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ISSUES DEVELOPED IN BACKGROUND INVESTIGATIONS CONDUCTED BY DEFENSE INVESTIGATIVE SERVICE

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December 1989

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This report examines the type and frequency of derogatory issues contained in 881 Background Investigations (BI) and 812 Special Background Investigations (SBI) conducted by the Defense Investigative Service (DIS) in 1987 and 1988. Contingency table and graphical analytic techniques were used to compare the two investigative methods on the type and frequency of issues developed by the investigations. Analyses indicate there is little difference between the BI and the SBI in terms of type and amount of information obtained.

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Preface

It has long been recognized that analyses of the issues contained in Defense Investigative Service (DIS) background investigations has needed better information than that provided by the Defense Central Index of Investigation (DCII). Simply knowing that an issue is present in a case provides no information about the type of issue, the presence of multiple issues, or the prevalence of certain combinations of issues. Since the beginning of PERSEREC we have made inroads into this information gap by developing a data base of the issues found by DIS background investigation. The following report is the first report which makes use of the data source.

This report focuses on the issues found in the Background Investigation (BI) and the Special Background Investigation (SBI). Comparing these investigations is a high priority research topic because BI is considered an effective and expedient alternative to the SBI. Based on the analysis, there appears to be very little difference between the two procedures.

Aside from the research questions, security professionals should find interesting the types of issues contained in DIS investigations. The graphs in this report show clearly and concisely the single and multiple issues that appear most often in the backgrounds of defense employees. It is useful information.

Roger P. Denk
Director

Issues Developed in Background Investigations Conducted by the Defense Investigative Service

Peter A. W. Lewis
Edward R. Koucheravy
Ralph M. Carney

Summary

Background and Problem

The type and frequency of derogatory information contained in Defense Investigative Service (DIS) background investigations has not been well documented. It has been possible to determine that at least one issue was present but the type of issue and the presence of multiple issues has been hard to determine. In cooperation with the Personnel Investigation Center (PIC), a data base has been developed that contains information about the issues uncovered during background investigations. This data have been used in the present report to examine the issues obtained in two types of background investigations conducted by DIS: the Background Investigation (BI) and the Special Background Investigation (SBI).

Approach

Using data supplied by PIC, an analysis was performed on the issues contained in 881 BIs and 812 SBIs conducted by DIS.

Two types of analyses were performed. Where data allowed, statistical tests of contingency tables were conducted. In instances where data were not amenable to statistical manipulation, graphical analysis was performed on the patterns of issue combinations generated by the two investigative methods.

Results

Demographics

The analyses show that the SBI population has proportionally more women and more DoD civilians than the BI population. There are no age differences between the two groupings.

Investigations

Number of Issues per Investigation. Analysis of the number of issues per investigation shows no difference in the frequency of issues generated by the BI and SBI. There are more issues per investigation for the BI population than the SBI, but no difference in the proportion of multiple issues.

Distribution of Issues. A graphical depiction of the distribution of issues in the BI and SBI populations shows there is only slight variation in the pattern of issues developed by the different investigations. In both the BI and SBI, the three most prevalent issues are the single-issue categories of finances, drugs, and mental-emotional. The next most common issues vary slightly between the BI and SBI but have similar patterns of single- and multiple-issue combinations: crime, drug-crime, alcohol, alcohol-drug, alcohol-drug-crime, and alcohol-crime. Overall, there is virtually no difference in the kinds of issues generated by the BI or the SBI.

Conclusions

The analyses indicate there is little difference between the BI and SBI in terms of the type and amount of information obtained. The quality of material generated by the procedures still needs to be evaluated.

Table of Contents

Preface i

Summary ii

List of Tables v

List of Figures vi

Introduction 1
- Problem 1
- Disclaimer 3
- Assumptions 3

Exploratory Data Analysis 5
- Comparisons of the Populations by Demographic Factors 5
  - Gender 5
  - Age 6
  - Employment Status 10
- Analysis of Issues 11
- Number of Issues 11
- General Pattern of Issues 13
- Single-issue frequency patterns 19
- Triple-issue frequency patterns 21
- Quadruple-issue frequency patterns 22

Summary and Conclusions 25
- Demographic Information 25
- Issue Analysis 25
- Conclusion 25

References 27

List of Tables

1. Contingency Table for Gender for BI and SBI: Counts and Residuals 6

2. Expected Values and Residuals for Age in BI and SBI Samples 8

3. Expected Values and Residuals for Employment Status for BI and SBI Samples 10

4. Expected Values and Residuals for Number of Issues in BI and SBI Samples 12

5. Frequency and Percent of Issues in BI and SBI Samples 13

6. Twenty Most Frequent Issue Combinations Based on BI Ranking, in BI and SBI Samples 15

List of Figures

1. The Relative Frequency of Gender in the BI and SBI Sample 7
2. The Relative Frequency of Each Age Code in the BI Sample 9
3. The Relative Frequency of Each Age Code in the SBI Sample 9
4. The Relative Frequency of Each Employment Status in the BI and SBI Sample 11
5. The Relative Frequency of the Number of Issues Per Individual in the BI and SBI Sample 12
6. Relative Frequency of Issues by Type in Each Issue Category 14
7. Skyscraper Plot of the 20 Most Frequent Issue Combinations in the BI Sample. 17
8. Skyscraper Plot of the 21st through 40th Most Frequent Issue Combinations in the BI Sample 17
9. Skyscraper Plot of 20 Issues-Combinations in the SBI Sample Indexed in the Same Order as the First Twenty BI Samples for Comparison Purposes 18
10. Skyscraper Plot of Next Most Frequent Issues in the SBI Sample Indexed in the Same Order as the Second Twenty Frequent Issue Combinations in the BI Sample 18
11. Skyscraper Plot of the Single Issue Cases in the BI Sample. 19
12. Skyscraper Plot of the Single Issue Cases in the SBI Sample 19
13. Skyscraper Plot of the Double-Issue Cases in the BI Sample 20
14. Skyscraper Plot of the Double-Issue Cases in the SBI Sample 20
15. Skyscraper Plot of the Triple Issue Cases in the BI Sample 21
16. Skyscraper Plot of the Triple Issue Cases in the SBI Sample 21
17. Skyscraper Plot of the Quadruple Issue Cases in the BI Sample 22
18. Skyscraper Plot of the Quadruple Issue Cases in the SBI Sample 22

Introduction

Problem

The Defense Investigative Service (DIS) must conduct alternatively two different types of investigations to obtain background information: the Background Investigation (BI) and the Special Background Investigation (SBI). The different types of investigations are directed by separate regulations that govern eligibility for access to different types of classified information.

The BI is conducted for individuals requiring Top Secret clearance. The investigation covers the most recent five years of a subject's background and involves, as a matter of procedure, an indepth interview of the subject. The investigation also contains source interviews and records checks for the five-year period.

The SBI is conducted for individuals requiring access to programs which contain Sensitive Compartmented Information (SCI). The SBI investigates up to 15 years of a subject's background, depending upon the age of a subject, and uncovers issues through record checks and interviews with sources who are familiar with the candidate's background. Issues are generally resolved through a subject interview; otherwise, an indepth interview is not a matter of procedure.

This paper examines the BI and SBI in terms of the type of information that is developed by the two investigative methods. All security investigations have two possible outcomes: the investigation either yields no information that casts doubt about the subject, or it uncovers problems or questions about the subject's character. These issues are resolved by further investigation before a subject is granted clearance eligibility.

Both the BI and SBI return information about 11 issue categories: alcohol, drugs, finances, mental-emotional, crime, sexual, loyalty, foreign connections, foreign preference, falsification, and security violations. The focus of this inquiry is whether there is a difference in the types of issues that are developed by the BI and SBI.

Comparing the issues generated by the BI and SBI is not a straightforward matter, because differences in investigative method are confounded by differences between the populations that are nominated for TS and SCI clearances. There is already a considerable body of research about these population differences (e.g., Crawford and Wiskoff 1988, Flyer 1987, Laurence and Colot 1987). Briefly, in comparison to the BI the SBI population has proportionately more women, and candidates tend to be screened more carefully and to have higher educational levels. The net effect of these differences is that SBI candidates appear to have less derogatory information in their backgrounds; this shows up as a lower proportion of

issues for SBI candidates. The problem is that it is impossible to ascertain if the lower issue case rate results from characteristics of the population or characteristics of the investigation.

The present study takes a different approach to the questions surrounding the BI and SBI. It compares the types of issues contained in the issue cases of BI and SBI samples. The unit of analysis is the issue(s) generated by BIs and SBIs. Analyses are conducted to determine if there are differences in the composition (i.e., frequency and patterns) of the issues. The study does not eliminate the confounding factors discussed above, but it looks at the issue characteristics of the two populations as developed by the investigative method.

The presumption is that if wide differences are found between the issue patterns of the BI and SBI there is reason to suspect that there are profound differences between either the investigative method or the population characteristics. If differences are not evident, however, there is reason to think that once issues have been uncovered there is little difference in the ability of the BI and SBI to investigate issues.

This study represents an improvement over previous studies of the BI and SBI because it focuses on issues after the issue has been identified. As such, it provides a graphical depiction of issue characteristics of candidates for DoD security clearances. The analyses should prove interesting to a wide cross-section of the personnel security community.

The data analyzed for this study represent a sample of 812 SBI issue cases and a sample of 881 BI issue cases. Each record consists of demographic information about an individual (gender, age, and employment status) and entries indicate one or more of the 11 issue categories which caused the particular person to qualify as an issue case.

The data were obtained from the Quality Assurance Branch of DIS Personnel Investigations Center (PIC). This branch is responsible for ensuring that the quality of investigations represents a uniform, acceptable standard. This branch normally samples the issue cases processed each week through the PIC. They select an incidental sample of issue-case records and evaluate the files for adherence to investigation standards. The branch provided the demographic and issue data for each record processed through their office over a period of several months. There is no information about the total number of cases that were available for sampling, so population inferences are limited.

Disclaimer

The data show only the categories of issues for each record, and give no indication of the quality and depth of information produced by each procedure.

Assumptions

An assumption was made that the data represent two random samples of SBI and BI issue cases. The selection procedure followed by the Quality Assurance Branch is assumed to be unbiased with regard to selection of SBI or BI cases.

Exploratory Data Analysis

Comparisons of the Populations by Demographic Factors

Three demographic factors are recorded for each record in this study: gender, age, and employment status of the subject. Gender and age are self-explanatory. Employment status refers to one of three types of defense employment: Department of Defense (DOD) civilian employees, industrial civilian employees (individuals who work for defense contractors who require access to classified information in the conduct of the government contract-related activities of their employer), and members of the military services.

Each demographic category was summarized into its components and a two-way layout was constructed which allowed the configuration of both samples to be jointly compared for the particular category. For example, a table of counts of males and females for both the BI and SBI samples was constructed. The marginal counts were also constructed and yielded a contingency table layout. The samples could then be compared to determine whether differences in the proportions of various categories in each sample represented a statistically significant difference. This difference was investigated using contingency table analysis techniques, in particular the two-sample chi-square, goodness-of-fit technique (Gibbons, 1976), and residual analysis. Using this technique, each of the three demographic factors was compared between samples.

Graphs of the demographic data are presented as figures whenever possible to represent visually the results of the statistical tests.

Gender

The two populations were compared to see whether they differed by gender, i.e., whether the proportions of males to females are the same within the SBI and BI populations.

A contingency table which represents the counts and residuals (Anscombe 1981) of the gender classification for each of the samples was constructed (Table 1). The column marginal totals are the fixed numbers which represent the sizes of the samples from each investigation procedure.

TABLE 1

Contingency Table for Gender for BI & SBI:
Counts and Residuals

	SBI	BI	Total
Male	601 (-.9579)	702 (.9197)	1303
Female	211 (1.751)	179 (-1.681)	390
Total	812	881	1693

Summing the squared residuals produced a chi-square statistic T, with 1 degree of freedom:

$$T = 7.6552$$

This produced a P-value of less than .01, which indicates that there is a significant difference in the proportion of males to females in each population. There appear to be more males proportionally in the BI population than in the SBI population. Relative frequency histograms for each sample are displayed in Figure 1. There is a small statistically significant difference in the proportion of women between samples: there are proportionately more women in the SBI sample.

Age

Ages were coded into groupings (16-20 years old, 21-25 years old, etc.) and the samples were compared for age differences. The statistical test is that the age grouping proportions are the same for the SBI and BI populations; the alternative hypothesis is that the age grouping proportions differ for at least one grouping.

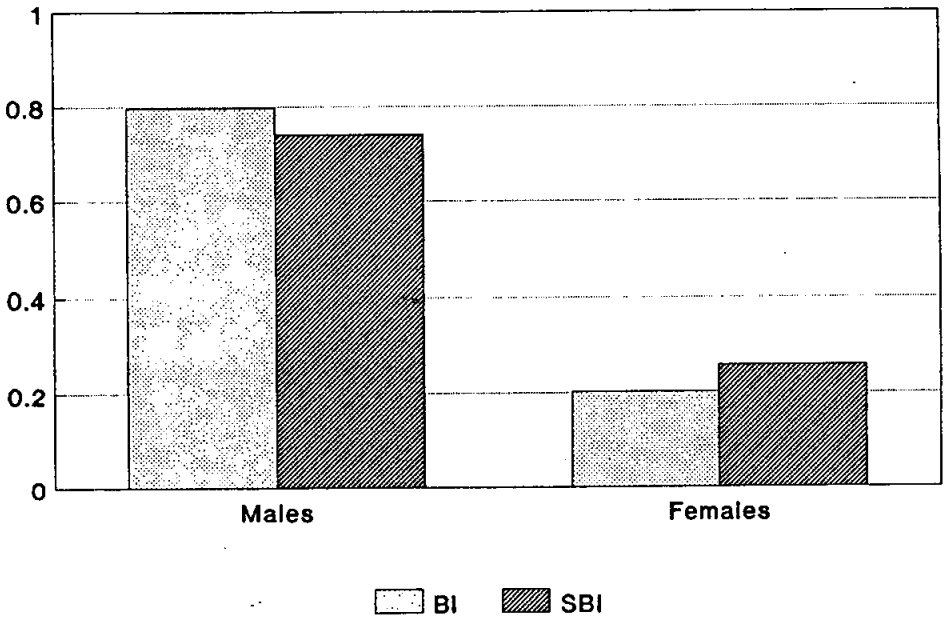

Figure 1. The Relative Frequency of Gender in the BI and SBI Sample.

A contingency table (Table 2), giving counts and residuals of age groups for each population, was constructed.

TABLE 2

Expected Values and Residuals for Age in BI and SBI Samples

Age Grouping	SBI	BI	Total
Missing	3 (-1.951)	4 (.1873)	7
16-20	93 (.0544)	102 (.0522)	195
21-25	177 (-.7351)	213 (.7056)	390
26-30	199 (1.4273)	176 (-1.3703)	375
31-35	125 (-.6005)	150 (.5765)	275
36-40	96 (.3568)	97 (-.3426)	193
41-45	54 (-.0915)	60 (.0879)	114
46-50	27 (-.5851)	36 (.5617)	63
51-55	25 (.1768)	29 (.1697)	54
56-60	13 (.5927)	10 (-.5691)	23
61-75	0 (-1.3851)	4 (1.3298)	4
TOTAL	812	881	1693

Summing the squared residuals produced a chi-square statistic T with 10 degrees of freedom:

$$T = 11.0656$$

This resulted in a P-value larger than .25, which strongly suggests that the populations of SBI and BI issue-cases do not differ in their configuration by age. The results are graphically displayed in Figures 2 and 3; the general shape of the histograms appears almost the same for both samples.

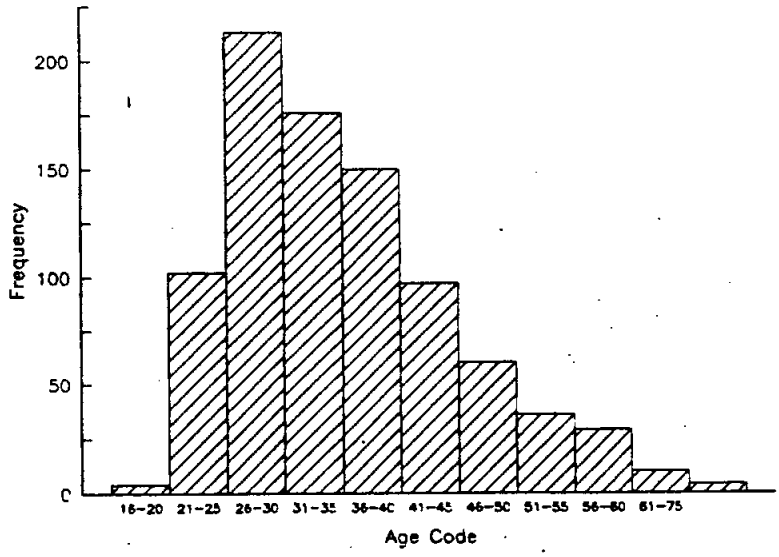

Figure 2. The Relative Frequency of Each Age Code in the BI Sample.

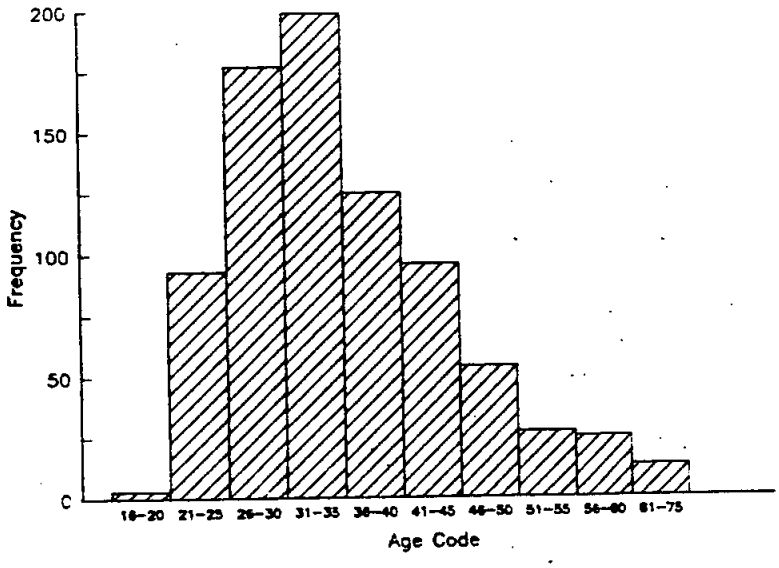

Figure 3. The Relative Frequency of Each Age Code in the SBI Sample.

Employment Status

The samples were compared to see if the populations differed by employment status. The hypothesis was that the employment status proportions within the SBI and BI populations are the same; the alternative was that the employment status proportions were different in at least one category.

The following contingency table of counts and residuals for employment status was constructed (Table 3).

TABLE 3

Expected Values and Residuals for Employment Status
for BI and SBI Samples

Employment Status	SBI	BI	Total
DOD Civilian	94 (2.6004)	56 (-2.4965)	150
Industrial Civilian	299 (-.7489)	352 (.7190)	651
Military	419 (-.4266)	473 (.4095)	892
Total	812	881	1693

Summing the squared residuals produces a chi-square statistic T with 2 degrees of freedom:

$$T = 14.422$$

This statistic has a P-value of approximately 0.0000, indicating that the populations differ in their configuration by employment status. In particular, the difference seems to center primarily in the proportion of DOD civilians, as shown by the large residuals in the categories in Table 3: DoD civilian 2.6004 and -2.4965 respectively. The number of DOD civilians in the SBI sample is significantly larger than the proportion of DOD civilians in the BI sample (11% versus 5%). This difference is easily seen in Figure 4.

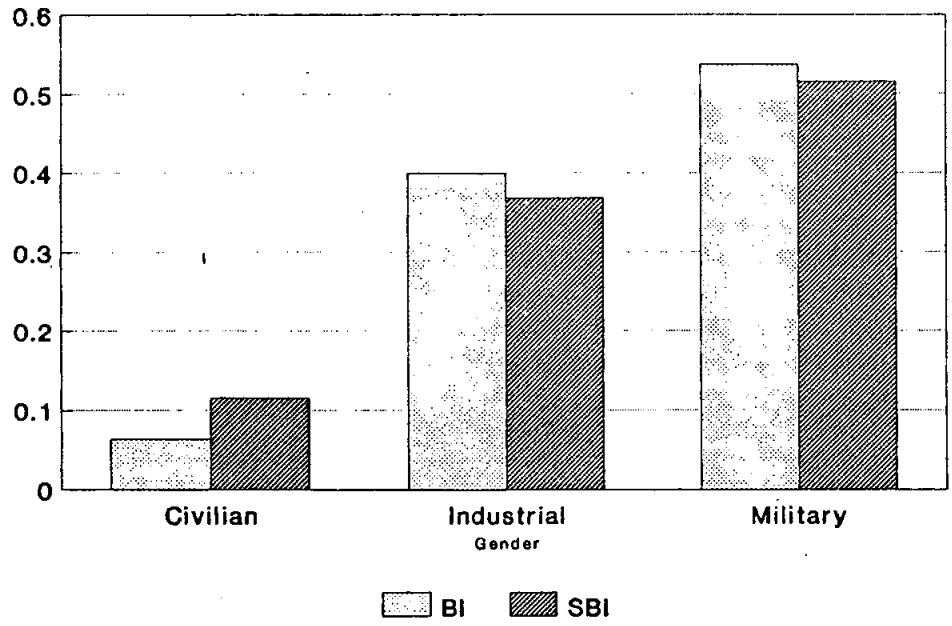

Figure 4. The Relative Frequency of Each Employment Status in the BI and SBI Sample.

Analysis of Issues

Most of the information in the file shows the issue category, or categories, for each individual. Every record also contains a word in each field indicating issues associated with the particular subject. All records had at least one issue; however, many records had multiple issues.

Number of Issues

The populations were compared to see whether they differed by the number of issues per record. Statistical hypotheses were constructed for a test of whether the proportions of issues per individual within the SBI and BI populations were the same, or the proportions of issues were different.

A contingency table was constructed for the counts and residuals of the number of issues for individuals in the BI and SBI samples. Records with more than five issues were sparse so the table was collapsed. The reformulated table is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Expected Values and Residuals for Number of Issues in BI and SBI Samples

Number of Issues	1	2	3	4	5-7	Total
SBI	484 (-1.31)	200 (-.983)	86 (1.11)	30 (-.695)	12 (.4459)	812
BI	467 (-1.25)	247 (.9436)	116 (1.062)	41 (.668)	10 (-.428)	881
Total	951	447	202	71	22	1693

Summing the squared residuals produced a chi-square statistic T, with 4 degrees of freedom:

$$T = 8.7895$$

This produced a P-value of approximately .075, indicating that the proportion of issues per individual in each population, SBI and BI, is the same. The general shape of the histogram in Figure 5 supports this.

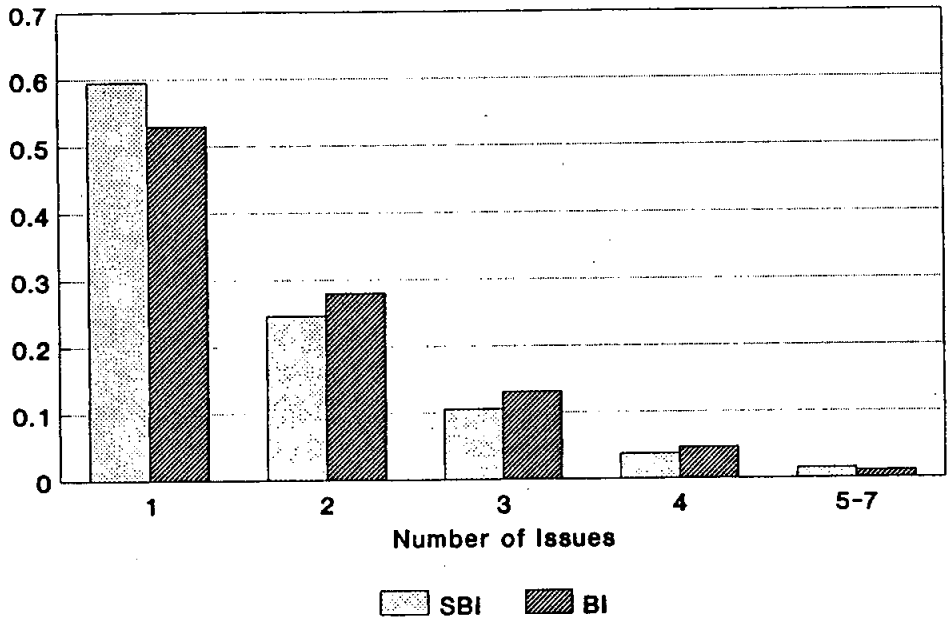

Figure 5. The Relative Frequency of the Number of Issues Per Individual in the BI and SBI Sample.

General Pattern of Issues

It is of interest to look at the distribution of issues for each population, but it is inappropriate to talk about the way issues are "distributed" because each issue category is not mutually exclusive. Table 5 shows the general distribution of individual issues without accounting for issue combinations.

As indicated in Table 5, the SBI has a lower average of issues per individual (1.63) than the BI (1.73). This difference has statistical significance ($t = 2.15$, $p < .05$), but little meaning should be attached to this difference. The more important statistical test is the proportion of issues per individual which was conducted on Table 4 and was not significant. The BI population may have more issues than the SBI but a conservative interpretation of this difference is advised.

TABLE 5

Frequency and Percent of Issues in BI and SBI Samples

Issue	SBI		BI	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Alcohol	135	16.6	192	21.8
Drug	304	37.4	369	41.9
Finances	298	36.7	329	37.3
Mental	154	19	162	18.4
Crime	196	24.1	242	27.5
Sexual	69	8.5	58	6.6
Loyalty	6	.7	11	1.3
Connections	20	2.5	26	3
Foreign Pref.	9	1.1	5	.6
Falsification	123	15.2	120	13.6
Security Vio.	12	1.5	12	1.4
Total	1326		1526	
Sample Size	812		881	
Average	1.63		1.73	

Statistical analysis of the issues in Table 5 is not possible because the issues do not represent unique classifications. For example, an individual may have issues with both drugs and alcohol. This person would be double-counted and contingency table analysis would be inappropriate for this data.

A bar chart (Figure 6) was constructed from the counts in Table 5; it indicates the frequency of appearance of individual issues in each sample. Figure 6 shows there are nearly equivalent proportions of the issues in both the SBI and BI samples. The percentage of individuals in the SBI sample associated with any particular issue is generally less, but the shape of the bar chart is nearly identical for both.

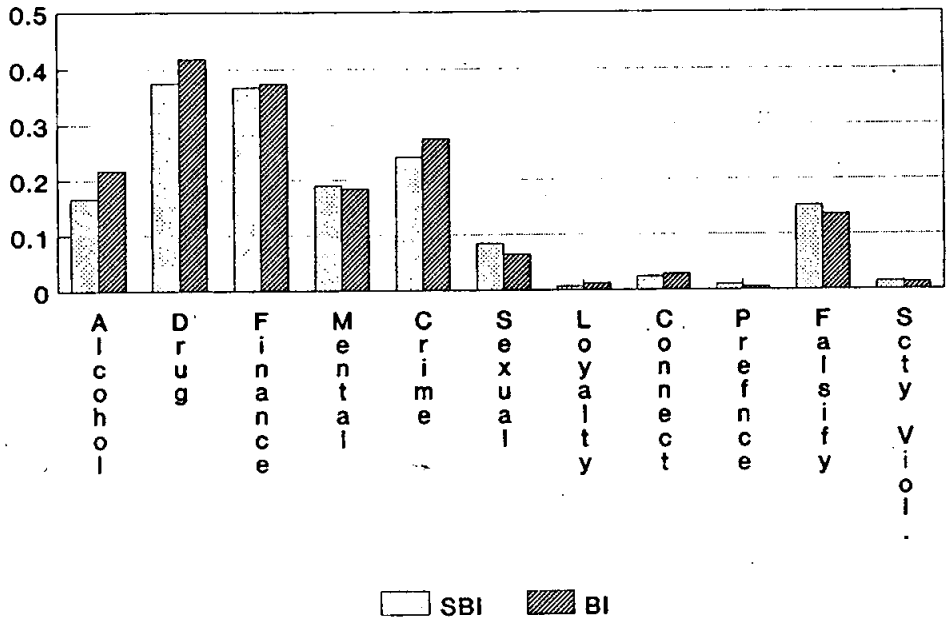

Figure 6. Relative Frequency of Issues by Type in Each Issue Category

Issue Combinations

Another way to look at the issue interaction is to construct a table of counts for all the unique combinations of issues. Out of a possible 2^{11} occurrences, 134 different combinations of issues were present in the two samples. Since this large number of combinations is too difficult to interpret, the 20 most common combinations, based upon the BI ranks, are listed in Table 6 below; BI ranking is used to allow comparison between the samples.

TABLE 6

Twenty Most Frequent Issue Combinations Based on BI Ranking, in BI and SBI Samples

Issue Combination	SBI Sample		BI Sample	
	Count	Rank	Count	Rank
Finances	187	1	175	1
Drug	124	2	115	2
Mental	68	3	74	3
Crime	28	5	37	4
Drug-Crime	21	7	35	5
Drug-Finance	15	11	34	6
Alcohol	31	4	31	7
Alcohol-Drug	15	11	28	8
Alcohol-Drug-Crime	12	14	23	9
Alcohol-Crime	17	8	22	10
Drug-Falsify	16	10	19	11
Finance-Crime	13	13	17	12
Drug-Mental	22	6	15	13
Finance-Mental	8	18	11	14
Sexual	17	8	11	15
Drug-Finance-Crime	6	25	11	16
Alcohol-Finance	2	46	11	17
Drug-Crime-Falsify	9	16	9	18
Foreign Connections	10	15	9	19
Loyalty	4	31	9	20

While 134 combinations occurred, Table 6 indicates that the frequencies rapidly decreased after the first 20 combinations are displayed. The BI and SBI samples appear to display very similar rankings of issue types, with some differences apparent.

Table 6 does not allow for an easy comparison between issue combinations of the BI and SBI. However, when the numerical information is combined with a graph of the interaction of the various issues, we gain a much stronger insight into the most common interactions within each sample. This provides a quick way to compare interactions between and within samples; similarities are highlighted and differences are much more quickly apparent.

BI Issue Combinations

Figure 7 is a skyscraper plot of the BI information in Table 6. The x-axis (the axis labeled "Issue Combination") represents the 20 most frequent BI issue combinations. Perpendicular to the x-axis are the issue categories. The towers along this axis represent the prevalence of the particular issue category. The z-axis represents the count (or frequency) of any particular issue-combination.

As an example of the interpretation of Table 6, the tallest skyscraper in Figure 7 is to the left of the graph. The count indexed along the x-axis is 175. This means there is a frequency of occurrence of this combination of 175 within the BI sample. Reading back along the column from the x-axis, we see only one skyscraper. This is a single issue category. Following the y-location to the y-axis, we see that this skyscraper represents the finances issue category. To summarize, the most frequently occurring issue combination is a single issue, finance: 175 individuals have this problem.

Moving to the fifth issue along the x-axis, two skyscrapers line up in the y-direction. This represents a combination of drug and crime with a count of 35. This means that the fifth most common combination in the BI sample was the drug-crime combination; 35 people have this particular problem.

Only the first 20 combinations are listed because the graph gets increasingly difficult to read with more combinations; however, these first 20 combinations represent 696 out of the 881 total combinations, which means that 79% of all persons in the BI sample have one of these issue combinations.

What does this graph tell us? The first four most frequent issue combinations are finances alone, drugs alone, mental alone, and crime alone (in fact 45% of the BI cases are contained in these four single issues). We also see that not only are drugs alone and finance alone the most common combinations, but as we move to the right, we see that they frequently interact with other issue categories. In the same light, while alcohol is relatively infrequent as a single factor, the seventh through tenth most common combinations involve multiple issue combinations involving alcohol. Also noteworthy is the low rate of frequency of issue categories involving the sexual, loyalty, foreign connections, foreign preference, or security categories.

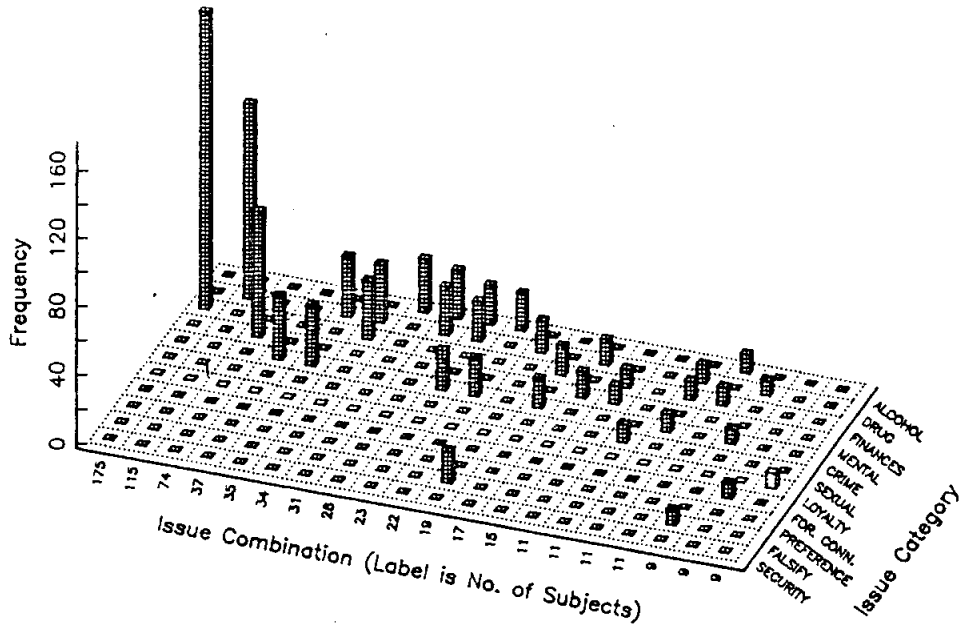

Figure 7. Skyscraper Plot of the 20 Most Frequent Issue Combinations in the BI Sample. Each increment along the x-axis represents the unique issue combination. The issues involved in that particular combination are represented by the particular skyscraper.

Figure 8 displays the 20 next most frequent issue combinations in the BI sample. Only 10% of the subjects are represented among these combinations. Crime and falsification interact strongly with each other and with the other issues.

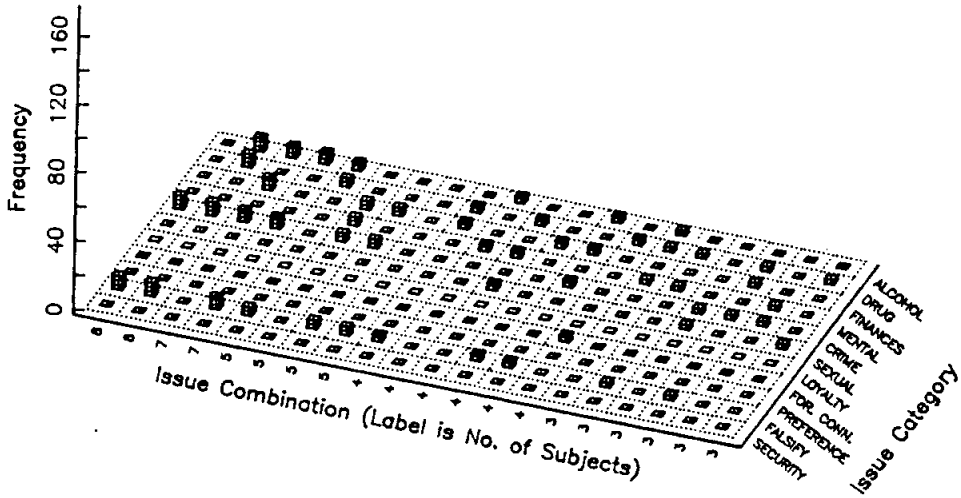

Figure 8. Skyscraper Plot of the 21st through 40th Most Frequent Issue Combinations in the BI Sample.

SBI Issue Combinations

Figures 9 and 10 display the issue combination information for the SBI samples arranged in the same order as the BI. The SBI sample, with relatively few exceptions, does not seriously deviate from the BI sample. The same top 20 issue combinations represent 77% of the SBI sample and the next 20 combinations represent 11%. The pictures strongly suggest, even with such a complex interaction of factors, that the two samples have behaved in remarkably similar ways.

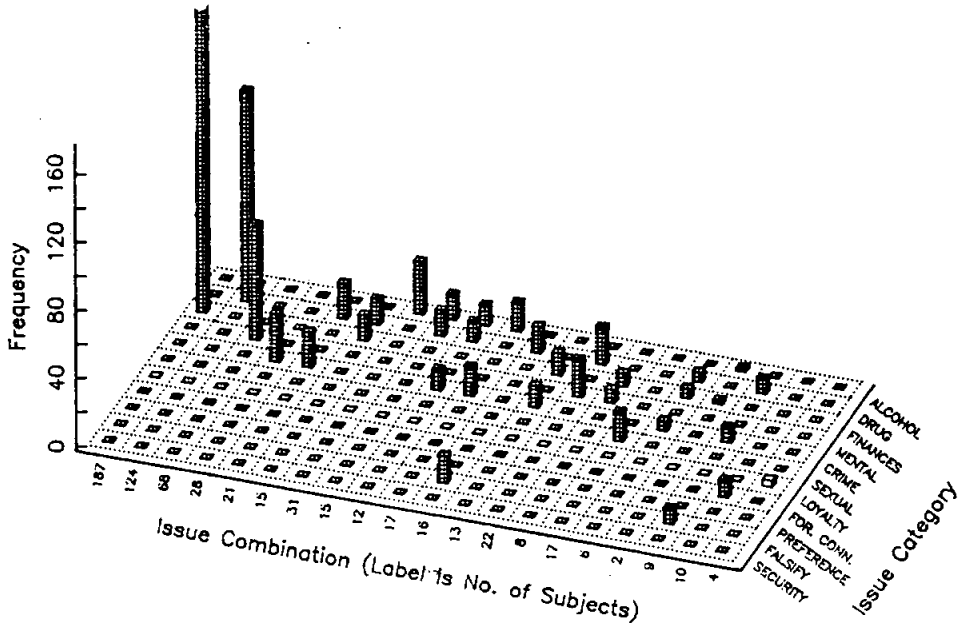

Figure 9. Skyscraper Plot of 20 Issues-Combinations in the SBI Sample Indexed in the Same Order as the First Twenty BI Samples for Comparison Purposes.

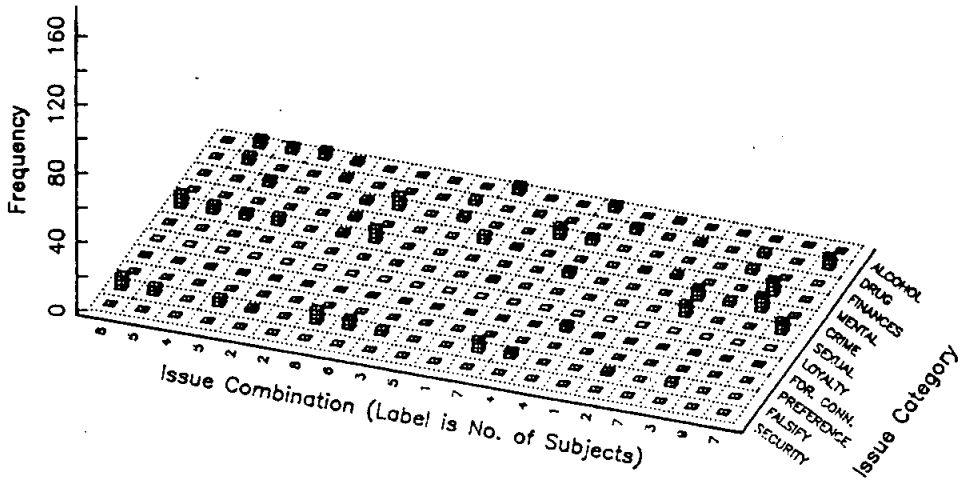

Figure 10. Skyscraper Plot of Next Most Frequent Issues in the SBI Sample Indexed in the Same Order as the Second Twenty Frequent Issue Combinations in the BI Sample.

Single-issue frequency patterns

Figures 11 and 12 show the frequency comparisons of the individuals with only single issues. Comparison of the two samples indicates that single issues occur with similar frequencies in both samples.

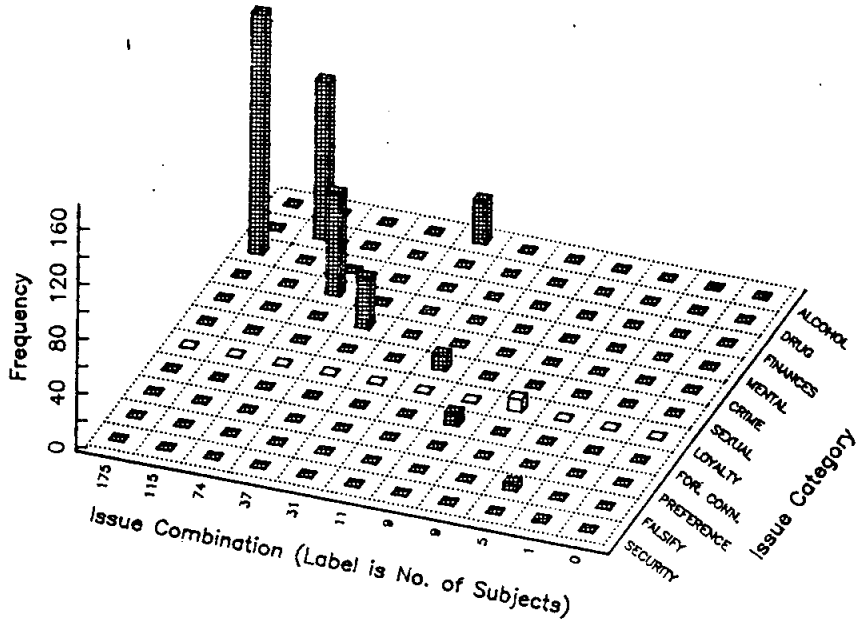

Figure 11. Skyscraper Plot of the Single Issue Cases in the BI Sample.

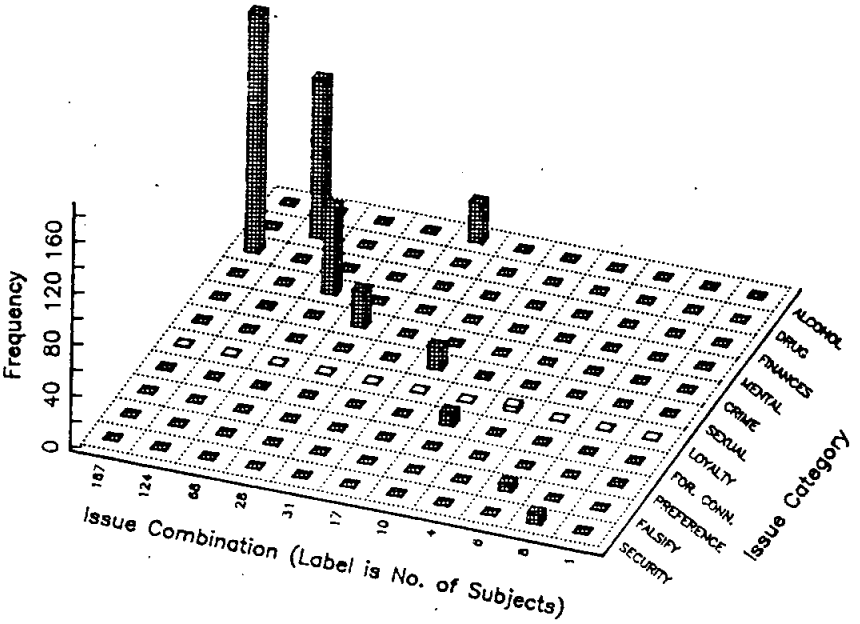

Figure 12. Skyscraper Plot of the Single Issue Cases in the SBI Sample

Double-issue Frequency Patterns

Figures 13 and 14 display frequency comparisons of the individuals with double-issue combinations. It is apparent that the BI sample produces double-issue combinations more frequently than the SBI, but the first seven most frequent double-issue cases are the same for both samples. Drug, alcohol and crime issues are involved in double-issue combinations in a similar fashion for both samples.

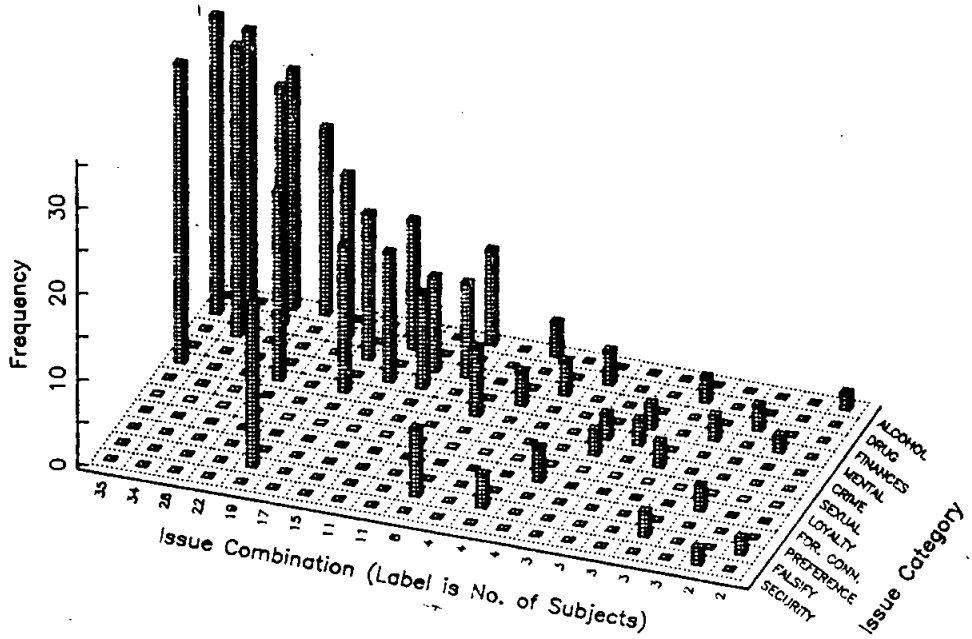

Figure 13. Skyscraper Plot of the Double-Issue Cases in the BI Sample.

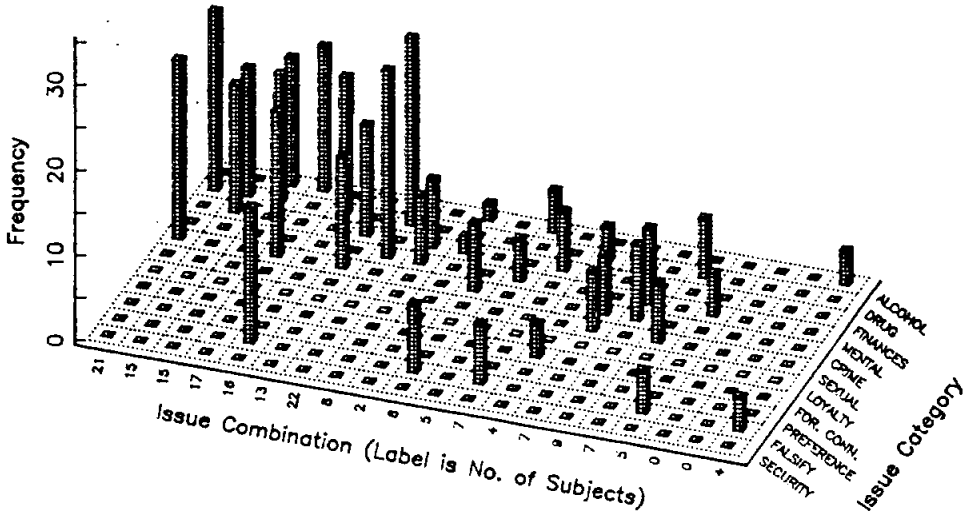

Figure 14. Skyscraper Plot of the Double-Issue Cases in the SBI Sample.

Triple-issue frequency patterns

Figures 15 and 16 represent frequency comparisons of the subjects with triple-issue combinations. Triple combinations, in general, do not occur very frequently. Alcohol, drug, crime and falsification are especially involved in triple-issue cases.

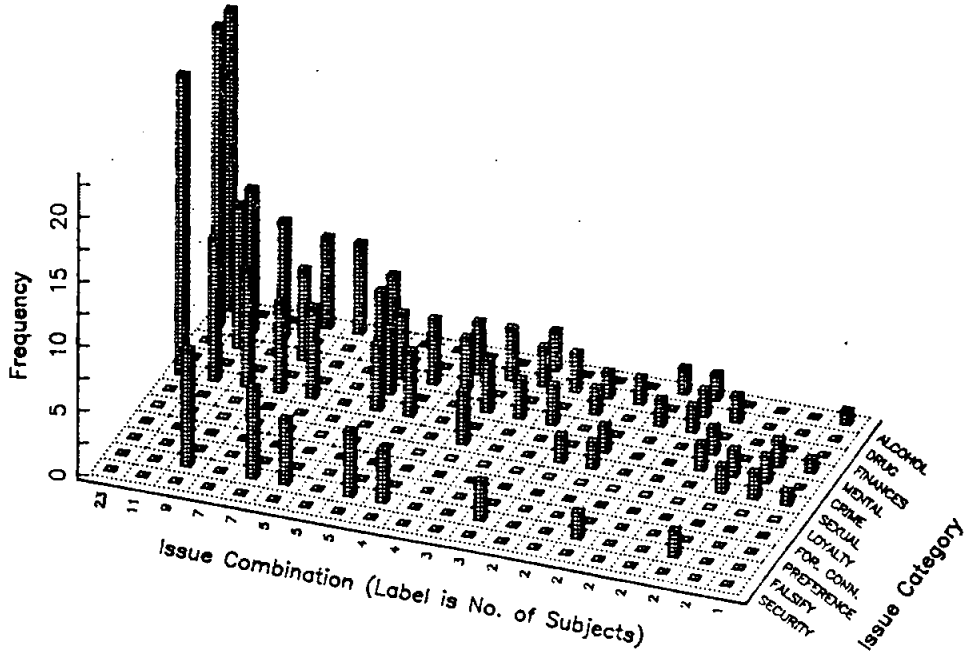

Figure 15. Skyscraper Plot of the Triple Issue Cases in the BI Sample.

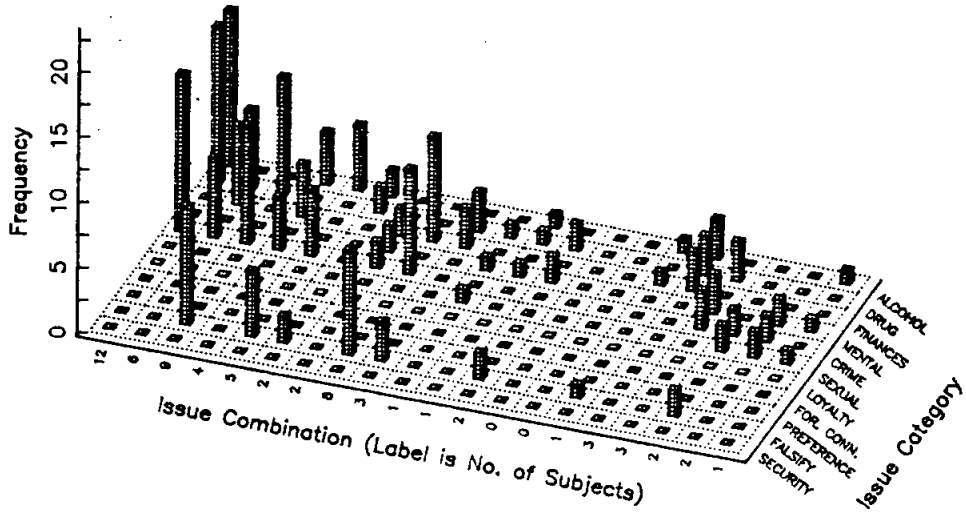

Figure 16. Skyscraper Plot of the Triple Issue Cases in the SBI Sample.

Quadruple-issue frequency patterns

Figures 17 and 18 represent quadruple-issue combinations. In some ways quadruple-issue cases are the most serious cases, even though they occur infrequently. It is probably inappropriate to draw many conclusions from these patterns; however, the interaction of alcohol, drugs, crime, and falsification are very strong.

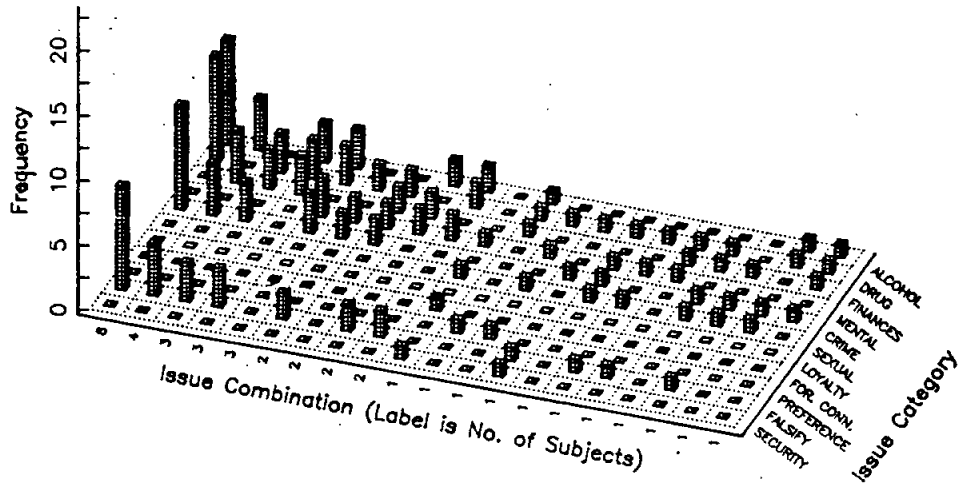

Figure 17. Skyscraper Plot of the Quadruple Issue Cases in the BI Sample.

