a ground combat rule be established for assignment of women in the Armed Forces. Accordingly, the following direct ground combat assignment rule, and accompanying definition of "direct ground combat", are adopted effective October 1, 1994, and will remain in effect until further notice.

A. **Rule.** Service members are eligible to be assigned to all positions for which they are qualified, except that women shall be excluded from assignment to units below the brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground, as defined below.
B. **Definition.** Direct ground combat is engaging an enemy on the ground with individual or crew served weapons, while being exposed to hostile fire and to a high probability of direct physical contact with the hostile force's personnel. Direct ground combat takes place well forward on the battlefield while locating and closing with the enemy to defeat them by fire, maneuver, or shock effect.

The Services will use this guidance to expand opportunities for women. No units or positions previously open to women will be closed under these instructions.

Les Aspin

##

The Secretary of Defense
Washington, the District of Columbia

28 JUL 1994

Memorandum for Secretaries of the Military Departments
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
Under Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness)

SUBJECT: Application of the Definition of Direct Ground Combat and Assignment Rule

I approve each Service's proposal to open additional positions to women. In our review of the assignment of women, our overarching goal has been to maintain a high quality, ready and effective force. By increasing the number of units and positions to which women can be assigned, the Military Services gain greater flexibility in the development and use of human resources. With this flexibility, the Services can expand their

recruiting base, making it easier to find high quality people, and ensure that the best qualified person is assigned to each position.

Thus, our actions will enhance the military and advance the cause of equal opportunity.

William J. Perry

Attachment:

SUBJECT: USMC Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule

DISCUSSION:

—Marine Corps Plans:

—Open 9 units and 33 Military Occupational Specialties (MOSs) currently closed to women.

—93% officer and enlisted primary MOSs will be open to women

- —Includes all aviation positions
- —3 logistics MOSs
- —2 engineer/construction MOSs
- —2 ammo/EOD MOSs
- —2 air control/air support MOSs

—MOSs closed are:

- —All infantry, artillery and armor MOSs (32 MOSs)
- —12 primary MOSs due to collocation/recon mission

—Units opening include all MAGTF command elements

—15 units will remain closed:

- —10 due to direct ground combat
- —5 due to collocation

—Changes will result in 79% gender neutral officer positions and 60% gender neutral enlisted positions in USMC.

##

GLOSSARY

A

accession—To bring a person into military service.

ACMC—Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps.

AFEEPS—Armed Forces Enlisted Entry Processing Station.

ALICE Pack—All-Purpose Lightweight Individual Carrying Equipment system (superseded by Modular Lightweight Loadbearing Equipment system, or MOLLE), used in entry-level training only.

ALMAR—All Marines message from the Commandant of the Marine Corps.

AMTRAC/AAV-P7—Amphibious troop transport used by assault amphibian battalions to land the surface assault elements of the landing force and their equipment.

AN/TTC-42(V)—A sheltered telephone central office that provides automatic switching service and subscriber service functions to the TRI-TAC family of four-wire, digital, secure, and nonsecure voice terminal telephone instruments (DSVTs) and four-wire digital trunks, including both single channels and time-division multiplexing (TDM) groups. The AN/TTC-42(V) allows automatic and semiautomatic switching for selected analog loops and trunks and is sized so as to provide switching among 150 channels.

AOR—Area of responsibility an operational area defined by the Joint force commander for land and maritime forces.

ASVAB—Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery; a multiple-choice test, administered by the U.S. Military Entrance Processing Command, used to determine qualification for enlistment in the United States Marine Corps and other armed forces.

B

barracks cover—Framed olive hat worn with Service A uniform.

brig—Jail.

C

cadence—The pace of a formation's movement; the call-and-response that keeps a formation at the correct pace.

cammies—Short for camouflage; the field uniform.

carry on—Continue what you were doing.

CG—Commanding general.

chief of staff—The senior or principal member or head of a staff, or the principal assistant in a staff capacity to a person in a command capacity; the head or controlling member of a staff, for purposes of the coordination of its work; a position that in itself is without inherent power of command by reason of assignment, except that which is invested in such a position by delegation to exercise command in another's name.

chow—Food.

chow hall—Where chow is prepared and served.

click—One notch of a rifle sight, or one kilometer.

CMC—Commandant of the Marine Corps.

CO—Commanding officer.

colors—U.S. flag or the raising and lowering of the flag.

combined staff—Military staff drawn from two or more nations.

company grade—Second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain officers.

CONUS—Continental United States (48 contiguous states and Washington, DC).

cover—Headgear/hat.

D

DACOWITS—Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Service; established in 1951 by Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall. The committee is composed of

civilian women and men appointed by the secretary to provide advice and recommendations on matters and policies relating to the recruitment and retention, treatment, employment, integration, and well-being of women in the Armed Forces.

deck—Floor.

DI—Drill instructor.

DOD—Department of Defense.

drill—Moving in an orderly fashion, over and over.

dry fire—Firearm practice without ammunition.

E

ECP—Enlisted Commissioning Program.

F

field day—Cleaning the barracks or squadbay.

field grade—Major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel officers.

flag officer—A term applied to an officer holding the rank of general, lieutenant general, major general, or brigadier general in the U.S. Army, Air Force, or Marine Corps or admiral, vice admiral, or rear admiral in the U.S. Navy or Coast Guard.

FLOT—Forward line of troops; a line that indicates the most forward positions of friendly forces in any kind of military operation at a specific time. The FLOT identifies the forward location of covering and screening forces.

FMF—Fleet Marine Force.

FOB—Forward operating base; an airfield used to support tactical operations without establishing full support facilities.

frocking—Administrative authority from SECDEF (07 and above) or SECNAV (06 and below) granting officers selected for promotion—and, if required, confirmed by the U.S. Senate, but not yet promoted—the right to wear the insignia and uniform and assume the title of the next higher grade.

G

garrison cover—Olive fabric hat worn with Service uniforms.

grinder—Macadam surface used for drill.

H

HQMC—Headquarters Marine Corps.

J

jody calls—Songs/lyrics used to keep a formation in cadence.

Joint staff—Military staff drawn from two or more U.S. Services.

L

live fire—Firearm practice with ammunition.

M

MAGTF—Marine air-ground task force; the Marine Corps' principal organization for all missions across the range of military operations, composed of forces task-organized under a single commander capable of responding rapidly to a contingency anywhere in the world. The types of forces in the MAGTF are functionally grouped into four core elements: a command element, an aviation combat element, a ground combat element, and a combat service support element. The four core elements are categories of forces, not formal commands. The basic structure of the MAGTF never varies, though the number, size, and type of Marine Corps units comprising each of its four elements will always be mission dependent. The flexibility of the organizational structure allows for one or more subordinate MAGTFs to be assigned.

MCI—Marine Corps Institute; established as vocational schools by MajGen John A. Lejeune in February 1920, MCI facilitates the non-schoolhouse training and education of individual Marines to enhance their professional military education and to provide promotion opportunity. Effective 1 September 2015, the MCI Distance Learning mission was transitioned to the College of Distance Education and Training, Marine Corps University.

MCRD—Marine Corps Recruit Depot; MCRD Parris Island, SC, trains all female Marine recruits and only male recruits residing east of the Mississippi River; MCRD San Diego, CA, trains all male recruits residing west of the Mississippi River.

MEB—Marine expeditionary brigade; a MAGTF that is constructed around a reinforced infantry regiment, a composite Marine aircraft group, and a combat logistics regiment. The Marine expeditionary brigade, commanded by a general officer, is task-organized to meet

the requirements of a specific situation. It can function as part of a Joint task force, as the lead echelon of the Marine expeditionary force, or alone. It varies in size and composition, and it is larger than a Marine expeditionary unit but smaller than a Marine expeditionary force. The Marine expeditionary brigade is capable of conducting missions across the full range of military operations.

MEF—Marine expeditionary force; the largest MAGTF and the Marine Corps' principal warfighting organization, particularly for larger crises or contingencies. It is task-organized around a permanent command element and normally contains one or more Marine divisions, Marine aircraft wings, and Marine force service support groups. The Marine expeditionary force is capable of missions across the range of military operations, including amphibious assault and sustained operations ashore in any environment. It can operate from a sea base, a land base, or both.

mental group—Category based upon a recruit's ASVAB test score: CatI—93–100; CatII—65–93; CatIIIA—50–64; CatIIIB—31–49; CatIV—10–30; CatV—0–9.

MEU—Marine expeditionary unit; a MAGTF that is constructed around an infantry battalion reinforced, a helicopter squadron reinforced, and a task-organized combat service support element. It normally fulfills Marine Corps forward sea-based deployment requirements. The Marine expeditionary unit provides an immediate reaction capability for crisis response and is capable of limited combat operations.

monitor—A Marine's assignment designator, officer or enlisted, matching the needs of the Marine Corps with the desires of the Marine.

MOS—Military occupational specialty.

MRE—Meals-ready-to-eat; packaged rations.

mustang—A former enlisted Marine, after having served on active duty or in the Reserve, further served as a commissioned or warrant officer in either active duty or Reserve status.

N

NBC—Nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare.

NCO—Marine Corps corporal or sergeant.

NJP—Nonjudicial punishment.

NROTC—Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps.

O

OCONUS—Alaska, Hawaii, and overseas installations.

OCS—Officer Candidates School.

OQR—Officer qualification record; a summary of a Marine officer's career.

P

pace—The speed of march of a unit regulated to maintain a prescribed average speed.