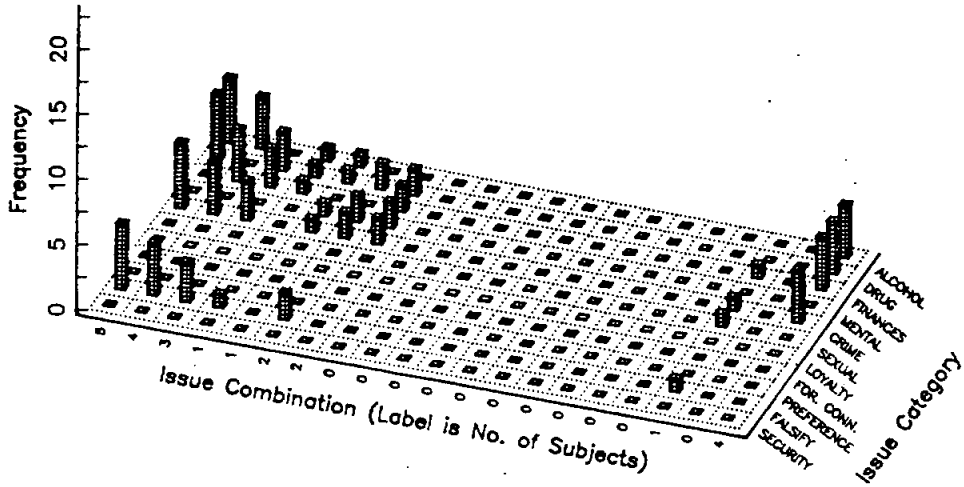

Figure 18. Skyscraper Plot of the Quadruple Issue Cases in the SBI Sample.

As a final note, it is important that issues not be completely discounted because of their relative rarity. There is no way to determine, based upon these samples, who was awarded a clearance and who was deemed ineligible. Some of the rare combinations may, in fact, be the ones which are most interesting. Examination of the issue cases which resulted in denial of clearance may highlight these rare combinations.

Summary and Conclusions

Demographic Information

The gender configuration of the SBI population is statistically different from the gender configuation of the BI issue populations. The SBI population has a significantly greater proportion of women than the BI population.

The age distribution of the SBI and BI issue-case populations appears to be the same.

Employment status distributions of the SBI and BI issue-case populations appear to be significantly different. The proportion of DoD civilians in the SBI sample is significantly larger than the proportion of DoD civilians in the BI sample.

Issue Analysis

The SBI sample, in general, had a slightly smaller percentage of issues in most categories and a smaller mean number of issues for each subject (1.63 issues per subject for the SBI sample versus 1.73 issues per subject for the BI sample). It is difficult to say whether this difference is meaningful, because many subjects had multiple issues and there was no difference in the proportion of issues per individual in the BI and SBI populations. The presence of multiple issues presents a problem that is not amenable to traditional, contingency table analysis. It is not statistically possible to compare the distribution of issues in the SBI and BI populations; however, the graphs of issue counts by sample strongly suggest that the issues occur in similar proportions in both populations. When depicted graphically, both samples show similar patterns and frequencies of issue combinations.

Conclusion

It appears that the type and amount of information contained in BI and SBI is roughly the same. Although there are some differences between the samples, graphical and statistical analysis of the samples does not reveal any major differences. In fact, the similarities between the amount and type of issue cases in both samples is noteworthy. This suggests that population differences are not strong enough to affect issue patterns and that the two investigations are equivalent in developing issues. Thus, we conclude, based on the data available, that there is little difference between the BI and SBI in terms of type and amount of information obtained.

There are unanswered questions about representatives of the BI and SBI samples and the quality of material generated by the BI and SBI. These questions require separate inquiry and will be addressed in future studies.

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HOMOSEXUALITY AND PERSONNEL SECURITY

Theodore R. Sarbin

September 1991

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DEFENSE
PERSONNEL SECURITY
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This study examines the relationship between homosexuality and personnel security. It reviews legal, biological and social science literature on homosexuality. The study concludes that there are few data to support the premise that all homosexuals represent a security risk. It affirms the current guidelines that call for examination of individual security clearance decisions on a case-by-case basis. The author notes that homosexuals are often seen to constitute a morally suspect class and have been the target of discriminatory policies. The aim of the paper is to provide context for personnel security professionals as they weigh all appropriate variables in making security clearance determinations.

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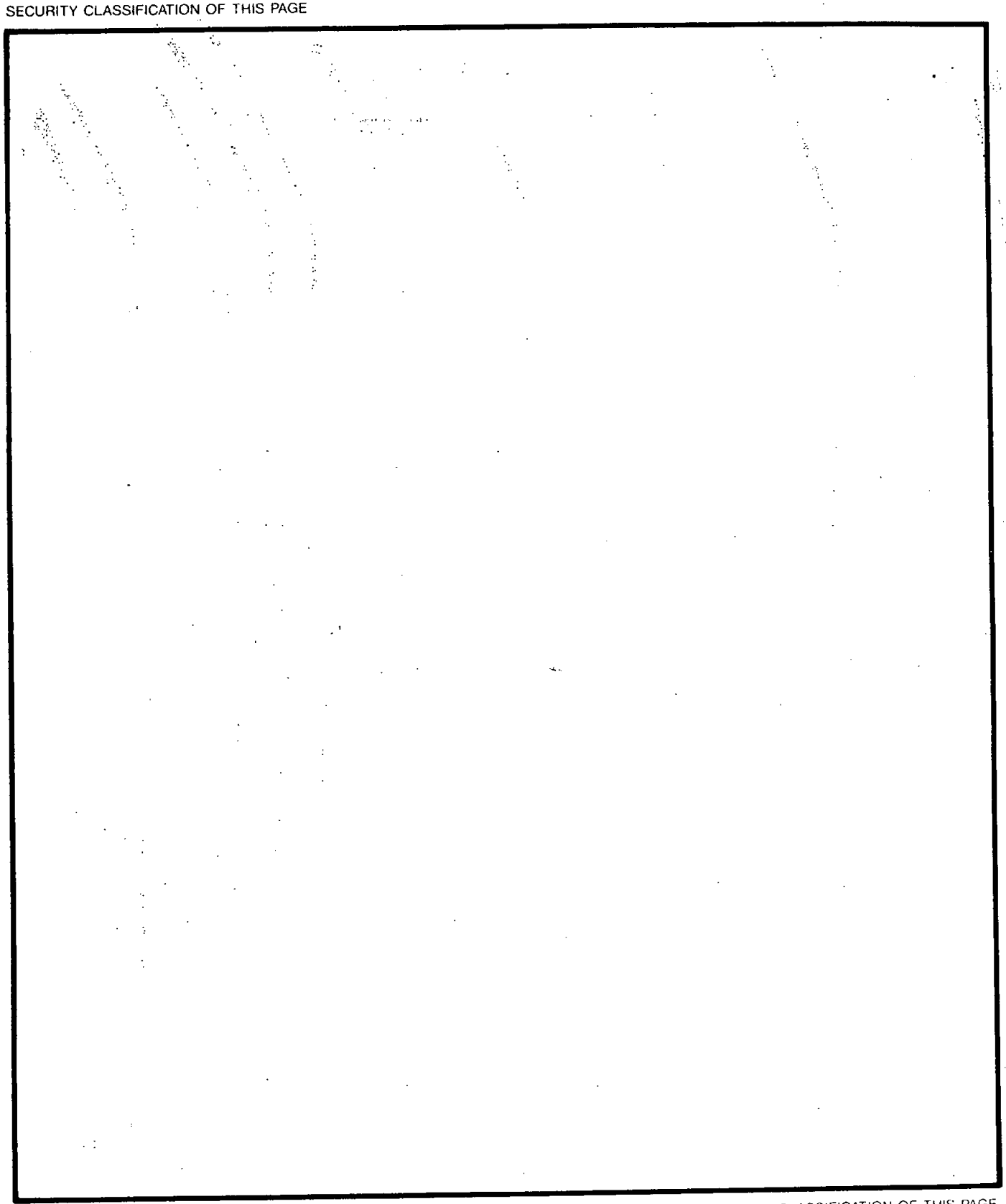

PERS-TR-91-008

September 1991

HOMOSEXUALITY AND PERSONNEL SECURITY

Prepared by
Theodore R. Sarbin, Ph.D.

Released by
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Monterey, California 93940-2481

Preface

In 1987 the Office of the Secretary of Defense (Policy) invited PERSEREC to reevaluate the current adjudicative guidelines contained in DoD's *Personnel Security Program* (5200.2-R) concerning sexual behavior and personnel security. In particular, PERSEREC was given the task of examining the relationship between homosexuality and personnel security.

This report poses two major questions: (1) Are homosexuals security risks by virtue of membership in the class *homosexual*? and (2) Are homosexuals vulnerable to blackmail if their homosexuality is kept a secret? The author, after an examination of various social constructions of homosexuality, a brief exploration of the scientific status of homosexuality, and a discussion of the concept of personal secrets, concludes that homosexuals, provided that their homosexuality can be safely disclosed, are no more security risks than heterosexuals. He suggests that security personnel continue to use the case-by-case approach in deciding whether to grant clearances, but that they be given special training to help eliminate any possible bias against homosexuals.

This report is intended for security professionals and all those interested in personnel security matters. We hope it will be a vehicle for stimulating discussion which will eventually lead to the ultimate goal of improving personnel security.

This work does not deal with the Department of Defense policy that excludes homosexuals from military service. The exclusion policy is separate from those policies that apply to a civilian being investigated for a clearance.

We are grateful to Michael A. Sterlacci, Assistant General Counsel, Office of General Counsel, DoD, for invaluable assistance and advice on legal issues.

Roger P. Denk
Director

Homosexuality and Personnel Security

Theodore R. Sarbin, Ph.D.

Summary

Background and Issue

Legal challenges and changing folkways have been instrumental in the formation of public policy in regard to the granting of security clearances to homosexual men and women. In this report, we examine data from many sources to illuminate the problems associated with establishing a nexus between sexual orientation and personnel security.

Objectives

The research objective was to prepare a review of (1) changing folkways and court decisions, (2) the current scientific status of sexual orientation, including biological, psychological, and sociological studies, (3) the changing social constructions of homosexuality, and (4) the problems associated with applying current case-by-case policies when adjudicators and/or policy makers are not privy to the findings of contemporary science. The review provides the background for a reexamination of current personnel security practices.

Approach

From recent scientific publications, legal studies and other relevant literature, we summarized findings that were pertinent to answering two questions: (1) Are homosexual men and women inherently untrustworthy and therefore not eligible for security clearance? (2) Are such persons more likely to be targets of blackmail by agents of a foreign power?

Results

Few data have been put forward to support the belief that being homosexual predisposes a person to unreliability, disloyalty, or untrustworthiness. Scores of studies have made clear that large individual differences in moral beliefs are to be found among heterosexuals and homosexuals. It is invalid to generalize from sexual orientation to trustworthiness. Life styles of homosexuals are as varied as the life styles of heterosexuals.

Conclusions/Recommendations

Homosexuals have been targets of discriminatory policies. The residues of earlier constructions of homosexuality (sin, crime, or illness) may influence personnel security specialists to treat homosexuals as a morally suspect class. Given that homosexuals (like heterosexuals) are a diverse group, fairness and personnel efficiency require a case-by-case policy.

The current case-by-case policy is appropriate to the task of determining eligibility for security clearance. However, the implementation of the policy needs to be examined in light of the fact that investigators, adjudicators and other personnel security specialists are drawn from the general population and large segments of the population continue to view homosexuality as sin, crime, or illness, constructions that might bias eligibility decisions. The work of investigators and adjudicators should be monitored to ensure that practice follows policy.

Table of Contents

Preface i

Summary ii

Introduction 1
- The Construction of Morally Suspect Classes 2
- Cognitive Processes in Premise Formation 8
  - Induction 8
  - Construction 8

Social Construction of Homosexuality 11
- The Morality Construction--Good and Evil as Fundamental Categories 11
- The Legal Construction--Sexual Deviance as Criminal Behavior 13
- The Sickness Construction--The Medicalization of Deviance 14
- The Minority Group Construction--Homosexuals as a Non-Ethnic Minority Group 16

Scientific Status of the Homosexuality Concept 19
- Biological Studies 20
- Psychological Studies 23
- Sociological Studies 23

Implications 25

Personal Secrets 28

Concluding Remarks 31

References 33

Appendix 37

Introduction

Who can be entrusted with the nation's secrets? This overarching question guides the activities of governmental agencies charged with selecting trustworthy personnel. The primary operating assumption in efforts to answer this question is that not all persons are equally trustworthy: some are more likely to breach a trust than others.

The objective of this study is to explore whether homosexual men and women are at greater risk for engaging in espionage or other security violations than persons not so identified. The problem is complex. We must consider not only the character of persons who might engage in treasonous acts but also the contexts which influence such acts. Does the potential spy respond to inducements offered by foreign intelligence agents? What is the evidence that supports the claim that homosexuals are likely targets for blackmail by foreign agents? Are recruitment efforts of foreign intelligence agents directed specifically toward homosexual men and women? Are homosexual men and women more likely than heterosexuals to volunteer their services as spies? What are the facts that would support the hypothesis that being homosexual implies emotional instability and, therefore, unreliability and high risk for betrayal?

In the absence of systematically gathered data to answer these and related questions, it has been the practice to generalize from anecdotes. In the scientific arena, anecdotes play an important part: they provide the raw material for constructing hypotheses. Like anecdotes, hypotheses have no truth value until subjected to empirical test. In situations where anecdotes and untested hypotheses are employed as the basis for action, there is ordinarily a tacit recognition of the limited utility of anecdotes as sources of generalizations. Additional anecdotes may alter generalizations coined on the basis of earlier anecdotes.

In an effort to throw some light on these matters, I have organized the inquiry by attempting to answer two separate but related questions:

1) Is a person a security risk by virtue of membership in the class *homosexual*?*

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*I am using the term *homosexual* in the conventional way as if persons could be sorted into two non-overlapping classes *heterosexual* and *homosexual*. In a later section of this essay, I point to the observations of scientists that *heterosexual* and *homosexual* are not exclusive categories and that gradations or dimensions of sexuality are more valid descriptors. A more complete historical and sociological account would consider the multiple referents for the word *homosexual*--does the word refer to gender orientation, to sexual practice, to identity, to role, to atypical social categories, etc? The multiple referents serve to create a criterial distinction for personnel security specialists. For purposes of adjudication, the distinction is sometimes drawn between homosexual *acts* and homosexual *identity*. A person who engages in homosexual acts as a result of immaturity or intoxication is not necessarily assigned to a morally suspect class. A person who describes his/her sexual orientation as homosexual--even in the absence of evidence that he/she engaged in homosexual acts--is suspect.

2) Is a person with same-gender orientation a security risk because he or she is vulnerable to coercion and blackmail?

To address the first question, I employ as a general framework the construction of judgmental or suspect classes. To address the second question, I locate the answer in the general context of personal secrets and attendant risks associated with disclosure or discovery.

I shall first examine the basis for the hypothesis that membership in certain socially defined classes renders a person more likely to engage in trust-violating conduct. Examples of such socially defined classes are the following: persons with unsatisfactory credit histories; persons with psychiatric histories; and persons with alcohol or drug abuse problems. The justifications for constructing such categories come from many sources: among them, generalizations about irresponsibility based upon unsatisfactory or problematic performances in nonsecurity-related settings. Membership in the class *homosexual* has also been employed with various justifications as a criterion for unsuitability in employment and ineligibility in security screening.

To develop our study, it is necessary first to describe the nature of the socially defined class. Subsequently, we can ask if membership in the class *homosexual* is predispositional to untrustworthiness.

The Construction of Morally Suspect Classes

Trust and trustworthiness are complex features of human life. Even a casual consideration of what constitutes trustworthiness reveals its complexity. Immediately, we think of family, occupational, or other social conflict situations where the actors must choose between betraying and honoring a trust, and the risk of potential negative consequences for choosing one rather than another line of action. The fact that trust is central to some social interactions and peripheral to others adds to the complexity.

Although traditional psychometric theory would direct us to seek a character trait, a disposition, or a personality element located within the brain or the psyche, efforts to measure trustworthiness and related characteristics have yielded very little. Tests have been constructed to assess a related characteristic *honesty*, but they are of little value. In most cases, they fail to meet acceptable standards of validity and reliability (Sackett, Burris, & Callahan, 1988). Because of the ambiguity in defining trust and trustworthiness, as well as the contextual nature of acts that meet the requirements of trustworthiness, a useful psychological test is not likely to be devised. Without objective,

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In a purely sociological analysis, I would discuss male and female homosexuality separately. Public attitudes toward gay men are not the same as public attitudes toward lesbians. In this personnel security analysis, separate discussions of male and female homosexuals are unnecessary.

quantitative procedures for sorting persons, we are forced to make use of qualitative methods.

Taxonomic sorting, i.e., sorting people into classes or taxonomies, is a universal human activity. We sort individuals into men and women, tall and short, fast and slow, hostile and benign, good and bad, and so forth. Efficient functioning, if not survival, depends upon creating and using taxonomies that are useful. Without constructing and using classes, we would be adrift in a sea of unsorted, meaningless stimulus-events. Almost from the cradle, human beings acquire the skill to sort persons into classes based on gender, kinship, age, school grade, size, race, ethnicity, physique, and so forth. The criteria for such classes are public and communicable. In addition, human beings make use of a subset, *morally suspect classes*, that have as their defining attribute the presence of morally undesirable characteristics.

I am using the term *suspect class* as a *psychological* concept. It should not be confused with the technical meaning of the term as used in constitutional law. The juridical use of *suspect class* is that of a class of persons whose rights are at risk in virtue of membership in classes the current criteria for which are race, alienage, national origin, gender, and illegitimacy. Governmental actions affecting such suspect classes are subject to heightened or strict scrutiny by the courts. Whether or not homosexuals make up a suspect or quasi-suspect class has been a contested issue in the courts. Although some courts have been willing to grant the status of suspect or quasi-suspect class to homosexuals, higher courts have regularly reversed such actions. To repeat, in this inquiry I am using *suspect class* in a *psychological* sense. Where there is the possibility of confusing the two meanings, I have added the qualifier, "morally," to indicate the psychological meaning. The meaning is quite different from the meaning of *suspect class* in legal briefs.

Assignment to a morally suspect class carries the attribution of negative traits such as dishonesty, unreliability, untrustworthiness, cowardice, etc. For example, persons who violate propriety norms regarding aggression against children are assigned to a legally defined class *child abusers*. Because of the severity of societal and moral rules about beating children, any person who publicly violates such rules is likely to be assigned not only to the class *child abusers* but to a wider class, not necessarily articulated, the defining characteristics of which reflect *generalized badness*. Thus, assignment to the class *child abusers* renders the person a member of a morally suspect class, i.e., he/she would be suspected of other moral deviations, among them, untrustworthiness. It is important to note that the criteria for suspect classes are not constant. At one time, being assigned to the class *left-handed* resulted in the concurrent assignment to the class *evil*. Residues of this folk belief remain in our language--*sinister* may serve as a reference for left-handedness or as a term to denote a moral judgment.

In the selection of men and women for certain tasks, efficiency is sought by assigning potential job-holders to occupational classes. Classes such as clerical workers, mechanics, computer-operators, administrators, and so on, are commonplace. The defining characteristics of such classes are skills and aptitudes. The selection process is governed by procedures designed to assess skills and aptitudes. When selecting personnel for jobs that involve access to government secrets, the selection process has an additional dimension. A different kind of class is created, the defining characteristics of which are not skills and aptitudes, but *moral* descriptors such as honesty, reliability, and trustworthiness. Selecting personnel who can be entrusted with the nation's secrets, then, calls for taxonomic sorting on moral dimensions. Actual or potential members of the work force who are presumed to be morally flawed make up a suspect class: *not trustworthy*. In this sense, a suspect class is a class whose members are objects of suspicion. A concrete example of the use of suspect class in making inferences about a person would be the following. A bearded, unkempt, leather-jacketed, booted motorcyclist enters a middle-class restaurant. Some patrons and staff would automatically look upon the person with suspicion, expecting that his conduct would violate conventional or moral rules. Such an inference follows from assigning the person to a previously formulated suspect class *motorcycle gangs* with the implication that membership in such gangs renders one morally suspect.

Nonconforming sexual orientation, in some places and during certain historical periods, has served as the criterion for assigning persons to a morally suspect class. Certain forms of nonconforming sexual conduct have been incorporated into criminal statutes and/or psychiatric vocabularies. Not only legal and psychiatric attributions of badness, but folk attributions of generalized moral deviation, including untrustworthiness, are commonly noted. That is to say, folk beliefs arising from historical and cultural antecedents attribute generalized moral deficiencies to persons whose sexual orientations are nonconforming. I should add quickly, however, not all nonconforming sexual conduct leads to the assignment of persons to suspect classes. For example, in certain subcultures male promiscuity is not taken as the basis for assigning persons to morally flawed suspect classes.

In recent years, the folk belief has been challenged. Men and women who identify themselves as homosexual have raised the question whether they should be assigned to a suspect class. The civil rights movement, changing folkways, and some legal decisions have supported efforts to modify or eliminate the assignment of homosexuals to a morally suspect class (Barnett, 1973).* Among the legal decisions that may have

*This analysis is not intended to follow the form of a Law Review article in which all pertinent cases and legal precedents are examined. Rather, I identify a few noteworthy cases to illustrate the complexity of the constitutional issues. The complexity is reflected in the fact that the legal codes of half the States contain no prohibition against consensual sodomy. The U.S. Supreme Court apparently regarded this issue as a state's rights issue when it refused to invalidate a Georgia law prohibiting consensual sodomy (*Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U.S. 186 (1986)).

influenced the softening of discriminatory practices in public employment is the case of *Norton v. Macy* (417 F.2d 1161 (D.C. Cir. 1969). The plaintiff had been fired on the grounds of "immorality" because he had engaged in homosexual conduct. The court ruled that alleged or proven immoral conduct is not grounds for separation from public employment unless it can be shown that such behavior has demonstrable effects on job performance. Judge David Bazelon's decision included a statement that may have influenced recent employment and security policies in government service. He said (in part):

> The notion that it could be an appropriate function of the federal bureaucracy to enforce the majority's conventional codes of conduct in the private lives of its employees is at war with elementary concepts of liberty, privacy, and diversity.

Another case that has received wide attention was tried in 1987 in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California. The case was filed in 1984 on behalf of an organization of Silicon Valley (California) employees known as High Tech Gays. Three members of the group had been denied security clearance because of the policy of intensive and expanded scrutiny of homosexuals. According to DoD policies at the time, identification as homosexual of a prospective employee was sufficient reason for expanded clearance investigations. The ruling handed down by Judge Thelton E. Henderson declared that the DoD policy was founded on prejudice and stereotypes, the basis for the policy being the unwarranted claim that homosexual men and women were emotionally unstable and, therefore, potential targets for blackmail. Judge Henderson ruled that homosexuals were a "quasi-suspect class" (in the juridical sense) and that government policies violated the constitutional guarantee of equal protection under the law (*High Tech Gays v. DISCO*, 668 F.Supp. 1361 (N.D.Cal. 1987)).

The complexities of the juristic concept *suspect class* is illustrated in the contrary opinions of the District Court and the Appeals Court. On appeal, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals heard arguments and decided in favor of the Department of Defense. The opinion, written by Circuit Judge Melvin Brunetti, rejected Judge Henderson's conclusions that homosexuals are a "quasi-suspect" class and that claims of discrimination must be examined with "heightened scrutiny" or "strict scrutiny." In rejecting Judge Henderson's conclusions, Judge Brunetti argued that heightened or strict scrutiny could be applied only to government actions that discriminated against persons based on race, gender, alienage, national origin, or illegitimacy. The opinion goes on to say that in order to be perceived as a suspect or quasi-suspect class, homosexuals must (1) have suffered a history of discrimination, (2) exhibit obvious or immutable characteristics that define them as a discrete class, and (3) show that they are a minority or politically powerless. Judge Brunetti held that the first criterion was met, that homosexuals have suffered a history of discrimination. The other two criteria were not met, according to the ruling. In the court's opinion, homosexuality is not an immutable characteristic, and homosexuals are not powerless as witnessed by numerous anti-discrimination statutes.

In reversing the District Court, the Appeals Court supplemented its ruling by referring to the observation that "Courts traditionally have been reluctant to intrude upon the authority of the Executive in military or national security affairs" (895 F. 2d, 563, 570-74 (1990)). Judge Brunetti suggested that the plaintiffs could find relief through legislative action.

A recent Supreme Court decision addressed another aspect of the rights of persons who hold nonconforming sexual orientations. In 1982, John Doe, described as a covert electronics technician for the CIA, voluntarily told an Agency security officer that he was a homosexual. The Agency conducted a thorough investigation which included a polygraph examination designed to uncover whether he had disclosed classified information. Although Doe passed the test, he was dismissed on the grounds that he was a national security risk. The Court held that it is legitimate for courts to review the constitutionality of the CIA's dismissal of employees. The effect of this decision is that Doe can now appeal to the Federal courts to sustain his argument that his constitutional rights had been violated because no evidence was presented to show that he could not be trusted with national security secrets (*Webster v. Doe*, 486 U.S. 592 (1988)). The decision was silent regarding the treatment of homosexuals as a suspect class.

Similar to the case of Webster v. Doe, cited above, is the case of Julie Dubbs v. CIA (1989). The plaintiff, an openly gay woman, was employed as a technical illustrator at SRI International, a private research institute. In the course of employment at SRI, her job called for a Top Secret security clearance from the Department of Defense and a Sensitive Compartmented Information (SCI) clearance from the CIA. The Department of Defense granted the Top Secret clearance, but the CIA denied the SCI clearance.

The plaintiff filed suit against the CIA in United States District Court, Northern District of California, in 1985, claiming that the action of the CIA followed from an unconstitutional blanket policy of denying clearances to homosexual persons. The District Court ruled in favor of the CIA. On appeal, the Ninth Circuit Court reversed the ruling and remanded the issue to the District Court for further proceedings.

In August 1990, District Court Judge Eugene F. Lynch handed down a ruling which stated, in essence, that if the CIA does in fact have a blanket policy, it must present evidence at a trial to justify such a policy and to establish that the policy was *rationally* related to government interests (*Dubbs v. CIA*, No. C-85-4379 EFL N.D.Cal (1990)).

These cases illustrate the proposition that the government must have a legitimate purpose for differentiating between heterosexual and homosexual persons, and further, that the government must be able to show that the differentiation serves that purpose. It is interesting to comment on the rationale offered by the Government in the High Tech Gays case. The Court accepted the reasoning that expanded security investigations for homosexuals were justified in that homosexuals were specifically targeted by hostile

foreign intelligence services as candidates for blackmail or coercion. The recent history of espionage in the United States would suggest that heterosexuals are also targeted by foreign intelligence agents (see below, p. 29).

Law and custom tend to influence each other. As court decisions and legislative statutes have influenced employability, government agencies have dropped exclusionary personnel practices. For example, the Civil Service Commission in 1976 and 1977 amended its regulations so that no person could be denied Federal employment on the basis of sexual orientation (*Singer v. Civil Service Commission*, 503 F.2d 247 (9th Cir. 1976); 429 U.S. 1034 (1977)). Another example of changing times is the National Security Agency's recent move to grant some homosexuals, under certain conditions, access to sensitive compartmented information (SCI), one of the highest designations of sensitive information (Rosa, 1988). The Director of Central Intelligence Directive 1/14 (1986) stipulates that SCI clearances be granted only to individuals who are "stable, of excellent character and discretion, and not subject to undue influence or duress through exploitable personal conduct" (p. 10). Homosexual conduct is to be considered as one of many factors in determining an individual's trustworthiness. The wording of the guidelines is that homosexuality *per se* is not grounds for denial unless the person's conduct leads to inferences about reliability, integrity, discretion, and loyalty.

Another indicator of changing attitudes is the deletion of the term *homosexual* from DoD's *Personnel Security Program* (DoD 5200.2.R), the official guide to adjudicators and others charged with granting or withholding security clearances. (In a later section, I point to ambiguously worded criteria that make possible the implicit use of homosexuality as a basis for inferences regarding trustworthiness.)

The foregoing remarks reflect some of the responses to challenges raised by homosexual men and women. The examples cited above are directly related to efforts to remove homosexuals from a discriminatory class--a class which contains the feature: morally flawed and not trustworthy. It is clear that some of the court rulings and agency regulations were not directed to eligibility for security clearance but rather to suitability for employment. For many civilian jobs in government and in defense industries, suitability and security status overlap.

To return to the problem of selecting personnel for access to government secrets, we must address the question: are there demonstrable supports for the belief that assignment to the class *homosexual* should imply concurrent assignment to a morally flawed suspect class? Contained in the descriptor *morally flawed* are such implications as *not trustworthy* and/or *not loyal*. To attempt an answer to this question requires, first, a brief excursion into how classes are formed and utilized in making inferences; second, a review of the legal and social history of homosexuality relevant to the practice of assigning homosexuals to a suspect class; and third, a review of the biological and social scientific literature on homosexuality.

Cognitive Processes in Premise Formation

Making judgments about people requires cognitive work. Judgments are not automatic and immediate, they are the end result of silent actions by human beings who are accustomed to using the logic of the syllogism. They begin from a major premise (not usually articulated), then assign the case under review to the minor premise. The conclusion follows from the joining of the two premises. In the simplest case, the major premise could be: All shifty-eyed persons are liars. The minor premise, based on observation, is: Jones is a shifty-eyed person. The conclusion follows: Jones is a liar. The logic is valid. Whether or not Jones is a liar is dependent on the truth-value of the major premise. Was the major premise derived from observation and was it empirically checked? Or was the major premise constructed out of unconfirmed beliefs, hypotheses, speculations, analogies, etc.? Human beings who are faced with the task of forming inferences about others make use of two general methods for formulating major premises: induction and construction (Sarbin, Taft, & Bailey, 1960).

Induction

Observation and experience, the basis of induction, is the empirical method for constructing classes that would be useful in ordinary decision-making. It is the method that has advanced science and technology. Connections are established between classes of events. For example, amorphous clouds can be sorted into classes: nimbus, stratus, and cumulus. The utility of the classes has been established by correlating the presence of classes with wind and weather patterns. Mariners, aviators, and farmers make predictions from inductively derived premises that connect classes of clouds with other meteorological conditions. Research on personality and character by and large attempts to establish inductions that would allow predictions of future conduct from measurements taken from past or present assessments. Except for gross classifications, such as *psychopathic inferiority*, *sociopathy*, and *undersocialized*, we have few empirically tested generalizations that would be helpful in making predictions about a person's moral choices. It would be most practical if adjudicators (or anyone) could make inferences about a particular person from reliable inductions of the form: all church-going persons are honest, or all Cretans are liars. Such inductions are not available. Unless we are to avoid all decision-making until we can create inductively derived premises, we are constrained to employ premises that do not have the benefit of empirical confirmation.

Construction

Most of our judgments about others (and ourselves) flow only partly from inductive generalizations and mostly from constructions. The beliefs we hold about human nature are more theory-driven than data-driven. Human beings, having the gift of language and the talent to use syllogisms, can and do construct all manner of beliefs

about human behavior. When combined into an informal system, the beliefs can serve as an implicit theory of character.

The constructed beliefs that comprise a person's theory of character develop from two main sources: (1) deductive statements that reflect the implicit fashioning of beliefs, imaginings, and attitudes, and (2) authority.

(1) Beliefs that serve as the basis for an individual's theory of character may come from immersion in scientific or folk theories of personality. An investigator or adjudicator might absorb some of the elements of psychoanalytic theory and hold beliefs about the structure of character disorders. He or she would then be prepared to employ premises derived from psychoanalysis. Others might advance premises based on unsophisticated folk theories, e.g., people who appear to fit the prevailing stereotypes of "criminals" are unreliable; a weak handshake betokens a weak character; a tidy desk denotes a well-ordered mind. Needless to say, some individuals borrow premises, often absurd, from the contents of astrological charts. Many persons hold beliefs that scientifically inclined observers would label superstitions.

Some premises are constructed as the result of analogical reasoning. Mr. Smith has a theory of character derived from an analogy. A fellow worker who had a "weak lower jaw" was fired for embezzling funds. From this experience, Smith constructed the premise: people with weak jaws are predisposed to dishonesty. The fellow-worker was used as a model in Smith's silent construction of a premise: if a person has one characteristic in common with the model, then he will have all the other characteristics of that model. Research on judging personality makes clear that human beings, in the absence of confirmed inductions, construct and employ implicit theories of personality (Rosenberg, 1977). Incorporated into such implicit theories are theories of character. Many characterological assumptions can be traced to immersion in codes of morality that are contained in religious beliefs. In a later section, I indicate the content of beliefs arising from theological sources and I suggest that such beliefs, acquired before the age of reflection, may be grounds for an individual's theory of character, a theory that would generate premises about the character of persons identified as homosexual.

(2) The other source for the construction of a theory of character is authority. Teachers, supervisors, political leaders, and other figures in positions of authority may impart to a novice a ready-made theory of character. The authority's theory may be a mix of inductions and constructions.

Authorities often support their theories of character by referring to tradition as a form of validity. "It's always been done this way" is used as an argument to support a particular premise for making character judgments when empirical support is lacking. Another strategy employed to justify a particular theory of character is to claim that it is supported by "professional judgment."

I have presented the foregoing discussio ı in the interest of establishing that investigators, adjudicators, and case controllers, in common with people generally, do not process information in a mechanical way but engage in the practice of clinical inference. The inferences they make about homosexuals or heterosexuals flow from premises generated by their belief systems. Such belief systems do not arise in a vacuum; they are influenced by hard facts when available, and by creative imaginations when hard facts are not available. To help understand the source of beliefs that assign homosexuals to a suspect class, an exposition of the various social constructions of homosexuality is in order.

Social Construction of Homosexuality

A word about the notion of *social construction*. Meanings are not given in nature. Meanings are assigned to events by human beings who communicate with each other. The construction or interpretation of any phenomenon is influenced by concurrent historical contexts: political, economic, religious, and scientific.

The observations of historians (see, for example, Bullough, 1976) and the reports of ethnographers (see, for example, Ford and Beach, 1951; Marshall & Suggs, 1971; and Devereaux, 1963) support the notion that the constructions placed on same-gender sexuality are social. As Kinsey remarked, "only the human mind invents categories." At certain times, and in many societies, most variations in the expression of sexuality have been regarded as normal. It is the application of moral rules and legal statutes that determines whether same-gender orientation and conduct is classified as acceptable, tolerable, offensive, or criminal. Such rules and statutes are the products of custom, supported by the power vested in authority. As the historical record shows with abundant clarity, forms of authority change. In early times, moral rules were enforced by men and women enacting priestly roles. Later, ruling classes imposed their own fluctuating standards on the enforcement of moral rules. In western democracies, rules are constructed through consensus or legislation, and rules favoring the majority are tempered so that rights of minorities are not obliterated.

How has this variability been construed? Tracing the history of social constructions of deviant conduct points unmistakably to the influence of beliefs prevailing at any particular time. A full historical account is beyond the scope of this paper, but for our purposes it is sufficient to demonstrate that observed variability in sexual conduct has been construed differently at different times in Western history. My point of departure is influenced by the position of contemporary science: that observations ("facts") are raw materials for constructing meanings (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987). The construction of meanings is not given in the observations, but is the product of cognitive work, taking into account political, social and religious contexts. In the past several hundred years, four constructions have been offered to account for variations in sexual orientation. Evidence of these constructions is abundant in contemporary life, although each construction was initially formulated in a different historical period.

The Morality Construction--Good and Evil as Fundamental Categories

Moral rules as represented in religious writings are the source of the long-held construction of prohibition of nonprocreative sexual conduct. Masturbation, lascivious conduct, and nonprocreative sex were proscribed. "You shall not lie with a man as with a woman, that is an abomination" (Leviticus 18:22). "Neither the immoral, nor idolaters,

nor adulterers, or abusers of themselves with mankind, will inherit the Kingdom of God" (I Corinthians 6 9).

The history of religious attempts to control sex makes clear the notion of variability in attitudes. Struggles between advocates of different theological doctrines have been reflected in attitudes toward sex. In the formation of attitudes, two ideas stand out in the literature; first, the inferior status of women, and, second, child-bearing as a requirement for maintaining a collectivity. In a far-reaching review, Law (1988) provides evidence and argument to support the proposition that the condemnation of homosexuality is more an unwitting reaction to the violation of traditional gender norms than to nonconforming sexual practices. When a man adopts the female role in a sexual relationship, he gives up his masculinity for the inferiority that is supposed to be associated with being a woman. This constituted, for some Church authorities, an abomination, a sin against nature (Bullough 1976). The negative judgments originally associated with men adopting female roles have diffused to all homosexual roles.

According to Bullough (1976), early doctrine held that sex served only one purpose: procreation. This doctrine was supported by the claim that such was God's intention in creating the world of nature. Therefore, sex for pleasure was suspect, especially same-gender sex, since this is obviously nonprocreational. The appellation *sins against nature* appears frequently in doctrinal arguments (Bullough, 1976). Since same-gender sex was nonprocreative, it was classified as a sin against nature.

In western religious traditions, Good and Evil are the categories that provide the background for declaring value judgments on sexual nonconformity. Arising from primitive taboos, the powerful image of "sin" was employed to define the unwanted conduct. Certain religious leaders who take the Bible as the unquestioned moral authority are contemporary advocates of the belief that nonconforming sexual behavior is sinful. The attribution of sinfulness carries multiple meanings: among some groups, sin is explained as voluntary acceptance of Satanic influence; among others sin is believed to produce a flawed or spoiled identity. Societal reactions to sin include ostracism, corporal punishment, imprisonment and, in more draconian times, torture, stoning, hanging, burning at the stake, and even genocide.

Sin is an attribution, a construction made by others or by oneself. Its force lies in its attachment to entrenched religious doctrine. Like taboos, the concept of sin is acquired by people before they reach the age of reflection. The argument that sin is a social construction is nowhere better illustrated than in the debates of theologians about the doctrine of original sin and in how to establish criteria for sinful conduct: under what conditions should an action be regarded as a venial sin or as a mortal sin?

The Legal Construction--Sexual Deviance as Criminal Behavior

Arising from religious precepts, legislative acts were introduced to control nonprocreative sexual behavior. The creation of the vocabulary for anal intercourse, for example, brought together a set of concepts that interwove law and morality. Ruse (1988), referring to the relationship of religious teaching to laws designed to control sexual behavior, commented:

> "Sodomy" obviously comes from the name of the doomed city of the plain, and "buggery" is a corruption of "bougrerie," named after so-called "Bulgarian" heretics... . They believed that physical things are evil, and thus refused to propagate the species, turning, therefore, to other sexual outlets. Hence banning buggery struck a two-fold blow for morality: against unnatural vice and against heretical religion (p. 246).

As early as 1533 in England, buggery, which had been established in religion as a sin against nature, was declared a crime. In the ensuing three decades, the statute was repealed and reenacted several times. In 1563, in the reign of Elizabeth I, the law against buggery became firmly established. Criminal codes provided severe punishment for persons accused of nonconforming sexual conduct (Bullough, 1976). The language of such statutes is not uniform. *Buggery*, *sodomy*, *lewdness*, *perversion*, *lasciviousness*, and even *immorality* are terms that have been employed in different statutes and at various times to denote the proscribed criminal conduct.

The underlying categories of the legal construction of nonconforming sexuality are continuous with those of the religious construction: good and evil. With the secularization of morality, sin was no longer an appropriate descriptor for unwanted conduct. The transition from *sins against nature* to *crimes against nature* was an accomplishment of the secularization and attempted legalization of morality. Crime, the secular equivalent of sin, became the preferred descriptive term.

To make rational the use of the crime concept in the context of sexual behavior, it had to be consonant with accepted legal usage, as in crimes against the person, crimes against property, crimes against the Crown, etc. The linguistic formula "crimes against..." presupposes a victim. In following this logic, early practitioners of jurisprudence created *crimes against nature* as the label for unwanted sexual conduct. In so doing, they implied that "nature" was the victim.

In most of the criminal codes, and in the Uniform Code of Military Justice, the concept of *crimes against nature* appears frequently when sexual behavior is proscribed. The concept is sometimes rendered by the employment of language which includes the adjective *unnatural*. Clearly, the authors of statutes that proscribe *crimes against nature* were not using "nature" as a descriptor for flora and fauna, mountains and valleys, oceans and deserts. When "nature" is the victim, something else is intended.

The statutory language, as we mentioned before, is derived from the religious idiom *sins against nature*. "Nature" is employed in the sense used by the early Greek philosophers, as the force or essence that resides within things. Thus, it is in the nature of a hen's egg to develop into a chicken, for water to run downhill, etc. This concept of nature served as the main explanatory principle, employed as an all-purpose answer for causality questions. With the development of empirical science, such all-purpose answers became superfluous, they gave way to questions directed toward uncovering how events influenced each other, and answers were formulated according to laws and principles constructed through observation and experiment. At the present time, the legal concept *crimes against nature* has no scientific status. It is a rhetorical device to control nonprocreative sex.

The Sickness Construction--The Medicalization of Deviance

The nineteenth century witnessed the social construction of deviant conduct as sickness. Although the medical model of deviance had its origins in the sixteenth century, it was not until the growth and success of technology and science in the nineteenth century that medical practitioners created elaborate theories to account for unwanted conduct. Many of the fanciful early theories of crime and craziness were given credibility because they were uttered by physicians and, therefore, presumed to be scientific. The prestige conferred upon the practitioners of science and technology blanketed the medical profession. It was during the latter half of the century that medical scientists initiated the movement to medicalize not only poorly understood somatic dysfunctions, but all human behavior. Conduct that in the past had been assigned to moralists or to the law now came under the purview of medical authority. Deviant conduct of any kind became topics of interest for doctors. The brain had already been given its place as the most important coordinating organ of the body, and the "mind" was somehow located in the brain. Therefore, any item of behavior that was nonconformant with current norms could be attributed to faulty brain apparatus, flawed mental structures, or both. In the absence of robust psychological theories, the observation and study of nonconforming behavior led physicians to assimilate theories of social misconduct to theories of somatic disease. The creation and elaboration of disease theories was based upon the all-encompassing notion that every human action could be accounted for through the application of the laws of chemistry and physics. In this context, homosexuality and other nonprocreative forms of sexual conduct were construed as sickness. To be sure, the medicalization of nonconforming sexual conduct failed to replace entirely the older moral and criminal constructions, and in many cases persons suffering from such "illnesses" continued to be punished.

It is interesting to note that the term *homosexuality* itself did not appear in English writings until the 1890s. Like most medical terms, it was created out of Greek and Latin roots. Prior to that time, labels for nonconforming sexual conduct in the English language had been free of medical connotations, as, for example, the words *sodomy*,

buggery, *perversion*, *corruption*, *lewdness*, and *wantonness*. One outcome of the medicalization of nonconforming sexual conduct was the inclusion of homosexuality in textbooks of psychiatry and medical psychology. Homosexuality was officially listed as an illness in the 1933 precursor to the 1952 Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM-I). In the 1930s and 1940s any person who admitted being homosexual was likely to be referred to a psychiatrist for diagnosis and treatment, the goal of the treatment being the elimination of the homosexual interest. But even during this period the father of psychoanalysis, Freud, expressed the opinion that homosexuality was not an illness. In 1935 Freud wrote a letter to the troubled mother of a homosexual which is worth quoting in its entirety (Bieber et al., 1962), as it anticipates and eloquently summarizes the prevailing current scientific and medical views on homosexuality.

April 9, 1935

Dear Mrs. _____

I gather from your letter that your son is a homosexual. . . . Homosexuality is assuredly no advantage, but it is nothing to be ashamed of, no vice, no degradation, it cannot be classified as an illness; we consider it to be a variation of the sexual function produced by a certain arrest of sexual development....By asking me if I can help, you mean, I suppose, if I can abolish homosexuality and make normal heterosexuality take its place. The answer is, in a general way, we cannot promise to achieve it. In a certain number of cases we succeed in developing the blighted germs of heterosexual tendencies which are present in every homosexual, in the majority of cases it is no more possible. It is a question of the quality and the age of the individual. The result of treatment cannot be predicted.

What analysis can do for your son runs in a different line. If he is unhappy, neurotic, torn by conflicts, inhibited in his social life, analysis may bring him harmony, peace of mind, full efficiency, whether he remains a homosexual or gets changed.

Sincerely yours with kind wishes,

Freud

Homosexuality as a social construction is nowhere better illustrated than in the arbitrary manner in which it was included and ultimately excluded from the medical lexicon. In 1974, the diagnosis of homosexuality was deleted from the Diagnostic Manual of the American Psychiatric Association under pressure from many psychiatrists who argued that homosexuality was more correctly construed as a nonconforming life style rather than as a mental disease.

Although the mental health professions do not speak with one voice, the currently prevailing view was advanced by Marmor (1975), at that time president of the American

Psychiatric Association: "...there is no reason to assume that there is a specific psychodynamic structure to homosexuality anymore than there is to heterosexuality" (p. 1514).

The American Psychological Association passed a resolution in 1975 declaring that:

> Homosexuality per se implies no impairment in judgment, stability, reliability or general social or vocational capabilities.. ..The Association deplores all public and private discrimination in such areas as employment, housing, public accommodation, and licensing....The Association supports and urges the enactment of civil rights legislation...that would offer citizens who engage in homosexuality the same protections now guaranteed to others on the basis of race, creed, color, etc.

Substantially the same resolution was enacted by the American Psychiatric Association in 1976.

The available data on the psychological functioning of persons identified as homosexuals lead to an unambiguous conclusion: that the range of variation in personal adjustment is no different from that of heterosexuals (Ohlson, 1974). A review of 14 major studies, beginning with Hooker's in-depth investigations (1957, 1965), gave no support to the hypothesis that same-gender orientation was a sickness (Freedman, 1976). Employing various adjustment criteria, the studies uncovered no correlations that would support a mental illness construction. Siegleman (1978, 1979), in two studies comparing psychological adjustment of homosexual men and women and heterosexual men and women in Britain, found no significant difference between the homosexual and heterosexual groups, substantially replicating the results of earlier studies in the U.S. The conclusion had been stated earlier in the famous Wolfenden Report of 1957, the basis for the repeal of sodomy statutes in England:

> Homosexuality cannot legitimately be regarded as a disease because in many cases it is the only symptom and is compatible with full mental health (p. 32).

The Minority Group Construction--Homosexuals as a Non-Ethnic Minority Group

The civil libertarian movements of the 1960s and 1970s paved the way for an alternative construction of homosexual conduct. I have already noted that the earlier work of Kinsey and his associates (1948) had received wide publicity. This work helped to strengthen the notion that sexual status and behavior could not be sorted into a simple two-valued model of normal and abnormal. The recognition that perhaps at least 10

percent of the adult population consistently adopted nonconforming sexual roles (i.e., homosexual behavior) was instrumental in formulating a construction of same-gender sexuality as the defining property of a non-ethnic, nonracial minority group. Individuals came together to support each other in their choice of life style. They comprised a group. They shared with other minority groups experiences of discrimination, harassment, and rejection (Sagarin, 1971).

The model for conceptualizing homosexuals as a minority group was provided first by ethnic and racial minorities, later by non-ethnic minorities: women, the aged, and physically disabled or handicapped persons. Another development that encouraged the use of the minority construction arose from claims that homosexual men and women could satisfactorily perform an infinite variety of occupational and recreational roles: one could have nonconforming sexual attitudes and still meet high performance standards as teachers, physicians, fire fighters, novelists, professional athletes, movie actors, policemen, politicians, judges and so on.

It would be instructive to review the features that define a minority group. It is obvious that *minority* in this context carries no quantitative meaning. Women make up more than 50 percent of the population, yet they meet the criteria of a minority group. The most useful shorthand definition of minority group is: people who share the experience of being the objects of discrimination on the basis of stereotypes, ethnocentric beliefs, and prejudice held by members of the nonminority group. Well-known examples are mid-nineteenth century Irish immigrants in Boston, American Indians for nearly four centuries, Black soldiers and sailors prior to the 1948 anti-segregation orders, Asian-Americans before the repeal of the exclusion acts, Mexican-Americans in California and the Southwest, Jews in Nazi Germany and elsewhere.

Similarities to more widely recognized minority groups are not hard to find. Prejudice against persons with nonconforming sexual orientations is like racial prejudice in that stereotypes are created. Such stereotypes are often exaggerations of social types that feature some unwanted conduct, style of speech, manner, or style that purportedly differs from the prototype of the majority. The personality of an individual identified as a member of a minority group is construed not from his acts, but from his suspected or actual membership in the minority group. Racial and ethnic slurs help to maintain the partition between the minority group and the majority. *Wops*, *Guineas*, *Japs*, *Spics*, *Kikes*, *Beaners*, *Polacks*, *Sambos*, and other pejoratives have only recently been discouraged as terms to denote the supposed social and moral inferiority of selected minority groups. *Fag*, *fairy*, *queer*, *homo*, and *pervert* serve similar functions for persons who want to communicate that the homosexual is "inferior." At the same time, the slur is intended to characterize a social type that exemplifies a negatively valued prototype--the feminized male.

To recapitulate: The fact that at least four constructions can be made of the same phenomenon is evidence that the particular value placed on nonconforming sexual

orientation is influenced by historical forces. The same act may be construed as sin, as crime, as sickness, or as an alternate form of being.

The belief systems of governmental agents charged with adjudicating security clearances are like those of the general population--the belief systems are dependent on which construction the agents employ in establishing premises. If they choose the construction that emphasizes sin, crime, or sickness, then they will likely assign homosexual men and women to a morally suspect class.* If they choose the construction that homosexuality is an alternate form of being and that homosexuals comprise a minority group, then it is indeterminate whether any specific candidate will be assigned to such a morally suspect class.

Belief systems may be sharpened, modified, or rejected as a result of efforts to take into account new information. Such information may be drawn from findings reported by biological and social scientists. In many governmental areas, for example public health, nuclear energy, agriculture, and defense, policy formulations take into account the findings of research scientists. A synoptic review of recent and contemporary research may provide information that could help clarify public policy in regard to the granting or withholding of security clearances to persons identified as homosexual.

*The adjudicator's task is complicated by the fact that sodomy is no longer in the criminal codes of half the States. In this connection, a recent (Colasanto, 1989) Gallup Poll indicated increasing support for decriminalizing consensual homosexual activity. Eighty-three percent of a national sample expressed an opinion. Of these, 56 percent favored decriminalization, 44 percent were opposed. In taking into account an alleged act of sodomy, the adjudicator must determine whether or not to regard the act as an unprosecuted felony. Further complicating the decision process is the fact that consensual sodomy is seldom, if ever, prosecuted in civilian courts. In fact, sodomy laws are virtually unenforceable against persons, homosexual or heterosexual, who discreetly practice consensual sodomy. In a 5 to 4 decision, the Supreme Court refused to strike down a Georgia statute prohibiting consensual sodomy (*Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U.S. 186 (1986)).

Scientific Status of the Homosexuality Concept

In the past two decades, with advances in biotechnology, psychology, ethnology, and methods of social analysis, numerous systematic researches have yielded findings relevant to the formulation of law and public policy.

Advances in methodology stimulated a renewed interest in genetic research. The study of twins has been a fruitful source of genetic hypotheses. Kallman (1952) reported a concordance rate of 100 percent for homosexuality for 40 pairs of identical twins. That is, when one of a pair of identical twins was identified as homosexual, the other was also found to be homosexual. This occurred even when the twins had been raised apart. The author of the study cautioned that the data are not conclusive in supporting the genetic hypothesis--the twins may have responded to the same socializing influences. In this connection, Marmor (1975), a well-known psychiatrist, claimed that the "most prevalent theory concerning the cause of homosexuality is that which attributes it to a pathogenic family background."

Perhaps the most thorough research undertaken to advance the frontiers of knowledge about sexuality was that of Alfred Kinsey (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953). A zoologist, Kinsey organized his research program along ethological and epidemiological lines. The variable of interest for Kinsey was frequency of sexual acts. The raw data for his studies were obtained through structured intensive interviews. In contemporary scientific fashion, quantitative analysis guided his work and influenced his conclusions. He employed a rating scale that allowed him to rate subjects from 0 to 6 on a dimension: heterosexual-homosexual. (A category "x" was used to identify persons with no "socio-sexual" response, mostly young children.) From the interview data, he compiled ratings for a large sample of respondents. The rating of 0 was assigned to men who were exclusively heterosexual, and 6 to men who were exclusively homosexual. The rating 1 was assigned to men who were predominantly heterosexual, and 5 to men who were predominantly homosexual, and so on.

Kinsey reported many significant findings, among them that 50 percent of the white male population were exclusively heterosexual and 4 percent were exclusively homosexual throughout adult life, but 46 percent had some homosexual experience throughout adult life. Between the ages of 16 and 65, 10 percent of the men met Kinsey's criterion of "more or less exclusively homosexual (rating 5 and rating 6)."

The process of gathering data on the prevalence of homosexuality is replete with many technical difficulties. Fay et al (1989) point to these difficulties and review survey data gathered in 1970 and 1988. They conclude that Kinsey's studies may have overestimated the prevalence of homosexual behavior. "...our analyses indicate that roughly one fifth of adult American males (in 1970) had at least one homosexual experience...." They

go on to qualify this 20 percent prevalence rate "...given the response bias that one can reasonably assume to operate, this new figure might be taken as a lower bound."

In the fashion of ethological research, Kinsey was primarily concerned with presenting prevalence statistics. Whether the dimension was based on nature or nurture, or a combination of these, was not an important concern.

Biological Studies

During the past 30 years, increasing knowledge in molecular biology, endocrinology, embryology, and developmental neurology has made it possible to state with confidence that male and female brains are structurally different in certain areas concerned with glandular and sexual functions, especially in the hypothalamus and related subcortical systems (Kelly, 1985). The actions of the various sex hormones in the differentiation of male and female anatomy have been charted. Developmentally, there is a built-in bias toward differentiating an organism into a female, i.e., nature makes females. On the basis of extensive research, Money and Erhardt (1972) concluded: "...in the total absence of male gonadal [sex] hormones, the fetus always continues to differentiate the reproductive anatomy of the female." This process takes place regardless of the basic masculinity (XY chromosomes) or femininity (XX chromosomes) of the fetus. The bias is counteracted approximately 50 percent of the time by the action of male hormones. The discovery of this built-in mechanism toward femaleness sparked additional research that ultimately illuminated the phenomenon of same-gender attraction. It has been recognized for some time that parts of the brain are glandular and secrete neurohormonal substances that have far-reaching effects. Not unlike the better-known sex hormones, the androgens and estrogens, these brain neurohormonal substances also appear to have profound effects on development.

From a review of ethnographic reports, historical sources, biographies, and literary works, it is apparent that some same-gender orientation is universally observed (Bullough, 1976; Howells, 1984; Marshall & Suggs, 1971). The world-wide prevalence of *exclusive* same-gender orientation is estimated as three to five percent in the male population, regardless of social tolerance, as in the Philippines, Polynesia and Brazil, intolerance as in the United States, or repression as in the Soviet Union (Mihalek, 1988). This constancy in the face of cultural diversity suggests that biological factors should not be discounted as a fundamental source of homosexual orientation.

From these observations, as well as intensive analysis of more than 300 research reports, Ellis and Ames (1987) have advanced a multi-factorial theory of sexuality, including same-gender attraction. They conclude that current scientific findings support the view that hormonal and neurological variables operating during the gestation period are the main contributors to sexual orientation. For the ultimate formation of sexual

identity, the Ellis-Ames theory does not exclude psychosocial experience as a potential modifier of the phenotypical expression of biological development.