PFT—Physical fitness test.

phonetic alphabet—A list of standard words, chosen for phonetic understanding, used both to identify military sequence (e.g., Alpha Company, first in fiscal/training year), and as descriptive letters in a message transmitted by radio or telephone; for example, "TANGO-BRAVO-SIERRA, CHARLIE-1 (TBS, 1st Platoon, Charlie Company). The following are the authorized words, listed in order, for each letter in the alphabet: ALFA, BRAVO, CHARLIE, DELTA, ECHO, FOX-TROT, GOLF, HOTEL, INDIA, JULIET, KILO, LIMA, MIKE, NOVEMBER, OSCAR, PAPA, QUEBEC, ROMEO, SIERRA, TANGO, UNIFORM, VICTOR, WHISKEY, X-RAY, YANKEE, and ZULU.

pogey bait—Candy.

PT—Physical training.

pump—MEU deployment, usually six months.

PX—Military Exchange/department store without tax.

Q

quarters—Home.

R

rack—Bed/bunk.

request mast—Request mast includes both the right of a servicemember to personally talk to the commanding officer, normally in person, and the requirement that the commanding officer consider the matter and personally respond to the member requesting mast. This applies to any superior commanding officer in the chain of command up to and including the member's

immediate commanding general. Request mast also provides commanding officers with firsthand knowledge of the morale and general welfare of the command.

round—A bullet.

S

scrambled eggs—Slang for the gold embellishment on the barracks cover brim of field grade and flag officers.

scuttlebutt—Rumors.

SECDEF—Secretary of Defense.

SECNAV—Secretary of the Navy.

secure—(USMC usage) Stop resistance/put safely away.

Semper Fi—Abbreviation of the Latin semper fidelis, "always faithful"; the motto of the U.S. Marine Corps.

sick bay—Dispensary/medical facility.

SMMC—Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps; the senior enlisted advisor to the Commandant.

snap in—Dry fire (practice without ammunition) for pistol and rifle range qualifications.

SNCO—Staff noncommissioned officer; Marine Corps staff sergeant, gunnery sergeant, first sergeant, master sergeant, sergeant major, or master gunnery sergeant.

SOP—Standing or standard operating procedures.

sound off—Shout position or cadence during drill or formations.

SRB—Service record book; summary of an enlisted Marine's career.

staff positions—Marine Corps headquarters are organized into staff sections, each with a particular specialty and mission. "S" staffs exist at the battalion level and lower; "G" staffs are general staff positions at the brigade level and above; "J" staffs are Joint staff positions. Staff positions are numbered 1–8 for large units (e.g., MEFs). In addition to standard staff sections, special staff sections, such as staff secretary, staff judge advocate, and chaplain (U.S. Navy member) are present. The specialties are: 1—Administrative and personnel; 2—Intelligence; 3/5—Operations and plans; 4—Installations and logistics; 6—Communications; 7—Inspector; and 8—Comptroller/resource management.

T

TAD—Temporary additional duty; an additional duty assignment lasting less than six months.

TBS—The Basic School.

tiger team—Group of experts assigned to investigate and/or solve technical or systemic problems.

T/O—Table of organization.

topside—Upstairs.

W

warrant officer—A former SNCO appointed by the secretary of the Navy, who is a specialist in his or her respective field, providing technical advice and leadership to Marines in their MOS.

the word—Confirmed information.

X

XO—Executive officer, second in command.

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(*numbers in italics indicate photos*)

The Very Few, the Proud
Women in the Marine Corps, 1977–2001

By Nancy P. Anderson

The Very Few, the Proud documents a generation of changes to accession and assignment policies pertaining to women seeking to serve in the U.S. Marine Corps between 1977 and 2001. This history intentionally ends at the threshold of the Global War on Terrorism—the gateway to current history.

Anderson's research follows the changes in social and gender distinctions, in definitions of combat and combat support, and the belief in the value of using the best person to fill a military billet regardless of gender by voters, legislators, and military leadership that developed during this period. *The Very Few, the Proud* draws upon hundreds of personal accounts of women who served during the period, personal archives of Marine Corps leaders, and journalistic accounts of the treatment of women in and by the U.S. military.

Robert Cummings Photography

Colonel Nancy P. Anderson, USMC (Ret)

Colonel Anderson graduated with honor from the U.S. Marine Corps' Woman Officer Candidate Course in 1972 and from the Woman Officer Basic Course the following year. Most of her military service was spent in tactical communications and computers, in billets ranging from platoon commander through chief of staff, G-6, of 3d Force Service Support Group on Okinawa. She served as both a battalion and a base commander. Her staff positions include deputy, Strategic Plans Division, within the Corps' Headquarters Plans, Policies and Operations Division; and both International Strategic Initiatives deputy and Marine Corps Fellow to the Institute for National Strategic Studies. Her academic credentials include a bachelor of science degree from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and a master of science degree from the Naval Postgraduate School. She is a graduate, with highest distinction, of the Naval War College nonresident program and a graduate of the National War College. Following her retirement in 2002, Colonel Anderson became an active community volunteer service member, volunteering nearly full time each week for several nonprofit organizations at the local, state, and national levels.

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