From their review of current research, Ellis and Ames propose that sexuality be studied through the consideration of five dimensions. These are: *genetic* (the effects of sex chromosomes, XX and XY, and various anomalous karyotypes); *genital* (effects of internal and external genitalia, the male-female differentiation, which begins in the first month of embryonic life); *nongenital morphological* (effects of secondary sex characteristics--body build, voice, hair distribution); *neurological* (male and female brain differentiation and associated sex-typical actions--including social influences and the formation of sex-typed roles). Most of the events shaping the developing organism's sexuality along these dimensions occur between the first and fifth months of intrauterine life. These events are controlled by the interaction of delicate balances between the various male and female hormones and their associated enzyme systems. Development of the embryo can be influenced by several factors affecting the internal environment of the mother, such as genetic hormonal background, pharmacological influences and immunological conditions, not to mention the psycho-physiological effects arising from the social environment. Disturbances in any one or any combination of these factors can result in alterations in sexual development called inversions. These inversions are failures of the embryo to differentiate fully in any of the other sexual dimensions (genital, morphological, neurological, or behavioral) according to chromosomal patterns. These anomalies of embryonic development are central to the later development of sexual orientation and behavior such as same-sex attraction, bisexuality, and other nonconforming patterns. As support for their theory, Ellis and Ames cite various experiments with animals in which permanent changes in sexual behavior have been induced by glandular and other treatments. The changes noted in these experimental animals are similar to those in humans with known anomalies of endocrine and enzyme systems.

Adult sexual orientation, then, has its origins, if not its expression, in embryonic development. Ellis and Ames conclude that:

> Complex combinations of genetic, hormonal, neurological, and environmental factors operating prior to birth largely determine what an individual's sexual orientation will be, although the orientation itself awaits the onset of puberty to be activated, and may not entirely stabilize until early adulthood (p. 251).

The conclusions are consistent with those of John Money (1988), a leading researcher on the psychobiology of sex. According to Money, in his recent review and summary of current knowledge on homosexuality, data from clinical and laboratory sources indicate that:

> In all species, the differentiation of sexual orientation or status as either bisexual or monosexual (i.e., exclusively heterosexual or homosexual) is a sequential process. The prenatal state of this process, with a possible brief neonatal extension, takes place under the aegis of brain hormonalization. It continues postnatally under the aegis of the senses and social communication of learning (p.49).

This brief overview of scientific findings from biological sources instructs us that the phenomena that we label sexuality are complex, and that we must assign credibility to the notion that overt and fantasy expressions of sexuality are influenced by multiple antecedents. Of special importance is the recognition of the interplay of biological and social factors. The leading scientific authorities agree that these expressions are best described in terms of gradations or dimensions, rather than by the rigidly bound, mutually exclusive categories, *heterosexual* and *homosexual.*

Because in daily speech we employ *heterosexual* and *homosexual* without qualifiers, it requires sustained cognitive effort to consider gradations and overlap. If we were to adopt policies that took scientific findings into account, we would be required to modify the use of a two-category system and incorporate the idea of continuous dimensions. To use an overworked metaphor, black and white are anchoring points for an achromatic color dimension, and between these anchoring points are innumerable shades of grey. Other dimensions come into play when considering chromatic stimuli, such as hue, saturation, brightness and texture. Similarly, the multidimensional concept of sexuality is contrary to the assertions of earlier generations of theologians, moralists, and politicians whose construal of sexuality was achieved under the guidance of two-valued logic in which narrowly defined heterosexual orientation and conduct were assigned to the category *normal* and any departures from the customary were assigned to the category *abnormal.*

In this connection, after detailed analysis of the sexual histories of thousands of people, Kinsey (1948) concluded that the class *human beings* does not represent two discrete populations, *heterosexual* and *homosexual*, and that the world:

> is not to be divided into sheep and goats....It is a fundamental of taxonomy that nature rarely deals with discrete categories. Only the human mind invents categories and tries to force facts into separate pigeonholes. The living world is a continuum in each and every one of its aspects. The sooner we learn this concerning human sexual behavior the sooner we shall reach a sound understanding of the realities of sex (p. 639).

Psychological Studies

Scores of studies have been reported in the literature on the adjustment of homosexual men and women. To be sure, none of the studies attempted to answer the specific question: are homosexuals greater security risks than heterosexuals? On various psychological tests, including the well-known Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, the Adjective Check List, and the Rorschach test, among others, the range of variation in personal adjustment is the same for heterosexuals and homosexuals. None of the carefully controlled studies concluded that homosexuals were suffering from a "mental illness." Gonsoriak (1982) and Siegelman (1987) independently reviewed the available research literature and concluded that good adjustment and poor adjustment are unrelated to sexual orientation.

Can any inferences be drawn from the massive volume of research generated in the effort to discover whether homosexuals are different from heterosexuals on adjustment criteria? Although definitions of adjustment vary from study to study, one element appears common to most, if not all, definitions: social maturity. This concept embraces a number of features. Socially mature people are likely to be caring, to have stable interpersonal relations, to be concerned with maintaining an acceptable social and moral identity. Caring for persons with whom one is bonded is probably related to caring for others who make up relevant collectivities, including one's country. The research is unequivocal that identifying oneself as heterosexual or homosexual carries no implication of social maturity.

Sociological Studies

A number of studies have been reported that lead to the inference that many undisclosed homosexuals have served in the military and received good proficiency ratings and honorable discharges (Bell, 1973; Williams & Weinberg, 1971; Harry, 1984). It is reasonable to assume that civilians who have not disclosed their homosexual status also perform their jobs efficiently and, if they have security clearances, do not violate the trust.

The broad categories *heterosexual* and *homosexual* conceal multiple types. At the conclusion of an extensive sociological investigation, Bell and Weinberg (1978) commented that persons identified as homosexual are "a remarkably diverse group." After studying intensive protocols on a large number of adults, these investigators concluded:

> ...we do not do justice to people's sexual orientation when we refer to it by a singular noun. There are "homosexualities" and there are "heterosexualities" each involving a variety of interrelated dimensions. Before one can say very much about a person on the basis of his or her sexual orientation, one must make a comprehensive appraisal of the relationships among a host of features pertaining

to the person's life and decide very little about him or her until a more complete and highly developed picture appears.*

The data in the Bell and Weinberg study lead to the conclusion that the concepts *homosexuality* and *heterosexuality* are too broad to be worthwhile. When subjected to statistical reduction, the data yielded five types. The typology is not too different from one that could be constructed for heterosexuals. The five types are labeled: Close-coupleds, Open-coupleds, Functionals, Dysfunctionals, and Asexuals. The Close-Coupleds were similar to what might be called happily married among heterosexuals. Partners of this type look to each other for their interpersonal and sexual satisfactions. They are not conflicted about being members of a minority group. They would fit the usual criteria of social maturity. The Open-Coupleds preferred a stable couple relationship, but one of the partners sought sexual gratification outside of the couple relationship. In most cases, Open-Coupleds accepted their homosexual identity, but had qualms about seeking other outlets. In terms of their general adjustment, they were not unlike most homosexuals or most heterosexuals. The Functionals are more like the stereotype of the swinging singles. Their lives are oriented around sex. They are promiscuous and open, frequenting gay bars and bathhouses, and have been arrested for violating "homosexual" ordinances. They are self-centered and give the impression of being happy and exuberant. The Dysfunctionals fit the stereotype of the tormented homosexual. They have difficulties in many spheres, social, occupational, sexual. This type displayed the poorest adjustment. Among the males, there were more instances of criminal activity such as robbery, assault, and extortion. The Asexuals are characterized by lack of involvement with others. They are loners and describe themselves as lonely. They lead quiet, withdrawn, apathetic lives.

To recapitulate: In this section of the report I have presented a synopsis of contemporary research drawn from biological, psychological, and sociological sources. One conclusion stands out: knowing that a person is homosexual tells very little about his or her character. It is worth adding: knowing that a person is heterosexual tells very little about his or her character.

*The use of the background investigation (BI) is consistent with this conclusion.

Implications

The official guides for personnel security specialists are Director of Central Intelligence Directive (DCID 1/14) (1986) and the *Personnel Security Program*, (5200.2-R) already mentioned, issued by the Department of Defense and revised in January, 1987. In both of these documents, the criteria for granting or denying clearances are spelled out. The main thrust of these guidelines is that every candidate for a clearance is handled on a case-by-case basis. An implication of this policy is that information referring to sexual orientation by itself would not be systematically employed as a criterion to withhold security clearance.

Adjudicators, like everyone else, do not put aside their belief systems when they engage in clinical inference on the basis of ambiguous and incomplete cues. Under conditions where a criterion is stated in clear and unambiguous terms, there is little room for the operation of personal bias or social prejudice. For example, in following the rule that no convicted felon should be granted a security clearance, the adjudicator's personal beliefs about the rehabilitation effects of imprisonment are irrelevant. When criteria are stated in language that is the least bit ambiguous or value-laden, then opportunities arise for interpretation according to personal belief systems. In Appendix E of DoD 5200.2-R, the following appears: "Background Investigation (BI) and Special Background Investigation (SBI) shall be considered as devoid of significant adverse information unless they contain information listed below: ....(2) All indications of moral turpitude, heterosexual promiscuity, aberrant, deviant, or bizarre sexual behavior...." A later section of the *Personnel Security Program*, in considering "sexual misconduct" as a basis for denying security clearances, contains the following: "Acts of sexual misconduct or perversion indicative of moral turpitude, poor judgment, or lack of regard for the laws of society."

Although the term *homosexual* is meticulously avoided in DoD 5200.2R (heterosexual but not homosexual promiscuity is included as adverse information), the ambiguity of language such as "moral turpitude," "sexual misconduct," and "aberrant, deviant, or bizarre," would allow a reader of the guidelines a considerable degree of discretion in interpreting homosexual orientation as being an instance of "moral turpitude," "sexual misconduct," or "aberrant deviant, or bizarre." The value-laden term *perversion* also makes possible the assignment of homosexual men and women to a suspect class. *Perversion* is no longer employed as a diagnostic term in medical or psychological vocabularies. At one time, it was used as a catch-all for any nonprocreative sexual activity, including masturbation, oral-genital contact between husband and wife, and attending sexually explicit movies, among other behaviors.

The effectiveness of the case-by-case approach to security determinations is dampened if attention is not given to the fact that adjudicators are practicing the art of clinical inference. They acquire skills in converting masses of data to a two-valued determination *satisfying guidelines* and *not satisfying guidelines*. By extension, these two

outcomes lead to the ultimate inference *trustworthy* and *untrustworthy*. Ambiguous and value-laden language, as indicated above, allows for the importation of private belief systems into the mix of major premises that guide the inference process. *Moral turpitude* is a prime exemplar. It has no standard reference other than that derived from social constructions that regard nonconforming sexual orientation as sin, crime, or sickness.

Most of us in the general population have been socialized by parents, teachers, peers, and religious leaders to interpret nonconforming sexual orientation as sinful, criminal, or sick. Investigators and adjudicators are drawn from the general population. It is reasonable to suppose that incorporated into their personal theories of character are belief systems that would lead to identifying homosexuals as members of a suspect class, such identification being derived from sin, crime, or sickness constructions. The minority-group construction, for a long time privately advocated by individuals, has been presented to the public as a result of increased consciousness about civil rights. A person who subscribes to the construction of homosexuality as an alternate life style practiced by a minority group, would not consider homosexual identity or homosexual acts as indicative of the vague and value-laden category *moral turpitude*. This does not mean that he or she would downgrade the moral significance of such acts as incest, child molestation, rape, or other acts involving violence or coercion, acts that are sometimes included in the general descriptor *moral turpitude*.

A personal theory of character, like any theory, is not an incidental or ornamental feature of an individual's psychological make-up. A theory, whether in science or in daily life, is organized to facilitate understanding, to simplify, to reduce confusion, to provide guidance until data are gathered and converted into hard facts. A personal theory of character also has purposes, one of which is to facilitate, in the absence of facts, the sorting of individuals into moral categories. The use of theories to express personal prejudice may influence the practitioners of the art of clinical inference to make decisions in which information irrelevant to trustworthiness is given significant status. We are reminded of the theories of character advocated during various historical periods; theories designed to establish the superiority of a particular race or ethnic group.

In DoD 5200.2-R, under the heading, Criteria for Application of Security Standards, the general instruction to personnel security officials and practitioners is that the ultimate decision must be based on "an overall common sense determination based upon all available facts." In DCID 1/14, the same formula appears: "The ultimate determination of whether the granting of access is clearly consistent with the interest of national security shall be an overall common sense determination based on all available information" (p. 5). As I mentioned before, in the absence of empirically derived correlations, judgments are theory-driven rather than fact-driven. Common sense could mean the employment of commonly held theories of character which could influence decisions in which homosexuality was included in the compendium of "facts." The hypothesis could be entertained that under such conditions common sense could be interpreted as common prejudice.

Not only in the interest of fairness, but also in the interest of efficiency, attention should be directed to improving the inferential skills of adjudicators and other specialists so that in applying guidelines they can recognize and delimit the contribution of personal theories of character to their judgments.

At the beginning of this report, I pointed to two sets of problems: (1) Is a person a security risk by virtue of membership in the class homosexual? (2) Is a person of homosexual orientation a security risk because he or she is vulnerable to coercion and blackmail? The previous pages have focused on the first question. The remainder of the report is directed to the issue of vulnerability to blackmail. To illuminate the problem of blackmail, I make use of the concept *personal secrets*.

Personal Secrets

The previous discussion centered on the problem of determining whether a homosexual man or woman should be granted a security clearance. I did not consider the observation that trustworthiness is a characteristic that is subject to contextual influences. Blackmail--the threat of disclosure of a personal secret--sometimes leads a trustworthy person to betray a trust. The risk of exposure is central to understanding the conduct of any person whose adjustment, achievements, and career advancements are dependent on maintaining secrets about the self. Such secrets cover a much wider field than sexual orientation. Secrets about the self are maintained to avoid making public one's inferiority, stupidity, or moral weakness. Persons hold secret such autobiographical items as unprosecuted felonies, illegal drug use, problem drinking, prior bankruptcies, race or ethnic origins, and spouse abuse. Many people employ secrecy to conceal from others certain disapproved psychological characteristics such as obsessions, phobias, compulsions, fetishism, and other behaviors that appear not to be under self-control. Actions that authority figures might label sexual misconduct become part of the secret self. Most adults conceal from public scrutiny such facts as fornication with a minor, adulterous relationships, bigamy, illicit sexual liaisons, compulsive masturbation, impotence and other sexual dysfunctions, and so on.

Self secrets of the kind listed above have one element in common: the person is open to the possibility of being stigmatized, of being forced to display a symbolic brand for all to see.

To be vulnerable (in the sense of being vulnerable to coercion by agents of a foreign power) is to risk disclosure of a personal secret. The power of the potential blackmailer who is privy to another's personal secrets is generated because of the extraordinary sanctions that follow the disclosure. Shame, dishonor, disgrace, ostracism, imprisonment or other legal penalties, and loss of employment are the outcomes that the secret-holder must consider.

The strategy of secrecy may be augmented by other strategies to avoid the degradation of identity, the loss of self. Disinformation, masking and disguise, and outright lying help maintain the secret self.

If a homosexual person makes public, or is ready to make public, his or her sexual orientation, then vulnerability virtually disappears. In civilian settings, the sanctions for disclosure of sexual status are no longer draconian; in fact, in many instances, sanctions are absent. Thus, publicly announced homosexuals are not likely to be targets of blackmail. Whether concealing adultery, personal failings, or a criminal or immoral past, the degree of the threat of coercion is related to the quality of the protection a person gives his or her personal secrets. Where homosexuality is officially taboo, the person is at risk if his or her secrecy strategy is not airtight.

Being homosexual no longer carries the automatic risk of vulnerability save in situations where it is expressly forbidden.

Counterintelligence sources report that foreign intelligence agencies make inquiries regarding homosexuals in order to exploit vulnerability. SGT Clayton Lonetree told investigators that his Soviet handler, "Uncle Sasha," made inquiries about embassy staff who were potentially vulnerable to exploitation in order to maintain their personal secrets. The handler included homosexuals in his shopping list.

John Donnelly, Director of the Defense Investigative Service (1987), reported an anecdote in which foreign agents attempted to coerce into espionage a woman who was an undisclosed lesbian. The coercion involved disclosing her homosexuality. She refused to cooperate and reported the attempt to appropriate authorities, thus revealing her personal secret.*

A review of a KGB training manual (1962) does not single out homosexuals as persons to be cultivated for exploitation. Rather, the manual identifies occupational types as potential targets: government officials, scientists, engineers, businessmen, etc. The perception of Americans as reflected in the manual is that they can be exploited through ideology or money. Ideology in this context does not necessarily mean subscribing to Marxist doctrine. A person is said to be ideologically compatible if he or she is sympathetic to the Soviet bloc or harbors resentment against the American economic or political system. Americans are perceived to be greedy capitalists, so money is expected to be the major motivator in recruitment operations.

A declaration in a legal brief by John F. Donnelly (1987) suggests that hostile intelligence agencies are interested in *any person who might be vulnerable*--not only homosexuals. "Hostile intelligence agencies, with great consistency, consider sexuality to be a potentially exploitable vulnerability. This does not mean that hostile intelligence agencies always seek out homosexuals to target. Rather, they usually spot individuals with the desired access and then assess them in order to determine the most effective approach. They then attempt to segregate those with alcohol or drug problems, financial problems, a known disregard for security, and/or those who can be exploited sexually" (p.11).

No statistics are available to demonstrate the degree of success in recruiting spies through the threat of exposure of personal secrets. In developing a data bank on known spies, PERSEREC found that most Americans who attempt to sell government secrets are not recruited, they are volunteers.

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*The anecdote was reported in the context of the KGB's practice of exploiting homosexuals who had not publicly acknowledged their sexual identity. The anecdote could also be employed to illustrate the claim that homosexuals are patriotic.

The PERSEREC data bank currently includes 117 cases of American citizens who between 1945 and the present committed or attempted to commit espionage. Only six have been identified as homosexual.* Their motives appear to be the same as for persons not identified as homosexual: primarily money, secondarily, resentment. All were volunteers except one, who was recruited as an accomplice by a heterosexual friend. None was a target of blackmail, although one offender claimed to have been coerced.

*Brief resumes of these cases are in the Appendix.

Concluding Remarks

In preparation for this report, I reviewed approximately 100 books and journal articles. My conclusion is that the concept *homosexuality* is not very useful. Persons who are labeled homosexuals are, as Bell and Weinberg put it, a diverse group. No generalizations are possible in regard to life style, personality type, or character development.

Are men and women identified as homosexual greater security risks than persons identified as heterosexual? Certainly in civilian contexts, there is no basis for holding the belief that homosexuals as a group are less trustworthy or less patriotic than heterosexuals. The fear of the secret being exposed makes one a potential target for blackmail. I should add that homosexuals, in this respect, are no different from heterosexuals who fear exposure of adultery or other illegal or moral lapses.

In considering the relationship of homosexuality to security, it would be appropriate to look for the origins of the discriminatory policies. In the 1940s, in wartime and thereafter, the government undertook the task of identifying and removing men and women from government positions who were considered disloyal. That the concept of loyalty was abused is a matter of historical record. Note the disciplinary action of the Senate in regard to the irresponsible conduct of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Loyalty programs were targeted to identify men and women who were sympathetic to communist ideology. The FBI, the government agency principally responsible for enforcing the loyalty screening program, broadened nonloyalty criteria to include nonconforming sexual orientation. In 1953, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover ordered his operatives to enforce the newly created Federal Employee Security Program which included as adverse information such ostensibly nonloyal items as derogatory personal habits, conditions and acts (Hoover, 1954-55). "Sexual perversion" was included as an item of "nonsubversive derogatory character." Even before the publication of the new program, Hoover reported that the FBI had identified numerous "sex deviates in government service." Without citing evidence, Hoover declared that homosexuals are security risks and should be separated from government service. Over 600 "security separations" were reported for a 16-month period beginning in 1953. The charge was "perversion" and included employees from such nonsensitive government agencies as the Post Office and the Department of Agriculture (New York Times, 1955).

Once begun, bureaucratic policies and procedures are resistant to change. Although no empirical data have been developed to support any connection between homosexuality and security, it is reasonable to assume that Hoover's beliefs have continued to influence more recent personnel security practice. As I pointed out in the body of this report, homosexuality *per se* is not explicitly mentioned in the directives. Other categories, among them moral turpitude, are provided and they are sufficiently ambiguous to allow investigators and adjudicators to read homosexuality as disloyalty. Whatever the basis of Hoover's beliefs, he was not privy to the wealth of scientific

information currently available. Such information (a digest of which is included in earlier pages) raises serious questions about the validity of including homosexuals in a morally suspect class. It is true that most people, including investigators, adjudicators, and policy-makers, have not been exposed to contemporary biological, psychological, and sociological research findings. In the absence of such knowledge and influenced by the legacy of Hoover's combining homosexuality and disloyalty, some personnel security practitioners are likely to persist in the practice of lumping all homosexuals into one morally suspect class. The practice entails employing premises that flow from the adoption of social constructions of homosexuality that emphasize sin, crime, or sickness.

Policy-makers might give thought to endorsing and expanding training programs in which adjudicators and other personnel security specialists receive instruction in current scientific information about sexual orientation, and also in recognizing the sources of their premises and inference strategies. Prior to 1988, adjudicators were trained on the job by other adjudicators. They were drawn from the general population. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the belief-systems of adjudicators reflect the variety of belief-systems of the general population. [An interesting research project might be undertaken to assess beliefs and attitudes of adjudicators. This would provide empirical data on prior beliefs about the trustworthiness of homosexuals.] Adjudicators now receive uniform training. It would be helpful to know to what extent the uniform training reduces or eliminates bias. It is important to note that adjudicators have some degree of choice in examining and interpreting data. Even with concrete guidelines, the variability of human personality makes it necessary to add a human factor. If adjudicators were to operate as computers programmed to follow guidelines and did not employ clinical judgment, then they would be superfluous to the whole enterprise. A computer could be programmed with an algorithm that would weight the data and churn out expert judgments.

I have made the point that the current policy of reviewing every applicant for clearance on a case-by-case basis meets the requirements of fairness and efficiency. The wide variation in homosexual life styles, like the wide variation in heterosexual life styles, demands a case-by-case approach. The policy is not sufficient, however, to ensure fairness in practice. As I have argued before, the effects of long-standing bias against homosexuals may bypass the intent of the case-by-case policy. In addition to providing instruction to investigators and adjudicators as indicated above, it would be wise to issue memoranda at regular intervals emphasizing the basis of the case-by-case approach, even providing examples, heterosexual and homosexual, of personnel who would be considered security risks. The educational impact would be strengthened if the memoranda included empirical data that supported the risk classifications.

A final word. The review and analysis of the literature on homosexuality leads to one conclusion: sexual orientation is unrelated to moral character. Both patriots and traitors are drawn from the class *American citizen* and not specifically from the class *heterosexual* or the class *homosexual*.

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Appendix

Biographical Sketches of Known Spies with a Homosexual Orientation

Biographical Sketches of Known Spies with a Homosexual Orientation

The following brief sketches were written from sources in the public domain, mostly newspaper articles.

RAYMOND G. DeCHAMPLAIN, Master Sergeant USAF, age 39, was arrested in 1971 in Bangkok, Thailand, on charges of espionage and other military violations. At the time of his arrest, he had served in the Air Force for over 20 years. He was known among his coworkers as a homosexual, but they did not report his activities to the commanding officer. He was known as an incompetent worker and heavily in debt. He was married to a Thai woman who left him shortly after the marriage, ostensibly because of his sexual orientation. DeChamplain alleged that he had been blackmailed by Soviet agents. It was known that he had been introduced to a Soviet agent at a party in 1967, but it was not until four years later that he volunteered to engage in espionage. He delivered a large number of documents to the KGB for which he received $3800. He was convicted at court-martial and sentenced to 15 years hard labor, later reduced to 7 years. Primary motivation: money.

LEE EDWARD MADSEN, Yeoman Third Class, USN, age 24, was arrested in 1979 on charges of selling classified documents. He had been assigned to Strategic Warning Staff at the Pentagon. He turned over sensitive documents to an undercover agent for $700. He was quoted as saying to an investigator that he had stolen the documents "to prove that I could be a man and still be gay." He was sentenced to 8 years hard labor. Primary motivation: money, with a mix of ego-needs.

WILLIAM H. MARTIN, Intelligence Analyst, NSA, age 29, and BERNON F. MITCHELL, Intelligence Analyst, NSA, age 31, defected to the Soviet Union in 1960. They turned over detailed information concerning organization and structure of NSA and cryptographic codes. Primary motivation: unknown, probably a combination of financial needs and resentment of treatment of homosexuals in the United States.

JAMES A. MINTKENBAUGH, Sergeant, USA, age 45, was arrested by the FBI in 1965 for espionage. He had been recruited by Robert L. Johnson, Sergeant, USA. Both participated in providing information to the KGB on missile sites, military installations, and intelligence activities. Among Mintkenbaugh's assignments was spotting other homosexuals in the American community in Berlin. Johnson's wife tipped off the FBI. He was sentenced to 25 years hard labor. Primary motivation: money.

JEFFREY L. PICKERING, USN, age 25, mailed a five-page secret document to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C. He had been in the Marines from 1965 to 1973, then joined the Navy fraudulently using a forged birth certificate and a new name. Evidence suggests that he saw himself as playing a part in a spy thriller. He was sentenced to 5 years in prison. Primary motivation: money and ego-needs.

FILE
69

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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September 14, 1992 , UNITED STATES EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL AFFAIRS; Pg. 34

LENGTH: 2789 words

HEADLINE: GAYS Under Fire

BYLINE: BILL TURQE with CAROLYN FRIDAY in Boston, JEANNE GORDON in Los Angeles, DANIEL GLICK in Washington, KATRIN SNOW in Portland, PETER ANNIN in Houston, FARAI CHIDEYA in Chicago, ANTHONY DUIGNAN-CABRERA in San Francisco, PATRICK ROGERS in New York, LYNN HAESSLY in Cleveland and bureau reports

HIGHLIGHT:

Homosexuals face an angry new backlash in city halls, school boards and the workplace. How far will public tolerance go?

BODY:

Peter O'Donnell, a city councilor in Portland, Maine, had seen enough. In the early morning hours last Feb. 2, Benjamin Kowalsky, a 33-year-old community-development worker suffering from AIDS, was chased down and attacked by three rock-throwing youths who yelled, "Hey faggot, we're going to get you." Ten days later another gay man was severely beaten by a gang of 10 men. This time police collared some of the assailants, but the victim declined to press charges for fear of losing his job. After eight other attacks, O'Donnell introduced an ordinance barring anti-gay discrimination in housing, employment and credit. The city council passed it by a 7-1 vote on May 12.

The reaction was swift and angry. Within three weeks a group called Concerned Portland Citizens gathered 2,000 signatures -- enough to put the issue to a November referendum. Organizers claim the ordinance will send the city of 61,500 down a slippery slope of gay promiscuity, AIDS and pedophilia. The Christian Civic League of Maine, another group fighting the law, called it "the most critically significant moral issue facing Maine people, probably in the history of our state." O'Donnell is astonished. "It blows me away that people who profess to Christian values and family values take up shields and spears to defend discrimination."

Portland's lavender scare is no isolated case. Gay America's struggle for acceptance has reached a new and uncertain phase. A series of modest gains over the last several years -- in civil rights, national political clout, funding for AIDS research and visibility in popular culture -- has provoked a powerful backlash. A well-coordinated counteroffensive by the religious right is underway in city halls, school boards and state legislatures to stymie -- and even roll back -- what its leaders regard as an intolerable gay advance out of the closet and into the social mainstream. In November, Oregon voters will be asked to classify homosexuality as "abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse," and bar the state from passing any law protecting citizens on the basis of sexual orientation. A similar measure is on the fall ballot in Colorado. This month California Gov. Pete Wilson, under pressure from the fundamentalist wing of the state Republican Party, is expected to veto an anti-gay-discrimination bill for the second time in a year. For many gays, a symbolic low point came

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during the Republican National Convention in Houston last month, where repeated attacks on "the homosexual lifestyle" evoked images of moral decay and unraveling family life. Conservative Doberman Pat Buchanan told delegates that gay rights have no place "in a nation we still call God's country."

The blatant rhetoric only turned off most Americans, and Republican campaign strategists quickly backed President George Bush and his surrogates away from overt gay-bashing. But the public remains deeply ambivalent about gay and lesbian aspirations -- torn between a basic impulse to be tolerant and a visceral discomfort with gay culture. A NEWSWEEK Poll found that an overwhelming 78 percent of the public believes gay men and women should enjoy the same access to job opportunities as heterosexuals. By better than a two-thirds majority, those surveyed approve of health insurance and inheritance rights for gay spouses. But on issues closer to the emotional core of family life, the public sentiment cools. Only 32 percent believe gays should be able to adopt children; just 35 percent approve of legally sanctioned gay marriages. Fifty-three percent still don't consider homosexuality "acceptable" behavior. Asked whether gay rights was a threat to the American family and its values, 45 percent said yes.

For many gays and lesbians, the threats are more than rhetorical: anti-gay harassment and violence increased 31 percent last year in five major U.S. cities (New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Boston and Minneapolis-St. Paul), according to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute. Gay advocates acknowledge that an increased sense of social approval has made victims more likely to report incidents. But they also say that the escalating numbers don't describe the qualitative change in the violence. Drive-by slurs and egg-tossings have given way with more frequency to nail-studded baseball bats and switchblades. "You've got people who get picked up outside of a bar and tied up with duct tape and are beaten. They are sliced with razors," says Peg Yeates, leader of San Francisco's Street Patrol, a Guardian Angels-style organization. The new attacks take a range of forms, from fundamentalist gay-bashing to ridicule in the workplace.

Rage on the Right

It's possible to trace the right wing's anti-gay campaign to a bullwhip. It was photographed hanging from the late Robert Mapplethorpe's derriere and featured in his 1989 retrospective partially funded by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). The bullwhip came at an opportune moment for the religious right. The Berlin wall and the contras had fallen; Reagan was a memory. Gay-bashing was always a staple for right-wing fund raisers. But taxpayer-subsidized dirty art -- homosexual art, no less -- kindled a new and lucrative source of outrage. Morris Chapman, president-elect of the 15 million-member Southern Baptist Convention, predicts that "in the 1990s homosexuality will be what the abortion issue has been in the 1980s."

For fundamentalists, the anti-gay animus is rooted in Biblical injunctions against same-sex unions. Corinthians promises that homosexuals (along with fornicators, idolaters, adulterers and thieves) shall never inherit the kingdom of God. Other conservatives are opposed to creating a class of people legally protected on the basis of sexual behavior they regard as abhorrent. "We surely love their souls," Jerry Falwell wrote in a 1991 letter to followers, describing his "national battle plan" to fight gay rights. "But we must awaken to their wicked agenda for America!"

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Other familiar faces on the right are mobilizing as well. Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition -- with 2.2 million names in its computer files -- will convene a meeting of a thousand activists in Virginia Beach, Va., this fall to discuss "the homosexual -rights agenda and how to defeat it," according to executive director Ralph Reed. The Rev. Lou Sheldon, a former Robertson protege whose Anaheim-based Traditional Values Coalition has affiliates in 15 states and a web of interrelated fund-raising arms, pushed for the 1989 repeal for gay-rights ordinances in Irvine and Concord, Calif. Last month he helped force California educators to withdraw proposed sex-education and health-curriculum guidelines that described "families headed by parents of the same sex" as "part of contemporary society." He's also coordinating an attempt to block congressional approval of a law that would allow unmarried District of Columbia employees (gay and straight) to register as partners and enroll in city-sponsored health-care plans. "We're just protecting the heterosexual ethic," he says.

Backlash at the Ballot Box

The most bitter battleground is Oregon, where a movement heavily financed by Christian fundamentalists is attempting to all but codify gays and lesbians out of existence. A petition drive by the Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) has produced Ballot Measure 9, which would void portions of the state's hate-crimes law and invalidate the phrase" sexual orientation" in any statute where it now appears. It also requires educators to set curriculum standards equating homosexuality with pedophilia, sadism and masochism as behaviors "to be discouraged and avoided." Despite new scientific evidence that homosexuality may have genetic origins, OCA members talk openly of "curing" gays.

Gays and lesbians, fearing they'll be effectively stripped of their citizenship, are fighting desperately. "If we lose, we lose everything," says Donna Red Wing of Portland's Lesbian Community Project. "Our children could be taken from us, our lives could be wiped out at the ballot box." Despite big-name opposition, from Rep. Les AuCoin to the Roman Catholic Church to Gov. Barbara Roberts, state political experts give the measure an even chance of passage.

The campaign has spawned a mean season in a state with a national image for tolerance and progressive politics. Opponents of the measure have documented an escalating volume of violence, burglaries and verbal intimidation. In the rural southern Oregon town of Wolf Creek, Dean Decent says violence against him and eight other gay men in the area has grown more brazen. "Now that the homophobes have blown up the car and shot at the trailer, when they drive by and yell it doesn't seem so bad," says Decent, a 32-year-old professional quilt maker. Unlikely alliances have formed. In an emotional meeting recently, gay activists and migrant farm workers with the Willamette Valley shared stories about racism and homophobia, pledging to support one another's struggles. Fear has bolted some closet doors but opened others. The Rev. Gary Wilson, of Portland's Metropolitan Community Church, says gay parishioners are "sitting down writing letters to everybody they know that they've never come out to saying, 'I am a gay person, I am a lesbian person; if you support Measure 9, you're destroying my life'."

A new strain of gay-bashing has entered local races in other states. Six months ago Dick Mallory was a pro-choice Texas Republican courting gay votes in his campaign to unseat state Rep. Glen Maxey, the only openly gay member of the state legislature. Mallory recently ran radio ads in the Austin area asking

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voters if they want to be represented by "an avowed homosexual. " Mallory says he's found Christ. Maxey argues that he's found a Republican consultant. Perhaps the most virulent gay-baiting campaign is in Kansas. Supporters of Baptist minister Fred Phelps, who lost the August Democratic senatorial primary to state legislator Gloria O'Dell, continue to picket the Topeka streets with signs reading BULL DIKE (sic) O'DELL and NO SPECIAL LAWS FOR FAGS. O'Dell, 46, says she's heterosexual.

Closet in the Office

Some private employers have tried to minimize homophobia in the workplace, offering bias workshops and opportunities for gay employees to meet. A smaller handful have established spousal benefit programs for same-sex couples. But office culture still can be a bleak frontier. Gay workers tread warily, coming out to a trusted few, usually remaining closeted to higher-ups. Steven Greenberg and Mikael Hollinger, two gay administrative assistants at San Francisco's Nestle Beverage Co., would take lunch-hour walks down the city's Embarcadero to speak freely. Soon their strolls had mutated into a vicious office rumor -- that they were having sex together in the company restroom.

Last March they were fired. Nestle denies any anti-gay bias and says they were terminated for poor performance, although Greenberg says he had been given a raise three weeks earlier. The two joined five other gay men last month in filing job-discrimination lawsuits against several San Francisco area employers, including Ricoh Corp. and Transworld Systems, alleging that they were harassed, ridiculed and dismissed because they were gay.

Even in companies that take gay-bashing seriously, the atmosphere among coworkers can be oppressive. When Nancy Logan worked as an auditor for a major Cleveland bank three years ago, a colleague would shake in a repulsed manner as she passed her desk. "Any time I walked into the ladies' room and she was there, she would walk out," says Logan. She complained to management, which transferred the other employee. But Logan says she was told that the only reason the company supported her was that she was "low key," in other words, not out. She quit shortly afterward and remains closeted in her new job.

The Next Battle

Even in the chill of resurgent gay-hating, there's a sense of victory at hand for many American gays and lesbians. The struggle against AIDS has matured into a broad political and social movement. Last July's Democratic National Convention symbolized the sea change: 13 pro-gay speakers addressed a Madison Square Garden audience that included 108 openly gay delegates, alternates and party officials. Twenty-one states and 130 municipalities now offer gays and lesbians some form of legal protection against discrimination. An estimated 10,000 children are being raised by lesbians who conceived them through artificial insemination. Hollywood, which has lagged far behind television in realistic portrayals of gays, is changing its act: At least six major gay or AIDS-themed films are in development, including Gus Van Sant's "The Mayor of Castro Street," about martyred San Francisco supervisor Harvey Milk.

For some activists, the signs of greater acceptance make the new vehemence even more shocking. "It's reminded us of our precarious position in society, and just how deep homophobia runs," says Cathy Siemens, a Portland, Ore., real-estate agent. "Should we withdraw and protect ourselves or continue to

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march out of the closet?" Nearly all say no -- that the backlash is affirmation of their new power and a last hurrah for the kind of blatant gay-bashing on display at the convention in Houston. "It's the bellows of dying elephants," says Peter Gomes, minister of Harvard University's Memorial Church.

If there's a consensus among gay political strategists, it's that the best defense is a good offense. In some cases, that means renewed "outings" of closeted public officials who have promoted anti-gay policies. The Advocate, a gay magazine, recently exposed a congressman with an anti-gay voting record. Others say that press attention to Republican hypocrisy in its condemnation of gays will also help. Last week's Washington Post Style section profiled Dee Mosbacher, the lesbian daughter of former Bush-Quayle campaign chairman Robert Mosbacher.

Others are pursuing a legislative agenda that will deliver basic civil liberties. "The right to have a job without losing it and the right to walk down the street without getting beaten up" would be a good start, says Gregory King of the Human Rights Campaign Fund, a gay political-action committee. Topping the list is passage of the Civil Rights Amendments Act of 1991, a federal law that would offer sexual orientation the same protections as race, creed, color, national origin and disability. Another priority is increased funding for AIDS research. New victories will certainly bring new scapegoating. "As we become more visible we become targets," says Houston lesbian activist Annise Parker. In time, though, Parker hopes that the Buchanans and the Robertsons will seem evermore shrill and marginal. In time, she believes, "the basic decency of the American people will take over."

NEWSWEEK POLL
Should homosexuals have equal rights in job opportunities?
78% Yes 17% No
Is homosexuality an acceptable alternative lifestyle?
41% Yes 53% No
Are gay rights a threat to the American family and its values?
45% Yes 51% No

Which apply to you?
43% Have a friend or acquaintance who is gay
20% Work with someone you know who is gay
9% Have a gay person in your family

Should homosexuals be hired in each of the following occupations (percent saying yes):
83% Salesperson
64% A member of the president's cabinet
59% Armed forces
59% Doctors
54% High-school teachers
51% Elementary-school teachers
48% Clergy

NEWSWEEK Poll, Aug. 27, 1992

NEWSWEEK POLL
How do you feel about each of the following homosexual rights:

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Newsweek, September 14, 1992

	APPROVED	DISAPPROVE
Health insurance for gay spouses	67%	27%
Inheritance rights for gay spouses	70%	25%
Social security for gay spouses	58%	35%
Legally sanctioned gay marriages	35%	58%
Adoption rights for gay spouses	32%	61%

In general, how important is the issue of gay rights to your presidential vote?
40% Very, or somewhat important
57% Not too, or not at all important
Do you think the candidates have:

	CLINTON	BUSH
Gone too far in supporting gay rights	16%	5%
A position that is about right	44%	41%
Gone too far in opposing gay rights	3%	27%

For this NEWSWEEK Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed 547 registered voters by phone Aug. 27, 1992. Margin of error +/25 percentage points. "Don't know" and other responses not shown. The NEWSWEEK Poll (c) 1992 by NEWSWEEK, Inc.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, Leaving an imprint: At the site of an anti-gay attack in San Francisco, JAMES D. WILSON -- NEWSWEEK; Picture 2, Trying to halt the modest gains of recent years: Homophobic sings were an ugly feature of the St. Patrick's Day parade in Boston, CHRIS CARTER -- IMPACT VISUALS; Picture 3, A cultural war: Graffiti in a New York hospital, MARK PETERSON -- JB PICTURES; Picture 4, 'Not in God's country': GOP convention, BILL GENTILE FOR NEWSWEEK; Picture 5, Anti-gay sentiment often strikes at work: Protest at a Cracker Barrel restaurant in Michigan, JIM WEST -- IMPACT VISUALS

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>>>Prefix "CO" is undefined
                0  CO=ROOPER
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?s oc=roper and sb=921107

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               24  SB=921107
      S5       24  OC=ROPER AND SB=921107
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1993 - Roper

5/5/1
00195676 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R17

024 You mentioned that television helped you become acquainted with the candidates for President and Vice President in the last election (1992). We're interested in knowing exactly what kind of television you were thinking about. Looking at this card, please tell me if you got most of your information about the candidates for President and Vice President from the stations that carry the programs of the major broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, NBC--Group A), from cable networks (Group B such as C.N.N.--Cable News Network, C-Span, ESPN, MTV, TBS, TNT, USA) or from other television stations such as Fox, PBS, local independent stations not affiliated with a network (Group C)?

Group A, major broadcast networks	73%
Group B, cable networks	25
Group C, other T.V. stations	3
Don't know	2

QUESTION NOTES: Asked of those who go most of their candidate information from T.V. (74%)
SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: See note

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; VOTE FOR PRESIDENT; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

5/5/2
00195675 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R16

Q23 What about the candidates in the national (1992) election--for President and Vice President? (Did you become best acquainted with these candidates from newspapers, or radio, or television, or magazines, or talking to people, or where?)

Television	74%
Newspapers	18
Radio	6
People	7
Magazines	2
Other	1

QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses
SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; VOTE FOR PRESIDENT; PRESS; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

5/5/3
00195674 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R15

Q22 During the last election campaign (1992), from what source did you become best acquainted with the candidates running in local and statewide elections--like Mayor, members of the State Legislature, member of the U.S. House of Representatives from this district, U.S. (United States) Senator, and Governor. Did you become best acquainted with these candidates from newspapers, or radio, or television, or magazines, or talking to people, or where?

Newspapers	28%
Radio	6
Television	59
Magazines	1
Talking to people	9
Other	4
Don't know	3

QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses
SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; ELECTIONS; LOCAL; STATES; PRESS; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

5/5/4
00195673 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R14

Q21 If you got conflicting or different reports of the same news story from radio, television, magazines and the newspapers, which of the four versions would you be most inclined to believe--the one on radio, or television, or magazines or newspapers?

Television	56%
Newspapers	22
Radio	7
Magazines	4
Don't know/No answer	12

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; PRESS; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

5/5/5
00195672 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R13

Q20 I'd like to ask you where you usually get most of your news about what's going on in the world today--from the newspapers, or radio, or television, or magazines, or talking to people or where?

Television	69%
Newspapers	43
Radio	16
Magazines	4
People	6

QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses

National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; PRESS; INFORMATION

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5/5/6
00195671 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R12

Q19 In your judgment, which one or two of the people or groups on this list should have the most to say about what children see and hear on television?...Federal government by deciding what can/cannot be aired, Television networks/stations by deciding what they will/ will not air, Advertisers by deciding what they will/will not sponsor, Social action/religious groups, by recommending what should/ should not be aired, Parents by deciding what they will/will not allow their children to watch, Children themselves by deciding what they will and will not watch.

Federal government	9%
Networks/stations	17
Advertisers	9
Social action/religious groups	12
Parents	82
Children	13
None (vol.)	1
Don't know	6

QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses
SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; YOUTH

5/5/7
00195670 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R11

Q18 Thinking of the kinds of television programs that are suitable for children to watch, and also thinking of the amount of time you think children should watch television, would you say there are more than enough suitable programs for children to watch, or about the right amount of such programs or not enough of such programs?

More than enough suitable programs	9%
About the right amount	35
Not enough of such programs	44
Don't know	12

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; YOUTH

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5/5/8
00195669 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R10C

Q17 (Now I would like to ask you about the public service announcements you see on television for such things as drug abuse, AIDS, illiteracy, and drunk driving. I am going to read you some statements about the public service announcements and for each one I would like you to tell me if you strongly agree with it, moderately agree, moderately disagree, or strongly disagree.)... Public service announcements are worth having on the air

Strongly agree	56%
Moderately agree	32
Moderately disagree	7
Strongly disagree	2
Don't know	4

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

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5/5/9
00195668 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R10B

016 (Now I would like to ask you about the public service announcements you see on television for such things as drug abuse, AIDS, illiteracy, and drunk driving. I am going to read you some statements about the public service announcements and for each one I would like you to tell me if you strongly agree with it, moderately agree, moderately disagree, or strongly disagree.)... Public service announcements are annoying to watch

Strongly agree	7%
Moderately agree	23
Moderately disagree	31
Strongly disagree	34
Don't know	4

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

5/5/10
00195667 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R10A

015 Now I would like to ask you about the public service announcements you see on television for such things as drug abuse, AIDS, illiteracy, and drunk driving. I am going to read you some statements about the public service announcements and for each one I would like you to tell me if you strongly agree with it, moderately agree, moderately disagree, or strongly disagree.... Public service announcements provide people with important information

Strongly agree	56%
Moderately agree	34
Moderately disagree	5
Strongly disagree	?

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.
ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

5/5/11
00195666 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R09

Q14 Different people have all sorts of things, both good and bad, to say about T.V. (television) commercials--for example, that they are in poor taste, that they are informative, that they are amusing, that there are too many of them, etc. Now, everything considered, do you agree or disagree that having commercials on T.V. is a fair price to pay for being able to watch it?

Agree	71%
Disagree	20
Don't know/No answer	9

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

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5/5/12
00195665 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R08

Q13 In your judgment, which one or two of the people or groups on this list should have the most to say about what people see and hear on

television networks/stations by deciding what they will/will not air; Advertisers by deciding what they will/will not sponsor; Social action/religious groups, by recommending what should/should not be aired; Individual viewers by deciding what they will/will not watch.

Government	10%
Networks/stations	23
Advertisers	16
Social action/religious groups	11
Individual viewers	76
None (vol.)	1
Don't know	4

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

5/5/13
00195664 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R07

012 The last time you saw something on television that you found personally offensive or morally objectionable, what, if anything, did you do?

Turned to a different channel/program	45%
Turned off the television	15
Expressed disapproval to other adults present	6
Expressed disapproval to children present	3
Refused to allow children to watch program in future	3
Contacted the T.V. (television) station, network, cable operator	1
Contacted the sponsors advertising on the program	1
Stopped buying/boycotted advertised products	1
Did nothing	12
Other	1
Never say anything objectionable	19

QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses
SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; TASTE

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5/5/14
00195663 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R06C

Q11 As you know, there are two major kinds of television--broadcast television and cable television. From what you know or have heard about, which kind of television--broadcast or cable--would you say has more... profanity?

Broadcast T.V.	6%
Cable T.V.	55
About the same (vol.)	27
Don't know	11

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

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5/5/15
00195662 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R06B

Q10 As you know, there are two major kinds of television--broadcast television and cable television. From what you know or have heard about, which kind of television--broadcast or cable--would you say has more... sex?

Broadcast T.V.	7%
Cable T.V.	55
About the same (vol.)	27
Don't know	11

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The

period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

5/5/16
00195661 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R06A

Q09 As you know, there are two major kinds of television--broadcast television and cable television. From what you know or have heard about, which kind of television--broadcast or cable--would you say has more... violence?

Broadcast T.V.	11%
Cable T.V.	44
About the same (vol.)	33
Don't know	11

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

5/5/17
00195660 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R05A

Q08 What was it in the (television) programs you found objectionable?

Violence	91%
Sexual activity	35
Profanity	22
Sexual conversation/jokes	20
Inappropriate for children	18

Insulting to my intelligence	15
Homosexuality	11
Insulting to my intelligence	16
Don't remember what was objectionable	18
Don't know	3

QUESTION NOTES: Asked of those who found television programs offensive or morally objectionable in the past few weeks (55%) Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses
SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: See note

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; RECREATION; TASTE

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5/5/18
00195659 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R05

Q07 During the past few weeks do you recall seeing any (television) programs that you found personally offensive or morally objectionable?

Yes, recall something objectionable	55%
Don't recall anything objectionable	42
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; RECREATION; TASTE

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00195658 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R04

Q06 You said that you would expect to pay less for cable service if the cable system did not carry network programs (ABC, CBS, and NBC). How much less do you think the service should cost per month?

Under $5	5%
$5	10
Over $5 to under $10	16
$10	17
Over $10 to under $15	19
$15 or more	23
Don't know	11

QUESTION NOTES: Asked of cable subscribers who said it should cost less 78% of cable subscribers)
SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.
ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: See note

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

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5/5/20
00195657 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R03C

Q05 (Some cable systems are considering dropping the channels for the major television networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, to make room for three more cable-only channels. But this would also mean you would have to switch between your cable hook-up and an antenna, or else use another set with an antenna in order to get ABC, CBS, and NBC over the air. I would like you to read some statements people have made about this idea. Please let me know for each whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.)... If my cable system did not carry ABC, CBS, and NBC, I think cable service should cost less than it does now.

Strongly agree	63%
Somewhat agree	15
Somewhat disagree	7
Strongly disagree	7
Don't know	8

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Asked of cable subscribers

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

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5/5/21
00195656 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R03B

004 (Some cable systems are considering dropping the channels for the major television networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, to make room for three more cable-only channels. But this would also mean you would have to switch between your cable hook-up and an antenna, or else use another set with an antenna in order to get ABC, CBS, and NBC over the air. I would like you to read some statements people have made about this idea. Please let me know for each whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.)... If my cable system did not carry ABC, CBS, and NBC anymore, I would cancel my cable subscription.

Strongly agree	40%
Somewhat agree	24
Somewhat disagree	15
Strongly disagree	9
Don't know	12

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Asked of cable subscribers

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

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5/5/22
00195655 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R03A

003 Some cable systems are considering dropping the channels for the major television networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, to make room for three more

antenna in order to get ABC, CBS, and NBC over the air. I would like you to read some statements people have made about this idea. Please let me know for each whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.... It would be a good idea if my cable system dropped the network channels and substituted three cable-only channels.

Strongly agree	4%
Somewhat agree	8
Somewhat disagree	13
Strongly disagree	68
Don't know	8

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Asked of cable subscribers

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION

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5/5/23
00195654 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R02

002 Here is a list of different kinds of television....The major networks (ABC, CBS, NBC) and their local affiliate stations, Independent broadcast stations or public television, Basic cable networks--USA, ESPN, Lifetime etc., Premium cable channel--HBO, Showtime, etc. Would you please tell me which one of these kinds of television has most of the programs you make a special effort to watch regularly?

The major networks and local affiliate stations	75%
Independent broadcast or public	13
Basic cable	16
Premium cable	4
Don't know	1

QUESTION NOTES: Asked of those who make a special effort to watch a program regularly (67%)
SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.
ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: See note

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; RECREATION

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5/5/24
00195653 QUESTION ID: USROPER.92TV R01

Q01. Are there any television programs that you make a special effort to watch regularly?

Yes	67%
No	32
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: Sponsors: The National Television Association and The National Association of Broadcasters. The two parts of this survey were November 7-14, 1992 and November 28-December 12, 1992. In each interview period a total of 2000 interview were conducted. Each question was asked in only one interview period.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: N.T.A. AND N.A.B. (see note)
SOURCE: AMERICA'S WATCHING--PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION 1993

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 11/07/92
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 12/12/92
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/00/93

INTERVIEW METHOD: Personal
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 2000
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: TELEVISION; RECREATION

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AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS.

1991 - Roper

?s s6 and s2

```
            127  S6
          23308  S2
      S7     97  S6 AND S2
?t 7/5/1-5
```

7/5/1
00157148 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS.R26

Q97 Have you ever contributed either money or time to an AIDS education or research organization? (If 'Yes') Which?

No	77%
Yes, money	14
Yes, time	5
Yes, both money and time (vol.)	3
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

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7/5/2
00157147 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R25

Q96 Do you personally know someone who has tested positive for the virus that causes AIDS or who now has AIDS or someone who has died of AIDS? (If 'Yes') Which?

No--don't know anyone	69%
Know someone who tested positive	13
Know someone who has AIDS	12
Knew someone who died of AIDS	21
Don't know	2

QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SOCIAL

3-10 R15

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7/5/3
00157146 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R24

Q95 I'd like you to think about where our country might be in five years in the battle against AIDS. In five years, do you think that AIDS in this country will be...

More of a problem	64%
Less of a problem	14
About the same as it is now	22
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; FUTURE

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/4
00157145 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R23

Q94 Do you think that anyone you know has possibly been less than truthful about their sexual history? (If 'Yes') Is that something that you know for certain, or something you suspect?

Yes, know for certain	19%
Yes, suspected	38
No, always truthful	30
Refused	1
Don't know	12

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; SEX; SOCIAL

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/5
00157144 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R22

Q93 In general, do you think people tell their sexual partners the truth about their sexual history, or do you think they're sometimes less than truthful?

Tell the truth	5%
Sometimes less than truthful	91
Don't know	4

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut
?t 7/5/6-97

7/5/6

Q92 (Many parents have to discuss difficult issues with their children, either because children are naturally curious and ask questions of the parents, or because the parents think it's important to discuss things with children openly. I'm going to read several topics that parents might have to, at some point, discuss with their children. For each topic I read, please tell me at what age you think it would be appropriate for parents to answer children's questions about that topic, or to begin discussing that issue with them. (If 'Depends on the child/parents,' ask:) Well, in general, what age do you think is appropriate?)... Homosexual sex

At no age, shouldn't happen	4%
6 or younger	8
7 to 9	12
10 to 12	43
13 to 15	23
16 to 17	4
Don't know	6

QUESTION NOTES: Mean = 11.2
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: FAMILY; YOUTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/7
00157142 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS RZ1G

Q91 (Many parents have to discuss difficult issues with their children, either because children are naturally curious and ask questions of the parents, or because the parents think it's important to discuss things with children openly. I'm going to read several topics that parents might have to, at some point, discuss with their children. For each topic I read, please tell me at what age you think it would be appropriate for parents to answer children's questions about that topic, or to begin discussing that issue with them. (If 'Depends on the child/parents,' ask:) Well, in general, what age do you think is appropriate?)... The use of condoms

At no age, shouldn't happen	2%
6 or younger	6
7 to 9	11
10 to 12	50
13 to 15	26
16 to 17	3
Don't know	3

QUESTION NOTES: Mean = 11.3
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: FAMILY; YOUTH; SEX; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/8
00157141 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R21F

Q90 (Many parents have to discuss difficult issues with their children; either because children are naturally curious and ask questions of the parents, or because the parents think it's important to discuss things with children openly. I'm going to read several topics that parents might have to, at some point, discuss with their children. For each topic I read, please tell me at what age you think it would be appropriate for parents to answer children's questions about that topic, or to begin discussing that issue with them. (If 'Depends on the child/parents,' ask:) Well, in general, what age do you think is appropriate?)... Alcohol abuse

At no age, shouldn't happen	#%
5 or younger	20
7 to 9	25
10 to 12	37
13 to 15	13
16 to 17	2
Don't know	2

QUESTION NOTES: Mean = 9.7
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: FAMILY; YOUTH; SEX; ALCOHOL

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/9
00157140 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R21E

Q89 (Many parents have to discuss difficult issues with their children, either because children are naturally curious and ask questions of the parents, or because the parents think it's important to discuss things with children openly. I'm going to read several topics that parents might have to, at some point, discuss with their children. For each topic I read, please tell me at what age you think it would be appropriate for parents to answer children's questions about that topic, or to begin discussing that

general, what age do you think is appropriate?)... Anal intercourse

At no age, shouldn't happen	6%
6 or younger	8
7 to 9	12
10 to 12	38
13 to 15	23
16 to 17	6
Don't know	8

QUESTION NOTES: Mean = 11.3
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: FAMILY; YOUTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/10
00157139 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R21D

Q88 (Many parents have to discuss difficult issues with their children, either because children are naturally curious and ask questions of the parents, or because the parents think it's important to discuss things with children openly. I'm going to read several topics that parents might have to, at some point, discuss with their children. For each topic I read, please tell me at what age you think it would be appropriate for parents to answer children's questions about that topic, or to begin discussing that issue with them. (If 'Depends on the child/parents,' ask:) Well, in general, what age do you think is appropriate?)... Sexually transmitted diseases

At no age, shouldn't happen	*%
6 or younger	11
7 to 9	23
10 to 12	50
13 to 15	13
16 to 17	1
Don't know	2

QUESTION NOTES: Mean = 10.1 * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: FAMILY; YOUTH; SEX; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/11
00157138 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R21C

Q87 (Many parents have to discuss difficult issues with their children, either because children are naturally curious and ask questions of the parents, or because the parents think it's important to discuss things with children openly. I'm going to read several topics that parents might have to, at some point, discuss with their children. For each topic I read, please tell me at what age you think it would be appropriate for parents to answer children's questions about that topic, or to begin discussing that issue with them. (If 'Depends on the child/parents,' ask:) Well, in general, what age do you think is appropriate?)... AIDS

At no age, shouldn't happen	1%
6 or younger	20
7 to 9	27
10 to 12	41
13 to 15	8
16 to 17	1
Don't know	2

QUESTION NOTES: Mean = 9.4
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: FAMILY; YOUTH; SEX; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/12
00157137 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R21A

Q86 Many parents have to discuss difficult issues with their children, either because children are naturally curious and ask questions of the parents, or because the parents think it's important to discuss things with children openly. I'm going to read several topics that parents might have to, at some point, discuss with their children. For each topic I read, please tell me at what age you think it would be appropriate for parents to answer children's questions about that topic, or to begin discussing that issue with them. (If 'Depends on the child/parents,' ask:) Well, in general, what age do you think is appropriate?... Drug use

At no age, shouldn't happen	1%
6 or younger	36
7 to 9	31
10 to 12	25
13 to 15	4

Don't know 4

QUESTION NOTES: Mean = 8.2
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: FAMILY; YOUTH; NARCOTICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/13
00157136 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R20

085 How do you feel about the distribution of condoms in junior high schools in order to help control sexually transmitted diseases. Is that something that you are in favor of or not?

In favor	47%
Not in favor	49
Don't know	4

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/14
00157135 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R19

084 I'd like to know how you feel about the distribution of condoms in senior high schools in order to help control sexually transmitted diseases. Is that something that you are in favor of or not?

In favor	64%
Not in favor	31
Don't know	5

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research: U. of Connecticut

7/5/15
00157134 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R18

Q83 In general, at what age, if at all, do you think it is appropriate for children to start receiving information about AIDS in school? (If 'Depends on child/parents/school;' ask:) Well, in general, what age do you think is appropriate?

At no age, shouldn't happen	1%
6 years old or younger	16
Age 7 to 9	21
10 to 12	43
13 to 15	15
16 to 17	1
Don't know	3

QUESTION NOTES: Mean = 9.9
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: INFORMATION; HEALTH; EDUCATION; YOUTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research: U. of Connecticut

7/5/16
00157133 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R17

Q82 Sometimes we hear that someone has AIDS: sometimes we hear that someone has the virus which causes AIDS. Do you think these are different terms that mean the same thing, or do they have different meanings?

Mean same thing	25%
Have different meanings	70
Don't know	5

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: INFORMATION; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/17
00157132 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16K

081 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... Married heterosexual adults.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	18%
Need a little more	36
Need a lot more	44
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; FAMILY; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/18
00157131 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16J

080 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... People living in rural areas.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	11%
Need a little more	28
Need a lot more	58
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/19
00157130 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16I

Q79 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... People living in metropolitan areas.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	12%
Need a little more	24
Need a lot more	60
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; URBAN; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/20
00157129 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16H

Q78 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... Lesbians.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	15%
Need a little more	23
Need a lot more	55
Don't know	6

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/21
00157128 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16G

Q77 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... Children aged 5 to 9.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	22%
Need a little more	41
Need a lot more	29
Don't know	7

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; YOUTH; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/22
00157127 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16F

Q76 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... Children aged 10 to 13.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	6%
Need a little more	31
Need a lot more	60
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; YOUTH; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/23
00157126 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16E

Q75 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... Teenagers aged 14 to 17.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	4%
Need a little more	9
Need a lot more	85
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; YOUTH; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/24
00157125 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16D

Q74 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... Racial or ethnic minority groups in general.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	9%
Need a little more	19
Need a lot more	68
Don't know	4

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; MINORITIES; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/25
00157124 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16C

073 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... IV (intravenous) drug users.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	12%
Need a little more	8
Need a lot more	77
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; NARCOTICS; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/26
00157123 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16B

072 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... Gay men.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	19%
Need a little more	20
Need a lot more	58
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; MEN; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/27
00157122 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R16A

071 Now for each group I read please tell me if you think that group has as much information about AIDS as they need, or do they need more.... Unmarried heterosexual adults.... Do they have as much information as they need, or do they need more? (If more:) Would you say they need a little more or a lot more? (Rotate)

Have all they need	14%
Need a little more	25
Need a lot more	58
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; INFORMATION; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/28
00157121 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R15B

070 I'd like you to think now about heterosexuals. Are they at risk for AIDS if they don't practice safer sex, or are they pretty much safe from AIDS anyway?

Higher risk if they don't practice safer sex	86%
Pretty much safe from AIDS anyway	10
Don't know what safer sex is (vol.)	*
Don't know	4

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)

SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/29
00157120 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R15A

069 Some people say that gay men are at higher risk for AIDS because they are homosexual, and regardless of what they do, they will always be at high risk. Others disagree. They say that if gay men practice safer sex, that they would not have any higher risk of AIDS than any other group in our society. Which do you agree with most, that gay men will always be at higher risk for AIDS, regardless of what they do, or that safer sex for gay men would reduce their risk of AIDS?

Gay men will always be at higher risk	34%
Safer sex for gay men would reduce their risk	60
Don't know what safer sex is (vol.)	*
Don't know	5

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: GROUPS; SEX; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/30
00157119 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R14H

068 I'd like to know what information you think people need about AIDS. Please tell me for each item I read how useful more public information on that topic would be. Information on... what laws protect people with AIDS against discrimination.... Would more public information on that be very useful, somewhat useful, or not useful at all?

Very useful	54%
Somewhat useful	36
Not useful at all	7
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; EQUALITY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/31
00157118 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R14G

067 I'd like to know what information you think people need about AIDS. Please tell me for each item I read how useful more public information on that topic would be. Information on... where to go for help if exposed to the virus which causes AIDS.... Would more public information on that be very useful, somewhat useful, or not useful at all?

Very useful	84%
Somewhat useful	14
Not useful at all	1
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; MEDICINE

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/32
00157117 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R14F

066 I'd like to know what information you think people need about AIDS. Please tell me for each item I read how useful more public information on that topic would be. Information on... the blood test for the virus which causes AIDS.... Would more public information on that be very useful, somewhat useful, or not useful at all?

Very useful	70%
Somewhat useful	26
Not useful at all	3
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; MEDICINE

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/33
00157116 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R14E

Q65 I'd like to know what information you think people need about AIDS. Please tell me for each item I read how useful more public information on that topic would be. Information on... how the virus which causes AIDS is transmitted.... Would more public information on that be very useful, somewhat useful, or not useful at all?

Very useful	86%
Somewhat useful	13
Not useful at all	1
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/34
00157115 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R14D

Q64 I'd like to know what information you think people need about AIDS. Please tell me for each item I read how useful more public information on that topic would be. Information on... what to discuss with children about condoms.... Would more public information on that be very useful, somewhat useful, or not useful at all?

Very useful	62%
Somewhat useful	29
Not useful at all	7
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; YOUTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/35
00157114 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R14C

Q63 I'd like to know what information you think people need about AIDS. Please tell me for each item I read how useful more public information on that topic would be. Information on... what to discuss with children about AIDS prevention.... Would more public information on that be very useful, somewhat useful, or not useful at all?

Very useful	78%
Somewhat useful	18
Not useful at all	2
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; YOUTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/36
00157113 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R14B

Q62 I'd like to know what information you think people need about AIDS. Please tell me for each item I read how useful more public information on that topic would be. Information on... what to discuss with partners about sex.... Would more public information on that be very useful, somewhat useful, or not useful at all?

Very useful	62%
Somewhat useful	32
Not useful at all	4
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/37
00157112 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R14A

061 I'd like to know what information you think people need about AIDS. Please tell me for each item I read how useful more public information on that topic would be. Information on... the proper way to use condoms.... Would more public information on that be very useful, somewhat useful, or not useful at all?

Very useful	49%
Somewhat useful	41
Not useful at all	9
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/38
00157111 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R13

060 Have you, or has a sexual partner of yours ever used a condom?

Yes	74%
No	24
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91

SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/39
00157110 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R12B

059 (Many parents have to discuss difficult issues with their children, either because children are naturally curious and ask questions of the parents, or because the parents think it's important to discuss things with children openly. I'm going to read several topics that parents might have to, at some point, discuss with their children. For each topic I read, please tell me at what age you think it would be appropriate for parents to answer children's questions about that topic, or to begin discussing that issue with them. (If 'Depends on the child/parents,' ask:) Well, in general, what age do you think is appropriate?)... Sex in general

At no age, shouldn't happen	1%
6 or younger	19
7 to 9	25
10 to 12	44
13 to 15	9
16 to 17	1
Don't know	2

QUESTION NOTES: Mean = 9.5
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: FAMILY; YOUTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/40
00157109 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R12

058 Out of every 100 condoms that are properly used, about how many would you guess fail?

Mean 16.4

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/41
00157108 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R11I

057 (I'm going to read you some ways that people have said someone can get AIDS or the virus that causes AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if that is or is not a way someone can get AIDS.)... Being bitten by mosquitoes or other insects.... Is that a way someone can get AIDS or not?

Yes, is a way	23%
No, is not a way	66
Don't know	11

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/42
00157107 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R11H

056 (I'm going to read you some ways that people have said someone can get AIDS or the virus that causes AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if that is or is not a way someone can get AIDS.)... Attending school with a child who has the virus which causes AIDS.... Is that a way someone can get AIDS or not?

Yes, is a way	4%
No, is not a way	94
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004

051 (I'm going to read you some ways that people have said someone can get AIDS or the virus that causes AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if that is or is not a way someone can get AIDS.)... Kissing--on the mouth--a person who has the virus which causes AIDS.... Is that a way someone can get AIDS or not?

Yes, is a way	38%
No, is not a way	53
Don't know	9

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/48
00157101 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R11B

050 (I'm going to read you some ways that people have said someone can get AIDS or the virus that causes AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if that is or is not a way someone can get AIDS.)... Eating in a restaurant where the cook has the virus which causes AIDS.... Is that a way someone can get AIDS or not?

Yes, is a way	21%
No, is not a way	73
Don't know	6

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/49
00157100 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R11A

049 I'm going to read you some ways that people have said someone can get AIDS or the virus that causes AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; EDUCATION

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7/5/43
00157106 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R11G

055 (I'm going to read you some ways that people have said someone can get AIDS or the virus that causes AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if that is or is not a way someone can get AIDS.)... Sharing needles for drug use with someone who has the virus which causes AIDS.... Is that a way someone can get AIDS or not?

Yes, is a way	98%
No, is not a way	1
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; NARCOTICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/44
00157105 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R11F

054 (I'm going to read you some ways that people have said someone can get AIDS or the virus that causes AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if that is or is not a way someone can get AIDS.)... Using public toilets.... is that a way someone can get AIDS or not?

Yes, is a way	13%
No, is not a way	80
Don't know	7

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/45
00157104 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R11E

053 (I'm going to read you some ways that people have said someone can get AIDS or the virus that causes AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if that is or is not a way someone can get AIDS.)... Sharing plates, forks, or glasses with someone who has the virus which causes AIDS.... Is that a way someone can get AIDS or not?

Yes, is a way	23%
No, is not a way	68
Don't know	9

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/46
00157103 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R11D

052 (I'm going to read you some ways that people have said someone can get AIDS or the virus that causes AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if that is or is not a way someone can get AIDS.)... Shaking hands, touching, or kissing on the cheek someone who has the virus which causes AIDS.... Is that a way someone can get AIDS or not?

Yes, is a way	4%
No, is not a way	94
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

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7/5/47

with the virus which causes AIDS.... Is that a way someone can get AIDS or not?

Yes, is a way	3%
No, is not a way	95
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/50
00157099 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R10H

048 (Asked of respondents who said very/somewhat effective) (Now, I'm going to read some of these items again. This time, please tell me how likely each method is to actually happen.)... All sex partners practicing monogamy, that is, having sexual relations with the same person.... Do you think that at some point, that definitely will happen, or is it likely to happen, or unlikely to happen, or do you think it will never happen? (Rotate)

Definitely will happen	2%
Likely to happen	24
Unlikely to happen	50
Will never happen	19
Already is happening (vol.)	2
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Respondents said very/somewhat effective (9%)

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/51
00157099 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R10S

Q47 (Asked of respondents who said very/somewhat effective) (Now, I'm going to read some of these items again. This time, please tell me how likely each method is to actually happen.)... Supplying IV (intravenous) drug users with bleach to clean their needles.... Do you think that at some point, that definitely will happen, or is it likely to happen, or unlikely to happen, or do you think it will never happen? (Rotate)

Definitely will happen	3%
Likely to happen	41
Unlikely to happen	42
Will never happen	9
Already is happening (vol.)	3
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Respondents said very/somewhat effective (50%)

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; NARCOTICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/52
00157097 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R10F

Q46 (Asked of respondents who said very/somewhat effective) (Now, I'm going to read some of these items again. This time, please tell me how likely each method is to actually happen.)... The government putting more money into AIDS research.... Do you think that at some point, that definitely will happen, or is it likely to happen, or unlikely to happen, or do you think it will never happen? (Rotate)

Definitely will happen	12%
Likely to happen	61
Unlikely to happen	21
Will never happen	2
Already is happening (vol.)	2
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Respondents said very/somewhat effective (87%)

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/53
00157096 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R10E

045 (Asked of respondents who said very/somewhat effective) (Now, I'm going to read some of these items again. This time, please tell me how likely each method is to actually happen.)... Everyone who has sex using a condom.... Do you think that at some point, that definitely will happen, or is it likely to happen, or unlikely to happen, or do you think it will never happen? (Rotate)

Definitely will happen	5%
Likely to happen	34
Unlikely to happen	41
Will never happen	16
Already is happening (vol.)	2
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Respondents said very/somewhat effective (90%)

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/54
00157095 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R10D

044 (Asked of respondents who said very/somewhat effective) (Now, I'm going to read some of these items again. This time, please tell me how likely each method is to actually happen.)... Homosexuals abstaining from sex.... Do you think that at some point, that definitely will happen, or is it likely to happen, or unlikely to happen, or do you think it will never happen? (Rotate)

Definitely will happen	2%
Likely to happen	10
Unlikely to happen	51
Will never happen	35
Already is happening (vol.)	1
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Respondents said very/somewhat effective (82%)

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/55
00157094 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R10C

043 (Asked of respondents who said very/somewhat effective) (Now, I'm going to read some of these items again. This time, please tell me how likely each method is to actually happen.)... Unmarried, adults abstaining from sex.... Do you think that at some point, that definitely will happen, or is it likely to happen, or unlikely to happen, or do you think it will never happen? (Rotate) -

Definitely will happen	2%
Likely to happen	12
Unlikely to happen	50
Will never happen	34
Already is happening (vol.)	1
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Respondents said very/somewhat effective (76%)

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/56
00157093 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R10B

042 (Asked of respondents who said very/somewhat effective) (Now, I'm going to read some of these items again. This time, please tell me how likely each method is to actually happen.)... Making educational materials widely available in schools.... Do you think that at some point, that definitely will happen, or is it likely to happen, or unlikely to happen, or do you think it will never happen? (Rotate)

Definitely will happen	27%
Likely to happen	57
Unlikely to happen	7
Will never happen	1
Already is happening (vol.)	6
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Respondents said very/somewhat effective (93%)

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/57
00157092 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R10A

041 (Asked of respondents who said very/somewhat effective) Now, I'm going to read some of these items again. This time, please tell me how likely each method is to actually happen.... Supplying IV (intravenous) drug users with clean needles.... Do you think that at some point, that definitely will happen, or is it likely to happen, or unlikely to happen, or do you think it will never happen? (Rotate)

Definitely will happen	6%
Likely to happen	40
Unlikely to happen	37
Will never happen	9
Already is happening (vol.)	6
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Respondents said very/somewhat effective (67%)

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; NARCOTICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/58
00157091 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R09H

040 (I'm going to read you several methods that people have suggested to combat the spread of AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me how effective you think that method would be in fighting the spread of AIDS.)... All sex partners practicing monogamy, that is, having sexual relations with the same person.... If that happened, would it be very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not at all effective in fighting the spread of AIDS? (Rotate)

Very effective	62%
Somewhat effective	28
Not too effective	4

Don't know

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

7/5/59
00157090 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R09G

039 (I'm going to read you several methods that people have suggested to combat the spread of AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me how effective you think that method would be in fighting the spread of AIDS.)... Supplying IV (intravenous) drug users with bleach to clean their needles.... If that happened, would it be very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not at all effective in fighting the spread of AIDS? (Rotate)

Very effective	14%
Somewhat effective	36
Not too effective	20
Not at all effective	24
Don't know	5

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; NARCOTICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

7/5/60
00157099 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R09F

038 (I'm going to read you several methods that people have suggested to combat the spread of AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me how effective you think that method would be in fighting the spread of AIDS.)... The government putting more money into AIDS research.... If that happened, would it be very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not at all effective in fighting the spread of AIDS? (Rotate)

Somewhat effective	37
Not too effective	7
Not at all effective	4
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; GOVERNMENT; SPENDING

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

7/5/61
00157088 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R09E

037 (I'm going to read you several methods that people have suggested to combat the spread of AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me how effective you think that method would be in fighting the spread of AIDS.)... Everyone who has sex using a condom.... If that happened, would it be very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not at all effective in fighting the spread of AIDS? (Rotate)

Very effective	47%
Somewhat effective	43
Not too effective	6
Not at all effective	3
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

7/5/62
00157087 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R09D

036 (I'm going to read you several methods that people have suggested to combat the spread of AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me how effective you think that method would be in fighting the spread of AIDS.)... Homosexuals abstaining from sex.... If that happened, would it be very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not at all

Very effective	55%
Somewhat effective	27
Not too effective	6
Not at all effective	8
Don't know	4

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

7/5/63
00157086 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R09C

035 (I'm going to read you several methods that people have suggested to combat the spread of AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me how effective you think that method would be in fighting the spread of AIDS.)... Unmarried, adults abstaining from sex.... If that happened, would it be very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not at all effective in fighting the spread of AIDS? (Rotate)

Very effective	45%
Somewhat effective	31
Not too effective	10
Not at all effective	12
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

7/5/64
00157085 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R09B

034 (I'm going to read you several methods that people have suggested to combat the spread of AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me how effective you think that method would be in fighting the spread of

that happened would be very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not at all effective in fighting the spread of AIDS? (Rotate)

Very effective	55%
Somewhat effective	38
Not too effective	5
Not at all effective	2
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/65
00157084 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R09A

033 I'm going to read you several methods that people have suggested to combat the spread of AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me how effective you think that method would be in fighting the spread of AIDS.... Supplying IV (intravenous) drug users with clean needles.... If that happened, would it be very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not at all effective in fighting the spread of AIDS? (Rotate)

Very effective	23%
Somewhat effective	44
Not too effective	18
Not at all effective	13
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; NARCOTICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/66
00157083 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R08

032 I'd like to know how serious a problem you think AIDS is among people

Very serious problem	13%
Somewhat serious problem	16
A slightly serious problem	22
Not really a problem at all	47
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; SOCIAL

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/67
00157082 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R07I

O31 (I'm going to read some statements that people have made regarding AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if you agree or disagree.)... AIDS is something that only homosexuals and I.V. (intravenous) drug users have to worry about.... Would you say you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree? (Rotate)

Completely agree	1%
Mostly agree	3
Mostly disagree	16
Completely disagree	78
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/68
00157081 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R07H

O30 (I'm going to read some statements that people have made regarding AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if you agree or disagree.)... The

AIDS.... Would you say you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree? (Rotate)

Completely agree	19%
Mostly agree	31
Mostly disagree	26
Completely disagree	13
Don't know	11

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; GOVERNMENT; EQUALITY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/69
00157080 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R07G

029 (I'm going to read some statements that people have made regarding AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if you agree or disagree.)... I'm tired of hearing about AIDS, I think the problem is overblown by the media.... Would you say you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree? (Rotate)

Completely agree	5%
Mostly agree	13
Mostly disagree	32
Completely disagree	47
Don't know	2

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PRESS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/70
00157079 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R07F

AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if you agree or disagree./... The federal government is doing all it should be doing to educate the public about AIDS.... Would you say you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree? (Rotate)

Completely agree	13%
Mostly agree	29
Mostly disagree	33
Completely disagree	20
Don't know	5

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; GOVERNMENT; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/71
00157078 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R07E

027 (I'm going to read some statements that people have made regarding AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if you agree or disagree.)... The federal government is doing all it can to find a cure for AIDS.... Would you say you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree? (Rotate)

Completely agree	10%
Mostly agree	27
Mostly disagree	34
Completely disagree	18
Don't know	11

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; GOVERNMENT

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

026 (I'm going to read some statements that people have made regarding AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if you agree or disagree.)... It may take some pretty explicit sexual material to fully inform adults about the dangers of AIDS.... Would you say you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree? (Rotate)

Completely agree	52%
Mostly agree	27
Mostly disagree	13
Completely disagree	6
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/73
00157076 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R07C

025 (I'm going to read some statements that people have made regarding AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if you agree or disagree.)... It may take some pretty explicit sexual material to fully inform teenagers about the dangers of AIDS.... Would you say you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree? (Rotate)

Completely agree	53%
Mostly agree	28
Mostly disagree	11
Completely disagree	6
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; YOUTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/75
00157075 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R07B

Q24 (I'm going to read some statements that people have made regarding AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if you agree or disagree.)... Regardless of who has AIDS, they deserve our compassion.... Would you say you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree? (Rotate)

Completely agree	64%
Mostly agree	26
Mostly disagree	6
Completely disagree	2
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/75
00157074 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R07A

Q23 I'm going to read some statements that people have made regarding AIDS. For each one I read, please tell me if you agree or disagree.... AIDS has reached epidemic proportions in this country.... Would you say you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree? (Rotate)

Completely agree	42%
Mostly agree	39
Mostly disagree	12
Completely disagree	4
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

7/5/76
00157073 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R06

Q22 Bearing in mind the different ways that people can get AIDS, how concerned are you, personally, about getting AIDS? Are you....

Very concerned	27%
Somewhat concerned	21
Not too concerned	22
Not at all concerned	30
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; MOOD

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/77
00157072 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R05D

Q21 (Now, I'd like you to tell me how much you know about some specific issues related to AIDS.)... Groups in society that practice behaviors that put them at risk for AIDS.... How much would you say you know about that--a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or practically nothing?

A great deal	27%
A fair amount	39
Only a little	20
Practically nothing	12
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; GROUPS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/79
00157071 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R05C

Q20 (Now, I'd like you to tell me how much you know about some specific issues related to AIDS.)... The way AIDS is treated medically.... How much would you say you know about that--a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or practically nothing?

A great deal	7%
A fair amount	29
Only a little	37
Practically nothing	25
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION; MEDICINE

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/79
00157070 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R05B

Q19 (Now, I'd like you to tell me how much you know about some specific issues related to AIDS.)... The blood test for the virus which causes AIDS.... How much would you say you know about that--a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or practically nothing?

A great deal	15%
A fair amount	37
Only a little	31
Practically nothing	16
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

00157069 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R05A

018 Now, I'd like you to tell me how much you know about some specific issues related to AIDS.... The way AIDS is transmitted.... How much would you say you know about that--a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or practically nothing?

A great deal	43%
A fair amount	45
Only a little	9
Practically nothing	3
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/81
00157068 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R04

017 I'd like to talk further now, in this important survey, about one of the serious health issues we've just discussed, AIDS. How much would you say you know about AIDS overall? Would you say you know a great deal, a fair amount, only a little, or practically nothing?

Great deal	25%
Fair amount	57
Only a little	14
Practically nothing	5
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; INFORMATION

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/94
00157065 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R03C

014 (Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.)... AIDS Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	65%
Somewhat effective	29
Not at all effective	6
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/85
00157064 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R03B

013 (Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.)... Alcoholism... Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	47%
Somewhat effective	42
Not at all effective	11
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; HOUSING

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION; ALCOHOL

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/86
00157063 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R03A

Q12 Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.... Cancer... Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	37%
Somewhat effective	53
Not at all effective	9
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/87
00157062 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02E

Q11 (Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.)... (Rotate) Heart disease

Highest priorities	60%
Medium priority	35
Low priority	4
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/89
00157061 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02D

Q10 (Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.)... (Rotate) Diabetes

Highest priorities	36%
Medium priority	54
Low priority	8
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/89
00157060 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02C

Q9 (Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.)... (Rotate) AIDS

Highest priorities	80%
Medium priority	16
Low priority	3
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91

SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/90
00157059 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02B

008 (Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.)... (Rotate) Alcoholism

Highest priorities	50%
Medium priority	43
Low priority	7
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; ALCOHOL

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/91
00157058 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02A

007 Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.... (Rotate) Cancer

Highest priorities	74%
Medium priority	24
Low priority	1
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

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7/5/92
00157057 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01F

Q06 (I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all.)...(Rotate) Clean-up of toxic waste

Major problem	63%
Something of a problem	34
Not a problem	2
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; ENVIRONMENT

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7/5/92
00157056 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01E

Q05 (I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all.)...(Rotate) Equality for minorities

Major problem	34%
Something of a problem	54
Not a problem	9
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; MINORITIES; EQUALITY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/94
00157055 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01D

004 (I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all.)...(Rotate) AIDS

Major problem	81%
Something of a problem	18
Not a problem	1
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/95
00157054 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01C

003 (I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all.)...(Rotate) Heroin and cocaine use

Major problem	83%
Something of a problem	15
Not a problem	1
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

PROBLEMS; NARCOTICS

lic Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

IDS R01B

people have said are
try. For each one if you
this country, or
budget deficit

	21
problem	1
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; ECONOMICS

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7/5/97
00157052 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01A

001 I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all....(Rotate) Homelessness

Major problem	67%
Something of a problem	29
Not a problem	3
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

TECHNICAL NOTE

National Survey of Men: Design and Execution

By Koray Tanfer

The National Survey of Men (NSM-I) was conducted in 1991, under a grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, to examine issues related to sexual behavior and condom use among men aged 20–39. It is intended to serve as the baseline survey for a longitudinal study of this group of U.S. men. This technical note describes the survey design and execution.

Sample Design

The NSM-I was based on a multistage, stratified, clustered, disproportionate-area probability sample of households in the contiguous United States. The study population consisted of 20–39-year-old noninstitutionalized males. We oversampled the black population to ensure their adequate representation in data analysis. We did not attempt to oversample other groups or high-risk populations such as homosexual or bisexual men, however; these are represented in the sample proportionate to their size in the U.S. population.

The master national sampling frame consisted of 100 primary selection units; within these were 4,000 secondary selection units, and within each of these one listing area, with an average population of 125, was selected. A total of 20,086 housing units in these listing areas were canvassed (see Table 1); of these, 2,434 were found to be outside the sample universe because they were vacant or dilapidated or were not housing units. Of the remaining 17,652 housing units, 16,414 were successfully screened for eligibility. The screening interviews yielded 4,751 eligible men for the extended interview; 3,321 of these (69.9% of all eligible males) were successfully interviewed.

To meet the survey objectives, two separate samples were selected: a main sample of the general population, containing 1,062 listing areas, and an oversample, containing 153 listing areas designated as black listing areas. The probability of selection of a listing area in the main survey sample was one in 10,511, and the probability of selection of a listing area in the black oversample was one in 1,164.

Questionnaire Contents

The questionnaire consisted of the following sections:

- *Background.* This section contained questions on the respondent's personal background and characteristics, such as age, race, education, religion, work status, income, marital or relationship status, living arrangements and residential history.
- *Sexual Initiation and Current Exposure.* These questions concerned the respondent's date of or age at initiation of different types of sexual activity (e.g., vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse and oral sex), the frequency with which he changed partners, the frequency with which he engaged in different types of sexual intercourse, the incidence and prevalence of particular sexual practices within different reference periods (ever, since January 1990 and in the preceding four weeks), the frequency with which he had paid for sex or had had one-night stands, and his sexual orientation over the past 10 years.
- *Current Wife or Partner.* Questions in this section focused on the social, demographic and economic characteristics of the respondent's current partner or wife, the couple's sexual relationship, their contraceptive practice and sexually transmitted disease (STD) prevention behavior before and after they were married (or before and after their relationship began, if they were not married) and the number of pregnancies during their relationship. With the exception of questions on pregnancy and pregnancy prevention, items in this section applied to both male and female partners.
- *Previous Marital Relationships.* This section included questions similar to those in the preceding section (although there were fewer) about behavior in previous marriages for respondents who had been married more than once or who were currently divorced or widowed.
- *Other Nonmarital Sexual Partners.* These questions concerned the people (other than his wife or current partner) with whom the respondent had engaged in oral, anal or vaginal sex since January 1990; the questions focused on demographics and on sexual behavior, contraceptive use and STD prevention. More questions were asked regarding relationships that had lasted one month or more than for shorter term relationships. With a few exceptions,

Table 1. Breakdown of the sample universe for the 1991 National Survey of Men (NSM-I), by unit and number in unit

Sample unit	No.
Addresses	**20,086**
Vacant/not a housing unit	2,434
Housing units	17,652
Households	**17,652**
Not screened	1,238
Screened	16,414
Screened households	**16,414**
Male ineligible	11,663
Age	11,311
Language	180
Other	172
Male eligible	4,751
Eligible males	**4,751**
Not interviewed	1,430
Refused	1,284
Other*	146
Interviewed	3,321

*Includes interviews that were partially completed or were deemed to be unusable.

Koray Tanfer is a senior research scientist at Battelle Human Affairs Research Centers, Seattle. The research on which this article is based was supported by grant No. HD-26288 from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). The opinions expressed in this article do not necessarily represent the views or policies of NICHD or the Battelle Memorial Institute. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Karol Krotki and Lorraine Porcellini, both of Temple University, in the preparation of this article.

questions in this section were applicable to both male and female partners.

• *Nonsexual Partners.* Questions in this section centered on the people with whom the respondent may have had a relationship since January 1990, but with whom he had not engaged in oral, anal or vaginal sex, and with whom he may or may not have engaged in other types of sexual activity (petting or mutual masturbation, for example). Specific questions were similar to those in the preceding section, but were fewer.

• *Health and Risk-Taking Behavior.* The incidence and prevalence of infertility, STDs and any related treatment, as well as of smoking, drinking, drug use, needle-sharing and other risk-taking behavior (such as drinking and driving, seat belt use, speeding, and sexual behavior under the influence of alcohol or drugs) were explored in this section.

• *Attitudes, Perceptions and Knowledge.* These questions covered the respondent's knowledge of, attitudes about and perceptions of health-related and contraception-related issues: properties of different contraceptive methods (such as effectiveness, side effects and degree of interference with sex); attitudes toward sexuality, pregnancy, abortion, and transmission and consequences of AIDS and a number of STDs (e.g., gonorrhea, syphilis and herpes); experience of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) testing; perceived susceptibility to AIDS; and personal risk assessment.

• *Condom Module.* The questions in this section concerned the men's reasons for using or not using condoms, their brand preference, their preference for specific properties (lubrication or ribbing, for example), the incidence and prevalence of condom breakage and leakage, and various attitudinal items related to condom use.

• *Follow-up Information.* Because the NSM-I is part of a longitudinal survey, the respondent was asked to provide two references—friends or relatives who did not live with him—and to report his work or school address, his intentions to move (including his future address, if known) and his social security number. This information is being used to trace respondents from the baseline survey who are subsequently not living at the address at which they were first interviewed.

• *Interviewer Observations.* Immediately after leaving the respondent, the interviewer assessed the quality of the interview and the respondent's perceived truthfulness regarding questions on sexual activity, contraception and pregnancies, as well as the respondent's overall degree of cooperation.

• *Self-Administered Questions.* The last items consisted of a set of self-administered attitude scales measuring self-esteem, locus of control, and attitudes toward marriage, plus three subscales measuring alienation—normlessness, social isolation and powerlessness.

Data Collection and Processing

All data collection and processing was carried out by the Institute for Survey Research at Temple University, in Philadelphia. Potential respondents received no advance notification of the study. The nature of the survey was explained to the selected respondent after the screening interview, first orally, by the interviewer, and then in a written introduction in a letter handed to the respondent. This letter also served as the respondent's informed consent. Both the oral explanation and the letter explicitly referred to the health implications of the spread of STDs and AIDS and to the link between sexual practices, preventive behavior and the risk of infection. The respondent was told that he would be asked questions on his sexual and health behavior, including specific sexual practices and disease prevention practices. The privacy of the interview and the confidentiality of the information collected were stressed, and respondents were assured of anonymity.

All interviews were conducted in person using a standard questionnaire; the self-administered instrument was completed by the respondent. The oral portions of the questionnaire were administered entirely by female interviewers.* The average interview lasted 80 minutes. The survey design did not specifically call for race-matching of the respondent and the interviewer, but because of the stratification and the clustering of the sample areas and because of the oversampling strategy used, a large majority of respondents were interviewed by an interviewer of the same race.

A total of 206 interviewers and nine regional field coordinators were recruited for the field work; of these, 189 interviewers and seven coordinators worked on the survey. (The remaining interviewers and coordinators either did not want any assignments or were deemed unsuitable for the study.) The interviewers and coordinators were trained in nine four-day training sessions.

Of the 189 interviewers, 91% were experienced in interviewing; all were at least high school graduates, 41% had had some college education, and 32% were college graduates. Completed interviews were edited, check edited, coded and check coded by the Institute staff. All data were entered by the in-house staff using key-to-tape equipment and were verified by a second key-to-tape operator.

Response Rates

Ideally, to avoid nonresponse bias, a researcher would identify and interview all eligible persons in a target sample. Because this never happens, response rates in social surveys—especially in those that deal with sensitive issues—have consistently been considerably below the ideal.[1] This survey, with an interview response rate of 70%, is no exception. As Table 1 shows, the large majority of nonrespondents refused to be interviewed, but in an additional 146 cases, interviews were unusable or only partially completed or potential respondents did not keep interview appointments.† (Among those who were in the eligible age group, 180 were ineligible because they did not speak English, 58 were too ill to be interviewed, 102 had moved out of the sample area before being interviewed and 12 were ineligible for other reasons.)

Seventy percent is a respectable response rate for a survey of sexual and health behaviors, given the highly sensitive nature of the questions. The National AIDS Behavioral Surveys, a recent national probability survey of HIV-related risk factors among the general heterosexual population, obtained a response rate of 70% by telephone. The investigators note that this

*We do not know what impact using female interviewers may have had on the reliability of answers to some of the more sensitive items. The effect on data quality of using female interviewers will be formally assessed soon in an examination of couples' reports of sexual behaviors in a subsample of the survey. The second wave of the NSM will employ both male and female interviewers, which will allow us to compare results by the interviewer's gender. A previously published review of interviewer effects suggests that respondents generally are more likely to report sexual behaviors to female interviewers than to male interviewers (see: J. A. Catania et al., "Methodological Problems in AIDS Behavioral Research: Influences on Measurement Error and Participation Bias in Studies of Sexual Behavior," *Psychological Bulletin*, 108:352–353, 1990).

†We are conducting a comprehensive analysis of nonresponse in the NSM-I, based on data from the 20,000 or so screening interviews, and will examine differential response rates according to age, race, marital status, household size, household composition, and place of residence of all eligible men in the sample frame. We will compare respondents with nonrespondents on the basis of these characteristics to determine the extent of possible self-selection into or out of the survey. We do not have a complete record of the reasons for refusals, primarily because the interviewers were not specifically instructed to ascertain these in detail. If such reasons were volunteered, they were recorded on the screening forms. These most likely are incomplete and less informative than one would wish, but a content analysis of these comments may nonetheless shed some light on the issue of nonresponse.

rate compared favorably with the responses to other telephone and face-to-face surveys in this field, and that nonresponse in their survey was unrelated to the topic of investigation.[2]

A second type of bias results when respondents deliberately do not answer specific questions or do not have the required information. Such item nonresponse in the NSM-I was generally below 2% and was often as low as 0.2%, even for sensitive questions about the incidence of one-night stands, the trading of sex for money or drugs, and the respondent's STD infection status and experience with anal intercourse. Furthermore, item nonresponse appears to have been random rather than systematic.

Given the interview response rate and the trivial level of item nonresponse, we believe that data from the NSM-I provides useful estimates of the prevalence of many contemporary behaviors that heretofore were not available.

Sampling Error

The extent to which estimates based on survey data differ from true population values depends on the extent of sampling and nonsampling error. Nonsampling error arises from nonresponse, misreporting, miscoding and other errors, and is usually not calculable. Sampling error arises from the natural variability associated with using a portion of the population to make inferences to the total population. Sampling theory permits the estimation of sampling errors when measurable probability designs are used.

How close a sample estimate is to the population value can be determined by confidence intervals, which describe the probabilistic relationship between the sample estimate and the population value. The size of the confidence interval around a sample parameter is also influenced by the sample design, the sample size and the proportion of the survey respondents falling into a particular category.

Unlike the use of a simple random sampling design, use of a stratified and clustered sample design requires sampling variance estimates to be based on the relationship of the variance between primary selection units to the variance within primary selection units. The ratio of this sampling variance to the variance that would have been obtained if a simple random sample had been used is known as the design effect.[3] The larger the design effect, the larger the effect of the complex sample design on the sampling error.

Standard errors based on the assumption of simple random sampling underestimate the true value of the variance in a complex (e.g., stratified and clustered) sample design. In Table 2, we provide standard errors for various estimated percentages, separately for the white and the black samples; these have been adjusted for design effects that result from not using a simple random sample. Using these standard errors, one can calculate approximate 95% confidence intervals by multiplying the standard error by 1.96, then adding the result to and subtracting it from the estimated percentage. For example, for a value of 60% in a base population of 2,000 in our survey, the lower bound of the confidence interval would be 60–(2.36x1.96), or 55.4%; the upper bound would be 60+(2.36x1.96), or 64.6%.

Table 2. Standard errors for given values of estimated percentages (p/q), by race, according to base population, 1991 NSM-I

Base population	Whites .05/.95	.1/.9	.2/.8	.3/.7	.4/.6	.5/.5	Blacks .05/.95	.1/.9	.2/.8	.3/.7	.4/.6	.5/.5
50	8.27	8.49	8.94	9.39	9.83	10.28	5.20	5.50	6.09	6.67	7.26	7.85
100	4.44	4.66	5.11	5.55	6.00	6.45	3.31	3.61	4.20	4.78	5.37	5.96
250	2.14	2.36	2.81	3.25	3.70	4.15	2.18	2.47	3.06	3.65	4.24	4.82
500	1.37	1.59	2.04	2.49	2.94	3.38	1.80	2.09	2.68	3.27	3.86	4.45
1,000	0.99	1.21	1.66	2.11	2.55	3.00	1.61	1.91	2.49	3.08	3.67	4.26
1,500	0.86	1.08	1.53	1.98	2.42	2.87	1.55	1.84	2.43	3.02	3.61	4.19
2,000	0.80	1.02	1.47	1.91	2.36	2.81	1.52	1.81	2.40	2.99	3.58	4.16
2,500	0.76	0.98	1.43	1.88	2.32	2.77	1.50	1.79	2.38	2.97	3.56	4.14

Note: q=1–p.

Weights

After the survey was completed, the final sample was weighted to reflect differential sampling rates, as well as to account for multiple households, multiple eligibility and differential nonresponse. The final weight assigned to each male respondent was the product of five components: sampling weight, screening weight, eligibility weight, nonresponse weight and poststratification weight.

- *Sampling Weight.* The sampling weight compensates for deviations from an equal probability design and is defined as the reciprocal of a respondent's probability of selection. In this case, the sampling weight was the product of the listing area ethnicity weight and the housing unit weight. The listing area ethnicity weight adjusted for the oversampling of the housing units in the black oversample and was the inverse of a listing area's probability of selection. The housing unit weight, the inverse of the housing unit's selection probability, was assigned to housing units in a dwelling when more than one such unit was discovered in a given dwelling.
- *Screening Weight.* Because not all households in the sample were successfully screened for eligibility, we adjusted for screening nonresponse. We first weighted all households by the sampling weight, and then calculated a separate screening response rate within each cell of a three-way cross-tabulation of households according to listing area ethnicity (black and white), census region (Northeast, South, Midwest and West) and population size (less than 50,000 and 50,000 or more). The screening weight was the inverse of the screening response rate in a given cell and was allocated to respondents according to their respective cell.
- *Eligibility Weight.* According to the primary eligibility criterion for the NSM-I, respondents were to have been born between January 1, 1951, and December 31, 1971, or to be between ages 20 and 39, if the respondent's birthday was not known. The sampling design specified that one male respondent per household was to be selected; consequently, the eligibility weight, which compensated for households with more than one eligible male, was the inverse of a respondent's probability of selection within the household—or, more simply, the number of eligible men in the household.
- *Nonresponse Weight.* Since not all eligible men in the sample participated in the survey, nonresponse weights were calculated to adjust for differential participation. These were obtained by first weighting all eligible men by the product of the sampling weight, the screening weight and the eligibility weight, and then by calculating an interview response rate within each cell of a three-way cross-tabulation of respondents by listing area ethnicity, census region and population size. The nonresponse weight was the inverse of the response rate in a given cell and was allocated to respondents according to their respective cell.
- *Poststratification Weight.* To align the sample with the U.S. population on the basis of social and demographic characteristics, poststratification weights were obtained after the sample was weighted by the

product of the sampling, screening, eligibility and nonresponse weights. First, the sample and the population it represented were stratified by age (younger than 30 or 30 and older), race (black or white), education (less than high school, high school or more than high school) and marital status (never-married or ever-married). Subsequently, weights were obtained within each cell of the four-way cross-tabulation of these strata by taking the ratio of the proportion of the population in that cell to the proportion of the weighted sample in the same cell. Respondents were allocated a poststratification weight according to their respective cell.

The final weight was the product of the five weights described above. It was scaled to the sample size to produce a self-weighting sample with a mean weight of 1.00 and a standard deviation of 1.16. The minimum and maximum values of the final weight were 0.07 and 11.40, respectively.

Discussion

The spread of HIV infection in the United States has emphasized that we need information about sexual behavior if we are to understand both the AIDS epidemic and the social processes involved in behavioral change. It is widely recognized, though, that research on sexual behavior in the United States is in an underdeveloped state. Since Alfred Kinsey and his colleagues used social science techniques in the 1940s to document the sexual behavior of American men and women,[4] both the volume and quality of sex research have been uneven, particularly research about behaviors known to spread HIV and other STDs.[5] Furthermore, the defects of Kinsey's own work are widely known—among them the lack of probability sampling and the disproportionate recruitment of respondents from college campuses and the Midwest.

The NSM-I is one of the few national surveys based on a probability sample that have focused on the sexual behavior of men. Given the difficulties inherent in conducting a sample survey on such a sensitive issue, the data from the NSM-I described in the four accompanying articles in this issue are encouraging. Most important, the successful execution of the NSM-I should erase any doubts about the feasibility of conducting surveys on sexual behavior or about the willingness of the public to cooperate. It is evident that such surveys can obtain response rates that are as acceptable as those obtained in surveys of less sensitive topics. It is also encouraging that other surveys of sexual behavior and health have produced similar results, despite using a different methodology.[6]

Obtaining *direct* measures of sexual, contraceptive and health behavior similar to those sought in the NSM-I in an unobtrusive way is not only impossible, but also rarely socially acceptable. Consequently, researchers must rely on individuals' self-reports of their behavior. Because many questions are sensitive and personal, it is naive to expect everyone to answer them accurately; there will always be some underreporting and overreporting of behavior. Moreover, there will always be a certain amount of imprecision because of recall problems. Combined with problems of selective participation and nonresponse bias, such errors, if unchecked, could compromise the ability to draw inferences from the survey data.

Nevertheless, questions about errors in the data should not lead to the outright rejection of findings from survey-based studies. Although it might be difficult to provide convincing evidence of the reliability and validity of data derived from surveys, the research literature contains important demonstrations of the consistency, reliability and validity of measures of sexual behavior. Furthermore, when data on human behavior are obtained by means of surveys of probability samples of the population, we can use statistical theory to make inferences about the population and avoid the myriad of biases inherent in convenience sampling or other types of subject recruitment.

As more surveys on the health and sexual behavior of the U.S. population are conducted, we will be able to better assess the reliability of the NSM-I findings. More important, such surveys will enable researchers, scientists, service providers and policymakers to regularly monitor the public's response to STD and HIV prevention programs.

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4. A. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders & Co., Philadelphia, 1948; and A. C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, W. B. Saunders & Co., Philadelphia, 1953.

5. C. F. Turner, H. G. Miller and L. E. Moses, 1989, op. cit. (see reference 1).

6. Ibid., p. 58 and pp. 73–183; and H. G. Miller, C. F. Turner and L. E. Moses, 1990, op. cit. (see reference 1), pp. 359–472.

Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/92
00157067 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS ROSE

Q16 (Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.)... Heart disease Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	50%
Somewhat effective	44
Not at all effective	6
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/92
00157066 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS ROSD

Q15 (Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.)... Diabetes Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	34%
Somewhat effective	49
Not at all effective	14
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/92
00157067 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS ROSE

016 (Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.)... Heart disease Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	50%
Somewhat effective	44
Not at all effective	6
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/83
00157066 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS ROSD

015 (Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.)... Diabetes Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	34%
Somewhat effective	49
Not at all effective	14
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION

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7/5/84
00157065 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R03C

014 (Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.)... AIDS Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	65%
Somewhat effective	29
Not at all effective	6
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION

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7/
001 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R03B

014 (Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.)... Alcoholism... Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	47%
Somewhat effective	42
Not at all effective	11
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS: HOUSING

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SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION; ALCOHOL

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7/5/86
00157063 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R03A

Q12 Some people feel that many health problems can be avoided if people have good information about the problem. For each health problem I read, please tell me how effective you think education is in helping people avoid that health problem.... Cancer... Do you think education is very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective in helping people avoid this health problem? (Rotate)

Very effective	37%
Somewhat effective	53
Not at all effective	9
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; PROBLEMS; INFORMATION

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7/5/87
00157062 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02E

Q11 (Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.)... (Rotate) Heart disease

Highest priorities	60%
Medium priority	35
Low priority	4
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

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7/5/89
00157061 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02D

Q10 (Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.)... (Rotate) Diabetes

Highest priorities	36%
Medium priority	54
Low priority	8
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

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7/5/89
00157060 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02C

Q09 (Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.)... (Rotate) AIDS

Highest priorities	80%
Medium priority	16
Low priority	3
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91

SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/90
00157059 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02B

008 (Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.)... (Rotate) Alcoholism

Highest priorities	50%
Medium priority	43
Low priority	7
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS
SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH; ALCOHOL

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/91
00157058 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R02A

007 Let's talk about some different health issues in our country today. I'm going to read you a list of health problems in our country and I would like to know how much priority you think our country should give to that issue. For each one I read, please tell me if that health issue should be one of our highest priorities, a medium priority, or a low priority.... (Rotate) Cancer

Highest priorities	74%
Medium priority	24
Low priority	1
Don't know	*

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent
SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/92
00157057 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01F

Q06 (I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all.)...(Rotate) Clean-up of toxic waste

Major problem	63%
Something of a problem	34
Not a problem	2
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS: ENVIRONMENT

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/93
00157056 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01E

Q05 (I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all.)...(Rotate) Equality for minorities

Major problem	34%
Something of a problem	54
Not a problem	9
Don't know	3

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; MINORITIES; EQUALITY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/94
00157055 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01D

Q04 (I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all.)...(Rotate) AIDS

Major problem	81%
Something of a problem	18
Not a problem	1
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; HEALTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/95
00157054 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01C

Q03 (I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all.)...(Rotate) Heroin and cocaine use

Major problem	83%
Something of a problem	15
Not a problem	1
Don't know	1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

PROBLEMS; NARCOTICS

...lic Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

...IDS R01B

...s ... you ... people have said are
...try. For each one ... if you
... this country, or ... budget deficit

21
1
Don't know 1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; ECONOMICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

7/5/97
00157052 QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS R01A

001 I'm going to read you some things that different people have said are problems facing this country. For each one I read, please tell me if you think that is a major problem facing this country, or something of a problem, or not really a problem at all....(Rotate) Homelessness

Major problem 67%
Something of a problem 29
Not a problem 3
Don't know 1

SURVEY NOTES: The study also conducted a supplemental sample in New York City of 474 in addition to the national sample of 1004.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: ROPER ORGANIZATION (ROPER)
SPONSOR: Gay Men's Health Crisis
SOURCE: AIDS: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION NEEDS

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 05/00/91
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 06/00/91
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1004
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

TECHNICAL NOTE

National Survey of Men: Design and Execution

By Koray Tanfer

The National Survey of Men (NSM-I) was conducted in 1991, under a grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, to examine issues related to sexual behavior and condom use among men aged 20–39. It is intended to serve as the baseline survey for a longitudinal study of this group of U.S. men. This technical note describes the survey design and execution.

Sample Design

The NSM-I was based on a multistage, stratified, clustered, disproportionate-area probability sample of households in the contiguous United States. The study population consisted of 20–39-year-old noninstitutionalized males. We oversampled the black population to ensure their adequate representation in data analysis. We did not attempt to oversample other groups or high-risk populations such as homosexual or bisexual men, however; these are represented in the sample proportionate to their size in the U.S. population.

The master national sampling frame consisted of 100 primary selection units; within these were 4,000 secondary selection units, and within each of these one listing area, with an average population of 125, was selected. A total of 20,086 housing units in these listing areas were canvassed (see Table 1); of these, 2,434 were found to be outside the sample universe because they were vacant or dilapidated or were not housing units. Of the remaining 17,652 housing units, 16,414 were successfully screened for eligibility. The screening interviews yielded 4,751 eligible men for the extended interview; 3,321 of these (69.9% of all eligible males) were successfully interviewed.

To meet the survey objectives, two separate samples were selected: a main sample of the general population, containing 1,062 listing areas, and an oversample, containing 153 listing areas designated as black listing areas. The probability of selection of a listing area in the main survey sample was one in 10,511, and the probability of selection of a listing area in the black oversample was one in 1,164.

Questionnaire Contents

The questionnaire consisted of the following sections:

- *Background.* This section contained questions on the respondent's personal background and characteristics, such as age, race, education, religion, work status, income, marital or relationship status, living arrangements and residential history.
- *Sexual Initiation and Current Exposure.* These questions concerned the respondent's date of or age at initiation of different types of sexual activity (e.g., vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse and oral sex), the frequency with which he changed partners, the frequency with which he engaged in different types of sexual intercourse, the incidence and prevalence of particular sexual practices within different reference periods (ever, since January 1990 and in the preceding four weeks), the frequency with which he had paid for sex or had had one-night stands, and his sexual orientation over the past 10 years.
- *Current Wife or Partner.* Questions in this section focused on the social, demographic and economic characteristics of the respondent's current partner or wife, the couple's sexual relationship, their contraceptive practice and sexually transmitted disease (STD) prevention behavior before and after they were married (or before and after their relationship began, if they were not married) and the number of pregnancies during their relationship. With the exception of questions on pregnancy and pregnancy prevention, items in this section applied to both male and female partners.
- *Previous Marital Relationships.* This section included questions similar to those in the preceding section (although there were fewer) about behavior in previous marriages for respondents who had been married more than once or who were currently divorced or widowed.
- *Other Nonmarital Sexual Partners.* These questions concerned the people (other than his wife or current partner) with whom the respondent had engaged in oral, anal or vaginal sex since January 1990; the questions focused on demographics and on sexual behavior, contraceptive use and STD prevention. More questions were asked regarding relationships that had lasted one month or more than for shorter term relationships. With a few exceptions,

Table 1. Breakdown of the sample universe for the 1991 National Survey of Men (NSM-I), by unit and number in unit

Sample unit	No.
Addresses	**20,086**
Vacant/not a housing unit	2,434
Housing units	17,652
Households	**17,652**
Not screened	1,238
Screened	16,414
Screened households	**16,414**
Male ineligible	11,663
Age	11,311
Language	180
Other	172
Male eligible	4,751
Eligible males	**4,751**
Not interviewed	1,430
Refused	1,284
Other*	146
Interviewed	3,321

*Includes interviews that were partially completed or were deemed to be unusable.

Koray Tanfer is a senior research scientist at Battelle Human Affairs Research Centers, Seattle. The research on which this article is based was supported by grant No. HD-26288 from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). The opinions expressed in this article do not necessarily represent the views or policies of NICHD or the Battelle Memorial Institute. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Karol Krotki and Lorraine Porcellini, both of Temple University, in the preparation of this article.

questions in this section were applicable to both male and female partners.

• *Nonsexual Partners.* Questions in this section centered on the people with whom the respondent may have had a relationship since January 1990, but with whom he had not engaged in oral, anal or vaginal sex, and with whom he may or may not have engaged in other types of sexual activity (petting or mutual masturbation, for example). Specific questions were similar to those in the preceding section, but were fewer.

• *Health and Risk-Taking Behavior.* The incidence and prevalence of infertility, STDs and any related treatment, as well as of smoking, drinking, drug use, needle-sharing and other risk-taking behavior (such as drinking and driving, seat belt use, speeding, and sexual behavior under the influence of alcohol or drugs) were explored in this section.

• *Attitudes, Perceptions and Knowledge.* These questions covered the respondent's knowledge of, attitudes about and perceptions of health-related and contraception-related issues: properties of different contraceptive methods (such as effectiveness, side effects and degree of interference with sex); attitudes toward sexuality, pregnancy, abortion, and transmission and consequences of AIDS and a number of STDs (e.g., gonorrhea, syphilis and herpes); experience of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) testing; perceived susceptibility to AIDS; and personal risk assessment.

• *Condom Module.* The questions in this section concerned the men's reasons for using or not using condoms, their brand preference, their preference for specific properties (lubrication or ribbing, for example), the incidence and prevalence of condom breakage and leakage, and various attitudinal items related to condom use.

• *Follow-up Information.* Because the NSM-I is part of a longitudinal survey, the respondent was asked to provide two references—friends or relatives who did not live with him—and to report his work or school address, his intentions to move (including his future address, if known) and his social security number. This information is being used to trace respondents from the baseline survey who are subsequently not living at the address at which they were first interviewed.

• *Interviewer Observations.* Immediately after leaving the respondent, the interviewer assessed the quality of the interview and the respondent's perceived truthfulness regarding questions on sexual activity, contraception and pregnancies, as well as the respondent's overall degree of cooperation.

• *Self-Administered Questions.* The last items consisted of a set of self-administered attitude scales measuring self-esteem, locus of control, and attitudes toward marriage, plus three subscales measuring alienation—normlessness, social isolation and powerlessness.

Data Collection and Processing

All data collection and processing was carried out by the Institute for Survey Research at Temple University, in Philadelphia. Potential respondents received no advance notification of the study. The nature of the survey was explained to the selected respondent after the screening interview, first orally, by the interviewer, and then in a written introduction in a letter handed to the respondent. This letter also served as the respondent's informed consent. Both the oral explanation and the letter explicitly referred to the health implications of the spread of STDs and AIDS and to the link between sexual practices, preventive behavior and the risk of infection. The respondent was told that he would be asked questions on his sexual and health behavior, including specific sexual practices and disease prevention practices. The privacy of the interview and the confidentiality of the information collected were stressed, and respondents were assured of anonymity.

All interviews were conducted in person using a standard questionnaire; the self-administered instrument was completed by the respondent. The oral portions of the questionnaire were administered entirely by female interviewers.* The average interview lasted 80 minutes. The survey design did not specifically call for race-matching of the respondent and the interviewer, but because of the stratification and the clustering of the sample areas and because of the oversampling strategy used, a large majority of respondents were interviewed by an interviewer of the same race.

A total of 206 interviewers and nine regional field coordinators were recruited for the field work; of these, 189 interviewers and seven coordinators worked on the survey. (The remaining interviewers and coordinators either did not want any assignments or were deemed unsuitable for the study.) The interviewers and coordinators were trained in nine four-day training sessions.

Of the 189 interviewers, 91% were experienced in interviewing; all were at least high school graduates, 41% had had some college education, and 32% were college graduates. Completed interviews were edited, check edited, coded and check coded by the Institute staff. All data were entered by the in-house staff using key-to-tape equipment and were verified by a second key-to-tape operator.

Response Rates

Ideally, to avoid nonresponse bias, a researcher would identify and interview all eligible persons in a target sample. Because this never happens, response rates in social surveys—especially in those that deal with sensitive issues—have consistently been considerably below the ideal.[1] This survey, with an interview response rate of 70%, is no exception. As Table 1 shows, the large majority of nonrespondents refused to be interviewed, but in an additional 146 cases, interviews were unusable or only partially completed or potential respondents did not keep interview appointments.† (Among those who were in the eligible age-group, 180 were ineligible because they did not speak English, 58 were too ill to be interviewed, 102 had moved out of the sample area before being interviewed and 12 were ineligible for other reasons.)

Seventy percent is a respectable response rate for a survey of sexual and health behaviors, given the highly sensitive nature of the questions. The National AIDS Behavioral Surveys, a recent national probability survey of HIV-related risk factors among the general heterosexual population, obtained a response rate of 70% by telephone. The investigators note that this

*We do not know what impact using female interviewers may have had on the reliability of answers to some of the more sensitive items. The effect on data quality of using female interviewers will be formally assessed soon in an examination of couples' reports of sexual behaviors in a subsample of the survey. The second wave of the NSM will employ both male and female interviewers, which will allow us to compare results by the interviewer's gender. A previously published review of interviewer effects suggests that respondents generally are more likely to report sexual behaviors to female interviewers than to male interviewers (see: J. A. Catania et al., "Methodological Problems in AIDS Behavioral Research: Influences on Measurement Error and Participation Bias in Studies of Sexual Behavior," *Psychological Bulletin*, 108:352–353, 1990).

†We are conducting a comprehensive analysis of nonresponse in the NSM-I, based on data from the 20,000 or so screening interviews, and will examine differential response rates according to age, race, marital status, household size, household composition, and place of residence of all eligible men in the sample frame. We will compare respondents with nonrespondents on the basis of these characteristics to determine the extent of possible self-selection into or out of the survey. We do not have a complete record of the reasons for refusals, primarily because the interviewers were not specifically instructed to ascertain these in detail. If such reasons were volunteered, they were recorded on the screening forms. These most likely are incomplete and less informative than one would wish, but a content analysis of these comments may nonetheless shed some light on the issue of nonresponse.

rate compared favorably with the responses to other telephone and face-to-face surveys in this field, and that nonresponse in their survey was unrelated to the topic of investigation.[2]

A second type of bias results when respondents deliberately do not answer specific questions or do not have the required information. Such item nonresponse in the NSM-I was generally below 2% and was often as low as 0.2%, even for sensitive questions about the incidence of one-night stands, the trading of sex for money or drugs, and the respondent's STD infection status and experience with anal intercourse. Furthermore, item nonresponse appears to have been random rather than systematic.

Given the interview response rate and the trivial level of item nonresponse, we believe that data from the NSM-I provides useful estimates of the prevalence of many contemporary behaviors that heretofore were not available.

Sampling Error

The extent to which estimates based on survey data differ from true population values depends on the extent of sampling and nonsampling error. Nonsampling error arises from nonresponse, misreporting, miscoding and other errors, and is usually not calculable. Sampling error arises from the natural variability associated with using a portion of the population to make inferences to the total population. Sampling theory permits the estimation of sampling errors when measurable probability designs are used.

How close a sample estimate is to the population value can be determined by confidence intervals, which describe the probabilistic relationship between the sample estimate and the population value. The size of the confidence interval around a sample parameter is also influenced by the sample design, the sample size and the proportion of the survey respondents falling into a particular category.

Unlike the use of a simple random sampling design, use of a stratified and clustered sample design requires sampling variance estimates to be based on the relationship of the variance between primary selection units to the variance within primary selection units. The ratio of this sampling variance to the variance that would have been obtained if a simple random sample had been used is known as the design effect.[3] The larger the design effect, the larger the effect of the complex sample design on the sampling error.

Standard errors based on the assumption of simple random sampling underestimate the true value of the variance in a complex (e.g., stratified and clustered) sample design. In Table 2, we provide standard errors for various estimated percentages, separately for the white and the black samples; these have been adjusted for design effects that result from not using a simple random sample. Using these standard errors, one can calculate approximate 95% confidence intervals by multiplying the standard error by 1.96, then adding the result to and subtracting it from the estimated percentage. For example, for a value of 60% in a base population of 2,000 in our survey, the lower bound of the confidence interval would be 60–(2.36x1.96), or 55.4%; the upper bound would be 60+(2.36x1.96), or 64.6%.

Table 2. Standard errors for given values of estimated percentages (p/q), by race, according to base population, 1991 NSM-I

Base population	Whites .05/.95	.1/.9	.2/.8	.3/.7	.4/.6	.5/.5	Blacks .05/.95	.1/.9	.2/.8	.3/.7	.4/.6	.5/.5
50	8.27	8.49	8.94	9.39	9.83	10.28	5.20	5.50	6.09	6.67	7.26	7.85
100	4.44	4.66	5.11	5.55	6.00	6.45	3.31	3.61	4.20	4.78	5.37	5.96
250	2.14	2.36	2.81	3.25	3.70	4.15	2.18	2.47	3.06	3.65	4.24	4.82
500	1.37	1.59	2.04	2.49	2.94	3.38	1.80	2.09	2.68	3.27	3.86	4.45
1,000	0.99	1.21	1.66	2.11	2.55	3.00	1.61	1.91	2.49	3.08	3.67	4.26
1,500	0.86	1.08	1.53	1.98	2.42	2.87	1.55	1.84	2.43	3.02	3.61	4.19
2,000	0.80	1.02	1.47	1.91	2.36	2.81	1.52	1.81	2.40	2.99	3.58	4.16
2,500	0.76	0.98	1.43	1.88	2.32	2.77	1.50	1.79	2.38	2.97	3.56	4.14

Note: q=1–p.

Weights

After the survey was completed, the final sample was weighted to reflect differential sampling rates, as well as to account for multiple households, multiple eligibility and differential nonresponse. The final weight assigned to each male respondent was the product of five components: sampling weight, screening weight, eligibility weight, nonresponse weight and poststratification weight.

- *Sampling Weight.* The sampling weight compensates for deviations from an equal probability design and is defined as the reciprocal of a respondent's probability of selection. In this case, the sampling weight was the product of the listing area ethnicity weight and the housing unit weight. The listing area ethnicity weight adjusted for the oversampling of the housing units in the black oversample and was the inverse of a listing area's probability of selection. The housing unit weight, the inverse of the housing unit's selection probability, was assigned to housing units in a dwelling when more than one such unit was discovered in a given dwelling.
- *Screening Weight.* Because not all households in the sample were successfully screened for eligibility, we adjusted for screening nonresponse. We first weighted all households by the sampling weight, and then calculated a separate screening response rate within each cell of a three-way cross-tabulation of households according to listing area ethnicity (black and white), census region (Northeast, South, Midwest and West) and population size (less than 50,000 and 50,000 or more). The screening weight was the inverse of the screening response rate in a given cell and was allocated to respondents according to their respective cell.
- *Eligibility Weight.* According to the primary eligibility criterion for the NSM-I, respondents were to have been born between January 1, 1951, and December 31, 1971, or to be between ages 20 and 39, if the respondent's birthday was not known. The sampling design specified that one male respondent per household was to be selected; consequently, the eligibility weight, which compensated for households with more than one eligible male, was the inverse of a respondent's probability of selection within the household—or, more simply, the number of eligible men in the household.
- *Nonresponse Weight.* Since not all eligible men in the sample participated in the survey, nonresponse weights were calculated to adjust for differential participation. These were obtained by first weighting all eligible men by the product of the sampling weight, the screening weight and the eligibility weight, and then by calculating an interview response rate within each cell of a three-way cross-tabulation of respondents by listing area ethnicity, census region and population size. The nonresponse weight was the inverse of the response rate in a given cell and was allocated to respondents according to their respective cell.
- *Poststratification Weight.* To align the sample with the U.S. population on the basis of social and demographic characteristics, poststratification weights were obtained after the sample was weighted by the

product of the sampling, screening, eligibility and nonresponse weights. First, the sample and the population it represented were stratified by age (younger than 30 or 30 and older), race (black or white), education (less than high school, high school or more than high school) and marital status (never-married or ever-married). Subsequently, weights were obtained within each cell of the four-way cross-tabulation of these strata by taking the ratio of the proportion of the population in that cell to the proportion of the weighted sample in the same cell. Respondents were allocated a poststratification weight according to their respective cell.

The final weight was the product of the five weights described above. It was scaled to the sample size to produce a self-weighting sample with a mean weight of 1.00 and a standard deviation of 1.16. The minimum and maximum values of the final weight were 0.07 and 11.40, respectively.

Discussion

The spread of HIV infection in the United States has emphasized that we need information about sexual behavior if we are to understand both the AIDS epidemic and the social processes involved in behavioral change. It is widely recognized, though, that research on sexual behavior in the United States is in an underdeveloped state. Since Alfred Kinsey and his colleagues used social science techniques in the 1940s to document the sexual behavior of American men and women,[4] both the volume and quality of sex research have been uneven, particularly research about behaviors known to spread HIV and other STDs.[5] Furthermore, the defects of Kinsey's own work are widely known—among them the lack of probability sampling and the disproportionate recruitment of respondents from college campuses and the Midwest.

The NSM-I is one of the few national surveys based on a probability sample that have focused on the sexual behavior of men. Given the difficulties inherent in conducting a sample survey on such a sensitive issue, the data from the NSM-I described in the four accompanying articles in this issue are encouraging. Most important, the successful execution of the NSM-I should erase any doubts about the feasibility of conducting surveys on sexual behavior or about the willingness of the public to cooperate. It is evident that such surveys can obtain response rates that are as acceptable as those obtained in surveys of less sensitive topics. It is also encouraging that other surveys of sexual behavior and health have produced similar results, despite using a different methodology.[6]

Obtaining *direct* measures of sexual, contraceptive and health behavior similar to those sought in the NSM-I in an unobtrusive way is not only impossible, but also rarely socially acceptable. Consequently, researchers must rely on individuals' self-reports of their behavior. Because many questions are sensitive and personal, it is naive to expect everyone to answer them accurately; there will always be some underreporting and overreporting of behavior. Moreover, there will always be a certain amount of imprecision because of recall problems. Combined with problems of selective participation and nonresponse bias, such errors, if unchecked, could compromise the ability to draw inferences from the survey data.

Nevertheless, questions about errors in the data should not lead to the outright rejection of findings from survey-based studies. Although it might be difficult to provide convincing evidence of the reliability and validity of data derived from surveys, the research literature contains important demonstrations of the consistency, reliability and validity of measures of sexual behavior. Furthermore, when data on human behavior are obtained by means of surveys of probability samples of the population, we can use statistical theory to make inferences about the population and avoid the myriad of biases inherent in convenience sampling or other types of subject recruitment.

As more surveys on the health and sexual behavior of the U.S. population are conducted, we will be able to better assess the reliability of the NSM-I findings. More important, such surveys will enable researchers, scientists, service providers and policymakers to regularly monitor the public's response to STD and HIV prevention programs.

References

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4. A. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders & Co., Philadelphia, 1948; and A. C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, W. B. Saunders & Co., Philadelphia, 1953.

5. C. F. Turner, H. G. Miller and L. E. Moses, 1989, op. cit. (see reference 1).

6. Ibid., p. 58 and pp. 73–183; and H. G. Miller, C. F. Turner and L. E. Moses, 1990, op. cit. (see reference 1), pp. 359–472.

PUBLIC OPINION DATA SEARCH

TOPIC: Attitudes toward Homosexuals

This report was prepared for:

Major Richardson
OSD/WHS/SSD

3-10 POLLS

The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut

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****

Question:
R11C (I'm going to read a few statement. For each, please tell me if you agree, disagree, or if perhaps you have no opinion on that statement.)... The government would be spending more money on AIDS research if the disease did not mainly affect homosexual males

Responses:

Agree	44%
Disagree	41
Don't know/No opinion	15

Survey Organization:	ABC News		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1020		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JUN 15, 1990	Ending date:	JUN 19, 1990
Source Document:	ABC News		
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1990		
Subject:	HEALTH		
	SPENDING		
	MINORITIES		

FULL QUESTION ID: USABC.389.R11C

****

Question:
R31E Would you be more likely or less likely to support a candidate for president who had... said he would not appoint homosexuals to serve in his cabinet?

Responses:

More likely	34%
Less likely	50
No difference	14
Don't know/No opinion	2

Survey Organization:	ABC News/Washington Post
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1512
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUN 3, 1992 Ending date: JUN 7, 1992
Source Document:	ABC News/Washington Post
Date of Source Document:	JUN 8, 1992
Subject:	PRESVOTE
	GROUPS
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USABCWP.060892.R31E

****

Question:
Q009 Do you think homosexuals should or should not be allowed to serve in the military?

Responses:

Should serve	50%
Should not serve	44
Don't know/No opinion	7

Survey Organization:	ABC News/Washington Post
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1011
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	DEC 11, 1992 Ending date: DEC 14, 1992
Source Document:	ABC News/Washington Post
Date of Source Document:	DEC 1992
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USABCWP.924628.Q009

****

Question:
R01 Do you think homosexuals should or should not be allowed to serve in the military?

Responses:

Should be allowed to serve	47%
Should not be allowed to serve	47
No opinion	6

Survey Organization:	ABC News/Washington Post
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	549
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 26, 1993 Ending date: JAN 26, 1993
Source Document:	ABC News/Washington Post
Date of Source Document:	FEB 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USABCWP.93JA26.R01

****

Question:
R03 What's the main reason you feel that way (that homosexuals should not be able to serve in the military)?

Subpopulation: Those who said should not be allowed (47%)

Responses:

Gays could not serve effectively	10%
It would undermine the morale of other soldiers	30
Homosexuality is wrong/immoral	17
Military leaders oppose it	2
Concerns about AIDS	4
Housing issues	10
Spousal benefits	*
Other	25
Don't know/No opinion	2

* = less than .5 percent

Survey Organization:	ABC News/Washington Post
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	549
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 26, 1993 Ending date: JAN 26, 1993
Source Document:	ABC News/Washington Post
Date of Source Document:	FEB 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USABCWP.93JA26.R03

****

Question:
R04 Do you think people who join the military should be asked if they are homosexual, or not?

Responses:

Yes, should be asked	44%
No, should not be asked	53
Don't know/No opinion	3

Survey Organization:	ABC News/Washington Post
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	549
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 26, 1993 Ending date: JAN 26, 1993
Source Document:	ABC News/Washington Post
Date of Source Document:	FEB 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	RIGHTS

FULL QUESTION ID: USABCWP.93JA26.R04

****

Question:
R05 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton has handled the issue of gays in the military?

Responses:

Approve	44%
Disapprove	42
Don't know/No opinion	13

Survey Organization: ABC News/Washington Post
Population: National adult
Population Size: 549
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: JAN 26, 1993 Ending date: JAN 26, 1993
Source Document: ABC News/Washington Post
Date of Source Document: FEB 1993
Subject: PRESJOB

FULL QUESTION ID: USABCWP.93JA26.R05

****

Question:
R06 Regardless of whether or not you approve of (President) Clinton's handling of the issue of gays in the military, do you think he's spending too much time on the issue, too little time or about the right amount?

Responses:

Too much time	38%
Too little time	6
Just the right amount	47
Don't know/No opinion	9

Survey Organization:	ABC News/Washington Post
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	549
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 26, 1993 Ending date: JAN 26, 1993
Source Document:	ABC News/Washington Post
Date of Source Document:	FEB 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY
	PRESIDENCY

FULL QUESTION ID: USABCWP.93JA26.R06

****

Question:
R02A Do you feel strongly about that (homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the military) or not?

Subpopulation: Those who said should be allowed (47%)

Responses:

Yes, strongly	63%
No, do not feel strongly	35
No opinion	2

Survey Organization:	ABC News/Washington Post
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	549
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 26, 1993 Ending date: JAN 26, 1993
Source Document:	ABC News/Washington Post
Date of Source Document:	FEB 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USABCWP.93JA26.R02A

****

Question:
R02B Do you feel strongly about that (homosexuals should not be allowed to serve in the military) or not?

Subpopulation: Those who said should not be allowed (47%)

Responses:

Yes, strongly	82%
No, do not feel strongly	16
No opinion	2

Survey Organization:	ABC News/Washington Post
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	549
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 26, 1993 Ending date: JAN 26, 1993
Source Document:	ABC News/Washington Post
Date of Source Document:	FEB 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE GROUPS SEX EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USABCWP.93JA26.R02B

****

Question:
R05A (I'd like to ask you about a few proposals that voters in various states have been asked to cast ballots on. Please tell me what you think. If you're not familiar enough with the arguments for and against, just say so.)... Suppose your community has a law forbidding discrimination against homosexuals in hiring and housing. Should your community get rid of the law, or keep it?

Responses:

Get rid of law	43%
Keep law	44
Not familiar enough (vol.)	6
Don't know	7
Refused	1

Survey Organization:	Associated Press
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1006
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 30, 1991 Ending date: NOV 3, 1991
Source Document:	Associated Press
Study Note:	Interviewing Was Conducted By I.C.R. Survey Research Group
Date of Source Document:	NOV 1991
Subject:	MINORITIES EQUALITY HOUSING LOCAL

FULL QUESTION ID: USAP.91-844.R05A

****

Question:
RB3M (I'm going to read a few attributes that might be found in a candidate for president. Tell me if each would make you more likely to vote for that candidate, for president, or less likely to vote for that candidate, or if it wouldn't matter.)... A homosexual

Responses:

More likely	1%
Less likely	74
Not matter	23
Don't know/No answer	2

Survey Organization:	Associated Press/Media General
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1204
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	APR 29, 1988 Ending date: MAY 8, 1988
Source Document:	Associated Press/Media General
Date of Source Document:	MAY 1988
Subject:	PRESVOTE
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USAPMGEN.20-2.RB3M

****

Question:
R29B. Do you think homosexuals should be allowed to serve in a position of high governmental office, for instance as a member of the President's Cabinet, or don't you think so?

Responses:

Should be allowed	47%
Should not be allowed	43
Depends (vol.)	3
Don't know/No answer	7

Survey Organization:	CBS News	
Population:	National adult	
Population Size:	1347	
Interview method:	Telephone	
Beginning date:	MAY 27, 1992	Ending date: MAY 30, 1992
Source Document:	CBS News	
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1, 1992	
Subject:	GOVERNMENT	
	EQUALITY	
	SEX	
	GROUPS	

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBS.060192.R29B

****

Question:
R29C Do you think homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces, or don't you think so?

Responses:

Should be allowed	47%
Should not be allowed	42
Depends (vol.)	3
Don't know/No answer	8

Survey Organization:	CBS News		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1347		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	MAY 27, 1992	Ending date:	MAY 30, 1992
Source Document:	CBS News		
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1, 1992		
Subject:	EQUALITY		
	SEX		
	GROUPS		
	DEFENSE		

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBS.060192.R29C

****

Question:

R17B (When a candidate is running for President, there are some facts about the candidate's personal life that the public may be entitled to know. But there are other facts about the candidate's personal life that may be none of the public's business. For each of the following, tell me which you think the public is entitled to know and which you think is none of the public's business.)... How about whether a candidate is a homosexual? Is the public entitled to know that, or is that none of the public's business?

Subpopulation: Registered voters (75%)

Responses:

Entitled to know	62%
Not the public's business	36
Don't know/No answer	4

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1663
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 17, 1988 Ending date: JAN 21, 1988
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	JAN 25, 1988
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	PRESS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.012588.R17B

****

Question:
R36 Should a federal law be passed protecting homosexuals from discrimination?

Responses:

Yes	37%
No	48
Don't know/No answer	15

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1177
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUL 5, 1988 Ending date: JUL 8, 1988
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	JUL 11, 1988
Subject:	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.071188.R36

****

Question:
R40 How much sympathy do you have for people who get AIDS from homosexual activity--a lot, some, or not much?

Responses:

A lot	19%
Some	20
Not much	42
None (vol.)	18
Don't know/No answer	1

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1424
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUN 3, 1991 Ending date: JUN 6, 1991
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	JUN 17, 1991
Subject:	HEALTH
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.061791.R40

****

Question:
R31D If you were considering voting for a presidential candidate and then learned that candidate... was a homosexual... would that cause you to vote for someone else, or would it be one factor among many, or would it not affect your vote?

Subpopulation: Registered voters (74%)

Responses:

Vote for someone else	44%
One factor among many	24
Would not affect vote	29
Don't know/No answer	3

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1280
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 15, 1991 Ending date: OCT 18, 1991
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	OCT 21, 1991
Subject:	PRESVOTE
	GROUPS
	MINORITIES

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.102191.R31D

****

Question:
R24 Do you feel that homosexuality should be considered an acceptable alternate lifestyle or not?

Responses:

Acceptable	38%
Not acceptable	50
Don't know/No answer	12

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	656
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	AUG 20, 1992 Ending date: AUG 20, 1992
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	AUG 21, 1992
Subject:	SEX
	GROUPS

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.082192.R24

****

Question:
R25 Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?

Responses:

Should be legal	41%
Should not be legal	44
Don't know/No answer	15

Survey Organization: CBS News/New York Times
Population: National adult
Population Size: 656
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: AUG 20, 1992 Ending date: AUG 20, 1992
Source Document: CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document: AUG 21, 1992
Subject: SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.082192.R25

****

Question:

R26 As you know there has been considerable discussion in the news lately regarding the rights of homosexual men and women. In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?

Responses:

Yes, should have equal rights	79%
No, should not have equal rights	13
Don't know/No answer	8

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	656
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	AUG 20, 1992 Ending date: AUG 20, 1992
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	AUG 21, 1992
Subject:	SEX
	EQUALITY
	WORK

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.082192.R26

****

Question:
R35 Do you happen to personally know someone who is gay or lesbian?

Responses:

Yes	47%
No	51
Don't know/No answer	2

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	656
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	AUG 20, 1992 Ending date: AUG 20, 1992
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	AUG 21, 1992
Subject:	SEX
	GROUPS

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.082192.R35

****

Question:
R17F Do you think the presidential candidates should be spending a lot of time discussing how they feel about legal rights for homosexuals, or shouldn't they spend a lot of time on that issue?

Subpopulation: Registered voters (76%)

Responses:

Should spend a lot of time	23%
Should not spend a lot of time	69
Depends (vol.)	2
Don't know/No answer	6

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1186
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	AUG 23, 1992 Ending date: AUG 24, 1992
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	AUG 25, 1992
Subject:	PRESVOTE
	SEX
	GROUPS
	RIGHTS

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.082592.R17F

****

Question:
R30 Do you favor or oppose permitting homosexuals to serve in the military?

Responses:

Favor	42%
Oppose	48
Don't know/No answer	10

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1179
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 12, 1993 Ending date: JAN 14, 1993
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	JAN 19, 1993
Subject:	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY
	DEFENSE

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.011993.R30

****

Question:
R61 In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?

Responses:

Should	79%
Should not	16
Don't know/No answer	5

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1179
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 12, 1993 Ending date: JAN 14, 1993
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	JAN 19, 1993
Subject:	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.011993.R61

****

Question:
R02 Regardless of your overall opinion of Bill Clinton, what do you like best about what he has done so far as President?

Responses:

Nothing	22%
People's President	9
White House staff cuts	8
Family leave bill	5
Policy on gay rights	5
Trying to keep his promises	4
Focused on his agenda	4
Policy on abortion	3
Healthcare policy	2
Create jobs	2
Cabinet appointments	2
Working on the budget/economy	2
Hillary Clinton's new position	1
Tax policy	1
Views on women's issues	1
Welfare reform	1
Leaving Social Security alone	1
Foreign policy	1
Everything	1
Other	4
Don't know/No answer	21

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1154
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	FEB 9, 1993 Ending date: FEB 11, 1993
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	FEB 15, 1993
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	LIST

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.021593.R02

****

Question:
R03 Regardless of your overall opinion of Bill Clinton what do you like least about what he has done so far as President?

Responses:

Homosexuals in the military	31%
Nothing	15
Attorney General appointments	5
Breaking campaign promises	5
Tax policy/taking word back	4
Abortion policy	3
Not done much for elderly/Social Security	3
Hillary Clinton has too much power	2
Cabinet appointments	2
Healthcare policy	1
Catering to special interest groups	1
AIDS policy	1
Economic policy	1
Everything	1
Other	5
Don't know/No answer	20

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1154
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	FEB 9, 1993 Ending date: FEB 11, 1993
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	FEB 15, 1993
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	LIST

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.021593.R03

****

Question:
R29 Do you think Bill Clinton is paying too much, too little or about the right amount of attention to the needs and problems of homosexuals?

Responses:

Too much	59%
Too little	5
About the right amount	28
Don't know/No answer	9

Survey Organization:	CBS News/New York Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1154
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	FEB 9, 1993 Ending date: FEB 11, 1993
Source Document:	CBS News/New York Times
Date of Source Document:	FEB 15, 1993
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	GROUPS
	SEX
	PROBLEMS

FULL QUESTION ID: USCBSNYT.021593.R29

****

Question:
R203F School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals.

Responses:

Completely agree	29%
Mostly agree	22
Mostly disagree	25
Completely disagree	18
Don't know	6

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Times Mirror
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	3021
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	MAY 13, 1988 Ending date: MAY 22, 1988
Source Document:	The People, The Press & Politics
Date of Source Document:	MAY 1988
Subject:	EDUCATION
	RIGHTS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.588TM.R203F

****

Question:
Q005 Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?

Responses:

Should	35%
Should not	56
Don't know	9

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1000
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUL 1, 1988 Ending date: JUL 7, 1988
Source Document:	Gallup Poll--A.I.
Date of Source Document:	JUL 1988
Subject:	SEX
	CRIME

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.874AI.Q005

****

Question:
R03B (Would you tell me whether you think each of the following is or is not a way for people to catch AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) from someone you has it?)...Homosexual relations

Responses:

Can	95%
Cannot/Don't know	5

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National Adult		
Population Size:	1009		
Interview method:	Personal		
Beginning date:	OCT 21, 1988	Ending date:	OCT 24, 1988
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	NOV 27, 1988		
Subject:	HEALTH		
	INFORMATION		
	SEX		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.112788.R03B

****

Question:
R059BJJ School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals

Responses:

Completely agree	28%
Mostly agree	20
Mostly disagree	26
Completely disagree	21
Don't know	5

Survey Organization: Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor: Times Mirror
Population: National Adult
Population Size: 2048
Interview method: Personal
Beginning date: JAN 27, 1989 Ending date: FEB 5, 1989
Source Document: The People, The Press And Politics
Study Note: Report Also Contains Comparative Data From An American Leadership Sample And From Samples Of Foreign Investors From Japan, United Kingdom, Netherlands And Canada.
Date of Source Document: MAR 1989
Subject: EDUCATION
SEX
RIGHTS

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.JF88TN.R059BJJ

****

Question:
R13C (Do you feel that the following changes that took place in the 1960s were a good thing or a bad thing for our society?)... Greater tolerance of homosexuality as an alternative lifestyle

Responses:

Good	30%
Bad	61
Don't know	9

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1249		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JUN 15, 1989	Ending date:	JUN 18, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	AUG 7, 1989		
Subject:	VALUES		
	SEX		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.080789.R13C

****

Question:
R1 Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?

Responses:

Legal	47%
Not legal	36
Don't know/No opinion	17

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1227		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989	Ending date:	OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R1

****

Question:

R2 As you know, there has been considerable discussion in the news lately regarding the rights of homosexual men and women. In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?

Responses:

Yes, should	71%
No, should not	18
Don't know/No opinion	11

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1227		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989	Ending date:	OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		
	EQUALITY		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R2

****

Question:
R4 Is homosexuality something a person is born with or is homosexuality due to other factors such as upbringing or environment?

Responses:

Born with	19%
Upbringing/Environment	48
Both (vol.)	12
Neither (vol.)	2
Don't know/No opinion	19

Survey Organization: Gallup Organization
Population: National adult
Population Size: 1227
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: OCT 12, 1989 Ending date: OCT 15, 1989
Source Document: Gallup Poll
Date of Source Document: OCT 25, 1989
Subject: SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R4

****

Question:
R5 Do you feel that, given the choice, most homosexuals would rather be homosexual or that most would rather not be homosexual?

Responses:

Rather be homosexual	38%
Rather not be homosexual	31
Don't know/No opinion	31

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1227		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989	Ending date:	OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R5

****

Question:
R3A I'd like to ask you about the hiring of homosexuals in specific occupations. Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?... Salespersons

Responses:

Should be	79%
Should not	13
Don't know	8

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1227		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989	Ending date:	OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R3A

****

Question:
R3B (I'd like to ask you about the hiring of homosexuals in specific occupations. Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... Armed forces

Responses:

Should be	60%
Should not	29
Don't know	11

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1227		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989	Ending date:	OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		
	DEFENSE		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R3B

****

Question:
R3C (I'd like to ask you about the hiring of homosexuals in specific occupations. Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... Doctors

Responses:

Should be	56%
Should not	32
Don't know	12

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1227		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989	Ending date:	OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		
	MEDICINE		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R3C

****

Question:
R3D (I'd like to ask you about the hiring of homosexuals in specific occupations. Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... The clergy

Responses:

Should be	44%
Should not	43
Don't know	13

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1227		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989	Ending date:	OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX RELIGION		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R3D

****

Question:
R3E (I'd like to ask you about the hiring of homosexuals in specific occupations. Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... Elementary teachers

Responses:

Should be	42%
Should not	48
Don't know	10

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1227		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989	Ending date:	OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		
	EDUCATION		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R3E

****

Question:
R3F (I'd like to ask you about the hiring of homosexuals in specific occupations. Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... High school teachers

Responses:

Should be	47%
Should not	43
Don't know	10

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1227		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989	Ending date:	OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		
	EDUCATION		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.102589.R3F

****

Question:

Q42 Would you say the AIDS epidemic has changed your opinion about homosexuals for the better, for the worse, or has it not made any difference in the way you feel?

Responses:

Changed opinion for better	4%
Changed opinion for worse	33
No difference	58
Don't know	6

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1227
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 12, 1989 Ending date: OCT 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup Poll--A.I.P.O.
Date of Source Document:	OCT 1989
Subject:	HEALTH
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.9139W2.Q42

****

Question:
R3F (For each of the following stories about public officials, please tell me whether you feel it should almost always be reported, whether it should be reported depending on the circumstances, or whether it should almost never be reported?)... (Rotated) A public official is a homosexual

Responses:

Almost always	33%
Sometimes/it depends	21
Almost never	43
No opinion	3

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1014
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	MAY 2, 1991 Ending date: MAY 5, 1991
Source Document:	Gallup Poll
Date of Source Document:	MAY 8, 1991
Subject:	PRESS
	LEADERS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.050891.R3F

****

Question:
R07 Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?

Responses:

Should be legal	36%
Should not	54
Don't know/Refused	10

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1216		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	AUG 29, 1991	Ending date:	SEP 3, 1991
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1991		
Subject:	SEX		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.0891W5.R07

****

Question:
10B (I'd like to ask about some changes that took place in the 60s and 70s. Please tell me whether you feel each was a good thing or a bad thing for our society.)... Greater tolerance of homosexuality as alternative lifestyle

Responses:

Good thing	32%
Bad thing	61
Don't know/Refused	7

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1216		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	AUG 29, 1991	Ending date:	SEP 3, 1991
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1991		
Subject:	SEX		
	MINORITIES		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.0891W5.10B

****

Question:
R17C Do you think it is likely or not likely that AIDS will eventually become an epidemic for the following groups in society..... Homosexuals

Responses:

Is likely	89%
Is not likely	6
Already is (vol.)	3
Don't know/Refused	2

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1216		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	AUG 29, 1991	Ending date:	SEP 3, 1991
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1991		
Subject:	HEALTH		
	GROUPS		
	MINORITIES		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.0891W5.R17C

****

Question:
Q21 Do you feel that family leave laws should or should not also apply to homosexual people who need to care for a seriously ill companion?

Subpopulation: See note

Responses:

Yes, should apply	72%
No, should not	24
Don't know/Refused	4

Asked of those who favor a national family leave law (83%)

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Life Magazine
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1222
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	MAR 30, 1992 Ending date: APR 5, 1992
Source Document:	Life Magazine--If Women Ran America
Date of Source Document:	APR 1992
Subject:	FAMILY GROUPS

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.92LIFE.Q21

****

Question:
Q33AF (I'd like to know how the following aspects of a candidate's personal life would affect your vote for that person. Think for a moment about a woman running for a state or federal office. For each of the following conditions, please tell me based on that condition alone, if you would definitely not vote for her, possibly not vote for her, or if that issue alone would not make any difference in the way you vote.)... If she is homosexual

Subpopulation: Asked of Form 2 half sample

Responses:

Definitely not vote for candidate	33%
Possibly not vote	18
Wouldn't make any difference	49
Don't know/Refused	1

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Life Magazine
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1222
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	MAR 30, 1992 Ending date: APR 5, 1992
Source Document:	Life Magazine--If Women Ran America
Date of Source Document:	APR 1992
Subject:	ELECTIONS
	WOMEN
	GROUPS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.92LIF2.Q33AF

****

Question:
Q33BF (I'd like to know how the following aspects of a candidate's personal life would affect your vote for that person. Think for a moment about a man running for a state or federal office. For each of the following conditions, please tell me based on that condition alone, if you would definitely not vote for him, possibly not vote for him, or if that issue alone would not make any difference in the way you vote.)... If he is homosexual

Subpopulation: Asked of Form 1 half sample

Responses:

Definitely not vote for candidate	37%
Possibly not vote	21
Wouldn't make any difference	42
Don't know/Refused	*

* = less than .5 percent

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Life Magazine
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1222
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	MAR 30, 1992 Ending date: APR 5, 1992
Source Document:	Life Magazine--If Women Ran America
Date of Source Document:	APR 1992
Subject:	ELECTIONS
	MEN
	GROUPS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.92LIF2.Q33BF

****

Question:
Q24 Do you feel that homosexuality should be considered an acceptable alternative lifestyle or not?

Responses:

Yes, acceptable	38%
No, not acceptable	57
Don't know/Refused	5

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1002		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992	Ending date:	JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992		
Subject:	SEX VALUES		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q24

****

Question:
Q25 Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?

Responses:

Legal	49%
Not legal	44
Don't know/Refused	8

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1002		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992	Ending date:	JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992		
Subject:	SEX		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q25

****

Question:
Q26 As you know, there has been considerable discussion in the news lately regarding the rights of homosexual men and women. In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?

Responses:

Yes, should have equal rights	74%
No, should not	18
Depends (vol.)	5
Don't know/Refused	3

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1002		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992	Ending date:	JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992		
Subject:	SEX		
	RIGHTS		
	EQUALITY		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q26

****

Question:
Q27A Do you think homosexuals should or should not hired for each of the following occupations?... Salesperson

Responses:

Should	82%
Should not	13
Depends (vol.)	4
Don't know/Refused	2

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1002		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992	Ending date:	JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992		
Subject:	SEX		
	EQUALITY		
	WORK		
	BUSINESS		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q27A

****

Question:
Q27B (Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... The Armed Forces

Responses:

Should	57%
Should not	37
Depends (vol.)	2
Don't know/Refused	4

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1002
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992 Ending date: JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992
Subject:	SEX
	EQUALITY
	WORK
	DEFENSE

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q27B

****

Question:
Q27C (Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... Doctors

Responses:

Should	53%
Should not	42
Depends (vol.)	2
Don't know/Refused	3

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1002
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992 Ending date: JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992
Subject:	SEX
	EQUALITY
	WORK
	MEDICINE

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q27C

****

Question:
Q27D (Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... Clergy

Responses:

Should	43%
Should not	50
Depends (vol.)	2
Don't know/Refused	5

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1002
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992 Ending date: JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992
Subject:	SEX
	EQUALITY
	WORK
	RELIGION

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q27D

****

Question:
Q27E (Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... Elementary school teachers

Responses:

Should	41%
Should not	54
Depends (vol.)	3
Don't know/Refused	2

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1002
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992 Ending date: JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992
Subject:	SEX EQUALITY WORK EDUCATION

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q27E

****

Question:
Q27F (Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... High school teachers

Responses:

Should	47%
Should not	49
Depends (vol.)	2
Don't know/Refused	3

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1002
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992 Ending date: JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992
Subject:	SEX
	EQUALITY
	WORK
	EDUCATION

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q27F

****

Question:
Q27G (Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?)... As a member of the President's cabinet

Responses:

Should	54%
Should not	39
Depends (vol.)	3
Don't know/Refused	4

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1002
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1992 Ending date: JUN 8, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll
Date of Source Document:	JUN 1992
Subject:	SEX
	EQUALITY
	WORK
	GOVERNMENT

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.222054.Q27G

****

Question:
Q36F (I'm going to read you some proposals that are now being discussed nationally. As I read each, tell me if you generally favor or oppose it.) Do you favor or oppose... allowing homosexuals to serve in the armed forces.

Subpopulation: See note

Responses:

Favor	49%
Oppose	42
Don't know/Refused	9

Asked of those registered to vote/Don't have to register (78%)

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1441
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	SEP 11, 1992 Ending date: SEP 15, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup/C.N.N./U.S.A. Today
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1992
Subject:	SEX
	DEFENSE
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.322018.Q36F

****

Question:
R1E. I'm going to read you some proposals that are now being discussed nationally. As I read each, tell me if you generally favor or oppose it. Do you favor or oppose... allowing gays to serve in the military.

Responses:

Favor	49%
Oppose	45
No opinion	6

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1004		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	NOV 10, 1992	Ending date:	NOV 11, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	NOV 21, 1992		
Subject:	DEFENSE		
	EQUALITY		
	SEX		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.112192.R1E

****

Question:
Q06B. I'm going to mention some promises Bill Clinton made in the course of his presidential campaign. Please tell me if it would be a major concern to you, a minor concern, or not a concern at all, if Clinton fails to keep his promise to... end the ban on gays in the military.

Responses:

Major concern	34%
Minor concern	33
Not a concern	31
Don't know/Refused	3

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	750
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 18, 1993 Ending date: JAN 19, 1993
Source Document:	Gallup/C.N.N/U.S.A. Today
Date of Source Document:	JAN 1993
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	MOOD
	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.322041.Q06B

****

Question:
R1 Do you approve or disapprove of ending the ban on homosexuals from serving in the military? How strongly would you say you (approve/disapprove)--very strongly or not so strongly?

Responses:

Very strongly approve	29%
Not so strongly approve	14
Very strongly disapprove	39
Not so strongly disapprove	11
No opinion	7

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1001		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JAN 29, 1993	Ending date:	JAN 31, 1993
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	FEB 4, 1993		
Subject:	DEFENSE		
	GROUPS		
	SEX		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.020493.R1

****

Question:
R2 Which do you think is the main reason Bill Clinton is sticking to his position to end the ban on gays in the military?

Responses:

Because he feels it is a matter of principle	39%
Because he is responding to pressure from liberal and gay organizations	52
Both (vol.)	3
No opinion	6

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1001		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JAN 29, 1993	Ending date:	JAN 31, 1993
Source Document:	Gallup Poll		
Date of Source Document:	FEB 4, 1993		
Subject:	DEFENSE		
	GROUPS		
	SEX		
	PRESIDENCY		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.020493.R2

****

Question:
Q15B (Please tell me if you have a very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of each of the following groups.)... People active in the gay rights movement

Responses:

Very favorable	9%
Mostly favorable	29
Mostly unfavorable	25
Very unfavorable	31
Don't know/Refused	7

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1007
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	MAR 12, 1993 Ending date: MAR 14, 1993
Source Document:	Gallup/C.N.N./U.S.A. Today
Date of Source Document:	MAR 1993
Subject:	GROUPS
	RATINGS
	RIGHTS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALLUP.322050.Q15B

****

Question:
R2D (Would any of the following disclosures prompt you personally to vote against a public official regardless of other factors?) The candidate... was a homosexual.

Responses:

Yes	45%
No/Don't know	55

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	600
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	SEP 14, 1989 Ending date: SEP 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	SEP 25, 1989
Subject:	SEX
	ELECTIONS

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.092589.R2D

****

Question:
R3A Should being a homosexual keep someone from holding these public positions?... President

Responses:

Should not	50%
Should/Don't know	50

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	600
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	SEP 14, 1989 Ending date: SEP 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	SEP 25, 1989
Subject:	SEX
	PRESIDENCY

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.092589.R3A

****

Question:
R3B (Should being a homosexual keep someone from holding these public positions?)... Member of the clergy

Responses:

Should not	48%
Should/Don't know	52

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	600
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	SEP 14, 1989 Ending date: SEP 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	SEP 25, 1989
Subject:	SEX
	RELIGION

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.092589.R3B

****

Question:
R3C (Should being a homosexual keep someone from holding these public positions?)... Teacher

Responses:

Should not	50%
Should/Don't know	50

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	600		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	SEP 14, 1989	Ending date:	SEP 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek		
Date of Source Document:	SEP 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		
	EDUCATION		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.092589.R3C

****

Question:
R3D (Should being a homosexual keep someone from holding these public positions?)... Cabinet member

Responses:

Should not	57%
Should/Don't know	43

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	600
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	SEP 14, 1989 Ending date: SEP 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	SEP 25, 1989
Subject:	SEX
	GOVERNMENT

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.092589.R3D

****

Question:
R3E (Should being a homosexual keep someone from holding these public positions?)... Judge

Responses:

Should not	59%
Should/Don't know	41

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	600		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	SEP 14, 1989	Ending date:	SEP 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek		
Date of Source Document:	SEP 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		
	COURTS		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.092589.R3E

****

Question:
R3F (Should being a homosexual keep someone from holding these public positions?)... Member of Congress

Responses:

Should not	60%
Should/Don't know	40

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	600		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	SEP 14, 1989	Ending date:	SEP 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek		
Date of Source Document:	SEP 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX		
	CONGRESS		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.092589.R3F

****

Question:
R3G (Should being a homosexual keep someone from holding these public positions?)... City government official

Responses:

Should not	60%
Should/Don't know	40

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	600
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	SEP 14, 1989 Ending date: SEP 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	SEP 25, 1989
Subject:	SEX LOCAL GOVERNMENT

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.092589.R3G

****

Question:
R3H (Should being a homosexual keep someone from holding these public positions?)... Policeman

Responses:

Should not	61%
Should/Don't know	39

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization		
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	600		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	SEP 14, 1989	Ending date:	SEP 15, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek		
Date of Source Document:	SEP 25, 1989		
Subject:	SEX CRIME		

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.092589.R3H

****

Question:
R8 Should homosexual couples have the same legal rights as married couples?

Responses:

Yes	23%
No	69
Don't know	8

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	757
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 1, 1989 Ending date: OCT 4, 1989
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	OCT 1989
Subject:	FAMILY
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.89FAM.R8

****

Question:
Q11E (At the Convention this week, do you think the Republicans spent too much time, too little time or about the right amount of time doing each of the following.)... Targeting gays

Subpopulation: See note

Responses:

Too much	37%
Too little	11
About right	28
Don't know/Refused	25

Asked of registered voters/Don't have to register

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	944
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	AUG 21, 1992 Ending date: AUG 21, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	AUG 1992
Subject:	SEX
	GROUPS
	PRESVOTE

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.305026.Q11E

****

Question:
Q09 Do you think President-elect (Bill) Clinton should delay his promise to lift restrictions on gays in the military if there are strong arguments that this action will produce serious morale and readiness problems?

Responses:

Yes, should delay	61%
No, should not	29
Don't know/Refused	11

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	764
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	NOV 19, 1992 Ending date: NOV 20, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	NOV 1992
Subject:	EQUALITY
	SEX
	DEFENSE
	PRESIDENCY

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.305061.Q09

****

Question:
Q08A Do you think homosexuals should or should not be able to get jobs in each of the following?... In the armed forces

Responses:

Should	48%
Should not	44
Depends (vol.)	2
Don't know/Refused	7

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	764
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	NOV 19, 1992 Ending date: NOV 20, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	NOV 1992
Subject:	EQUALITY
	WORK
	SEX
	DEFENSE

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.305061.Q08A

****

Question:
Q08B (Do you think homosexuals should or should not be able to get jobs in each of the following?)... In the President's Cabinet

Responses:

Should	56%
Should not	34
Depends (vol.)	2
Don't know/Refused	9

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	764
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	NOV 19, 1992 Ending date: NOV 20, 1992
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	NOV 1992
Subject:	EQUALITY
	WORK
	SEX
	GOVERNMENT

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.305061.Q08B

****

Question:
Q15 Do you think Bill Clinton will or will not change military policy to allow gays to serve in the armed forces?

Responses:	
Will change	57%
Will not	31
Don't know/Refused	13

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	753
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 14, 1993 Ending date: JAN 15, 1993
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	JAN 1993
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	GROUPS
	SEX
	DEFENSE

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.305078.Q15

****

Question:
Q05 Do you think it's a good idea or not a good idea for the military to temporarily stop asking about an inductees' sexual orientation while the new administration consults Congress and military officials about changing policy on gays in the military?

Responses:	
Good idea	44%
Not a good idea	48
Don't know/Refused	8

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	774
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 28, 1993 Ending date: JAN 29, 1993
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	JAN 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY
	RIGHTS

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.305091.Q05

****

Question:
Q06 Do you think it's a good idea or not a good idea to suspend discharge proceedings against homosexuals while the new administration consults on changing military policy on gays?

Responses:

Good idea	45%
Not a good idea	47
Don't know/Refused	8

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	774
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 28, 1993 Ending date: JAN 29, 1993
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	JAN 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.305091.Q06

****

Question:
Q07 Do you think homosexuals should or should not be able to serve in the armed forces?

Responses:

Should	53%
Should not	42
Don't know/Refused	5

Survey Organization:	Gallup Organization
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	774
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 28, 1993 Ending date: JAN 29, 1993
Source Document:	Gallup/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	JAN 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USGALNEW.305091.Q07

****

Question:
R1B (Four U.S. Congressman face ethics investigations in sex-related complaints. Which of the following would prevent you from voting for a candidate whose politics you otherwise liked?) Would you vote for a candidate who... is a homosexual?

Responses:

Yes	34%
No	62
Don't know	4

Survey Organization:	Gordon S. Black Corporation
Research Sponsor:	U.S.A. Today
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	801
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	SEP 13, 1989 Ending date: SEP 13, 1989
Source Document:	Gordon S. Black/U.S.A. Today
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1989
Subject:	ETHICS
	CONGRESS
	LEADERS
	SEX
	ELECTIONS

FULL QUESTION ID: USGBUSA.893175.R1B

****

Question:

R03 Compared with four years ago, do you think the Democrats are more or less influenced by special interest groups such as organized labor, minority organizations, women's rights groups, organizations of gays and lesbians, and groups claiming to speak for the poor?

Responses:

More influenced by	61%
Less influenced by	19
Not much different	8
Not sure	12

Survey Organization:	Louis Harris And Associates
Research Sponsor:	Business Week
Population:	National--Likely voters
Population Size:	1252
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUL 7, 1988 Ending date: JUL 12, 1988
Source Document:	Business Week/Harris Poll
Date of Source Document:	JUL 25, 1988
Subject:	PARTIES

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRBW.072588.R03

****

Question:
RJ3B (I will read you some activities that some people feel are matters of private choice or consent that ought to be left to the individual, that other people feel should be regulated by law, and others feel should be forbidden by law altogether. Please tell me, for each one, how you feel that activity should be treated--should it be left to the individual, should it be allowed but regulated by law, or should it be totally forbidden by law?)... Homosexual relations in private between consenting adults

Responses:

Left to the individual	63%
Allowed but regulated by law	8
Totally forbidden by law	27
Not sure	1

Survey Organization:	Louis Harris And Associates
Research Sponsor:	Equifax
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	2254
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 11, 1990 Ending date: FEB 11, 1990
Source Document:	Consumers In The Information Age
Study Note:	Report Contains Comparative Data From Executive Samples
Date of Source Document:	MAR 1990
Subject:	CRIME RIGHTS SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.90EQUI.RJ3B

****

Question:
R1A Today, compared to four years ago, do you think... the Democratic party is more or less influenced by special interest groups, such as organized labor, minority organizations, women's rights groups, organizations of gays and lesbians, and groups claiming to speak for the poor?

Responses:

More influence	59%
Less influence	29
No difference	6
Not sure	6

Survey Organization:	Louis Harris And Associates		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1256		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	MAY 9, 1991	Ending date:	MAY 15, 1991
Source Document:	Harris Poll		
Date of Source Document:	JUN 16, 1991		
Subject:	PARTIES GROUPS		

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.061691.R1A

****

Question:

R1 The Democratic and Republican parties have different positions on gay rights and laws to prohibit discrimination against gays and lesbians. Who do you think has the better policies on these issues--George Bush or Bill Clinton?

Responses:

George Bush	31%
Bill Clinton	45
Neither/No difference	7
Not sure	17

Survey Organization:	Louis Harris And Associates
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1583
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 2, 1992 Ending date: OCT 4, 1992
Source Document:	Harris Poll
Date of Source Document:	OCT 13, 1992
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	LEADERS
	EQUALITY
	GROUPS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.101392.R1

****

Question:
R2 Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the military?

Responses:

Favor	54%
Oppose	40
Not sure	6

Survey Organization:	Louis Harris And Associates		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1583		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JAN 2, 1992	Ending date:	OCT 4, 1992
Source Document:	Harris Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 13, 1992		
Subject:	EQUALITY GROUPS SEX DEFENSE		

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.101392.R2

****

Question:
R3 How strongly do you feel about the issue of gay rights as a political issue in the (1992) presidential election--very strongly, somewhat strongly, not very strongly or not at all strongly?

Responses:

Very strongly	19%
Somewhat strongly	18
Not very strongly	23
Not at all strongly	38
Not sure	2

Survey Organization:	Louis Harris And Associates		
Population:	National adult		
Population Size:	1583		
Interview method:	Telephone		
Beginning date:	JAN 2, 1992	Ending date:	OCT 4, 1992
Source Document:	Harris Poll		
Date of Source Document:	OCT 13, 1992		
Subject:	EQUALITY		
	GROUPS		
	SEX		
	PRESVOTE		

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.101392.R3

****

Question:
R27 Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of homosexual rights--or haven't you heard enough about that yet to say? (If approve or disapprove) Is that (approve/disapprove) strongly or (approve/disapprove) somewhat?

Responses:

Haven't heard enough	13%
Approve strongly	12
Approve somewhat	16
Disapprove somewhat	9
Disapprove strongly	42
Not sure	7
Refused	1

Survey Organization: Los Angeles Times
Population: National Adult and Oversample (see note)
Population Size: 3583
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: MAR 3, 1989 Ending date: MAR 10, 1989
Source Document: Los Angeles Times
Study Note: Nationwide Sample Of 2406 Adults, Plus An Oversample Of 1177 Women. Men And Women Were Weighted To Their Proper Proportion In The Population.
Date of Source Document: MAR 1989
Subject: SEX
EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USLAT.176.R27

****

Question:
Q70 Do you approve or disapprove of allowing openly homosexual men and women to serve in the armed forces of the United States? (If approve or disapprove, ask:) Do you (approve/disapprove) strongly or (approve/disapprove) somewhat?

Responses:

Approve strongly	22%
Approve somewhat	26
Disapprove somewhat	11
Disapprove strongly	33
Not sure	6
Refused	2

Survey Organization:	Los Angeles Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1833
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 2, 1992 Ending date: OCT 5, 1992
Source Document:	Los Angeles Times
Date of Source Document:	OCT 1992
Subject:	EQUALITY
	SEX
	DEFENSE

FULL QUESTION ID: USLAT.92-299.Q70

****

Question:
R49 Do you approve or disapprove of allowing openly homosexual men and women to serve in the armed forces of the United States? (If approve or disapprove) Do you (approve/disapprove) strongly or do you (approve/disapprove) somewhat?

Responses:

Approve strongly	22%
Approve somewhat	23
Disapprove somewhat	8
Disapprove strongly	39
Don't know	8

Survey Organization:	Los Angeles Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1733
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 14, 1993 Ending date: JAN 17, 1993
Source Document:	Los Angeles Times
Date of Source Document:	JAN 26, 1993
Subject:	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY
	DEFENSE

FULL QUESTION ID: USLAT.012693.R49

****

Question:
R43 Do you approve or disapprove of allowing openly homosexual men and women to serve in the armed forces of the United States? (If approve or disapprove) Is that (approve/disapprove) strongly or (approve/disapprove) somewhat?

Responses:

Approve strongly	19%
Approve somewhat	21
Disapprove somewhat	9
Disapprove strongly	45
Not sure	5
Refused	1

Survey Organization:	Los Angeles Times
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1273
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	FEB 18, 1993 Ending date: FEB 19, 1993
Source Document:	Los Angeles Times
Date of Source Document:	FEB 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USLAT.93-308.R43

****

Question:
R49 Do you think the news media pay too much attention to gays and lesbians, or too little attention, or do you think they pay the right amount of attention to gays and lesbians?

Responses:

Pays too much attention	55%
Pays too little attention	9
Pays the right amount of attention	31
Don't know	5

Survey Organization: Los Angeles Times
Population: National adult
Population Size: 1703
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: MAR 6, 1993 Ending date: MAR 9, 1993
Source Document: Los Angeles Times
Date of Source Document: MAR 17, 1993
Subject: PRESS
GROUPS
SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USLAT.031793.R49

****

Question:
R067 (I want to ask you about how much discrimination and prejudice you think various groups in America face today. I am going to read a list of groups, and for each one, please tell me if you think that group faces a tremendous amount of discrimination and prejudice, a lot, some, a little, or no real discrimination and prejudice to speak of.)... Homosexuals

Responses:

Tremendous amount	21%
A lot	52
Some	14
A little	6
None	4
Not sure	3

Survey Organization: Marttila And Kiley Inc.
Research Sponsor: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Population: National adult
Population Size: 1101
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: APR 28, 1992 Ending date: MAY 1, 1992
Source Document: Anti-Semitism And Prejudice In America
Study Note: Interviews Of An Additional Oversample Of 200 Black Americans Were Conducted June 27-July 6, 1992
Date of Source Document: NOV 16, 1992
Subject: GROUPS
EQUALITY
MINORITIES
SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USMARTIL.92ANT.R067

****

Question:
R28E Let me mention several things you might learn about a candidate running for President. For each one, please tell me whether this should or should not disqualify someone from becoming President of the United States. If someone... is gay or lesbian... do you think this should or should not disqualify this person from becoming President of the United States?

Subpopulation: Asked of Form B half of sample

Responses:

Should disqualify someone	47%
Should not disqualify someone	47
Depends (vol.)	3
Not sure	3

Survey Organization:	Hart And Teeter Research Companies
Research Sponsor:	NBC News, Wall Street Journal
Population:	National Registered Voters
Population Size:	1500
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 25, 1991 Ending date: OCT 29, 1991
Source Document:	NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Date of Source Document:	OCT 31, 1991
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	PRESVOTE
	GROUPS

FULL QUESTION ID: USNBCWSJ.103191.R28E

****

Question:
R17D (Let me mention several things you might learn about a candidate running for president. For each one, please tell me whether this should or should not disqualify someone from becoming president of the United States.) If someone... is gay or lesbian... do you think this should or should not disqualify this person from becoming president of the United States?

Subpopulation: Asked of half sample B

Responses:

Should disqualify someone	42%
Should not disqualify someone	53
Depends (vol.)	2
Not sure	3

Survey Organization:	Peter Hart And Breglio Research Companies
Research Sponsor:	NBC News, Wall Street Journal
Population:	National Registered Voters
Population Size:	1000
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	FEB 28, 1992 Ending date: MAR 2, 1992
Source Document:	NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Date of Source Document:	MAR 5, 1992
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNBCWSJ.92FMAR.R17D

****

Question:
R200 Let me read you a list of some specific issues. When it comes to... dealing with gay rights... who do you think would do the best job as President--Bill Clinton, George Bush, neither of them, or would both of them be about the same?

Subpopulation: Asked of Form B half of registered voter sample

Responses:

Bill Clinton	40%
George Bush	19
Neither of them	13
Both of them	13
Not sure	15

Survey Organization:	Hart And Breglio Research Companies
Research Sponsor:	NBC News, Wall Street Journal
Population:	National Registered Voters
Population Size:	1506
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	SEP 12, 1992 Ending date: SEP 15, 1992
Source Document:	NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Date of Source Document:	SEP 18, 1992
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	LEADERS
	SEX
	RIGHTS

FULL QUESTION ID: USNBCWSJ.091892.R200

****

Question:
R09A2 When it comes to the policies and the goals of the Democratic party on... social issues, such as abortion and gay rights... do you strongly agree, mainly agree, have mixed feelings, mainly disagree, or do you strongly disagree with the party's policies and goals?

Subpopulation: Asked of Form B half sample

Responses:

Strongly agree	16%
Mainly agree	20
Mixed	27
Mainly disagree	11
Strongly disagree	20
Not sure	6

Survey Organization:	Hart And Breglio Research Companies
Research Sponsor:	NBC News, Wall Street Journal
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1004
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	DEC 12, 1992 Ending date: DEC 15, 1992
Source Document:	NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Date of Source Document:	DEC 1992
Subject:	PARTIES
	ABORTION
	EQUALITY
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNBCWSJ.4035.R09A2

****

Question:

R09B2 When it comes to the policies and the goals of the Republican party on... social issues, such as abortion and gay rights... do you strongly agree, mainly agree, have mixed feelings, mainly disagree, or do you strongly disagree with the party's policies and goals?

Subpopulation: Asked of Form B half sample

Responses:

Strongly agree	13%
Mainly agree	14
Mixed	27
Mainly disagree	15
Strongly disagree	24
Not sure	7

Survey Organization:	Hart And Breglio Research Companies
Research Sponsor:	NBC News, Wall Street Journal
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1004
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	DEC 12, 1992 Ending date: DEC 15, 1992
Source Document:	NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Date of Source Document:	DEC 1992
Subject:	PARTIES
	ABORTION
	EQUALITY
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNBCWSJ.4035.R09B2

****

Question:

R11A4 I would like to read you several goals that Bill Clinton has said he plans to accomplish. For each one I read, please tell me whether you think Bill Clinton will be able to accomplish most of what he plans to do, some of what he plans to do, or very little of what he plans to do. When it comes to... allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the U.S. (United States) military... do you think Bill Clinton will be able to accomplish most of what he plans to do, some of what he plans to do, or very little of what he plans to do?

Subpopulation: Asked of Form A half sample

Responses:

Most of what he plans	28%
Some of what he plans	31
Very little of what he plans	31
Not sure	10

Survey Organization:	Hart And Breglio Research Companies
Research Sponsor:	NBC News, Wall Street Journal
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1004
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	DEC 12, 1992 Ending date: DEC 15, 1992
Source Document:	NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Date of Source Document:	DEC 1992
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	DEFENSE
	EQUALITY
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNBCWSJ.4035.R11A4

****

Question:
R11B1 I would like to ask you again about some of these goals that Bill Clinton has said he plans to accomplish. For each one I read, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of this goal. Do you approve or disapprove of the goal of... allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the U.S. (United States) military?

Subpopulation: Asked of Form A half sample

Responses:

Approve	46%
Disapprove	49
Not sure	5

Survey Organization:	Hart And Breglio Research Companies
Research Sponsor:	NBC News, Wall Street Journal
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1004
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	DEC 12, 1992 Ending date: DEC 15, 1992
Source Document:	NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Date of Source Document:	DEC 1992
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	DEFENSE
	EQUALITY
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNBCWSJ.4035.R11B1

****

Question:
R11B Do approve or disapprove of Bill Clinton's goal of allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the U.S. (United States) military?

Subpopulation: Asked of respondents interviewed January 25-26

Responses:

Approve	41%
Disapprove	50
Not sure	9

Survey Organization:	Hart And Teeter Research Companies
Research Sponsor:	NBC News, Wall Street Journal
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1009
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 23, 1993 Ending date: JAN 26, 1993
Source Document:	NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Date of Source Document:	FEB 2, 1993
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	DEFENSE
	EQUALITY
	GROUPS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNBCWSJ.020293.R11B

****

Question:
R084A There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?... Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Yes, allowed to speak	70%
Not allowed	26
Don't know	4

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1481
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1988 Ending date: APR 1988
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1988
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators
Conducted Since 1972	
Date of Source Document:	JUL 1988
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS88.R084A

****

Question:
R084B (There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?)... Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Yes, allowed to teach	57%
Not allowed	39
Don't know	5

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1481
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1988 Ending date: APR 1988
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1988
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators
Conducted Since 1972	
Date of Source Document:	JUL 1988
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX
	EDUCATION

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS88.R084B

****

Question:
R084C (There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?)... If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote in favor of homosexuality should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Favor removal of book	36%
Not favor removal	60
Don't know	4

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1481
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1988 Ending date: APR 1988
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1988
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators Conducted Since 1972
Date of Source Document:	JUL 1988
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS88.R084C

****

Question:
R455J (Do you agree or disagree?)... Homosexual couples should have the right to marry one another

Responses:

Strongly agree	3%
Agree	9
Neither agree nor disagree	14
Disagree	24
Strongly disagree	44
Can't choose	6

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1414
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1988 Ending date: APR 1988
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1988
Date of Source Document:	JUL 1989
Subject:	FAMILY

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS88S.R455J

****

Question:
R084A There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?... Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Yes, allowed to speak	76%
Not allowed	21
Don't know	3

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1537
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1989 Ending date: APR 1989
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1989
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators Conducted Since 1972
Date of Source Document:	JUL 1989
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS89.R084A

****

Question:
R084B (There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?)... Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Yes, allowed to teach	63%
Not allowed	32
Don't know	5

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1537
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1989 Ending date: APR 1989
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1989
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators Conducted Since 1972
Date of Source Document:	JUL 1989
Subject:	RIGHTS SEX EDUCATION

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS89.R084B

****

Question:
R084C (There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?)... If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote in favor of homosexuality should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Favor removal of book	33%
Not favor removal	64
Don't know	3

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1537
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1989 Ending date: APR 1989
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1989
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators
Conducted Since 1972	
Date of Source Document:	JUL 1989
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS89.R084C

****

Question:
R084A There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?... Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Yes, allowed to speak	74%
Not allowed	23
Don't know	4

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1372
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1990 Ending date: APR 1990
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1990
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators Conducted Since 1972
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1990
Subject:	RIGHTS SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS90.R084A

****

Question:
R084B (There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?)... Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Yes, allowed to teach	63%
Not allowed	32
Don't know	5

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1372
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1990 Ending date: APR 1990
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1990
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators
Conducted Since 1972	
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1990
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX
	EDUCATION

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS90.R084B

****

Question:
R084C (There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?)... If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote in favor of homosexuality should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Favor removal of book	33%
Not favor removal	64
Don't know	3

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1372
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1990 Ending date: APR 1990
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1990
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators
Conducted Since 1972	
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1990
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS90.R084C

****

Question:
R080A There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?... Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Yes, allowed to speak	76%
Not allowed	22
Don't know	2

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1517
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1991 Ending date: APR 1991
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1991
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators
Conducted Since 1972	
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1991
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS91.R080A

****

Question:
R080B (There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?)... Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Yes, allowed to teach	63%
Not allowed	33
Don't know	4

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1517
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1991 Ending date: APR 1991
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1991
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators
Conducted Since 1972	
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1991
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX
	EDUCATION

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS91.R080B

****

Question:
R080C (There are always some people whose ideas are considered dangerous by other people. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?)... If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote in favor of homosexuality should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Subpopulation: Asked of 2/3 sample

Responses:

Favor removal of book	29%
Not favor removal	69
Don't know	3

Survey Organization:	National Opinion Research Center
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1517
Interview method:	Personal
Beginning date:	FEB 1991 Ending date: APR 1991
Source Document:	General Social Survey 1991
Study Note:	Part Of A Continuing Series Of Social Indicators
Conducted Since 1972	
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1991
Subject:	RIGHTS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USNORC.GSS91.R080C

****

Question:
R402F (Here are some statements on a different topic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.)... School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals

Responses:

Completely agree	29%
Mostly agree	20
Mostly disagree	24
Completely disagree	21
Don't know	6

Survey Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor: Times Mirror
Population: National adult
Population Size: 3004
Interview method: Personal
Beginning date: MAY 1, 1990 Ending date: MAY 31, 1990
Source Document: The People, The Press And Politics 1990
Study Note: There Was A Reinterview Of 1000 Of These Respondents Aug 19-25, 1990 To Update The Persian Gulf Crisis Data. These Data Are Reported Separately.
Date of Source Document: SEP 19, 1990
Subject: RIGHTS
EDUCATION
EQUALITY
WORK

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRA.90TM2A.R402F

****

Question:
R18C (I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it.)... School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals

Responses:

Completely agree	23%
Mostly agree	16
Mostly disagree	28
Completely disagree	28
Don't know	5

Survey Organization:	Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor:	Times Mirror
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	2020
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 31, 1991 Ending date: NOV 10, 1991
Source Document:	The People, The Press & Politics On The Eve Of '92
Date of Source Document:	DEC 4, 1991
Subject:	EDUCATION
	GROUPS
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRA.120491.R18C

****

Question:
R55F (Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.)... School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals

Responses:

Completely agree	24%
Mostly agree	16
Mostly disagree	27
Completely disagree	28
Don't know	5

Survey Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor: Times Mirror
Population: National adult (see note)
Population Size: 3517
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: MAY 28, 1992 Ending date: JUN 10, 1992
Source Document: The People, The Press And Politics Campaign 1992
Study Note: The Sample Included Oversamples Of African-Americans And Young People Aged 18-34. The Oversamples Were Weighted To Their Normal Proportions In The Population For The National Results.
Date of Source Document: JUL 8, 1992
Subject: EDUCATION
SEX
EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRA.070892.R55F

****

Question:
R24I (Usually, when there is a new President certain groups gain influence in Washington, while other groups lose influence...as I read from a list, tell me if you think these groups will gain influence, lose influence or not be affected by Bill Clinton's taking office?)... Gay activists

Responses:

Gain	53%
Lose	12
Not be affected	22
Don't know	13

Survey Organization:	Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor:	Times Mirror
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1216
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 3, 1993 Ending date: JAN 6, 1993
Source Document:	Times Mirror News Interest Index
Date of Source Document:	JAN 13, 1993
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	GROUPS
	POWER
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRA.011393.R24I

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Question:

R2F (I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely.) How closely did you follow news stories about... (President) Bill Clinton's attempts to lift the ban on gays in the military.

Responses:

Very closely	45%
Fairly closely	35
Not too closely	14
Not at all closely	6

Survey Organization:	Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor:	Times Mirror
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1516
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	FEB 20, 1993 Ending date: FEB 23, 1993
Source Document:	News Interest Index
Date of Source Document:	MAR 3, 1993
Subject:	PRESS
	PRESIDENCY
	GROUPS
	DEFENSE
	EQUALITY
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRA.030393.R2F

****

Question:
R05 Do you think homosexuals should or should not be able to serve in the armed forces?

Responses:

Should	48%
Should not	43
Don't know	9

Survey Organization:	Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	750
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	APR 8, 1993 Ending date: APR 9, 1993
Source Document:	Princeton Survey Research Associates/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	APR 26, 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRNEW.93AP26.R05

****

Question:

R08A Next I will read some issues Bill Clinton has handled as President. For each issue, please tell me if you think Clinton has compromised too much, too little or about the right amount, given the complications and political pressures. How about... gays in the military. Has he compromised too much, too little or about the right amount on this issue?

Responses:

Too much	38%
Too little	15
About right	35
Don't know	12

Survey Organization:	Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	750
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	APR 8, 1993 Ending date: APR 9, 1993
Source Document:	Princeton Survey Research Associates/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	APR 26, 1993
Subject:	PRESIDENCY
	DEFENSE
	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRNEW.93AP26.R08A

****

Question:

R15 The role of gays and lesbians in politics has been in the news recently. Do you think gay points of view are under-represented in the (President Bill) Clinton White House, over-represented or have about the right amount of representation?

Responses:

Under-represented	10%
Over-represented	34
Right amount	44
Don't know/Refused	12

Survey Organization:	Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	750
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	APR 22, 1993 Ending date: APR 23, 1993
Source Document:	Princeton Survey Research Associates/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	APR 26, 1993
Subject:	GROUPS SEX PRESIDENCY

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRNEW.042693.R15

****

Question:
R16 Which do you think is more important to gay people these days... gaining equal rights in terms of jobs, housing and the legal system, or winning acceptance for gay lifestyles from society at large?

Responses:

Equal rights	28%
Winning acceptance	49
Both equally (vol.)	9
Neither (vol.)	3
Don't know/Refused	11

Survey Organization:	Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	750
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	APR 22, 1993 Ending date: APR 23, 1993
Source Document:	Princeton Survey Research Associates/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	APR 26, 1993
Subject:	GROUPS
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRNEW.042693.R16

****

Question:
R04A I'd like your opinion of the way Bill Clinton is handling some specific issues and problems as President. Do you approve or disapprove of the way he is handling... gay rights to serve in the military?

Responses:

Approve	42%
Disapprove	51
Don't know/Refused	7

Survey Organization:	Princeton Survey Research Associates
Research Sponsor:	Newsweek
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	750
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	APR 22, 1993 Ending date: APR 23, 1993
Source Document:	Princeton Survey Research Associates/Newsweek
Date of Source Document:	APR 26, 1993
Subject:	PRESJOB

FULL QUESTION ID: USPSRNEW.042693.R04A

****

Question:
RA26D I'm going to read four statements. For each one please tell me whether you think it is true or false.... It is usually difficult to tell whether people are or are not homosexual just by their appearance or gestures... --Do you think that is true or false?

Responses:

True (Correct)	58%
False	31
Don't know	10

Survey Organization:	Roper Organization
Research Sponsor:	The Kinsey Institute, Indiana University
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1974
Interview method:	Personal and Self-administered (see note)
Beginning date:	OCT 14, 1989 Ending date: OCT 21, 1989
Source Document:	Human Sexuality
Study Note: Interview (Qs. 24-26) 1-7)	Only 1749 Of The 1974 Respondents To The Personal Completed The Self-Administered Questionnaire (Qs.
Date of Source Document:	SEP 1990
Subject:	SEX INFORMATION

FULL QUESTION ID: USROPER.89KINS.RA26D

****

Question:

R10D (Asked of respondents who said very/somewhat effective) (Now, I'm going to read some of these items again. This time, please tell me how likely each method is to actually happen.)... Homosexuals abstaining from sex.... Do you think that at some point, that definitely will happen, or is it likely to happen, or unlikely to happen, or do you think it will never happen? (Rotate)

Subpopulation: Respondents said very/somewhat effective (82%)

Responses:

Definitely will happen	2%
Likely to happen	10
Unlikely to happen	51
Will never happen	35
Already is happening (vol.)	1
Don't know	2

Survey Organization: Roper Organization
Research Sponsor: Gay Men's Health Crisis
Population: National adult
Population Size: 1004
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: MAY 1991 Ending date: MAY 1991
Source Document: Aids: Public Attitudes And Education Needs
Study Note: The Study Also Conducted A Supplemental Sample In New York City Of 474 In Addition To The National Sample Of 1004.
Date of Source Document: JUN 1991
Subject: HEALTH
SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USROPER.91AIDS.R10D

****

Question:
RZ9 Are you any of the following... Gay or lesbian?

Responses:

Chosen	1%
Not chosen	99

Survey Organization: Voter Research And Surveys
Research Sponsor: ABC,CBS,NBC News,New York Times,Cable News Network
Population: National adult exiting voters
Population Size: 19888
Interview method: Self-administered
Beginning date: NOV 6, 1990 Ending date: NOV 6, 1990
Source Document: 1990 Election Day Poll
Study Note: There Were Two Forms In This Study. Some Questions Were Asked On The Questionnaire (Form) Designed By V.R.S. Only--These Have A 'V' In The Last Digit In Question Numbers. Other Questions Were Asked On The Questionnaire (Form) Designed By C.B.S. News/New York Times. Those Have A 'C' As The Last Digit Of Question Numbers. All Other Questions Were On Both Forms.
Date of Source Document: JUN 1991
Subject: GROUPS
SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USVRS.90EXIT.RZ9

****

Question:
Q12F Do any of the following apply to you:... gay/lesbian/bisexual.

Responses:

Yes	2%
No/Don't know	98

Survey Organization: Voter Research And Surveys
Research Sponsor: ABC, CBS, NBC News, Cable News Network
Population: National adult exiting voters
Population Size: 15490
Interview method: Self-Administered
Beginning date: NOV 3, 1992 Ending date: NOV 3, 1992
Source Document: 1992 Election Day Poll
Study Note: There Were Four Versions Of The Questionnaires Which Included Some Questions In Common, And Some That Were Unique.
Date of Source Document: JAN 1993
Subject: GROUPS
SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USVRS.92EXIT.Q12F

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Question:
R06D (I am going to read you another series of statements on some social and family issues. For each one that I read, I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree (strongly/somewhat) with that statement.)... Homosexual couples should have the right to get married

Responses:

Strongly agree	12%
Somewhat agree	20
Somewhat disagree	11
Strongly disagree	52
Don't know/Refused	5

Survey Organization:	Wirthlin Group
Research Sponsor:	Readers' Digest
Population:	National adult age 25 and over
Population Size:	1013
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	MAR 16, 1992 Ending date: MAR 19, 1992
Source Document:	Readers' Digest Poll
Date of Source Document:	MAR 1992
Subject:	FAMILY GROUPS

FULL QUESTION ID: USWIRTH.92RDIG.R06D

****

Question:
R03I (Which of these do you think are very important issues for women today and which are less important?)... Lesbian/gay rights

Responses:

Very important	36%
Less important	51
Not sure	14

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National--Adult Women
Population Size:	1000
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 23, 1989 Ending date: OCT 25, 1989
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N/Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Date of Source Document:	DEC 1, 1989
Subject:	WOMEN
	PROBLEMS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.89WOM.R03I

****

Question:
R3 In your view, should religious groups allow sexually active gays or lesbians into the clergy?

Responses:

Yes	36%
No	53
Not sure	11

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1000
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JUN 4, 1991 Ending date: JUN 5, 1991
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Date of Source Document:	JUN 20, 1991
Subject:	SEX RELIGION GROUPS

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.062019.R3

****

Question:
Q36 Do you personally think that homosexual relationships between consenting adults is morally wrong, or is not a moral issue?

Responses:

Morally wrong	54%
Not a moral issue	39
Not sure	7

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1250
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	MAY 13, 1992 Ending date: MAY 14, 1992
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Date of Source Document:	MAY 1992
Subject:	GROUPS
	SEX
	VALUES

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.65215.Q36

****

Question:
R41 Do you think marriages between homosexual men and between homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law?

Responses:

Yes	27%
No	67
Not sure	6

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1250
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	AUG 19, 1992 Ending date: AUG 20, 1992
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Date of Source Document:	SEP 10, 1992
Subject:	SEX
	GROUPS
	FAMILY

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.091092.R41

****

Question:
R42 Do you think that homosexual couples should be legally permitted to adopt children?

Responses:

Yes	29%
No	63
Not sure	8

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1250
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	AUG 19, 1992 Ending date: AUG 20, 1992
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Date of Source Document:	SEP 10, 1992
Subject:	SEX
	GROUPS
	FAMILY

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.091092.R42

****

Question:
R43 Do you think that the laws which protect the civil rights of racial or religious minorities should be used to protect the rights of homosexuals?

Responses:

Yes	44%
No	47
Not sure	9

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1250
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	AUG 19, 1992 Ending date: AUG 20, 1992
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Date of Source Document:	SEP 10, 1992
Subject:	SEX
	RIGHTS
	MINORITIES

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.091092.R43

****

Question:
R33E (People have different ideas about family values. Please tell me whether you think each of the following is very important or not very important to promote family values in this country.)... Preventing homosexuals from adopting children

Responses:

Very important	47%
Not very important	45
Not sure	8

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1250
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	AUG 19, 1992 Ending date: AUG 20, 1992
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Date of Source Document:	SEP 10, 1992
Subject:	FAMILY
	VALUES
	GROUPS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.091092.R33E

****

Question:
Q33F Does your vote for Bill Clinton mean that you want him to... allow homosexuals to serve in the military... if he is elected President (in 1992) or don't you support that?

Subpopulation: See note

Responses:

Yes	56%
No	30
Not sure	14

Asked of likely voters--registered, always vote and very likely to vote in 1992 for or leaning toward Clinton (40% of likely voters)

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1653
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 20, 1992 Ending date: OCT 22, 1992
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Date of Source Document:	OCT 1992
Subject:	PRESVOTE
	DEFENSE
	SEX
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.65229.Q33F

****

Question:
Q34F If Bill Clinton is elected, do you think that means the voters want him to... allow homosexuals to serve in the military... or don't you think so?

Subpopulation: See note

Responses:

Yes	36%
No	43
Not sure	21

Asked of likely voters--registered, always vote and very likely to vote in 1992 and will not vote for Clinton (60% of likely voters)

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1653
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	OCT 20, 1992 Ending date: OCT 22, 1992
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
Date of Source Document:	OCT 1992
Subject:	PRESVOTE
	DEFENSE
	EQUALITY
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.65229.Q34F

****

Question:
R22 Do you favor or oppose Bill Clinton's plan to allow gays and lesbians to serve in the U.S. (United States) military?

Responses:

Favor	43%
Oppose	48
Not sure	9

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Partners Inc.
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1800
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 22, 1993 Ending date: JAN 25, 1993
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Partners Inc.
Date of Source Document:	JAN 28, 1993
Subject:	DEFENSE EQUALITY GROUPS SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKP.012893.R22

****

Question:
R23 Do you think that the laws which protect the civil rights of racial or religious minorities should be used to protect the rights of homosexuals?

Responses:

Yes	48%
No	43
Not sure	9

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Partners Inc.
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1800
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 22, 1993 Ending date: JAN 25, 1993
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Partners Inc.
Date of Source Document:	JAN 28, 1993
Subject:	EQUALITY
	MINORITIES
	GROUPS
	SEX

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKP.012893.R23

****

Question:
R24 Do you think marriages between homosexual men or between homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law?

Responses:

Yes	27%
No	65
Not sure	8

Survey Organization:	Yankelovich Partners Inc.
Research Sponsor:	Time, Cable News Network
Population:	National adult
Population Size:	1800
Interview method:	Telephone
Beginning date:	JAN 22, 1993 Ending date: JAN 25, 1993
Source Document:	Time/C.N.N./Yankelovich Partners Inc.
Date of Source Document:	JAN 28, 1993
Subject:	GROUPS
	SEX
	FAMILY
	EQUALITY

FULL QUESTION ID: USYANKP.012893.R24

Yankelovich Poll for Time Magazine
1978

1978 - Yankelovich

?s oc=yank and sb+=780314

	7581	OC=YANK
	92	SB=780314
S8	92	OC=YANK AND SB=780314

?t 8/5/1-5

8/5/1
00132731 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q8

Q92 Every family has different experiences these days. Have you or has anyone in your immediate family (brother, sister, parents) recently...

Been divorced	31%
Been separated	24
Lived with someone of the opposite sex without marriage	29
Married someone of a different religion	42
Indicated he or she was homosexual	3
Left a wife who had children	12
Left a husband who had children	7

QUESTION NOTES: Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY; SEX

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8/5/2
00132730 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q7I

Q91 Today there are many different kinds of lifestyles which people find acceptable, such as... Divorced women asking their parents to raise the children while they build a new life... How do you feel about this? Do you find it acceptable for other people but not for yourself, acceptable for other people and yourself, or not acceptable at all?

Acceptable for others	20%
Acceptable for others and self	10
Not acceptable	71

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/3
00132729 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q7H

Q90 Today there are many different kinds of lifestyles which people find acceptable, such as... Young people with children living together in what they call the 'extended' family... How do you feel about this? Do you find it acceptable for other people but not for yourself, acceptable for other people and yourself, or not acceptable at all?

Acceptable for others	34%
Acceptable for others and self	12
Not acceptable	54

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

00132728 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q7G

Q89 Today there are many different kinds of lifestyles which people find acceptable, such as... Enrolling very young children in day care centers or nursery school to give the mother more leisure time... How do you feel about this? Do you find it acceptable for other people but not for yourself, acceptable for other people and yourself, or not acceptable at all?

Acceptable for others	25%
Acceptable for others and self	27
Not acceptable	49

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/5
00132727 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q7F

Q88 Today there are many different kinds of lifestyles which people find acceptable, such as... Homosexual relationships... How do you feel about this? Do you find it acceptable for other people but not for yourself, acceptable for other people and yourself, or not acceptable at all?

Acceptable for others	35%
Acceptable for others and self	6
Not acceptable	59

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut
?t 8/5/6-92

8/5/6
00132726 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q7E

Q87 Today there are many different kinds of lifestyles which people find acceptable, such as... Premarital relationships... How do you feel about this? Do you find it acceptable for other people but not for yourself, acceptable for other people and yourself, or not acceptable at all?

Acceptable for others	23%
Acceptable for others and self	41
Not acceptable	36

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; SEX

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8/5/7
00132725 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q7D

Q86 Today there are many different kinds of lifestyles which people find acceptable, such as... Couples living with their in-laws... How do you feel about this? Do you find it acceptable for other people but not for yourself, acceptable for other people and yourself, or not acceptable at all?

Acceptable for others	34%
Acceptable for others and self	22
Not acceptable	44

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

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8/5/8
00132724 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q7C

Q85 Today there are many different kinds of lifestyles which people find acceptable, such as... A single woman having and raising a child... How do you feel about this? Do you find it acceptable for other people but not for yourself, acceptable for other people and yourself, or not acceptable at all?

Acceptable for others	40%
Acceptable for others and self	34
Not acceptable	26

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN; FAMILY

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8/5/9
00132723 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q7B

Q84 Today there are many different kinds of lifestyles which people find acceptable, such as... A mother of young children going to work for career purposes and self-fulfillment when the money is not needed... How do you feel about this? Do you find it acceptable for other people but not for yourself, acceptable for other people and yourself, or not acceptable at all?

Acceptable for others	27%
Acceptable for others and self	34
Not acceptable	39

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/10
00132722 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q7A

Q83 Today there are many different kinds of lifestyles which people find acceptable, such as a husband staying home and caring for the children while the wife goes to work. How do you feel about this? Do you find it acceptable for other people but not for yourself, acceptable for other people and yourself, or not acceptable at all?

Acceptable for others	36%
Acceptable for others and self	38
Not acceptable	26

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY; MEN; WOMEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/11
00132721 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q6H

Q82 Do you personally think that...Seldom visiting parents because they prefer the company of their friends more...is morally wrong or not a moral issue.

Morally wrong	54%
Not a moral issue	41
Not sure	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/12
00132720 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q6G

Q81 Do you personally think that...Putting an aging parent in a nursing home rather than have them come to live with the family...is morally wrong or not a moral issue.

Morally wrong	32%
Not a moral issue	56
Not sure	12

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY; ELDERLY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/13
00132719 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q6F

Q80 Do you personally think that...Deciding to have children even though they are not legally married and don't intend to be...is morally wrong or not a moral issue.

Morally wrong	65%
[illegible]	[illegible]

SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; SEX

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8/5/19
00132713 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5B7

Q74 People have different definitions of what makes a real man. For each of the qualities that I'm going to read you, would you tell me whether you feel it is very important for a real man to have, somewhat important, or not important at all: Is good at planning for the future

Very important	75%
Somewhat important	24
Not important	2

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/20
00132712 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5B6

Q73 People have different definitions of what makes a real man. For each of the qualities that I'm going to read you, would you tell me whether you feel it is very important for a real man to have, somewhat important, or not important at all: Is good at managing money

Very important	65%
Somewhat important	30
Not important	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/16
00132716 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q6C

Q77 Do you personally think that...Spending money on vacations for themselves rather than saving it for their children's education...is morally wrong or not a moral issue.

Morally wrong	12%
Not a moral issue	82
Not sure	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/17
00132715 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q6B

Q76 Do you personally think that...The decision not to have children even if the couple can afford to...is morally wrong or not a moral issue.

Morally wrong	16%
Not a moral issue	76
Not sure	8

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/18
00132714 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q6A

Q75 Do you personally think that homosexual relationships between consenting adults are morally wrong or not a moral issue.

Morally wrong	53%
Not a moral issue	38
Not sure	9

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/14
00132718 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q6E

Q79 Do you personally think that...Having an abortion because they don't want to have more children...is morally wrong or not a moral issue.

Morally wrong	53%
Not a moral issue	40
Not sure	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ABORTION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/15
00132717 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q6D

Q78 Do you personally think that...Getting a divorce just because one of them wants it even though they have young children... is morally wrong or not a moral issue.

Morally wrong	37%
Not a moral issue	53
Not sure	11

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
[illegible]

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8/5/21
00132711 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5B5

Q72 People have different definitions of what makes a real man. For each of the qualities that I'm going to read you, would you tell me whether you feel it is very important for a real man to have, somewhat important, or not important at all: Puts his family before anything else

Very important	73%
Somewhat important	24
Not important	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/22
00132710 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5B4

Q71 People have different definitions of what makes a real man. For each of the qualities that I'm going to read you, would you tell me whether you feel it is very important for a real man to have, somewhat important, or not important at all: Being physically strong

Very important	30%
Somewhat important	45
Not important	26

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/23
00132709 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5B3

Q70 People have different definitions of what makes a real man. For each of the qualities that I'm going to read you, would you tell me whether you feel it is very important for a real man to have, somewhat important, or not important at all: Being handy around the house--can make repairs

Not important

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/24
00132708 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5B2

Q69 People have different definitions of what makes a real man. For each of the qualities that I'm going to read you, would you tell me whether you feel it is very important for a real man to have, somewhat important, or not important at all: Being sexually attractive

Very important	24%
Somewhat important	53
Not important	24

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; MEN; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/25
00132707 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5B1

Q68 People have different definitions of what makes a real man. For each of the qualities that I'm going to read you, would you tell me whether you feel it is very important for a real man to have, somewhat important, or not important at all: Being a good provider

Very important	67%
Somewhat important	29
Not important	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/26
00132706 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A22

067 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? If a husband 'plays around' a little, that's excusable, but a wife never should

Completely	7%
Partially	7
No longer believe	86

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; SEX; MEN; WOMEN

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8/5/27
00132705 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A21

066 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? A couple should not live together before they get married

Completely	38%
Partially	19
No longer believe	43

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

00132704 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A20

065 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? A good wife should not have an abortion even if she finds herself pregnant with an unwanted child

Completely	33%
Partially	24
No longer believe	43

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN; ABORTION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/29
00132703 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A19

064 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? A good husband finds personal self-fulfillment in being a good provider for his family

Completely	70%
Partially	26
No longer believe	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/30
00132702 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A18

063 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are

longer believe in? A married couple's standard of living should be based on the husband's earnings, even if both husband and wife work

Completely	39%
Partially	21
No longer believe	40

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

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8/5/31
00132701 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A17

062 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? Married people are happier than those who are not married

Completely	29%
Partially	30
No longer believe	42

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

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8/5/32
00132700 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A16

061 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? One or two children is the ideal size for any family

Completely	44%
Partially	31
No longer believe	25

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

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8/5/33
00132699 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A15

060 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? Marriages are stronger when the wife stays at home and doesn't go out to work

Completely	26%
Partially	26
No longer believe	48

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN; WORK

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8/5/34
00132698 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A14

059 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? Married couples should not have children if they cannot afford them

Completely	48%
Partially	33
No longer believe	19

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/35
00132697 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A13

Q58 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? A good wife knows how to entertain and be a good hostess

Completely	48%
Partially	39
No longer believe	13

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN

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8/5/36
00132696 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A12

Q57 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? A good spanking is still the best way to discipline a child

Completely	37%
Partially	34
No longer believe	29

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

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8/5/37
00132695 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A11

Q56 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? Children should unquestioningly obey their parents

Completely	41%
Partially	33
No longer believe	26

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

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8/5/38
00132694 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A10

Q55 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? The husband should have the final say in all important financial decisions

Completely	15%
Partially	24
No longer believe	61

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/39
00132693 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A09

important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? A woman should be a virgin when she gets married

Completely	25%
Partially	18
No longer believe	58

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/40
00132692 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A08

053 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? It's still the wife's responsibility to make sure that the house is clean and neat even if she works as hard as her husband

Completely	22%
Partially	30
No longer believe	48

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: WOMEN; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/41
00132691 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A07

052 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? A woman with young children should not work at a job outside the home unless it is financially necessary

	20
Partially	23
No longer believe	

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/79

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: WOMEN; WORK

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/42
00132690 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A06

Q61 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? Children suffer when the mother goes to work

	33%
Completely	36
Partially	31
No longer believe	

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY; WOMEN; WORK

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/43
00132689 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A05

Q50 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? Parents have an obligation to put their children through college

	23%
Completely	37
Partially	41
No longer believe	

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
[illegible] SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; EDUCATION; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/44
00132688 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A04

049 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? A man with a family has a responsibility to choose the job that pays the most rather than one that is more satisfying but pays less

Completely	17%
Partially	25
No longer believe	58

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78
INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY; WORK; MEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/45
00132687 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A03

048 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? Children have an obligation to take care of their parents when they get old

Completely	31%
Partially	39
No longer believe	29

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

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8/5/46
00132686 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A02

047 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? If they have young children, a couple should not get divorced even if they are unhappy with each other

Completely	14%
Partially	25
No longer believe	61

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/47
00132685 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q5A01

046 I'm going to read you a list of rules people used to believe were important to families and family life, but which some people now feel are old-fashioned and out-of-date. Will you tell me for each one whether this is something you personally still believe in completely, partially, or no longer believe in? A wife should put her husband and children ahead of her own career

Completely	38%
Partially	39
No longer believe	23

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY; WOMEN

8/5/48
00132684 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q4D8

045 Compared to your parents, would you say that you personally place more emphasis, about the same emphasis or less emphasis on... Adult children being responsible for their parents if they need help?

More emphasis	30%
Same emphasis	54
Less emphasis	16

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/49
00132683 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q4D7

044 Compared to your parents, would you say that you personally place more emphasis, about the same emphasis or less emphasis on... Insuring that children get a college education?

More emphasis	44%
Same emphasis	42
Less emphasis	13

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; EDUCATION

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8/5/50
00132682 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q4D6

043 Compared to your parents, would you say that you personally place more emphasis, about the same emphasis or less emphasis on... Married couples having children?

More emphasis	20%
Same emphasis	53
Less emphasis	27

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

9/5/51
00132681 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q4D5

Q42 Compared to your parents, would you say that you personally place more emphasis, about the same emphasis or less emphasis on... Adult children being close to their parents?

More emphasis	35%
Same emphasis	52
Less emphasis	13

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

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8/5/52
00132680 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q4D4

Q41 Compared to your parents, would you say that you personally place more emphasis, about the same emphasis or less emphasis on... Parents sacrificing for their children?

More emphasis	26%
Same emphasis	53
Less emphasis	21

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

Q40 Compared to your parents, would you say that you personally place more emphasis, about the same emphasis or less emphasis on... Men getting married?

More emphasis	19%
Same emphasis	55
Less emphasis	26

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/54
00132678 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q4D2

Q39 Compared to your parents, would you say that you personally place more emphasis, about the same emphasis or less emphasis on... Women getting married?

More emphasis	20%
Same emphasis	52
Less emphasis	27

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/55
00132677 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q4D1

Q38 Compared to your parents, would you say that you personally place more emphasis, about the same emphasis or less emphasis on... Family togetherness?

More emphasis	33%
Same emphasis	54
Less emphasis	13

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/56
00132676 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q4C

Q37 Does this (that the traditional family structure of mother, father and children living under one roof no longer seems to work) bother you personally a lot, a little, or not at all?

A lot	35%
A little	38
Not at all	27

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Agree that traditional fam. doesn't work (21%)
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

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8/5/57
00132675 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q4B

Q36 How do you feel about the criticism that the traditional family structure of mother, father and children living under one roof no longer seems to work? Do you agree or disagree with the critics?

Agree	21%
Disagree	75
Not sure	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

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8/5/58

035 Some people say that the present institution of marriage is becoming obsolete. Do you agree or disagree?

Agree	28%
Disagree	72

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY
(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/59
00132673 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3C

034 What gives your life the most meaning--your work, your family, or your leisure?

Work	10%
Family	81
Leisure	10

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY; WORK; RECREATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/60
00132672 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B11

033 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Work...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

Very important	78%
Fairly important	16
Not very important	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WORK

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/61
00132671 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B10

Q32 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Understanding yourself...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

	91%
Very important	7
Fairly important	1
Not very important	

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/62
00132670 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B09

Q31 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Being a parent...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

	81%
Very important	10
Fairly important	9
Not very important	

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/63
00132669 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B08

Q30 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Living a clean, moral life...very important to you, fairly

Very important	78%
Fairly important	18
Not very important	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/64
00132668 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B07

Q29 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Family...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

Very important	92%
Fairly important	7
Not very important	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/65
00132667 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B06

Q28 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Respect for authority...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

Very important	77%
Fairly important	20
Not very important	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/66
00132666 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B05

027 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Religion...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

Very important	66%
Fairly important	22
Not very important	12

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; RELIGION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/67
00132665 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B04

026 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Patriotism...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

Very important	70%
Fairly important	23
Not very important	7

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; PATRIOTISM

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/68
00132664 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B03

025 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Love...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/69
00132663 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B02

Q24 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Money...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

Very important	35%
Fairly important	53
Not very important	12

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/70
00132662 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3B01

Q23 What role does each of the following values play in your life--is...Friendship...very important to you, fairly important, or not very important to you?

Very important	81%
Fairly important	16
Not very important	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/71
00132661 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3A10

Q22 Many people feel we are undergoing a period of rapid social change in this country today and that people's values are changing at the same time. Which of the following changes would you welcome, which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? More emphasis on three generations--grandparents, parents and children living together

Welcome	33%
Reject	39
Indifferent/Not sure	28

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/72
00132660 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3A09

Q21 Many people feel we are undergoing a period of rapid social change in this country today and that people's values are changing at the same time. Which of the following changes would you welcome, which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? More emphasis on the rights of women.

Welcome	56%
Reject	20
Indifferent/Not sure	24

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WOMEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

9/5/73
00132659 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3A08

Which of the following changes would you welcome, which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? More acceptance of homosexuality

Welcome	15%
Reject	57
Indifferent/Not sure	29

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/74
00132658 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3A07

Q19 Many people feel we are undergoing a period of rapid social change in this country today and that people's values are changing at the same time. Which of the following changes would you welcome, which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? Less emphasis on people getting married

Welcome	23%
Reject	52
Indifferent/Not sure	25

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/75
00132657 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3A06

Q18 Many people feel we are undergoing a period of rapid social change in this country today and that people's values are changing at the same time. Which of the following changes would you welcome, which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? More emphasis on traditional family ties

Welcome	84%
Reject	4
Indifferent/Not sure	13

SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/76
00132656 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3A05

Q17 Many people feel we are undergoing a period of rapid social change in this country today and that people's values are changing at the same time. Which of the following changes would you welcome; which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? More emphasis on religious beliefs

Welcome	67%
Reject	9
Indifferent/Not sure	24

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; RELIGION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/77
00132655 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3A04

Q16 Many people feel we are undergoing a period of rapid social change in this country today and that people's values are changing at the same time. Which of the following changes would you welcome; which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? More acceptance of sexual freedom.

Welcome	27%
Reject	46
Indifferent/Not sure	27

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/79
00132654 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3AC3

Q15 Many people feel we are undergoing a period of rapid social change in this country today and that people's values are changing at the same time. Which of the following changes would you welcome, which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? More emphasis on self-expression

Welcome	69%
Reject	12
Indifferent/Not sure	20

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/79
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/79
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/79

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/79
00132653 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3A02

Q14 Many people feel we are undergoing a period of rapid social change in this country today and that people's values are changing at the same time. Which of the following changes would you welcome, which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? Less emphasis on working hard

Welcome	34%
Reject	45
Indifferent/Not sure	21

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/79
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/79
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/79

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; WORK

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/80
00132652 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q3A01

Q13 Many people feel we are undergoing a period of rapid social change in this country today and that people's values are changing at the same time. Which of the following changes would you welcome, which would you reject and which would leave you indifferent? Less emphasis on money

Indifferent/Not sure 30

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/81
00132651 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2E3

Q12 What about for the future--or perhaps even now--are you very concerned, fairly concerned, or not that concerned about: Keeping family ties strong?

Very concerned	56%
Fairly concerned	20
Not that concerned	25

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: FUTURE; FAMILY; PROBLEMS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/82
00132650 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2E2

Q11 What about for the future--or perhaps even now--are you very concerned, fairly concerned, or not that concerned about: Whether your own children will care for you, financially, if you need it when you are older?

Very concerned	13%
Fairly concerned	19
Not that concerned	68

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/83
00132649 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2E1

Q10 What about for the future--or perhaps even now--are you very concerned, fairly concerned, or not that concerned about: Having to support your parents when they are older?

Very concerned	19%
Fairly concerned	24
Not that concerned	57

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; FUTURE

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/84
00132648 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2D5

Q09 People all have different concerns. Will you tell me for each of the following whether this is something that worries you personally a lot, a little, or not at all at the present time? Not having enough money to send your children to college when they want to go

A lot	31%
A little	21
Not at all	48

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; FINANCES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/85
00132647 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2D4

Q08 People all have different concerns. Will you tell me for each of the following whether this is something that worries you personally a lot, a little, or not at all at the present time? Not being able to keep up with the bills

A lot	34%

Not at all

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; FINANCES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/86
00132646 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2D3

Q07 People all have different concerns. Will you tell me for each of the following whether this is something that worries you personally a lot, a little, or not at all at the present time? Losing job because of the economy

A lot	27%
A little	18
Not at all	55

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/87
00132645 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2D2

Q06 People all have different concerns. Will you tell me for each of the following whether this is something that worries you personally a lot, a little, or not at all at the present time? Being able to pay for the upkeep and rent of your house

A lot	35%
A little	32
Not at all	33

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; FINANCES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/88
00132644 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2D1

Q05 People all have different concerns. Will you tell me for each of the following whether this is something that worries you personally a lot, a little, or not at all at the present time? For example, does saving for the future worry you a lot, a little, or not at all at the present time?

A lot	39%
A little	38
Not at all	23

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: PROBLEMS; FINANCES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/89
00132643 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2C

Q04 Do you have a lot of confidence, some confidence, or no real confidence that in a few years from now our country will be strong and prosperous?

A lot of confidence	24%
Some confidence	50
No real confidence	22
Not sure	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: FUTURE; MOOD

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/90
00132642 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2B

Q03 In commenting on how things are going in the country, some people tell us that the problems we face are no worse than at any other time in recent years. Others say the country is really in deep and serious trouble today

Problems are no worse than at other times 52%
The country is in deep and serious trouble 41
Not sure 8

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: MOOD

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/91
00132641 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q2A

Q02 How do you feel that things are going in the country these days--very well, fairly well, pretty badly, or very badly?

Very well 4%
Fairly well 49
Pretty badly 33
Very badly 14

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1044
SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters
DESCRIPTORS: MOOD

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

8/5/92
00132640 QUESTION ID: USYANK.788140 Q1A

Q01 Are you a Democrat, a Republican, or what?

Democrat 47%
Republican 27
Independent (vol.) 21
Other (vol.) 5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE (YANK)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 03/14/78
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 03/30/78
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 03/30/78

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY POPULATION: Registered voters

DESCRIPTORS: PARTISANSHIP

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research: U. of Connecticut
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$189.00 189 Type(s) in Format 5
$189.00 189 Types
$234.90 Estimated cost File469
$4.86 DIALNET
$239.76 Estimated cost this search
$239.94 Estimated total session cost 0.454 Hrs.
Logoff: level 30.03.01 D 10:55:35

DIALNET: call cleared by request

1987 - Yankelovich

YANKCS POLL FOR TIME MAGAZINE, 198?

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VbX
NO CARRIER
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      $0.11  Estimated cost File1
      $0.03  DIALNET
      $0.14  Estimated cost this search
      $0.14  Estimated total session cost   0.003 Hrs.

File 468:Public Opinion Online  1940-1993/Apr
        (c) 1993 Roper Cntr/U. Connecticut

       Set  Items  Description
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              141  SB=870119
      S1      102  OC=YANKCS AND SB=870119
?s s1 and id=usyankcs.870604?

              102  S1
                0  ID=USYANKCS.870604?
      S2        0  S1 AND ID=USYANKCS.870604?
?t 1/5/1-5


 1/5/1
00139242          QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q35

102  Have you ever felt physically threatened by someone who was white?
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Yes 24%
No 76

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Blacks (11%)

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; CRIME
(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

1/5/2
00139241 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q34

101 Have you ever been insulted because of your race?

Yes 60%
No 40

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Blacks (11%)

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; EQUALITY
(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

1/5/3
00139240 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q33

100 Do you think most whites would feel afraid to be in an all-black neighborhood at night?

Yes 77%
No 12
Not sure (Vol.) 11

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Blacks (11%)

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/4
00139239 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q32

Q99 Would you feel afraid to be in an all-white neighborhood at night?

Yes	30%
No	68
Not sure (Vol.)	2

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Blacks (11%)

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; CRIME

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/5
00139238 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q31

Q98 Would you feel afraid to be in a all-white neighborhood during the day?

Yes	16%
No	82
Not sure (Vol.)	2

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Blacks (11%)
DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; CRIME

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut
?t 1/5/6-102

1/5/6
00139237 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q30

Q97 Have you ever been discriminated against at school?

Yes	25%
No	74
Not sure (Vol.)	?

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Blacks (11%)

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; EDUCATION; EQUALITY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/7
00139236 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q29

Q96 Have you ever been discriminated against at work?

Yes	32%
No	68

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Blacks (11%)

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; WORK; EQUALITY
(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/8
00139235 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q28

Q95 Have you ever been discriminated against in trying to rent an apartment or buy a house?

Yes	16%
No	84
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Blacks (11%)
DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; HOUSING; EQUALITY

1/5/9
00139234 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q27

Q94 Have you ever felt physically threatened by someone who was black?

Yes	26%
No	73
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Whites (81%)

DESCRIPTORS: CRIME; BLACKS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/10
00139233 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q26

Q93 Do you think most blacks would feel afraid to be in an all-white neighborhood at night?

Yes	40%
No	48
Not sure (Vol.)	12

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Whites (81%)
DESCRIPTORS: CRIME; BLACKS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/11
00139232 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q25

Q92 Would you feel afraid to be in a all-black neighborhood at night?

Yes	64%
No	28
Not sure (Vol.)	9

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Whites (81%)

DESCRIPTORS: CRIME; BLACKS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/12
00139231 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q24

Q91 Would you feel afraid to be in a all-black neighborhood during the day?

Yes	27%
No	66
Not sure (Vol.)	8

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: Whites (81%)
DESCRIPTORS: CRIME; BLACKS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/13
00139230 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q23D

Q90 Do you agree or disagree...most black Americans do not like whites.

Agree	45%
Disagree	42
Not sure (Vol.)	13

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS
(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/14
00139229 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q23C

089 Do you agree or disagree...most white Americans do not like blacks.

Agree	38%
Disagree	49
Not sure (Vol.)	13

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS
(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/15
00139228 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q23B

088 Do you agree or disagree...racial DISCRIMINATION is still very common in the United States.

Agree	82%
Disagree	15
Not sure (Vol.)	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: EQUALITY; BLACKS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research; U. of Connecticut

1/5/16
00139227 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q23A

087 Do you agree or disagree...racial prejudice is still very common in the United States.

Agree	87%
Disagree	10
Not sure (Vol.)	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: EQUALITY; BLACKS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/17
00139226 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q22B

Q86 Do you think that the government should prosecute homeowners who--when they put their house up for sale--refuse to sell to blacks?

Yes	66%
No	27
Not sure (Vol.)	7

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: EQUALITY; HOUSING; BLACKS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/18
00139225 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q22A

Q85 On another issue, do you think the government should prosecute landlords for refusing to rent apartments to blacks?

Yes	71%
No	23
Not sure (Vol.)	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: EQUALITY; HOUSING; BLACKS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/19
00139224 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q21

Q84 To promote educational opportunities, do you think colleges should admit some black students whose academic record would not normally qualify them for admission?

Yes 17%
No 79
Not sure (Vol.) 4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; EQUALITY; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/20
00139223 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q20

Q83 Do you think that businesses should give extra consideration to blacks when hiring new employees?

Yes 25%
No 70
Not sure (Vol.) 5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; EQUALITY; BUSINESS; WORK

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/21
00139222 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q19

Q82 To promote job opportunities, do you think that businesses should set a goal of hiring a minimum number of black employees?

Yes 36%
No 58
Not sure (Vol.) 6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; EQUALITY; BUSINESS; WORK

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1/5/22
00139221 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q18BC

Q81 Do you think the federal government should be doing more or be doing less to promote job opportunities for black Americans?

Should do more	59%
Should do less	12
Same as now (Vol.)	24
Not sure (Vol.)	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; GOVERNMENT; WORK

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/23
00139220 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q18BB

Q80 Do you think the federal government should be doing more or be doing less to promote educational opportunities for black Americans?

Should do more	62%
Should do less	11
Same as now (Vol.)	23
Not sure (Vol.)	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; GOVERNMENT; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/24
00139219 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q18BA

Q79 Do you think the federal government should be doing more or be doing less to promote better housing for black Americans?

Should do more	61%
Should do less	14

Not sure (Vol.)

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; GOVERNMENT; HOUSING

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/25
00139218 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q18AC

Q78 Do you think that black Americans have the same opportunities as white Americans to obtain a good job?

Same opportunities	54%
Not the same	42
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; EQUALITY; WORK

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/26
00139217 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q18AB

Q77 Do you think that black Americans have the same opportunities as white Americans to receive a good education?

Same opportunities	68%
Not the same	29
Not sure (Vol.)	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

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1/5/27
00139216 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q18AA

076 Do you think that black Americans have the same opportunities as white Americans to find decent housing, or do you think this is not the case?

Same opportunities	44%
Not the same	51
Not sure (Vol.)	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; EQUALITY; HOUSING

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/28
00139215 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q17

075 Now I have a few questions about race relations. Do you think the situation for black Americans has become better since President Reagan entered office in 1981, become worse, or hasn't changed?

Better	22%
Worse	16
Hasn't changed	56
Not sure (Vol.)	7

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: BLACKS; PRESIDENCY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/29
00139214 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q16H

074 As a way to improve the moral climate in this country would you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of: Electing more religious leaders to public office.

Approve	39%
Disapprove	53
Not sure (Vol.)	8

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; RELIGION; ELECTIONS; GOVERNMENT

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/30
00139213 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q16G

Q73 As a way to improve the moral climate in this country would you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of: Parents having a greater say about what textbooks can be used in the schools.

Approve	56%
Disapprove	38
Not sure (Vol.)	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/31
00139212 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q16F

Q72 As a way to improve the moral climate in this country would you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of: Requiring more courses on values and morality in our schools.

Approve	80%
Disapprove	18
Not sure (Vol.)	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/32
00139211 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q16E

Q71 As a way to improve the moral climate in this country would you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of: Mandatory prayers in the schools.

Approve	42%
Disapprove	54
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; EDUCATION; RELIGION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/33
00139210 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q16D

Q70 As a way to improve the moral climate in this country would you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of: Making abortions more difficult to obtain.

Approve	58%
Disapprove	36
Not sure (Vol.)	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; ABORTION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/34
00139209 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q16C

Q69 As a way to improve the moral climate in this country would you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of: Greater attention to family values through legislation.

Approve	63%
Disapprove	31
Not sure (Vol.)	7

SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/35
00139208 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 016B

068 As a way to improve the moral climate in this country would you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of: More restrictions of what appears in movies.

Approve	57%
Disapprove	39
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/36
00139207 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 016A

067 As a way to improve the moral climate in this country would you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of: More restrictions of what is shown on television.

Approve	62%
Disapprove	34
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; TELEVISION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

00139206 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15K

Q66 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. Rock music.

Does contribute	47%
Does not contribute	46
Not sure (Vol.)	8

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/88
00139205 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15J

Q65 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. The prevalence of drugs and alcohol in the society.

Does contribute	91%
Does not contribute	7
Not sure (Vol.)	2

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; NARCOTICS; ALCOHOL

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/88
00139204 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15I

Q64 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. A lack of ethics in the business world.

Does not contribute 18
Not sure (Vol.) 6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; BUSINESS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/40
00139203 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15H

Q63 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. More women working outside the home.

Does contribute 52%
Does not contribute 44
Not sure (Vol.) 4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; FAMILY; WORK

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/41
00139202 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15G

Q62 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. The failure of parents to teach their children better.

Does contribute 92%
Does not contribute 6
Not sure (Vol.) 2

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/42
00139201 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15F

Q61 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. Shortcomings in our schools.

Does contribute	74%
Does not contribute	21
Not sure (Vol.)	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/43
00139200 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15E

Q60 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. A lack of example set by political leaders.

Does contribute	74%
Does not contribute	22
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; LEADERS; GOVERNMENT

1/5/44
00139199 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15D

Q59 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. A decline in religious belief and commitment.

Does contribute	81%
Does not contribute	16
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; RELIGION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/45
00139198 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15C

Q58 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. What is shown on television.

Does contribute	80%
Does not contribute	17
Not sure (Vol.)	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; TELEVISION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/46
00139197 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15B

Q57 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. Parents not taking responsibility for their children.

Does contribute	94%
Does not contribute	5
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/47
00139196 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q15A

Q56 I'm going to read you a list of things that some people think might contribute to lower moral standards in this country. As I read each, please tell me whether YOU think this contributes to lower moral standards or does not contribute to lower moral standards. The high divorce rate.

Does contribute	77%
Does not contribute	19
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/48
00139195 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q14B

Q55 Compared to when you were growing up, would you say ADULTS today are more moral in their behavior, less moral in their behavior, or about the same?

More	10%
Less	56
About the same	33
Not sure (Vol.)	2

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/49
00139194 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q14A

Q54 Compared to when you were growing up, would you say teenagers today are MORE moral in their behavior, LESS moral in their behavior, or about the same?

More	11%
Less	60
About the same	29
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; YOUTH; ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/50
00139193 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q13B

Q53 What do you think is the BEST way for young people today to learn about what is right or wrong?

Their parents	80%
School	7
Religious instruction	11
Television	1
Their peers	1
Not sure (Vol.)	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; YOUTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/51

052 Do you think young people today learn about what is right or wrong PRIMARILY from:

Their parents	51%
Their peers	16
School	7
Religious instruction	4
Television	17
Not sure (Vol.)	7

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; YOUTH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/52
00139191 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q12

051 What do you feel has been the single MOST IMPORTANT factor in influencing your beliefs about what is right or wrong?

Religion, religious upbringing	28%
Parents, what parents taught	47
What have read in books	1
Television	*
Personal experience	8
Friends and peers	1
Other	6
Not sure (Vol.)	9

QUESTION NOTES: * = less than .5 percent

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/53
00139190 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q11I

050 Now I'm going to read you another list of actions. As previously, please tell me, for each, whether this is something you consider to be

Is morally wrong	67%
Is not morally wrong	23
Not sure (Vol.)	10

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; RELIGION

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1/5/54
00139189 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q11H

049 Now I'm going to read you another list of actions. As previously, please tell me, for each, whether this is something you consider to be morally wrong or not morally wrong. Not voting in elections.

Is morally wrong	55%
Is not morally wrong	37
Not sure (Vol.)	9

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ELECTIONS; PARTICIPATION

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1/5/55
00139188 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q11G

048 Now I'm going to read you another list of actions. As previously, please tell me, for each, whether this is something you consider to be morally wrong or not morally wrong. Lying on a job application or resume.

Is morally wrong	89%
Is not morally wrong	9
Not sure (Vol.)	2

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/56
00139187 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q11F

047 Now I'm going to read you another list of actions. As previously, please tell me, for each, whether this is something you consider to be morally wrong or not morally wrong. Not returning extra change that you may be given in a store.

Is morally wrong	89%
Is not morally wrong	11
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/57
00139186 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q11E

046 Now I'm going to read you another list of actions. As previously, please tell me, for each, whether this is something you consider to be morally wrong or not morally wrong. Insider trading on Wall Street.

Is morally wrong	70%
Is not morally wrong	6
Not sure (Vol.)	24

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; BUSINESS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/58
00139185 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q11D

045 Now I'm going to read you another list of actions. As previously, please tell me, for each, whether this is something you consider to be morally wrong or not morally wrong. Discriminating against someone because

Is morally wrong	97%
Is not morally wrong	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; EQUALITY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/59
00139184 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q11C

044 Now I'm going to read you another list of actions. As previously, please tell me, for each, whether this is something you consider to be morally wrong or not morally wrong. Discriminating against someone because of the color of the person's skin.

Is morally wrong	97%
Is not morally wrong	3
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; EQUALITY

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1/5/60
00139183 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q11B

043 Now I'm going to read you another list of actions. As previously, please tell me, for each, whether this is something you consider to be morally wrong or not morally wrong. Adding a little extra to an insurance claim when reporting an accident or theft.

Is morally wrong	90%
Is not morally wrong	9
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/61
00139182 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q11A

Q42 Now I'm going to read you another list of actions. As previously, please tell me, for each, whether this is something you consider to be morally wrong or not morally wrong. Cheating on your income taxes.

Is morally wrong	86%
Is not morally wrong	13
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; TAXING

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/62
00139181 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q10

Q41 Do you think it is right or wrong for a woman to be a surrogate mother--that is, to bear a child for another couple?

Right	44%
Wrong	43
Not sure (Vol.)	13

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/63
00139180 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q09

Q40 Do you think it is right or wrong for the parents of a highly deformed baby to allow that baby to die by not taking emergency action?

Wrong 47
Not sure (Vol.) 14

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research: U. of Connecticut

1/5/64
00139179 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q08

039 Do you think it is right or wrong to assist in the death of someone who is terminally ill and in pain?

Right 34%
Wrong 47
Not sure (Vol.) 19

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; DEATH

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research: U. of Connecticut

1/5/65
00139178 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q07J

038 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each: please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Lying to your child.

Is morally wrong 88%
Is not morally wrong 9
Not sure (Vol.) 3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY POPULATION: [illegible]adult
DESCRIPTORS: VA[illegible]FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/66
00139177 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 007I

037 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each, please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Lying to your spouse.

Is morally wrong	86%
Is not morally wrong	11
Not sure (Vol.)	3

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/67
00139176 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 007H

036 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each, please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Smoking marijuana.

Is morally wrong	70%
Is not morally wrong	25
Not sure (Vol.)	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; NARCOTICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/68
00139175 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 007G

035 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each, please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Having an abortion.

Is morally wrong	40%

Not sure (Vol.)

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ABORTION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/69
00139174 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q07F

Q34 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each, please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Engaging in homosexual behavior.

Is morally wrong	82%
Is not morally wrong	14
Not sure (Vol.)	4



ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; SEX

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/70
00139178 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q07E

Q33 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each, please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Being married and having sex with someone else.

Is morally wrong	92%
Is not morally wrong	7
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/71
00139172 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q07D

Q32 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each, please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Living with someone when you're not married.

Is morally wrong	54%
Is not morally wrong	43
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; SEX; FAMILY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/72
00139171 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q07C

Q31 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each, please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Looking at a pornographic magazine.

Is morally wrong	58%
Is not morally wrong	36
Not sure (Vol.)	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; PORNOGRAPHY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/73
00139170 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q07B

Q30 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each, please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Not stopping at a red light.

Is morally wrong	82%
Is not morally wrong	17
Not sure (Vol.)	1

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/74
00139169 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q07A

029 Now I'm going to read you a list of actions. For each, please tell me whether you think this is something you consider to be MORALLY WRONG or NOT morally wrong. Drinking alcoholic beverages.

Is morally wrong	38%
Is not morally wrong	58
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: VALUES; ALCOHOL

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/75
00139168 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q06C

028 In your view, were President Reagan's actions in the Iranian arms sale issue ethical and moral or NOT ethical and moral?

Yes, was ethical and moral	28%
No, not ethical and moral	52
Not sure (Vol.)	21

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; PRESIDENCY; MIDEAST; DIPLOMACY

1/5/76
00139167 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q06B

Q27 Which President do you think has been more ethical and moral while in office--President Carter or President Reagan?

Carter	42%
Reagan	44
Both equally, no difference (Vol.)	9
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; PRESIDENCY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/77
00139166 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q06A

Q26 In your view, has President Reagan been more ethical and moral than most Presidents, less ethical and moral, or about the same?

More	32%
Less	18
About the same	47
Not sure (Vol.)	2

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; PRESIDENCY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/76
00139165 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05P

Q25 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Movie stars.

High	25%
Low	36
Neither (Vol.)	31
Not sure (Vol.)	8

SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/79
00139164 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q050

Q24 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Professional athletes.

	40%
	24
	31
	5

SHULMAN (YANKCS)

Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05N

Q23 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Rock musicians.

High	14%
Low	52
Neither (Vol.)	24
Not sure (Vol.)	10

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/81
00139162 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05M

022 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. People who work in advertising.

High	27%
Low	34
Neither (Vol.)	30
Not sure (Vol.)	10

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS, BUSINESS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/82
00139161 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05L

021 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. People who work on Wall Street.

High	21%
Low	27
Neither (Vol.)	30
Not sure (Vol.)	23

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS, BUSINESS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/83
00139160 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05K

020 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Bankers.

High	42%
Low	17

Not sure (Vol.)

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/84
00139159 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05J

Q19 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Members of the clergy.

High	69%
Low	11
Neither (Vol.)	14
Not sure (Vol.)	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; RELIGION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/85
00139158 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05I

Q18 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Police officers.

High	48%
Low	21
Neither (Vol.)	27
Not sure (Vol.)	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone

SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; CRIME

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/86
00139157 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05H

Q17 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Teachers.

High	64%
Low	13
Neither (Vol.)	19
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; EDUCATION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/87
00139156 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05G

Q16 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Newspaper reporters.

High	34%
Low	30
Neither (Vol.)	28
Not sure (Vol.)	8

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; PRESS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/88
00139155 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05F

Q15 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Judges

High	55%
Low	18
Neither (Vol.)	22
Not sure (Vol.)	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; COURTS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/89
00139154 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05E

Q14 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Corporate executives.

High	28%
Low	30
Neither (Vol.)	29
Not sure (Vol.)	13

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; BUSINESS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/90
00139.53 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05D

Q13 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Local political officeholders.

High	31%
Low	36
Neither (Vol.)	27
Not sure (Vol.)	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; GOVERNMENT; LOCAL

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/91
00139152 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05C

Q12 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Political officeholders in Washington.

High	22%
Low	51
Neither (Vol.)	21
Not sure (Vol.)	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; GOVERNMENT

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/92
00139151 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05B

Q11 Please tell me whether you feel the ethical and moral standards found in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Lawyers.

High	35%
Low	37
Neither (Vol.)	21
Not sure (Vol.)	9

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; COURTS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/93
00139150 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q05A

in these groups tend to be high, low, or neither particularly high nor low. Medical doctors.

High	57%
Low	14
Neither (Vol.)	24
Not sure (Vol.)	6

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; MEDICINE

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/94
00139149 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q04B

Q09 Do you think Americans are the MOST moral people in the world?

Yes	36%
No	54
Not sure (Vol.)	10

QUESTION NOTES: Asked of those who said Americans have higher moral standards than people in other countries (30%)

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
SURVEY SUBPOPULATION: See note

DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/95
00139148 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q04A

Q08 Compared with people in other countries, do you think the moral standards of Americans are: in general, higher, lower, or about the same?

Higher	30%
Lower	20
About the same	39
Not sure (Vol.)	11

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/96
00139147 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q03

Q07 In general, who do you think is more ethical and moral in their behavior--men or women?

Men	18%
Women	45
No difference (Vol.)	27
Not sure (Vol.)	10

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS; MEN; WOMEN

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/97
00139146 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q02

Q06 Do you think the ethical and moral standards of Americans today are: in general, as high as they should be, or do you believe they should be higher?

As high as should be	20%
Should be higher	75
Not sure (Vol.)	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/96

005 I'd like to ask you some questions about ethics and morality--about what is right and what is wrong. Is this something that you personally have become more concerned about recently or less concerned about?

More concerned	63%
Less concerned	13
No difference	20
Not sure (Vol.)	4

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/99
00139144 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q01A

004 I'd like to ask you some questions about ethics and morality--about what is right and what is wrong. Do you think this is something that Americans have become more concerned about recently, less concerned about, or is there no difference?

More concerned	52%
Less concerned	23
No difference	16
Not sure (Vol.)	8

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: ETHICS

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/100
00139143 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 QM

003 QM Do you think of yourself as:

Conservative	39%
Moderate	39
Liberal	17
Other	1
Not sure	5

SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: IDEOLOGY

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/101
00139142 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q1

Q02 QL Are you a Democrat, Republican, or Independent?

Democrat	36%
Republican	30
Independent	31
Other (Vol.)	5

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult

DESCRIPTORS: PARTISANSHIP

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

1/5/102
00139141 QUESTION ID: USYANKCS.878604 Q2

Q01 QF How important would you say religion is in your own life? Would you say:

It is very important	60%
Fairly important	27
Not very important	11
Not sure (Vol.)	2

ORGANIZATION CONDUCTING SURVEY: YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN (YANKCS)
SPONSOR: Time
SOURCE: TIME/YANKELOVICH CLANCY SHULMAN

SURVEY BEGINNING DATE: 01/19/87
SURVEY ENDING DATE: 01/21/87
SURVEY RELEASE DATE: 01/21/87

INTERVIEW METHOD: Telephone
NO. OF RESPONDENTS: 1014
SURVEY POPULATION: National adult
DESCRIPTORS: RELIGION

(c) Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, U. of Connecticut

A REPORT TO
THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN FUND
ON PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD HOMOSEXUALS
AND THEIR PLACE IN THE MILITARY

Prepared by

Penn + Schoen Associates, Inc.

April 18, 1991

Summary

The public favors equal rights in the workplace for homosexual men and women whose job is the protection of their country. In fact, better than eight in ten Americans say if a homosexual is doing a good job then his or her sexual orientation is no reason to kick them out of the military.

An 81% majority of Americans say that homosexuals should not be discharged from military service solely because of their sexual orientation. Fourteen percent say homosexuals should be discharged.

These are some of the key findings of a national poll conducted by Penn + Schoen Associates, Inc. on April 6-7, 1991 on behalf of the Human Rights Campaign Fund.

In general, eight in ten Americans (80%) say homosexuals should not be discriminated against in the workplace, with Americans of every description agreeing that homosexuals should have equal rights in the workplace. However, college educated and politically liberal Americans are somewhat more likely to oppose workplace discrimination.

A 65% majority of Americans favor admitting homosexuals to the armed services, while 28% oppose admittance. Americans with less than a high school education have mixed feelings about admitting homosexuals to the armed services, while college educated Americans are strongly supportive.

As noted above, an 81% majority say the government should not discharge someone from the military because he or she is a homosexual. Fourteen percent say the government should discharge. Most of those 14% of Americans who say the military should be permitted to discharge also favor discharging homosexual Persian Gulf War veterans. Seventy-two percent of this group agree, while another 20% say war veterans who are homosexuals should not be released. Put another way, approximately one in ten Americans favor military discharge because of sexual orientation regardless of job performance or, probably, any other factor.

Finally, our survey findings seem to indicate ever-growing public favor for equal rights in the workplace and within the military in general. A 1989 national poll found 71% support for homosexuals having equal rights in terms of job opportunities. We found 80% support. And 60% of Americans said in 1989 they favored hiring homosexuals in the military. We found 65% support for admitting homosexuals in the military.

Equal rights for jobs

Eight in ten Americans say that homosexual men and women should have equal rights for jobs. An 80% majority say homosexuals should have equal rights. Seventeen percent disagree.

Americans of every description support the idea that homosexuals should have equal rights with other Americans in the work place. However, support for equal rights in the United States increases as level of education increases, in part, perhaps, because of concerns of competition in the workplace among poorer Americans.

For example, an 86%-12% majority of college graduates support equal rights, while a smaller 60%-36% majority of those with less than a high school diploma say homosexual men and women should have equal rights for jobs.

Political beliefs may also play a factor in terms of support for equal rights for homosexual men and women. Liberals (91%) are more supportive than conservatives (69%).

TABLE 1:
EQUAL RIGHTS FOR JOBS

	yes, should	no, should not	dk/no op.
All	80%	17%	3%
college grad	86	12	2
< high school	60	36	4
liberals	91	8	1
conservatives	69	26	5

Homosexuals in the armed forces

Most Americans say that the armed forces should be open to homosexual men and women. Sixty-five percent say homosexuals should be admitted to the armed forces, while 28% say they should not be admitted.

Younger adult Americans, especially those 25-34 years old, are more likely to support homosexuals in the armed forces (72%-26%) than older Americans over 65 (51%-39%). Americans who live in the Northeast (75%) than the Midwest (59%) are also somewhat more likely to say homosexuals should be admitted to military service. There is also a gender gap, with women more likely (72%-22%) to say homosexuals should be admitted to the armed forces than men (59%-35%).

Again, education is an important indicator of attitudes toward homosexuals in the armed forces. Those 10% of Americans with less than a high school education have mixed feelings (49%-46%)

about whether homosexuals should be admitted to the armed forces. College graduates, by a better than 4-1 margin, strongly support the idea that homosexuals should be admitted to the armed forces (76%-18%).

Liberals (78%), too, are more likely to say homosexuals should be admitted than conservatives (55%).

TABLE 2:
HOMOSEXUALS IN THE ARMED FORCES

	should be	should not be	dk/no op.
All	65%	28%	7%
25-34	72	26	2
65+	51	39	10
northeast	75	22	3
midwest	59	34	7
male	59	35	6
female	72	22	7
< high school	49	46	5
college grad	76	18	6
liberals	78	17	5
conservatives	55	37	8

Discharge homosexuals from armed forces

The great majority of Americans do not favor discharging homosexuals from the armed forces because of their sexual orientation.

Eighty-one percent of Americans say the armed forces should not discharge a homosexual who is doing a good job just because he or she is homosexual. Fourteen percent say homosexuals should be discharged. Americans of every description agree, with Northeasterners (87%), women (87%), college graduates (90%), Democrats (88%), and liberals (92%) especially likely to oppose discharging someone from the armed services because they are homosexual.

TABLE 3:
DISCHARGE HOMOSEXUALS
FROM ARMED FORCES

	should	should not	dk/no op.
All	14%	81%	5%
northeastern	12	87	2
female	9	87	5
college grad	8	90	2
Democrats	8	88	5
liberals	7	92	1

Persian Gulf veterans

We asked those fourteen percent of Americans who favor discharging homosexuals solely because of their sexual orientation whether Persian Gulf veterans should be discharged. Seventy-two percent say a homosexual Persian Gulf War veteran should be discharged, while 20% disagree.

Methodology

The attached results are from an omnibus telephone poll of a random sample of U.S. residents conducted by Penn + Schoen Associates Inc, of New York and Washington from April 6 - April 7, 1991. The poll consisted of 800 interviews. This sample accurately reflects a typical cross-section of American citizens. All interviews were conducted from our Computer-Aided Telephone Interviewing facilities in Manhattan. The overall results are representative of the responses of all U.S. residents to plus or minus 3.46 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level.

National Omnibus

TABLE 2c: Now I would like to ask you about homosexuals in a specific occupation Do you think homosexuals should or should not be admitted to the armed forces?

		Political Party			Ideology		
	TOTAL	DEMO-CRAT	INDEP ENDNT	REPUB LICAN	LIB-ERAL	MOD-ERATE	CONS-ERVAT
		35%	27%	34%	34%	28%	35%
should be	65%	70%	67%	60%	78%	63%	55%
should not be	28	24	25	35	17	31	37
don't know/ no opinion	7	6	8	4	5	7	8
Chi Square		11.78 p=.019			34.13 p=.001		

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TABLE 3a: Suppose someone in the armed forces if homosexual and is otherwise doing a good job. Do you think the government should or shouldn't discharge that person just because he or she is a homosexual?

		Age					Income					Race		Region				Sex	
	TOTAL	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 +	<10-20K	20-40K	40-50K	50-75K	75K +	WHITE	BLACK	NE	MW	SOUTH	WEST	MALE	FEMALE
		13%	23%	35%	16%	13%	24%	36%	13%	11%	7%	79%	12%	22%	22%	34%	22%	48%	52%
should discharge	14%	25%	12%	11%	11%	19%	16%	14%	10%	18%	14%	16%	9%	12%	18%	15%	11%	20%	9%
should not discharge	81	74	85	85	84	69	79	82	86	80	86	80	89	87	76	80	83	75	87
don't know/ no opinion	5	2	2	4	5	11	5	3	5	2	0	5	2	2	6	5	6	5	5
Chi Square		32.28 p=.001					7.77 p=.456					5.50 p=.064		10.65 p=.100				22.82 p=.001	

TABLE 3b: Suppose someone in the armed forces if homosexual and is otherwise doing a good job. Do you think the government should or shouldn't discharge that person just because he or she is a homosexual?

		Education				Religion					Marital Status					Child < 18	
	TOTAL	< HS GRAD	HS GRAD	SOME COLL	COLL GRAD	PROTE STANT	CATH- LIC	JEW- ISH	OTHER	NONE	MAR- RIED	SIN- GLE	WID- OWED	DIV- ORCED	OTHER	at Home YES	at Home NO
		10%	32%	30%	27%	49%	28%	1%	9%	11%	60%	22%	6%	10%	1%	41%	59%
should discharge	14%	22%	16%	15%	8%	15%	12%	12%	18%	11%	12%	19%	11%	14%	0%	15%	14%
should not discharge	81	73	77	81	90	80	84	88	69	87	83	79	72	85	74	81	81
don't know/ no opinion	5	5	7	4	2	4	4	0	12	2	5	1	17	1	26	4	5
Chi Square		20.70 p=.002				16.34 p=.038					36.05 p=.001					0.30 p=.860	

National Omnibus

TABLE 3c: Suppose someone in the armed forces if homosexual and is otherwise doing a good job. Do you think the government should or shouldn't discharge that person just because he or she is a homosexual?

		Political Party			Ideology		
	TOTAL	DEMO-CRAT	INDEP ENDNT	REPUB LICAN	LIB-ERAL	MOD-ERATE	CONS-ERVAT
		35%	27%	34%	34%	28%	35%
should discharge	14%	8%	15%	20%	7%	18%	18%
should not discharge	81	88	81	76	92	78	75
don't know/ no opinion	5	5	4	4	1	4	8
Chi Square		17.71 p=.001			32.87 p=.001		

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TABLE 1a: As you know, there has been considerable discussion is the news lately regarding the rights of homosexual men and women. In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal-rights for jobs?

		Age					Income					Race		Region				Sex	
	TOTAL	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 +	<10-20K	20-40K	40-50K	50-75K	75K +	WHITE	BLACK	NE	MW	SOUTH	WEST	MALE	FE-MALE
		13%	23%	35%	16%	13%	24%	36%	13%	11%	7%	79%	12%	22%	22%	34%	22%	48%	52%
yes, should	80%	82%	87%	79%	76%	72%	75%	80%	83%	85%	90%	79%	86%	83%	72%	79%	83%	76%	82%
no, should not	17	17	11	20	17	21	21	17	17	13	8	17	14	15	21	18	15	22	13
don't know/ no opinion	3	1	2	1	7	7	4	3	0	2	2	4	0	2	7	3	2	2	5
Chi Square		26.46 p=.001					12.71 p=.122					4.73 p=.094		14.87 p=.021				14.77 p=.001	

TABLE 1b: As you know, there has been considerable discussion is the news lately regarding the rights of homosexual men and women. In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal-rights for jobs?

		Education				Religion					Marital Status					Child < 18	
	TOTAL	< HS GRAD	HS GRAD	SOME COLL	COLL GRAD	PROTE STANT	CATH- LIC	JEW- ISH	OTHER	NONE	MAR- RIED	SIN- GLE	WID- OWED	DIV- ORCED	OTHER	at Home YES	NO
		10%	32%	30%	27%	49%	28%	1%	9%	11%	60%	22%	6%	10%	1%	41%	59%
yes, should	80%	60%	78%	82%	86%	76%	83%	90%	81%	87%	77%	86%	71%	87%	85%	80%	79%
no, should not	17	36	17	15	12	22	12	10	15	13	19	13	19	12	15	19	16
don't know/ no opinion	3	4	5	2	2	3	5	0	5	0	4	1	10	1	0	1	4
Chi Square		31.04 p=.001				18.24 p=.019					17.64 p=.024					6.94 p=.031	

National Omnibus

TABLE 1c: As you know, there has been considerable discussion is the news lately regarding the rights of homosexual men and women. In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal-rights for jobs?

		Political Party			Ideology		
	TOTAL	DEMO-CRAT	INDEP ENDNT	REPUB LICAN	LIB-ERAL	MOD-ERATE	CONS-ERVAT
		35%	27%	34%	34%	28%	35%
yes, should	80%	83%	84%	72%	91%	78%	69%
no, should not	17	14	13	24	8	17	26
don't know/ no opinion	3	3	3	3	1	4	5
Chi Square		16.11 p=.003			42.30 p=.001		

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TABLE 2a: Now I would like to ask you about homosexuals in a specific occupation Do you think homosexuals should or should not be admitted to the armed forces?

		Age					Income					Race		Region				Sex	
	TOTAL	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 +	<10-20K	20-40K	40-50K	50-75K	75K +	WHITE	BLACK	NE	MW	SOUTH	WEST	MALE	FE-MALE
		13%	23%	35%	16%	13%	24%	36%	13%	11%	7%	79%	12%	22%	22%	34%	22%	48%	52%
should be	65%	65%	72%	69%	61%	51%	57%	70%	67%	67%	69%	64%	65%	75%	59%	60%	71%	59%	72%
should not be	28	35	26	23	29	39	38	24	25	29	23	30	31	22	34	34	20	35	22
don't know/ no opinion	7	0	2	8	10	10	5	6	8	4	8	6	3	3	7	6	10	6	7
Chi Square		32.73 p=.001					13.45 p=.097					1.12 p=.571		24.30 p=.001				18.73 p=.001	

TABLE 2b: Now I would like to ask you about homosexuals in a specific occupation Do you think homosexuals should or should not be admitted to the armed forces?

		Education				Religion					Marital Status					Child < 18	
	TOTAL	< HS GRAD	HS GRAD	SOME COLL	COLL GRAD	PROTE STANT	CATH- LIC	JEW- ISH	OTHER	NONE	MAR- RIED	SIN- GLE	WID- OWED	DIV- ORCED	OTHER	at Home YES	at Home NO
		10%	32%	30%	27%	49%	28%	1%	9%	11%	60%	22%	6%	10%	1%	41%	59%
should be	65%	49%	60%	67%	76%	61%	69%	67%	71%	71%	64%	69%	52%	76%	59%	65%	66%
should not be	28	46	34	25	18	33	25	33	19	20	27	30	34	23	41	28	28
don't know/ no opinion	7	5	6	7	6	5	6	0	10	9	8	1	14	1	0	7	6
Chi Square		29.65 p=.001				15.65 p=.048					25.53 p=.001					0.13 p=.938	

TABLE 4a: If should discharge: Suppose a homosexual person just came back from serving in the Persian Gulf War, do you think the government should or shouldn't discharge that person because he or she is homosexual?

		Age					Income					Race		Region				Sex	
	TOTAL	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 +	<10-20K	20-40K	40-50K	50-75K	75K +	WHITE	BLACK	NE	MW	SOUTH	WEST	MALE	FE-MALE
		22%	20%	28%	12%	18%	26%	37%	9%	14%	7%	88%	8%	18%	29%	35%	18%	68%	32%
should discharge	72%	70%	75%	80%	80%	50%	51%	77%	90%	87%	56%	78%	35%	70%	72%	64%	88%	81%	53%
should not discharge	20	23	17	12	7	41	41	8	10	13	44	14	46	20	20	23	12	14	33
don't know/ no opinion	8	7	8	8	13	9	8	15	0	0	0	8	19	9	7	13	0	6	15
Chi Square		9.17 p=.328					20.51 p=.009					7.99 p=.018		4.88 p=.559				9.38 p=.009	

TABLE 4b: If should discharge: Suppose a homosexual person just came back from serving in the Persian Gulf War, do you think the government should or shouldn't discharge that person because he or she is homosexual?

		Education				Religion					Marital Status					Child < 18	
	TOTAL	< HS GRAD	HS GRAD	SOME COLL	COLL GRAD	PROTE STANT	CATH- LIC	JEW- ISH	OTHER	NONE	MAR- RIED	SIN- GLE	WID- OWED	DIV- ORCED	OTHER	at Home YES	at Home NO
		16%	36%	33%	15%	54%	23%	1%	12%	9%	53%	30%	5%	10%	0%	42%	58%
should discharge	72%	73%	73%	61%	93%	72%	69%	100%	80%	73%	81%	70%	29%	51%	0%	80%	66%
should not discharge	20	14	25	23	7	21	21	0	20	11	10	20	71	49	0	13	25
don't know/ no opinion	8	14	2	17	0	7	10	0	0	16	9	10	0	0	0	7	9
Chi Square		10.93 p=.091				3.18 p=.923					20.41 p=.009					3.03 p=.220	

National Omnibus

TABLE 4c: If should discharge: Suppose a homosexual person just came back from serving in the Persian Gulf War, do you think the government should or shouldn't discharge that person because he or she is homosexual?

		Political Party			Ideology		
	TOTAL	DEMO-CRAT	INDEP ENDNT	REPUB LICAN	LIB-ERAL	MOD-ERATE	CONS-ERVAT
		20%	28%	49%	17%	37%	44%
should discharge	72%	72%	61%	77%	72%	69%	72%
should not discharge	20	13	33	16	23	20	19
don't know/ no opinion	8	16	5	6	5	11	9
Chi Square		6.77 p=.149			0.61 p=.962		

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Q.18 (cont.)	1/21	21-25	26-35	36+	White	Black	Latino	Total
It's discrimination to ban them	63	54	55	68	58	58	55	58
It's not important to me	14	26	26	17	21	25	8	23
Homosexuals are no different from heterosexuals	25	20	20	11	21	17	30	19
Homosexuals already in military (Volunteered response)	1	1	2	2	2	-	7	2
Other	4	3	2	1	3	1	-	2
Don't know	2	4	4	2	4	4	-	4

(IF DISAPPROVE OF LIFTING BAN)

19. What are the two main reasons you disapprove of lifting the ban on homosexuals? (Checked up to two answers, or write in your own answers on the lines below)

	Male	Female	E1-3	E4-6	E7-9	Combat	Non	Total
Oppose sharing facilities/ quarters with them	64	55	69	60	56	61	65	63
It is immoral	41	29	34	42	49	44	37	40
Contribute to the spread of AIDS	26	45	27	29	27	25	30	28
It is against my religious views	19	34	19	21	24	20	23	21
They are not as reliable in a combat situation	16	7	17	15	10	18	13	15
Morale (Volunteered response)	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	3
Cause conflict (Volunteered response)	2	1	2	2	-	1	2	2
Threat of violence (Volunteered response)	1	3	2	1	1	1	2	1
Cost of facilities (Volunteered response)	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Other	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
Don't know	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1

	1/21	21-25	26-35	36+	White	Black	Latino	Total
Oppose sharing facilities/ quarters with them	64	70	68	53	67	58	52	63
It is immoral	38	38	42	45	40	39	37	40
Contribute to the spread of AIDS	21	27	30	37	27	30	26	28
It is against my religious views	21	17	23	25	20	22	23	21
They are not as reliable in a combat situation	19	15	14	12	15	16	18	15
Morale (Volunteered response)	2	2	2	4	3	2	1	3
Cause conflict (Volunteered response)	3	2	1	-	1	1	5	2
Threat of violence (Volunteered response)	2	2	1	1	2	-	-	1
Cost of facilities (Volunteered response)	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1
Wanting equal rights as married people (Volunteered response)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Other	2	2	2	1	2	1	5	2
Don't know	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	1

20. How worried are you personally about the possible impact of permitting homosexuals into the military? Are you:

	Male	Female	E1-3	E4-6	E7-9	Combat	Non	Total
Worried (Net)	70	51	69	68	63	72	66	68
Very worried	38	17	38	34	37	43	30	36
Somewhat worried	32	35	31	34	26	28	36	32
Not worried (Net)	26	40	26	29	32	26	29	28
Not too worried	17	25	17	19	23	18	19	18
Not worried at all	9	14	9	10	9	9	10	10
Don't know	4	9	5	3	5	2	5	4

Q.20 (cont.)	1/21	21-25	26-35	36+	White	Black	Latino	Total
Worried (Net)	71	72	62	66	71	59	75	68
Very worried	41	39	30	33	38	27	39	36
Somewhat worried	31	33	32	34	33	32	36	32
Not worried (Net)	25	25	32	29	26	35	21	28
Not too worried	16	15	22	20	17	21	13	18
Not worried at all	9	10	10	9	9	14	8	10
Don't know	4	3	6	5	3	6	4	4

21. If the ban is lifted on homosexuals in the military, would you definitely not reenlist on account of that issue alone, or would you consider reenlisting anyway?

	Male	Female	E1-3	E4-6	E7-9	Combat	Non	Total
Not reenlisting under current policy	28	28	30	26	31	28	28	28
Not reenlisting if gay ban is lifted	11	5	14	9	8	14	8	10
Will consider reenlisting	43	49	35	48	49	42	45	44
Don't know	18	18	21	17	12	16	19	18

	1/21	21-25	26-35	36+	White	Black	Latino	Total
Not reenlisting under current policy	33	36	15	33	29	24	28	28
Not reenlisting if gay ban is lifted	17	11	7	7	11	9	12	10
Will consider reenlisting	30	35	60	43	43	45	37	44
Don't know	20	18	18	17	17	22	23	18

22. If the ban is lifted on homosexuals in the military, how likely is it that they will be subjected to physical violence from others in the service? Is that:

	Male	Female	E1-3	E4-6	E7-9	Combat	Non	Total
Likely (Net)	83	71	80	83	77	84	80	81
Very likely	57	41	61	55	39	61	[illegible]	55
Somewhat likely	26	29	20	28	38	23	28	26
Not likely (Net)	9	12	10	9	15	10	9	10
Not too likely	7	10	8	7	12	8	[illegible]	8
Not likely at all	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	2
Don't know	8	17	10	8	8	6	11	9

	1/21	21-25	26-35	36+	White	Black	Latino	Total
Likely (Net)	83	86	78	73	83	75	82	81
Very likely	64	62	47	40	57	49	58	55
Somewhat likely	19	23	31	32	26	27	24	26
Not likely (Net)	7	8	11	17	9	14	9	10
Not too likely	6	7	8	14	7	10	8	8
Not likely at all	1	2	3	2	2	4	-	2
Don't know	10	6	11	11	8	11	9	9

23. Do you think the issue of permitting homosexuals in the military is:

	Male	Female	E1-3	E4-6	E7-9	Combat	Non	Total
Getting the attention it deserves	23	23	25	21	26	24	22	23
Draining attention from other more important issues facing the military	67	64	60	70	67	68	66	66
Don't know	10	13	15	9	7	8	12	11

	1/21	21-25	26-35	36+	White	Black	Latino	Total
Getting the attention it deserves	25	25	18	26	21	26	22	23
Draining attention from other more important issues facing the military	62	63	73	65	70	59	66	66
Don't know	13	12	9	9	9	15	12	11

16. If current policy and your own plans remain the same, when your term is up will you:

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Definitely reenlist	31	24	18	35	17	21	40	43	29
Possibly reenlist	35	31	31	37	40	33	32	29	34
Not reenlist	23	37	38	20	28	38	19	23	28
Don't know	11	8	13	8	15	8	9	5	9

17. How do you feel about lifting the ban on homosexuals in the armed forces of the United States? do you:

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Approve (Net)	15	22	10	21	15	19	23	17	18
Approve strongly	3	7	3	5	4	5	6	4	4
Approve somewhat	13	15	7	17	10	14	18	13	14
Disapprove (Net)	74	62	86	74	74	75	72	75	74
Disapprove somewhat	15	15	11	16	14	15	14	16	15
Disapprove strongly	59	54	75	57	60	59	57	59	59
Don't know	11	9	4	5	11	6	5	8	8

(IF APPROVE OF LIFTING THE BAN)
18. What are the two main reasons you approve of lifting the ban on homosexuals? (Checked up to two answers)

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
It's discrimination to ban them	49	61	61	62	58	57	59	58	58
It's not important to me	32	22	29	13	18	27	22	23	23
Homosexuals are no different from heterosexuals	17	25	26	14	27	17	18	18	19
Homosexuals already in military (Volunteered response)	1	1	2	3	-	2	3	1	2
Other	2	4	1	1	3	4	1	1	2
Don't know	1	4	-	7	1	4	6	1	4

(IF DISAPPROVE OF LIFTING BAN)
19. What are the two main reasons you disapprove of lifting the ban on homosexuals? (Checked up to two answers)

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Oppose sharing facilities/ quarters with them	60	71	63	59	66	67	65	52	63
It is immoral	36	38	44	45	35	38	40	50	40
Contribute to the spread of AIDS	34	24	28	26	24	28	30	31	28
It is against my religious views	18	16	18	30	21	18	20	24	21
They are not as reliable in a combat situation	19	9	19	15	18	16	17	9	15
Morale (Volunteered response)	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	4	3
Cause conflict (Volunteered response)	1	3	3	1	3	1	3	1	2
Cost of facilities (Volunteered response)	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1
Threat of violence (Volunteered response)	-	4	1	-	1	2	1	1	1
Wanting equal rights as married persons (Volunteered response)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Other	2	2	4	1	3	2	1	2	2
Don't know	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1

20. How worried are you personally about the possible impact of permitting homosexuals into the military? Are you:

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Worried (Net)	67	65	77	70	69	69	67	67	68
Very worried	34	33	51	35	40	35	31	37	36
Somewhat worried	33	32	26	35	29	34	36	30	32
Not worried (Net)	27	31	20	29	25	27	30	30	28
Not too worried	17	19	14	21	17	16	20	21	18
Not worried at all	10	12	6	8	8	11	11	9	10
Don't know	6	4	3	1	6	4	3	3	4

21. If the ban is lifted on homosexuals in the military, would you definitely not reenlist on account of that issue alone, or would you consider reenlisting anyway?

***(COMBINED RESULTS OF QUESTIONS 16 AND 21)

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Not reenlisting under current policy	23	37	38	19	28	38	19	23	28
Not reenlisting if gay ban is lifted	11	10	15	9	17	9	7	8	10
Will consider reenlisting	46	37	30	54	33	37	56	52	44
Don't know	20	16	17	18	22	16	18	17	18

22. If the ban is lifted on homosexuals in the military, how likely is it that they will be subjected to physical violence from others in the service? Is that:

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Likely (Net)	78	84	91	78	81	84	83	77	81
Very likely	53	60	68	48	63	58	56	41	55
Somewhat likely	25	24	23	30	18	25	27	36	26
Not likely (Net)	12	8	2	12	9	9	9	13	10
Not too likely	9	6	2	10	7	7	7	10	8
Not at all likely	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	2
Don't know	10	8	7	10	10	7	8	10	9

23. Do you think the issue of permitting homosexuals in the military is:

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Getting the attention it deserves	23	24	21	22	25	25	18	22	23
Draining attention from other more important issues facing the military	64	68	68	66	60	65	71	72	66
Don't know	13	8	11	12	15	10	11	6	11

24. Are you currently serving with someone who you believe is homosexual?

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Yes	16	28	10	18	20	23	21	15	19
No	60	41	70	52	54	53	49	59	54
Don't know	24	31	20	30	26	24	30	26	27

25. How serious a problem is sexual harassment in the armed forces? Is it:

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Serious (Net)	43	52	63	41	45	45	51	40	45
Very serious	17	23	15	13	19	18	21	13	18
Somewhat serious	26	29	28	27	26	27	31	27	27
Not serious (Net)	50	41	49	50	46	47	44	52	47
Not too serious	31	28	36	37	31	34	30	33	32
Not serious at all	19	13	13	14	15	13	13	20	15
Don't know	7	7	8	9	9	8	5	8	8

26. Would you rate your personal finances as:

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Secure (Net)	69	65	62	70	61	66	71	75	67
Very secure	12	14	13	15	12	12	16	17	14
Somewhat secure	57	50	49	55	49	54	55	58	54
Shaky (Net)	29	33	36	28	36	31	29	24	31
Somewhat shaky	22	24	28	22	26	25	21	19	23
Very shaky	6	10	8	6	10	7	8	5	7
Don't know	2	2	2	2	3	3	-	1	2

27. Would you describe yourself as:

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air	L/2yrs	2-5yrs	5-10	10+	Total
Religious (Net)	67	61	63	62	61	64	62	70	64
Very religious	10	10	12	13	9	13	11	10	11
Somewhat religious	57	51	51	50	52	51	51	60	53
Not religious (Net)	30	36	34	36	34	34	37	28	33
Not too religious	22	22	25	28	23	26	28	21	24
Not religious at all	7	13	9	8	11	9	9	7	9
Don't know	3	3	3	2	5	2	1	2	3

IN THIS ISSUE

What Do the Men Say?

This issue of *Family Planning Perspectives* is devoted to the first release of data from the National Survey of Men. The survey, conducted under a grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, examines sexual behavior, condom use and related attitudes, and perceptions of AIDS and the risk of human immunodeficiency virus infection among men aged 20–39. The survey is planned as an ongoing study of this group of 3,321 respondents. The first round of the survey, from which the current data were taken, was conducted in 1991. One follow-up round has already been fielded; subsequent rounds are planned, contingent on funding.

The National Survey of Men is one of the first representative surveys of the sexual behavior of U.S. men. Although there have been many nationally representative surveys on reproductive health and contraceptive issues that have questioned women, few have questioned men. In addition, most previous surveys of sexual behavior have used convenience samples, or in other ways been nonrepresentative of the total population—male or female. The comprehensiveness of the data set also puts the National Survey of Men in a category by itself.

The data are being analyzed by a research team from Battelle Human Affairs Research Centers in Seattle. The four articles and one technical note written by these researchers detail what proportions of U.S. men have engaged in vaginal, anal and oral sex, and whether differences in sexual behavior exist within the context of various relationships such as marriage, cohabitation and steady partners; which men are most likely to use condoms; how men regard condoms and whether color, lubrication, ribbing and other design features are important to them; and how perceptions of the risk and severity of AIDS, including their own risk of HIV infection, affect men's sexual behavior and the risks they take.

We have published the articles together because the research findings obviously complement each other and are interconnected. We hope the range of professionals who read our journal—be they providers, researchers, policymakers or educators—can better use the data if they have the broad perspective before them.

There are many policy and public health reasons for needing to know more about sexual behavior than we currently do. The arrival of AIDS on the American social scene has focused attention not only on the inadequacy of data on sexual behavior, but also on how little is known about past changes in sexual activity, about prophylactic behavior, and about how to alter risky behavior. Public health interventions aimed at risky practices are more likely to be effective if we understand why target audiences engage in such behavior: Are they unaware of the danger, do they rationalize their behavior, do they feel powerless to change or do they simply choose to ignore the risk? This data set, its follow-up and other survey data still being analyzed represent the first steps toward improving our knowledge of adult sexual behavior and of condom use and other preventive health behavior.

Olivia Schieffelin Nordberg
Editor-in-Chief

ARTICLES

The Sexual Behavior of Men In the United States

By John O. G. Billy, Koray Tanfer, William R. Grady and Daniel H. Klepinger

A nationally representative study of the sexual behavior of men aged 20-39 in the United States shows that the prevalence and frequency of sexual acts (vaginal, anal and oral) and sexual orientation vary by social and demographic characteristics. Analysis of data from 3,321 respondents to the 1991 National Survey of Men reveals that 95% of men have had vaginal intercourse; among them, 23% have had 20 or more vaginal sex partners in their lifetime. About one-fifth of never-married and formerly married men had had four or more partners over a recent 18-month period. However, 41% of never-married men and 32% of formerly married men did not have coitus during the four weeks preceding the interview. Only 20% of men have ever engaged in anal intercourse. Among these, 51% had not done so during the previous 18 months, and 90% had not done so during the previous four weeks. Seventy-five percent of men have performed oral sex and 79% have received oral sex, although 53% of men who ever performed oral sex had not done so during the four weeks prior to interview, and only 11% had done so six or more times. The frequency of receiving oral sex is similar. Only 2% of sexually active men aged 20–39 have had any same-gender sexual activity during the last 10 years, and only 1% reported being exclusively homosexual during this interval. (Family Planning Perspectives, 25:52–60, 1993)

In this era of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), knowledge of the sexual behavior of the U.S. population is essential to prevent the spread of infection. Sexual orientation (heterosexual or homosexual), type of sexual contact (vaginal, anal or oral), number of sex partners and frequency of sex have all been cited as risk factors for the transmission of these diseases.

As for sexual orientation, the risk of infecting or being infected by a partner with AIDS is higher among men who have sex with men because infection with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is more prevalent among this group.[1] However, the incidence of heterosexually transmitted AIDS has increased in the United States.[2] The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimates that 4% of all AIDS cases reported by April 1991 can be attributed to heterosexual contact with a partner who is known to be infected or at high risk of infection; 30% of these cases occurred among men and 70% among women.[3] Although this gender difference may exist because more men than women are HIV-positive and can infect female partners, recent evidence suggests that male-to-female transmission of HIV may be at least 20 times as efficient as female-to-male transmission.[4]

With respect to types of sexual contact, female infection through vaginal intercourse with an infected partner has been confirmed by most studies.[5] Although its incidence is less documented, female-to-male infection can also occur through vaginal intercourse.[6] HIV transmission through receptive anal intercourse is generally believed to be more efficient than transmission through vaginal intercourse.[7] Even though the virus has been isolated in saliva, research suggests that the risk of becoming infected with HIV by receiving or performing oral sex is minimal.[8] There are, however, documented cases in which a heterosexual man and a homosexual man appear to have become infected by engaging in oral sex with an infected partner.[9]

The number of sex partners is the most frequently cited risk factor for AIDS and other STDs.[10] As Stuart Seidman and colleagues note, having multiple partners "reflects the increased likelihood of encountering a sexually transmitted pathogen through having multiple potential exposures, and... may reflect an increased probability of choosing a partner with an infection through a riskier pattern of partner recruitment."[11] Although the evidence is mixed, a few studies report that the risk of HIV transmission increases with the frequency of sexual contact with an infected partner.[12]

Although some information about the sexual practices of Americans is available, much of our knowledge about sexual behavior has come from nonprobability samples, clinical studies and other small specialty samples; from select groups, such as college students; or from localized samples. The National Academy of Sciences has called for "a more detailed, representative, and contemporary evaluation of sexual behavior analogous to the Kinsey Report."[13] Forty years after its publication, research by Alfred Kinsey and colleagues still represents the most comprehensive study of adult sexual behavior, particularly the sexual practices of men.[14]

Over the last few decades, social scientists have obtained information about many aspects of adolescent sexual behavior through such studies as John F. Kantner and Melvin Zelnik's 1971 and 1976 National Surveys of Young Women and the 1979 National Survey of Young Women and Men and, more recently, Freya Sonenstein's 1988 and 1990 National Survey of Adolescent Males. Some data on women's sexual activity has been obtained from four cycles of the National Survey of

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Family Growth (1973, 1976, 1982 and 1989), which focuses on the family planning and childbearing activities of women.

Other sizeable efforts to provide information about the sexual behavior of men and women include a volunteer sample used in a study by *Playboy*,[15] and Philip Blumstein and Pepper Schwartz's[16] study of heterosexual couples, gay men and lesbian couples recruited largely from Seattle, San Francisco and New York. The Kinsey Institute study,[17] conducted in 1971 but not released until 1989, is made up of a probability sample of 3,018 noninstitutionalized adults in the United States. This study was primarily attitudinal, with very few questions pertaining to the sexual behaviors of the respondents. A telephone survey of 2,095 adults, conducted in 1987 by the *Los Angeles Times*, oversampled residents in five cities with the highest prevalence of AIDS, but the response rate was only about 33%.[18]

The General Social Survey (1988, 1989 and 1990), based on a probability sample of approximately 1,500 noninstitutionalized men and women in the United States, is a nationally representative source of information about adult sexual behavior, but it includes only a one-page self-administered questionnaire with items about sexual activities that have occurred within the past year or since the respondent was 18 years old.[19] Joseph Catania and associates recently completed the 1990 National AIDS Behavioral Surveys, which includes nationwide and high-risk cities telephone surveys of almost 14,000 English- or Spanish-speaking adults aged 18–75.[20] These surveys, which can be weighted to obtain national representativeness, provide detailed information about vaginal and anal intercourse only among respondents who reported an HIV-related risk factor. Finally, the National Health and Social Life Survey, conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, contains an extensive battery of questions about the sexual practices of adults, but the results are not yet available.[21]

Men have the highest AIDS prevalence of any demographic group, yet the scarcity of studies conducted since Kinsey's pioneering work illustrate how difficult it has been to obtain national-level estimates of a full range of their sexual practices and sexual orientation. The study on which this article is based is designed to help fill this gap. We describe the prevalence and incidence of vaginal, anal and oral sex acts and the sexual orientation of men in the United States. We also examine how sexual practices and orientation vary by social and demographic characteristics.

This study provides information about men who are at high risk of contracting and transmitting AIDS and other STDs because of their sexual behavior. Their behavior has implications not only for those men who put themselves at some risk of infection by engaging in certain sexual practices, but also for their female partners, to whom the AIDS virus is more easily transmitted.

Methodology

The data for this study were taken from the National Survey of Men (NSM-1), a nationally representative sample of men aged 20–39 from households in the coterminous United States. The survey was based on a stratified, clustered, disproportionate area probability sample design. Individual interviews with 3,321 respondents of all marital statuses were conducted in 1991 for an overall response rate of 70%. Black households were oversampled to ensure adequate representation. The final sample was weighted on the basis of population characteristics to account for stratification, clustering, disproportionate area sampling and oversampling of black men, and to adjust for differential nonresponse. (For further details about the survey design of the NSM, including issues pertaining to data quality, see: K. Tanfer, "National Survey of Men: A Technical Note," pp. 83–86 of this issue.)

We examined three types of sexual acts: vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, and proceptive and receptive oral sex. During the interview, respondents were asked whether they had ever engaged in each of these behaviors. Those who answered "yes" were asked a series of follow-up questions about each type of act. Regarding vaginal and anal intercourse, we analyze the number of partners with whom the respondent had ever had intercourse, the number of partners since January 1990 (an average of 18 months) and the number of times the respondent had had intercourse during the last four weeks. We asked those who had ever had vaginal or anal intercourse for the month and year of the first experience (or their age at that time). Although we do not examine the age of onset in detail, we discuss this aspect when relevant.

Since the series of questions about oral sex did not elicit information about age at first experience or number of partners ever or since January 1990, we examine only the number of times during the last four weeks that the respondent performed or received oral sex. We also obtained information about the gender of the respondents' first anal sex partner and that of their anal sex partners and oral sex partners during the last four weeks.

The results are expressed in terms of percentages and medians. We use the median as a measure of central tendency because data about the number of partners and frequency of intercourse are typically highly skewed; a few men reported having had over 900 vaginal sex partners in their lifetime or having had vaginal intercourse more than 90 times in the last four weeks.

In addition to types of sexual acts, we determined the respondents' sexual orientation by asking, "During the last 10 years, what would you say that your sexual activity has been?" Response categories include 1) exclusively heterosexual, 2) mostly heterosexual, 3) evenly heterosexual and homosexual, 4) mostly homosexual and 5) exclusively homosexual. We report the percentage of men with any same-gender experience over the last 10 years and the percentage whose sexual behavior has been exclusively homosexual.

To identify the groups at higher risk of contracting and transmitting AIDS and other STDs through their sexual behavior, we examine how each of the above outcome measures varies by social and demographic characteristics. The factors included in the analysis are the respondent's race (white* or black) and ethnicity (Hispanic or non-Hispanic); age; current marital status; current relationship status, if single; education; and religion.

Since organized religions generally promote a more restrictive sexual ideology, we hypothesize that men who identify themselves as members of a religion (particularly a conservative religion) will have fewer sex partners and will be less likely to engage in nonvaginal sexual acts. Assuming that education reflects the degree to which an individual is open to new ideas and nontraditional values, we might expect to find a positive relationship between education and the likelihood of engaging in nonvaginal sexual behaviors, as well as between education and the frequency of intercourse and the number of sex partners. Persons with higher education are usually more knowledgeable about STD acquisition and transmission, however, and this may mitigate the positive relationship we would expect to find between education and risky sexual practices.

Like religion and education, age and marital or relationship status may have ideological components that define the type or frequency of appropriate sexual behavior. Marriage provides a stable context for the production and nurturance of offspring,

*White includes all men not classified as black (white, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native Americans and nonblack Hispanics).

implying that a husband and wife will have sex together with some regularity and that vaginal intercourse will be included. Age and marital or relationship status are also exposure variables. The likelihood that a man will exhibit any given sexual behavior is a function of the length of time he has been at risk of engaging in that behavior; therefore, we expect such outcome measures as ever engaging in vaginal, anal or oral sex and number of different sex partners to be positively related to age. A man who is married, cohabiting, or has a regular partner also has greater opportunities for frequent sexual contact and for engaging in a variety of types of sexual acts.

We also examine the effects of race and ethnicity on the sexual behavior of men. There is evidence that blacks have historically had higher levels of nonmarital and marital fertility than have whites, and that blacks and Hispanics are more likely to be sexually active as adolescents than are white non-Hispanics.[22] Numerous studies of adolescent and adult fertility-related behaviors have found that the effects of race and ethnicity persist when other individual characteristics are controlled and that race often modifies the effects of other factors. The reasons for these main and interaction effects remain unclear, but they are in part presumed to reflect the fact that blacks and ethnic minorities have been denied equal access to major social institutions and that they differ in fertility norms and sexual ideologies.[23] This argues for examining the effects of race and ethnicity on the sexual behavior of adult men.

We have two cautions regarding the selection and interpretation of the covariates. First, some of these factors were assessed at the time of the interview and represent statuses that may have occurred subsequent to the sexual behavior outcomes. Thus, we cannot draw conclusions regarding causality; it is not very meaningful to discuss the lifetime number of partners or even of partners since January 1990 as a causal function of a man's current marital or relationship status. Instead, we describe the association of the prevalences and incidences of specific sexual behaviors with certain social and demographic characteristics.

Second, the results shown for categories of a particular covariate are unadjusted for any of the other covariates. This informs us about the actual sexual behavior of men within any given social or demographic group, but does not tell us whether differences in sexual practices by ethnicity, for example, result from ethnic differences in marital or relationship status composition. In presenting the results, we discuss the findings for a covariate after adjusting for other relevant factors, when appropriate.

Results

The results presented here were based on weighted data and can be generalized to the U.S. population. (The number of respondents given at the top of table columns are

Table 1. The percentage of U.S. men who have ever had vaginal intercourse and among those who have, the number of partners and frequency, by social and demographic characteristics, 1991 National Survey of Men

Characteristic	% ever had (N=3,317)	Number of partners ever (N=3,111)			Number of partners since January 1990† (N=3,169)				Number of times in last 4 weeks (N=3,151)			
		Median	% with 1–3	% with ≥20	Median	% with 0	% with 1	% with ≥4	Median	% 0 times	% 3–4 times	% ≥10 times
All	**95.4**	**7.3**	**28.2**	**23.3**	**1.1**	**4.3**	**70.9**	**9.6**	**3.7**	**21.9**	**16.8**	**22.5**
Race	•		•	•			•	•		•		
White	95.1	6.6	29.7	21.8	1.1	4.3	72.9	8.7	3.7	22.6	16.6	22.6
Black	97.4	10.2	16.7	34.7	1.3	4.2	56.6	16.8	3.3	17.0	18.1	21.6
Age	•			•		•	•	•		•	•	•
20–24	90.1	6.2	29.2	17.9	1.4	2.9	52.1	17.5	2.4	30.8	13.0	19.1
25–29	95.2	6.8	28.3	20.5	1.1	7.6	67.7	11.7	4.6	20.5	12.9	29.4
30–34	98.0	7.5	26.5	25.8	1.1	3.2	78.9	6.0	3.8	20.5	19.4	19.8
35–39	97.6	8.1	28.9	27.8	1.1	3.5	81.4	5.0	3.9	17.4	20.9	21.7
Marital Status	•		•	•		•	•	•		•	•	•
Never-married	88.3	8.1	21.5	23.3	1.4	9.8	45.0	18.3	1.4	40.9	10.2	15.9
Currently married	100.0	5.3	36.3	19.7	1.0	0.2	95.8	0.6	4.9	5.8	23.1	25.8
Formerly married	100.0	14.7	13.4	39.6	1.6	5.1	43.2	22.4	3.0	31.8	10.9	28.5
Relationship status	•		•	•		•	•	•		•	•	•
Cohabiting	96.5	11.9	14.1	35.4	1.2	1.0	68.6	8.5	7.6	6.8	10.6	41.0
Has regular partner	97.8	9.9	18.8	29.7	1.6	0.4	48.3	25.0	4.7	8.3	14.7	28.6
No regular partner	84.2	8.2	22.3	21.9	1.5	18.3	31.8	18.9	0.2	75.9	6.7	2.4
Hispanic								•			•	
No	95.2	7.4	28.0	23.5	1.1	4.3	71.2	9.3	3.7	21.8	17.4	22.2
Yes	97.0	7.0	29.8	22.0	1.2	3.8	67.6	13.2	3.4	23.2	11.8	25.0
Education			•			•	•	•				
<high school	97.2	8.0	23.1	26.2	1.2	4.1	68.8	10.4	4.3	21.8	16.4	25.9
High school graduate	95.7	7.4	26.9	23.6	1.2	3.1	71.1	9.0	3.5	21.7	17.0	22.3
Some college	95.1	7.6	28.1	24.8	1.2	5.8	66.1	12.5	3.6	23.5	16.2	22.0
≥college	94.0	6.1	33.4	19.6	1.1	5.0	77.2	7.3	3.8	20.7	17.5	21.6
Religion	•		•	•				•		•		•
Conservative Protestant	93.5	5.4	37.0	19.4	1.1	4.9	74.0	8.8	4.6	15.0	18.8	27.6
Other Protestant	96.4	7.7	27.0	23.3	1.2	3.5	71.0	7.1	3.7	20.9	16.8	23.8
Catholic	95.8	6.9	29.4	22.4	1.1	5.0	71.9	11.7	3.3	23.3	17.4	18.7
Other or none	94.6	8.4	20.5	28.7	1.2	3.9	66.5	11.7	3.6	27.3	14.2	22.4

*In this and subsequent tables, differences within the column of percentages for each characteristic are significant at p≤.05. †In this and Table 2, a period averaging 18 months. *Note:* In this and subsequent tables, whites include all men not classified as black. The 20–24 age-group contains 53 respondents aged 19, and the 35–39 age-group contains 81 men who were 40 or 41 years old. The small number of respondents who were married but not living with their wife have been coded as formerly married. Relationship status includes single men only. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race, but most in this sample were white. The "high school graduate" category includes vocational and technical school graduates and those with graduate equivalency diplomas. The "other Protestant" vs. "conservative Protestant" designation is based on the coding of the orthodoxy of beliefs of each denomination, as provided by Dr. Rodney Stark at the University of Washington.

the unweighted numbers.) Nearly all men aged 20–39 in the United States were sexually experienced: Among whites, 97% had had vaginal, anal or oral sex; among blacks, 99% had done so (not shown). The mean age at first sexual contact of any type was 16.8 among whites and 15.2 among blacks.

Vaginal Intercourse

Table 1 presents the prevalence, number of partners and frequency of vaginal intercourse among men, by social and demographic characteristics. Ninety-five percent of men aged 20–39 had engaged in this act. Black men were slightly more likely than white men to have had vaginal intercourse (97% vs. 95%). Black men in this age range of the population are younger than white men and more likely to be never-married. Therefore, when age and marital status were controlled, the difference between the two groups regarding ever having had coitus increased from two percentage points to four. The observed difference between Hispanics and non-Hispanics also widened after adjustment for age and marital status. The effect of age on the likelihood of ever having had vaginal intercourse was largely a function of marital status.

More than 88% of never-married men had experienced coitus; 87% of white men and 95% of black men had done so (not shown). That not all men who were cohabiting or who had a regular sex partner had had vaginal sex reflects some homosexual couples and perhaps some heterosexual couples who had engaged in sexual acts other than coitus. Higher educational levels and being a conservative Protestant was associated with a lower likelihood of ever having had vaginal intercourse. Although the effects of these variables became more pronounced when age and marital status were controlled, they remained relatively small.

The median lifetime number of vaginal sex partners was 7.3, with black men reporting 10.2 and white men reporting 6.6. This difference may be related to the younger age at first intercourse reported among blacks—15.0, compared with 17.2 years among whites (not shown). Approximately 23% of men had had 20 or more partners in their lifetime: About 22% of all white men and 35% of all black men had done so.

The lifetime number of vaginal sex partners was positively and linearly related to age. Currently married men had had the fewest partners in their lifetime among all marital status groups, probably reflecting duration in a union intended to be monogamous. Among black men, however, currently married men had had as many partners as never-married men, even after age was controlled (not shown). This may be the result of higher marital dissolution rates and shorter marital durations among blacks. Currently cohabiting men had had more partners than other single men, even after age and race were controlled. No differences in the lifetime number of partners were found between Hispanic and non-Hispanic men.

A negative association was found between educational level and median lifetime number of partners: Men with less than a high school education had had nearly two more partners than had those who graduated from college. This difference, however, exists only among whites (results not shown). Religion was strongly related to the number of partners a man had ever had: Conservative Protestants had had the fewest partners, and men of other or no religion had had the most.

Only 4% of men aged 20–39 had had no vaginal sex partners over the 18-month period from January 1990 to the average interview date. Almost 10% of never-married men and 5% of formerly married men had been abstinent during this interval. However, approximately one-fifth of never-married men and of formerly married men had had four or more partners. While most currently married men had had only one partner (96%), a far smaller percentage (69%) of currently cohabiting men had had one partner. After adjustments for marital status, the effects of age on having had one sex partner and on having had four or more partners were largely attenuated.

As Table 1 shows, the percentage of black men who had had four or more partners since January 1990 was almost twice as high as that of white men (17% vs. 9%). After adjustment for marital status, this eight-percentage-point difference declines to six. The similarity between whites and blacks in the percentage who had had no partners was also a function of marital status. Net of this factor, black men were significantly less likely to have remained abstinent than white men.

Unlike the effect of race, the effect of Hispanic ethnicity on the percent having had four or more partners was not attenuated by adjustments for marital status, age or race. Hispanics were significantly more likely than non-Hispanics to have had four or more partners over the 18-month interval.

Men who had attended or completed college were more likely to have abstained during this period. However, this weak positive association of education with abstinence was found only among whites (not shown). The effect of religion was also generally weak: Men in the "other or no religion" category and those who were Catholic were slightly more likely than Protestants to have had four or more partners, even after adjustment for compositional differences.

Table 1 shows the frequency of vaginal intercourse during the four weeks prior to the interview; the median number of acts was 3.7, or about once a week. Forty-one percent of never-married men and 32% of formerly married men were sexually inactive during this period. Only 16% of never-married men but 29% of formerly married men had had vaginal intercourse frequently (10 or more times, or on average, at least 2.5 times per week). The percentage of men who had had coitus frequently was actually slightly higher among formerly married men than among married men (26%). However, a far higher percentage of married men (23%) had had vaginal intercourse 3–4 times (on average, once a week) than had formerly married men (11%), and few married men had been abstinent (6%).

Like married men, few cohabiting men had been sexually inactive during this period (7%); however, a much higher percentage of cohabitors (41%) had had vaginal sex 10 or more times. These results remained relatively unaffected when we adjusted for age and race. When we adjusted for marital status, the effect of age on coital frequency became far more pronounced than is evident in Table 1: There was a marked reduction in the number of coital acts among men aged 30–39, compared with those aged 20–29.

Regardless of adjustments for marital status and age, there was little difference in coital frequency by race or ethnicity. The only notable difference was that 23% of whites and 17% of blacks had been sexually inactive during the four-week period. However, 17% of whites and 25% of blacks had had vaginal intercourse one or two times (not shown); thus, about the same percentage were inactive or infrequently active.

Educational attainment was also generally unrelated to coital frequency. Some effects of religion differed by race: Among whites, conservative Protestants had had the highest median frequency of vaginal intercourse among all religious groups, while among blacks, men who were Catholic or part of the other or no religion category had the highest median frequency. These relationships, however, were weak. Among whites, the effect of religion on abstinence in the last four weeks was attenuated and lost significance when we controlled for age and marital status.

Table 2. The percentage of U.S. men who have ever had anal intercourse and among those who have, the number of partners and frequency, by social and demographic characteristics

Characteristic	% ever had (N=3,298)	Number of partners ever (N=586)			Number of partners since January 1990 (N=590)				Number of times in last 4 weeks (N=593)		
		Median	% with 1	% with ≥4	Median	% with 0	% with 1	% with ≥2	% 0 times	% 1 time	% ≥2 times
All	**20.1**	**1.6**	**47.8**	**20.2**	**0.5**	**51.0**	**40.4**	**8.6**	**90.1**	**4.6**	**5.3**
Race	•								•		•
White	21.0	1.6	48.1	19.7	0.5	51.6	40.0	8.4	91.0	4.5	4.5
Black	13.6	1.8	43.0	26.4	0.6	43.5	45.4	11.1	79.3	5.5	15.2
Age	•					•	•	•	•	•	•
20–24	12.8	1.9	40.7	22.4	1.1	16.7	56.4	27.0	74.3	10.0	15.7
25–29	19.8	1.5	50.1	16.6	0.4	55.0	38.2	6.8	89.4	6.6	3.9
30–34	19.7	1.4	55.9	18.2	0.3	60.4	35.1	4.5	94.8	3.0	2.3
35–39	27.3	1.8	43.7	23.0	0.4	56.7	38.7	4.7	94.4	1.9	3.7
Marital status	•		•	•			•	•			
Never-married	17.9	2.1	33.3	27.0	0.6	47.5	32.4	20.1	86.2	5.8	8.0
Currently married	19.9	1.4	57.8	14.6	0.5	51.3	47.7	1.1	92.3	3.4	4.2
Formerly married	28.5	1.7	47.7	22.5	0.4	57.4	35.6	6.9	91.9	5.5	2.6
Relationship status	•					•	•	•	•		
Cohabiting	26.7	1.8	42.7	20.6	0.7	34.7	63.4	2.0	83.5	8.2	8.3
Has regular partner	22.6	2.0	36.0	22.8	0.4	54.1	29.0	17.0	83.9	7.3	8.8
No regular partner	16.4	2.2	37.4	31.2	0.4	56.4	20.9	22.7	95.0	2.5	2.5
Hispanic			•	•				•	•		•
No	19.7	1.5	49.4	19.1	0.5	52.1	41.2	6.7	91.8	4.8	3.4
Yes	24.0	2.2	32.5	29.8	0.7	43.0	32.3	24.7	76.2	2.7	21.1
Education	•		•	•							•
<high school	14.4	1.6	46.4	21.4	0.4	55.1	39.3	5.7	92.7	6.8	0.5
High school graduate	19.0	1.9	41.4	28.8	0.6	47.5	42.9	9.6	89.5	3.8	6.8
Some college	22.6	1.5	50.9	15.6	0.6	47.6	41.6	10.8	88.1	4.4	7.5
≥college	22.3	1.4	55.3	10.5	0.3	59.4	35.3	5.2	92.6	5.5	1.8
Religion			•					•	•		
Conservative Protestant	18.3	1.4	57.0	18.2	0.6	46.8	41.7	11.5	90.9	2.3	6.8
Other Protestant	20.6	1.4	53.1	17.4	0.4	55.5	41.1	3.5	87.8	7.3	4.9
Catholic	18.9	1.7	46.9	18.6	0.6	47.4	40.1	12.5	87.9	4.6	7.5
Other or none	22.1	2.1	32.1	28.0	0.5	51.0	41.3	7.7	96.9	1.6	1.5

Anal Intercourse

Table 2 summarizes the reports of anal intercourse, by social and demographic characteristics. Anal intercourse is not prevalent among men aged 20–39: only 20% had ever engaged in this act.* There was a significant difference by race: While 21% of white men had had anal intercourse, only 14% of black men had done so. This difference remained after adjustments for age and marital status. The difference between Hispanics and non-Hispanics increases and becomes statistically significant after controlling for age and marital status.

The likelihood of having had anal intercourse was positively related to age: Among men aged 35–39, 27% had had anal intercourse, compared with only 13% of men aged 20–24. Because of this association, the age-adjusted marital status results were different from the unadjusted results shown in Table 2. After controlling for age, we found that currently married men were the least likely to have had anal sex. The adjusted percentages among never-married, currently married, and formerly married men were 21%, 18% and 26%, respectively. Net of age, 25% of currently cohabiting men had had anal intercourse, representing a seven percentage point difference compared with married men. These age-adjusted marital status differences generally pertain only to white men.

Black men who were currently married and never-married were equally likely to have engaged in anal sex, and those who were formerly married were most likely to have done so. Cohabiting black men were the least likely to have had anal intercourse. Among both black men and white men, the likelihood of ever having engaged in anal sex was lowest among those with less than a high school education, although among whites the effect of education was not statistically significant (not shown). Religion had no effect on ever having had anal intercourse.

On average, men had their first anal intercourse experience at age 22, which was substantially higher than the mean age at first vaginal intercourse. This comparison, however, was based on the 95% of all men who had ever experienced coitus but only the 20% who had ever had anal sex. Nearly all men (90%) who had had anal sex had done so the first time with a woman. As Table 2 indicates, almost 50% of men had had only one anal sex partner in their lifetime, although a substantial proportion (20%) of this relatively small group had had four or more partners. Age and race were unrelated to the number of anal sex partners a man had ever had. Some of the covariates with large differences among categories were not statistically significant, in part, because the sample size was small. Hispanics were far more likely than non-Hispanics to have had more than one anal sex partner. Currently married men had had the fewest anal sex partners in their lifetime, compared with other marital status groups. Currently cohabiting men had had slightly more partners than had married men.

Education had a strong negative effect on lifetime number of anal sex partners. Men with a high school education or less were more likely than men with at least some college education to have had four

*Joseph Catania and colleagues (see reference 24) reported that among sexually active heterosexual men and women aged 18–75 who have an HIV risk factor (multiple or high-risk partners, receipt of a blood transfusion or use of injectable drugs), 22% had ever had anal intercourse. Based on three very limited studies that asked men about this behavior, June Reinisch and colleagues (see reference 24) estimated that 18% had ever engaged in heterosexual anal intercourse. Our results are similar to these estimates.

or more partners. This relationship persisted even after we controlled for race, age and marital status. With respect to religion, the median lifetime number of partners was highest among men in the other or no religion group. This association remained strong after other variables were controlled.

Among men who had ever had anal sex, 51% had not done so between January 1990 and the date of interview. Among the 49% remaining, 40% had had anal sex with only one partner and 9% with two or more partners. Whites and blacks did not differ with respect to this distribution. Hispanics, however, were far more likely than non-Hispanics to have had two or more anal sex partners. Age also exhibited a significant effect: Men aged 20–24 were significantly more likely than those of any other age-group to have had one or more partners during the 18-month period.

The proportion of men who abstained from anal intercourse during this period does not vary by marital status. Among black men, however, the percentage who abstained from anal intercourse was significantly lower among formerly married men, compared with other marital status groups (not shown). Regarding number of partners, currently married men were more likely to have had only one partner, and never-married men were more likely to have had two or more. Currently cohabiting men were also more likely to have had only one partner and less likely to have had two or more partners than were other single men. Cohabiting men were also less likely than married men and least likely among the relationship status groups to have abstained from anal intercourse during the 18-month period. Education had no effect on the number of anal intercourse partners since January 1990, but religion did: Men who were conservative Protestants and those who were Catholic were the most likely to have had two or more partners during this time period.

Further evidence that anal intercourse is a nonprevalent and infrequent sexual act is that 90% of men who had ever had anal intercourse had not done so during the four weeks prior to interview. Men who had done so were almost evenly divided between those who had had anal sex once and those who had done so two or more times. Most men (75%) reported having had anal sex with women only (not shown). Whites were significantly less likely than blacks to have had anal sex, and non-Hispanics were less likely than Hispanics. White men aged 20–24 were significantly more likely than white men of the other age-groups to have had anal intercourse during the last four weeks. The frequency of anal sex during this interval does not differ by marital status, except among black men: Abstention was lower among formerly married men, compared with the other marital status groups (not shown). Cohabiting men were more likely than married men to have had anal intercourse in the month preceding interview. Although there were a few significant differences in frequency of anal intercourse by education and religion, none of these relationships persisted after age, race and marital status were controlled.

Oral Sex

Table 3 presents the oral sex behaviors of the study population by social and demographic characteristics. Among men aged 20–39, 75% had ever performed and 79% had ever received oral sex. Among whites, there was little difference in the

Table 3. The percentage of U.S. men who have ever performed or received oral sex and the frequency among those who have, by social and demographic characteristics

Characteristic	Ever		Last 4 weeks							
	% performed (N=3,286)	% received (N=3,290)	Performed (N=2,074)				Received (N=2,360)			
			Median times	% 0 times	% 1–2 times	% ≥6 times	Median times	% 0 times	% 1–2 times	% ≥6 times
All	**74.6**	**78.8**	**0.4**	**53.0**	**20.9**	**10.8**	**0.4**	**52.8**	**23.7**	**10.1**
Race	•	•		•	•	•		•		
White	78.8	81.0	0.5	52.1	21.3	11.1	0.5	52.0	24.1	10.2
Black	42.8	62.0	0.3	65.6	14.4	6.0	0.3	60.8	19.4	9.2
Age	•	•				•		•		
20–24	67.1	74.8	0.5	52.2	21.2	9.6	0.7	46.7	26.3	10.6
25–29	77.5	80.3	0.6	49.1	20.6	14.1	0.5	51.7	23.3	10.4
30–34	77.0	79.2	0.4	56.9	19.2	9.2	0.4	55.0	23.7	10.4
35–39	76.2	80.5	0.4	53.4	22.6	10.1	0.4	56.8	21.8	9.3
Marital status	•	•		•	•			•		
Never-married	66.2	75.1	0.4	58.2	19.4	10.4	0.4	55.4	22.2	11.1
Currently married	79.0	79.6	0.5	49.7	22.9	10.1	0.5	52.0	25.0	8.8
Formerly married	85.5	87.3	0.5	51.9	16.9	14.4	0.7	48.0	23.1	12.2
Relationship status	•	•		•	•	•		•	•	•
Cohabiting	85.8	88.8	2.1	36.4	19.2	22.2	1.4	39.5	21.8	20.1
Has regular partner	74.6	85.2	1.7	32.8	30.8	15.8	1.7	32.7	30.1	17.5
No regular partner	62.2	68.7	0.1	86.6	8.0	2.6	0.1	78.0	16.0	2.1
Hispanic		•								
No	74.8	79.3	0.4	53.4	20.9	10.8	0.4	53.2	23.6	9.9
Yes	73.0	73.9	0.7	48.0	20.5	10.9	0.7	47.7	24.7	12.8
Education	•	•								
<high school	59.9	61.2	0.5	51.5	18.8	10.0	0.5	49.8	25.8	9.3
High school graduate	71.7	76.3	0.5	51.8	23.0	10.4	0.5	52.6	24.0	9.8
Some college	78.6	84.5	0.5	52.4	18.1	11.8	0.5	51.4	23.3	12.0
≥college	83.2	86.2	0.4	56.2	21.1	10.7	0.4	55.7	22.9	9.0
Religion	•	•								
Conservative Protestant	67.5	71.5	0.7	48.2	19.8	11.3	0.5	51.6	24.7	9.6
Other Protestant	75.6	80.4	0.4	54.7	22.5	10.2	0.4	56.2	20.8	9.4
Catholic	75.6	78.3	0.4	53.2	21.2	10.6	0.5	50.8	26.4	10.7
Other or none	76.9	82.7	0.5	52.6	18.2	11.7	0.5	50.5	24.0	10.8

percentages that performed and received oral sex, but blacks exhibited a higher prevalence of having received oral sex than of having performed it.

There were also substantial differences by race in the likelihood of ever having engaged in these sexual acts, even after adjustments for age and marital status. Among white men, 79% had performed oral sex, compared with 43% among black men; 81% of whites had received oral sex, compared with 62% of blacks. At the individual level, data not shown indicates that 16% of whites and 37% of blacks had never performed or received oral sex; 3% of whites and 1% of blacks had performed but had never received it; 5% of whites and 21% of blacks had received but had never performed it; and 76% of whites and 41% of blacks had performed and had received oral sex. Regarding ethnicity, white Hispanics were less likely than other whites to have performed or to have received oral sex (not shown).

Men aged 20–24 were the least likely among age-groups to have engaged in either of these behaviors. This difference persisted even after we adjusted for marital status, although it was weakened, especially among those who had received oral sex. Whether or not we controlled for age, the percentage of men who had performed or received oral sex was lowest among never-married men, intermediate among currently married men and highest among formerly married men. Among never-married men, 75% had received oral sex, and 66% had performed it. Among married men, in contrast, the proportions who had received and who had performed oral sex were almost identical (80% and 79%, respectively). The proportions who had performed and who had received oral sex were also similar among formerly married or cohabiting men, suggesting that oral sex is mutual behavior among couples in a relationship of some duration. Cohabiting men were more likely than married men to have performed and to have received oral sex. These patterns were not the same among black men: Married men, formerly married men and cohabiting men were more likely to have received than to have performed oral sex. Cohabiting black men were no more likely than married black men to have performed and to have received oral sex.

Among both whites and blacks, a higher educational level was associated with a greater likelihood of having engaged in oral sex. Regarding religion, conservative Protestants were generally the least likely to have received or to have performed oral sex. After we controlled for age, race and marital status, the effect of religion was weakened with respect to having performed oral sex but remained strong and significant regarding having received oral sex.

Fifty-three percent of men who had ever performed oral sex had not done so during the four weeks prior to the interview. Among those who had, 97% reported that they had done so with a woman (not shown). During this time period, 21% of men had performed oral sex one or two times and 11% had done so six or more times. This distribution was almost the same for the frequency of receiving oral sex. However, since the frequency during the last four weeks' measure was conditional upon those who had performed or had received oral sex, the population bases were different.

Black men were less likely to have performed oral sex during this period, and they had a lower frequency of having performed oral sex than did white men. Blacks were also less likely than whites to have received oral sex. White Hispanics were more likely than other whites to have performed or received oral sex during the four weeks prior to interview (not shown).

When marital status was controlled, men aged 30 and older were less likely than were younger men to have performed or to have received oral sex in the last four weeks. Married men and formerly married men were more likely than never-married men to have performed or to have received oral sex, a relationship that became more distinct when age was controlled. Among black men, however, marital status had no significant effect on having performed oral sex, and formerly married men were most likely to have received oral sex (not shown). Cohabiting men and other single men who had a regular sex partner were more likely than married men to have performed oral sex and were more likely to have done so six or more times over the four-week period. The same relationship existed with respect to receiving oral sex.

Although there was some indication that men who had a college education were less likely to have performed or to have received oral sex in the four weeks prior to the interview, the overall effects of education were not statistically significant. Neither were the effects of religion, which were further attenuated after age and marital status were controlled.

Sexual Orientation

Table 4 shows that 2% of sexually active men aged 20–39 (2.4% among whites and 1.3% among blacks) had had any same-gender sexual activity during the last 10 years. Approximately 1% of the men (1.3% among whites and 0.2% among blacks) reported having had exclusively homosexual activity.

Despite the small number of respondents who reported any same-gender contact over the last 10 years, and hence the larger sampling errors, we found that a few covariates were significantly related to sexual orientation. Currently and formerly married men were less likely to have had any same-gender sexual activity than were never-married men. Hispanic men were more likely than non-Hispanic men to have had any same-gender sexual contact and to have had only same-gender contact, even after adjustments were made for marital status and age. The effect of age on exclusively same-gender activity attenuated after marital status was controlled. We also found that education was positively related to having had any same-gender activity, but not to exclusive homosexual activity.

Discussion

Our descriptive analyses of the sexual behavior of U.S. men shows that while virtually all men aged 20–39 are sexually experienced, some types of sexual acts are far more prevalent than others. Vaginal intercourse is nearly universal, even among never-married men in this age range, and three-fourths of men have performed and received oral sex. However, only one-fifth have engaged in anal sex and half of these had not done so in the 18 months prior to the survey. Overall, then, a very small proportion of the adult male population is engaging, and engaging frequently, in sexual contact that involves a high risk of AIDS transmission.

On the other hand, more than one-fifth of men have had 20 or more vaginal sex partners in their lifetime, and a similar proportion of never-married and formerly married men had had four or more partners over an 18-month period. These behaviors are risky, given the current AIDS epidemic. But vaginal sex is infrequent among many single men; at least one-third had not had coitus in the four weeks preceding the interview.

Our examination of the three types of sexual acts by social and demographic characteristics reveals some interesting subgroup differences. The results confirm that marital and relationship status are important "exposure" variables that differentiate men in terms of their number of sex partners, frequency of sex and type of sex act. Age is also associated with some sexual behaviors: For example, men aged

20–24 were significantly more likely than men of the other age-groups to have had one or more anal sex partners since January 1990 and during the four weeks prior to the interview.

Race and ethnicity are also associated with differences in men's sexual behavior. Never-married blacks were more likely than never-married whites to have had vaginal intercourse. Although there was little difference in coital frequency by race, blacks had had more vaginal sex partners in their lifetime and since January 1990. In contrast, less than 14% of black men had had anal sex, compared with 20% of white men. Among those who had ever had anal sex, however, race was unrelated to lifetime number of anal sex partners and number of partners since January 1990. Whites who had ever engaged in anal sex were significantly less likely than blacks to have had anal sex during the four weeks prior to interview.

With regard to oral sex, black men were less likely than white men to have performed or to have received oral sex in their lifetime and within the last four weeks before the interview. Although there was little difference among white men in the prevalence of having performed and having received oral sex, black men were far more likely to have ever received than to have ever performed this act. We conclude that, in general, black men's sexual activity tends to involve primarily vaginal sex and, to a limited extent, receiving oral sex.

Our analysis by ethnicity found that Hispanics were less likely than non-Hispanics to have performed or to have received oral sex. Although there was no difference in lifetime number of vaginal sex partners or coital frequency during the four weeks prior to the interview, Hispanics were more likely than non-Hispanics to have had four or more sexual partners since January 1990. Hispanics were also more likely to have ever had anal intercourse, to have engaged in this act with more than one partner both over their lifetime and since January 1990, and to have had anal sex more frequently over the last four weeks. This higher prevalence and incidence of anal intercourse may be partly attributed to the higher same-gender sexual orientation among Hispanics. Regardless, their pattern of multiple vaginal sex partners, greater involvement in anal intercourse, and more prevalent same-gender sexual contact places this ethnic group at higher risk of contracting and transmitting the AIDS virus.

Some aspects of men's sexual behavior differ according to education and religion. Men with higher education were more likely to have had anal intercourse and to have performed or received oral sex. Education was also positively associated with having had a same-gender sexual experience within the last 10 years, but it was not associated with being exclusively homosexual. More highly educated men had had fewer vaginal and anal sex partners in their lifetime. These findings suggest that those with more education had more stable sexual relationships and that they were more likely to experiment within those unions. Overall, the effect of education on the risk of transmitting or acquiring HIV is probably minimal because the positive effect of education on type of sexual act and on sexual orientation is balanced by its negative effect on number of partners.

As for religion, conservative Protestants had had the fewest number of vaginal sex partners in their lifetime, and men of the other or no religion category had had the most partners. Lifetime number of anal intercourse partners was highest among the latter group. Conservative Protestants were the least likely to have ever received or performed oral sex. In general, men who were not members of an organized religion, particularly a conservative religion, tended to engage in riskier sexual practices.

Findings such as those pertaining to the effects of education and religion are consistent with the notion that membership in certain social groups instills more or less traditional values about sexual behavior and may either provide greater opportunities to engage in or may prohibit engaging in a variety of sexual practices. So, too, is our finding that currently cohabiting men had had more vaginal sex partners, were more likely to have had anal intercourse, and were more likely to have performed and received oral sex than were married men.

The percentages of same-gender sexual activity in our results appear slightly lower than those from some other recent surveys, but none is close to the 10% figure that persists from Kinsey's study. The 1989 General Social Survey (GSS) found that 98% of sexually active men aged 18 and older were exclusively heterosexual during the 12-month period prior to interview.[25] Using GSS data on the number of male and female sex partners that respondents (men and women) had had since age 18, Smith estimated that "three percent have not been sexually active as adults, 91–93 percent have been exclusively heterosexual, 5–6 percent have been bisexual and less than 1 percent have been exclusively homosexual."[26]

Table 4. The percentage of men aged 20–39 who have experienced same-gender sexual activity during the last 10 years, by social and demographic characteristics

Characteristic	Any same-gender activity (N=3,224)	Exclusively same-gender activity (N=3,224)
All	**2.3**	**1.1**
Race		
White	2.4	1.3
Black	1.3	0.2
Age		•
20–24	3.0	2.3
25–29	2.8	1.2
30–34	2.2	0.4
35–39	1.3	0.7
Marital status	•	•
Never-married	4.9	2.8
Currently married	0.6	0.0
Formerly married	1.1	0.5
Relationship status		
Cohabiting	4.5	4.1
Has regular partner	3.3	1.8
No regular partner	4.4	1.9
Hispanic	•	•
No	2.0	1.0
Yes	4.8	2.8
Education	•	
<high school	0.1	0.0
High school graduate	1.7	1.4
Some college	2.8	1.4
≥college	4.0	0.8
Religion		
Conservative Protestant	2.6	0.6
Other Protestant	2.2	1.3
Catholic	2.7	1.3
Other or none	0.9	0.5

The results of a recently completed survey of more than 20,000 men and women aged 18–69 in France indicate that 4% of men had had at least one same-gender sexual experience during their lifetime and that 1% had done so over the 12 months prior to the interview.[27] These low levels of same-gender sexual contact suggest that the adult male population in which HIV is heavily concentrated is not as large as many had assumed.[28] This has implications for the construction of models used to estimate the prevalence of HIV in the United States, in which a primary model component is the current number of male homosexuals.[29]

The descriptive results presented here cannot begin to adequately test hypotheses about the effects of individual-level characteristics on sexual behavior. Still, they provide important insights for the development of multivariate analyses that include other individual and community characteristics and that examine the sexual practices of men and their partners within the context of their specific rela-

tionship. We plan to conduct such analyses in the future.

Another caution is in order. As Seidman and colleagues[30] and Catania and colleagues[31] have discussed, estimating an individual's actual risk of STD infection is a complex process. For a better assessment, "one would need to know the size and characteristics of his or her sexual network, the prevalence of HIV infection across the social strata in which those sexual networks are embedded, the type and frequency of sexual practices engaged in, as well as information on donor infectivity and host susceptibility."[32]

Our study falls short of meeting these demands. Nevertheless, by describing the sexual behavior (particularly those practices that are markers for an elevated risk of STD infection) of men in the United States and by examining how these behaviors vary by social and demographic characteristics, this study provides public health officials with preliminary information about groups that are most in need of intervention.

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OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
Military Working Group

1. Date: 15 APRIL 93

2. Operation Code

X - Originator or office affixing routing sheet
A - Appropriate action
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E - Recommendation
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G - Information
H - Return to: _____
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J - Disposition
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3. Subject
American Security Council Foundation Poll Results cited in Rost's Evans & Novak Editorial dated 14 April 93

ROUTING - use numbers to show order of routing
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4. Rtg.	5. Opr-Code	6. Addressees	7. Date In	7. Date Out	8. Initials Concur	8. Initials Nonconcur
2	G	LTGEN ALEXANDER				
2	G	MG OTJEN				
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2	G	RADM LOY				
2	G	BGEN MILLER				
2	G	STAFF DIRECTOR				
2	G	DPTY STAFF DIR				
		DPTY FOR SPEC PROJ				
		SJA				
1	GI	OPS & PLANS DIR				
	X	OPS OIC				
		PLANS OIC				
		COMM/ADP				
2	G	PANEL COOR DIR				
		PERS PANEL OIC				
		OPS PANEL OIC				
		SERV LIFE PANEL OIC				
		LEGAL OIC				
		RESOURCE MGMNT DIR				
		LOGISTICS OIC				
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9. Nature of Action Required	Originator's Initials	Due Date (if any)
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Urgent		

10. References Held by (Name, Grade, Office Code, Telephone ext)
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11. Remarks and Signature (If additional space is necessary, attach plain paper)

SUBJECT ATTACHED FOR INFORMATION ONLY.

ALSO ATTACHED IS COPY OF EVANS & NOVAK EDITORIAL.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

The Gay Ban: Dueling Polls

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

The Gay Ban: Dueling Polls

The assumption of politicians that voters split down the middle on gays in the military is shattered by a new private poll that has a direct impact on 1994 candidates.

The survey was commissioned by the conservative American Security Council foundation, which is opposed to President Clinton's position. It digs beneath the surface of other polls showing that one-half of Americans favor and the other half oppose lowering bars against homosexuals in uniform. To the contrary, it indicates sentiment is around 5 to 3 against ending the prohibition.

That is not news to Clinton's political aides, who pray that the issue will disappear quickly, even if by a congressional vote overruling the president's promised anti-gay directive. But that solution poses a problem for members of Congress who want to support their president but must face the voters next year.

These lawmakers have been reassured by surveys indicating a 50-50 split among Americans. Last November, a CNN-USA Today poll showed that 49 percent favored and 45 percent opposed "allowing gays to serve in the military." In December, an NBC-Wall Street Journal poll had 46 percent approval, 49 percent disapproval. In January, a Los Angeles Times poll came up with 46 percent for, 47 percent opposed.

But given all the street talk, this apparent balance seemed so counterintuitive that conservative pollster John McLaughlin suspected something was amiss. His hypothesis: Voters distorted their true views to avoid being considered homophobic by the interviewer. So he did a poll for the ASC with his firm, Fabrizio, McLaughlin and Associates, and got results that buttressed his theory.

The 800 voters interviewed nationwide between March 27 and March 31, with no disclosure of who commissioned the survey, yielded results similar to earlier polls: 42.6 percent favoring gays in the military, 43.6 percent opposed.

But McLaughlin drafted a question not asked elsewhere: "Do you think people in your area favor or oppose" forcing the military to accept homosexuals? The answer was 18.6 percent for, 56.6 percent opposed. That may be a more candid view of the voters' true feelings.

Such an interpretation is reinforced by other answers. Gen. Colin Powell's position against admitting gays was favored over the president's, 54.4 percent to 37.1 percent. Would Clinton's proposal hurt recruiting? Yes, said 54.8 percent; 11.3 percent said no.

Finally, voters were read a list of conditions: opposition to change by Powell, by uniformed troops and by Sen. Sam Nunn; greater cost to the government; possible endangerment of lives in combat; organized support by gay lobbies for Clinton's candidacy. Assuming that each of these premises is true, voter opposition to ending the gay ban increases in every instance. When the voter is asked to accept all conditions, the even split swings to 35.8 percent in favor of Clinton's position and 54.1 percent opposed—5 to 3 against.

"Once practical issues are introduced by the unique reality of the military," McLaughlin said in an April 2 memorandum to the ASC, "these become the determining factors which shift voter opinion decisively against removing the ban."

No wonder the president's advisers flinch whenever the gays issue eclipses the economic issue. They were horrorstruck when Clinton suggested segregated facilities for homosexual troops—an option favored by only 7.4 percent, according to the Fabrizio McLaughlin poll.

Clinton aides, noting that Powell and Nunn no longer insist on recruits stating their sexual preference, would like to declare victory and get off the issue. But the president made a promise to the gay movement to end all restrictions, and that will put every member of Congress on record when the directive is challenged on Capitol Hill as it certainly will be.

That's where this new survey becomes scary for those who want to support the president. "Yes" on gays in the military will make 43 percent of voters less likely to vote for the member of Congress and only 32.6 percent more likely. Outside the Middle Atlantic region, the margin is 3 to 2.

McLaughlin concludes: "The intensity of the issue falls on the side of those who oppose changing the ban." Among supporters of Clinton's position, 65.4 percent would be more likely to vote for a candidate who agreed with them. Among opponents, 83.1 percent promise retribution against those who disagree. These are not numbers to be relished by Democratic politicians.

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AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL FOUNDATION

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
April 14, 1993

Contact: RADM Robert H. Spiro, Jr., USNR (Ret.)
(202) 484-1676

NEW NATIONWIDE POLL FINDS PRACTICAL CONCERNS, UNDERLYING OPPOSITION TO GAYS IN MILITARY

(Washington, D.C.) A new national poll of 800 registered voters, commissioned by the American Security Council Foundation, finds underlying opposition to President Clinton's proposal to admit homosexuals to the military when practical issues such as recruiting, higher health care costs, housing, training, and opposition of leaders such as General Colin Powell are raised.

While the poll confirms other national surveys by showing a 43% to 44% split on whether people "favor or oppose requiring the military to accept homosexuals in the armed forces," the numbers jump to 54% opposed and 37% in favor after practical issues such as housing, military opposition, health care costs, and effect on recruiting are raised. A decisive 54% to 37% of voters also disagree that "Bill Clinton should overrule General Colin Powell and require the military to accept homosexuals in the armed forces."

The poll found that, by a 5 to 1 ratio, the majority of American voters believe that young people will be less likely to join the military if the gay ban is lifted and service members are forced to share shower, toilet and sleeping facilities with known homosexuals. The highest percentage of concern on this issue comes from voters between 18 and 25 years old; i.e. those most likely to join the military. With this age group, 70% think that young people are less likely to join, and only 13% think that young people are more likely to join.

Previous polls show that, when polled on controversial issues, voters often hesitate to state their views. Instead, they may state what they consider to be a socially acceptable viewpoint, especially to a pollster they do not know. Asking the views of others often provides a more accurate gauge of public sentiment. So while there is a 43%-44% split on the basic question of Clinton's policies, 57% of respondents answer that "people in their area" oppose the Clinton policy to admit gays into the military, while only 19% believe their neighbors support the Clinton policy.

The American Security Council Foundation, a 35-year old defense and national security research and education organization, commissioned the poll by Fabrizio, McLaughlin & Associates. The 800 registered voters were surveyed between March 27 and 30, 1993, and the poll has an accuracy rate of +/-3.5% at a 95% confidence interval.

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Washington Communications Center • Boston, Virginia 22713 • (703) 547-1776 FAX: (703) 547-9737

In an analysis prepared by Fabrizio, McLaughlin, the issue is summarized by noting that "At a cursory view of voter opinion to require the military to accept homosexuals, it appears that voters are almost equally divided. However, additional probing reveals serious reservations about lifting the ban among the electorate on issues such as health, cost, the impact upon recruiting and opposition from military leaders like Colin Powell for reasons of morale and discipline. These factors then lead voters to conclude, by roughly a 5 to 3 majority, that they are unwilling to force the military to accept homosexuals. Once practical issues are introduced by the unique reality of the military, these become the determining factors which shift voter opinion decisively against removing the ban."

"This is the first time anyone has questioned the public beyond the basic pro or con viewpoint, and our Foundation has learned that people have underlying, deeply-felt concerns about President Clinton's proposals," said ASCF Vice President Robert Spiro. "While there may be moral concerns by many, it appears that the American public's underlying opposition is also motivated by very practical, very real concerns. And while gay activists may say that even raising these issues introduces an element of emotionalism, the fact is that these will be real issues for the military if Clinton gets his way."

The poll also found that a majority of voters would be less likely to support their Senator or Congressman if they backed the Clinton proposal except in the Middle Atlantic region. Opposition is strongest in the southeastern and southern regions of the country.

"The results of this poll indicate tough sledding for the Clinton proposal," said ASCF's Robert Spiro. "The public has deep, practical concerns about implementing any changes. There is real concern that this will hurt our military and undermine national security."

Copies of the poll and cross tabs are available for review at ASCF offices. For further information or comment, please call the American Security Council Foundation at (202) 484-1676.

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Enclosures: Poll Data Summary
Fabrizio, McLaughlin Analysis

Fabrizio
McLaughlin
& Associates

TO: THE AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL FOUNDATION

FROM: FABRIZIO, MCLAUGHLIN & ASSOCIATES

RE: NATIONAL SURVEY - MARCH 31ST, 1993

DATE: APRIL 2, 1993

Methodology: This survey of political attitudes was administered to 800 registered voters. The survey was conducted between March 27th and 30th, 1993.

All interviews were conducted by professionally trained interviewers via telephone Interview selection was at random within predetermined election units. These units were structured to statistically correlate with actual voter distributions in national elections.

For this national survey of 800 voters, the accuracy is +/-3.5% at a 95% confidence interval.

Summary: At a cursory view of voter opinion to require the military to accept homosexuals, it appears that voters are almost equally divided. However, additional probing reveals serious reservations about lifting the ban among the electorate on issues such as health, cost, the impact upon recruiting and opposition from military leaders like Colin Powell for reasons of morale and discipline. These factors then lead voters to conclude, by a roughly 5 to 3 majority, that they are unwilling to force the military to accept homosexuals. Once practical issues are introduced by the unique reality of the military, these become the determining factors which shift voter opinion decisively against removing the ban.

Fabrizio, McLaughlin & Associates, Inc. • (703) 684-4510 • FAX (703) 739-0664
801 North Fairfax Street • Suite 312 • Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Among our findings were:

- By a strong 5 to 1 ratio, the majority of American voters believe that young people they know will be less likely to join the military if they have to share the same sleeping, shower and toilet facilities with homosexuals. Of greatest concern could be the conclusion that forcing the armed services to accept homosexuals would hurt our all volunteer military's recruiting efforts. The number of people who say that young people they know will be less likely to join rises as the voter's age decreases. The highest percentage of those who say that young people they know would be less likely to join occurs among men, voters between the ages of 18 to 25 years old and households with a member of the active military.

Young people join military:

	Total	Men	18-25	Active Military H/H
More likely	11.3%	9.0%	12.7%	12.4%
Less likely	54.8%	59.5%	69.6%	61.0%
Don't Know/Refused	34.0%	31.5%	17.7%	26.7%

- By a strong majority, (54.4%) think Bill Clinton should not overrule General Colin Powell. Roughly a third of the voters (37.1%) would want Clinton to overrule Powell. This is a very significant finding when most voters favor the position of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, over their elected President - the Commander-in-Chief.

- Regarding the issue of sleeping quarters, showers and toilets in the military, only 1 in every 13 voters (7.4%) favor using tax dollars to build separate facilities for homosexuals. Over one-third of all voters (37.3%) say heterosexuals and homosexuals in the military should be forced to share the same quarters. While the largest percentage of the voters would favor keeping the present policy (46.9%).

- When voters were asked whether each of 8 different factors would make them more likely or less likely to make the military accept homosexuals, for each statement the majority of voters were less likely to force the change on the military. Opposition was highest when considering concerns related to AIDS, the expenditure of additional tax dollars to implement changes and military concerns for order and discipline. All these considerations brought substantial opposition not only from conservatives and Republicans, but also from moderates and Independents as well.

- After this list of 8 factors were read to the voters and the voters were asked to once again decide if they favored or opposed requiring the military to accept homosexuals, there was a 17 point swing where a majority of the voters (54.3%) now opposed the change, while only a third remained in favor (35.8%).

More likely/Less likely Make Military Accept Homosexuals (Complete questionnaire wording is attached)

Issue		Total	Lib	Mod	Cons	Rep	Dem	Ind
Activists are lobbying to stop testing recruits and soldiers for AIDS	More likely	26.9%	39.7%	26.3%	20.8%	17.0%	33.9%	30.0%
	Less likely	61.3%	48.1%	58.4%	71.5%	73.7%	52.6%	60.6%
Would cost military an additional $4.6 Billion for AIDS treatment	More likely	26.6%	46.2%	23.7%	20.5%	20.5%	31.0%	30.6%
	Less likely	58.8%	38.5%	57.3%	69.6%	67.2%	53.2%	57.1%
Lives of soldiers could be endangered by fear of AIDS in combat situations	More likely	28.1%	47.4%	26.3%	21.5%	21.6%	33.9%	29.4%
	Less likely	58.3%	43.6%	53.3%	69.9%	68.3%	51.9%	57.6%
Taxpayers might have to pay for courses to accept homosexuals	More likely	34.5%	60.9%	34.7%	24.0%	27.0%	41.6%	35.3%
	Less likely	55.6%	34.0%	53.3%	67.3%	64.5%	48.1%	56.5%
General Colin Powell opposes requiring the military to accept homosexuals to maintain order and discipline	More likely	33.1%	50.6%	31.4%	26.9%	28.6%	39.4%	31.2%
	Less likely	54.0%	37.8%	51.1%	64.4%	59.5%	46.5%	58.8%
Gays contributed over $3 million to Clinton's campaign	More likely	29.6%	50.6%	28.1%	21.5%	22.0%	37.7%	30.0%
	Less likely	53.0%	32.1%	48.2%	66.0%	64.9%	43.2%	54.1%
75% of men and women in armed forces do not support lifting the ban	More likely	34.8%	52.6%	35.4%	26.0%	27.0%	41.0%	35.9%
	Less likely	52.3%	36.5%	47.1%	65.1%	64.9%	44.5%	49.4%
Senator Sam Nunn, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, opposes requiring the military to accept homosexuals	More likely	34.6%	55.1%	34.7%	26.0%	26.3%	40.3%	37.1%
	Less likely	50.4%	32.7%	44.2%	64.1%	62.5%	41.0%	49.4%

- The most interesting paradox of the poll appears to be that while voters claim to be almost evenly split in their first opinion to require the military to accept homosexuals, by a 3 to 1 majority, they claim that people in their area oppose this change (56.6%), while only 1 in 6 (18.6%) claim people in their area favor this change. Considering how voter opinion shifted from supporting to opposing any change, after various practical considerations were raised, this may be another strong indication that voters may be more disposed to this position than they are willing to admit.

  Without a doubt allowing homosexuals in the military is a controversial issue which may generate socially acceptable responses for voters who are polled on this issue. Asking voters about "people in their area" may generate a more accurate response than asking what they themselves think which could generate a socially acceptable response to the interviewer. The contrast between the results of these two questions leads to this type of paradox.

- When voters were asked about their reasons for opposing requiring the military to accept homosexuals only just over a third of the responses dealt with moral judgments (i.e. "don't approve of", "not right", "don't agree with lifestyle," "religious/sin" etc.). The overwhelming majority of reasons dealt with practical considerations (i.e. "cause problems", "living quarters", "sexual harassment by gays", "AIDS", etc.) or military concerns (i.e. "morale", "not effective", "military leaders oppose", etc.).

- Most voters (57.4%) believe changing the ban would have no effect upon the military's strength. But among those who do, by a 10 to 1 margin, they believe forcing the military to accept homosexuals would make the armed services weaker (33.0%) rather than stronger (3.5%). However those who believe it will make the military weaker increases among veteran households (38.0%) and households with members who are in active service (41.9%).

- By a 10 point margin, voters say they would be less likely to vote for their Senator or Congressman if they vote to make the military accept homosexuals. This political opposition rises in the Mid-East and South. The only region which would be decidedly more likely to vote for a candidate who votes to accept homosexuals is the Middle Atlantic region. Excluding this region, the voters in all other regions are less likely to vote for a candidate who votes to accept homosexuals by a 3 to 2 margin. It is strongest among Republicans, but 4 in 10 Independents and 3 in 10 Democrats would be less likely to vote for a Senator or Congressman who voted for the change. By a 2 to 1 majority, veteran households would be less likely to vote for a Senator or Congressman who votes to change the military's policy.

  When it comes to voting preference, the intensity of the issue falls on the side of those who oppose changing the ban. This is very significant for the upcoming election. Among those who favor allowing homosexuals in the military, two thirds are more likely to support a candidate who agrees with them. However, among those who oppose allowing homosexuals in the military, more than four of five are less likely to vote for a candidate who disagrees with them.

More or less likely vote for Congressman who votes to make the military accept homosexuals

	Total	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East No. Central	West No. Central	South Atlantic
More likely	32.6%	36.7%	48.3%	26.5%	39.4%	24.4%
Less likely	43.0%	38.8%	34.7%	45.6%	37.9%	46.6%
DK/Refused	24.4%	24.5%	16.9%	27.9%	22.7%	29.0%

	East So. Central	West So. Central	Mountain	Pacific
More likely	23.9%	23.4%	38.3%	35.3%
Less likely	65.2%	50.6%	44.7%	34.5%
DK/Refused	10.9%	26.0%	17.0%	30.3%

	Rep	Dem	Ind	Veteran H/H
More likely	18.5%	43.2%	35.9%	29.2%
Less likely	60.2%	31.9%	39.4%	50.1%
DK/Refused	21.2%	24.8%	24.7%	20.7%

	Favor To Accept	Oppose To Accept
More likely	65.4%	5.2%
Less likely	8.2%	83.1%
DK/Refused	26.4%	11.7%

It seems apparent that if the debate to force the military to accept homosexuals fully addresses the practical considerations of recruitment impact, living quarters, military effectiveness, AIDS concerns, and taxpayer expenditures, the majority of American voters are decisively opposed to making the military change their current policy.

Fabrizio McLaughlin & Associates

FABRIZIO, MCLAUGHLIN & ASSOCIATES

AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL

NATIONAL SURVEY

MARCH, 1993

Introduction: Good evening. My name is _____ and I'm calling from FM & Associates, a national public opinion firm. This evening we're conducting a short public opinion survey and we'd like to have your opinions. All responses will be kept confidential.

1. Are you 18 years of age or older and a registered voter?

   1. Yes 100.0% 2. No/All other responses (Terminate)

2. If you were to label yourself, would you say you are a Liberal, a Moderate, or a Conservative in your political beliefs?

   1. Liberal 19.5% 2. Moderate 34.3%

   3. Conservative 39.0% 4.DK/Refused 7.3%

3. Regarding the issue of requiring the military to accept homosexuals in the armed forces, do you think people in your area favor or oppose making the military accept homosexuals in the armed forces?

   1. Favor 18.6% 2. Oppose 56.6%

   3. Don't Know/Refused 24.8%

4. Do you favor or oppose requiring the military to accept homosexuals in the armed forces?

   1. Favor 42.6%
   2. Oppose 43.6%
   3. Don't Know/Refused 13.8%

IF OPPOSE:

5. Why do you oppose requiring the military to accept homosexuals in the armed services?

1. Just don't approve of/not right	19.5%
2. Don't agree with lifestyle	10.9%
3. Cause turmoil/problems/trouble	10.3%
4. Don't belong in military	8.6%
5. Hurt morale	7.7%
6. Living quarters/arrangements	6.9%

6. Do you think allowing homosexuals in the military will make America's military stronger or weaker or it will have no effect?

1. Stronger 3.5% 2. Weaker 33.0%

3. No Effect 57.4% 4. Don't Know/Refused 6.1%

7. Regarding the issue of sleeping quarters, showers and toilet facilities in the military, which would you favor most:

1. Having homosexuals and heterosexuals share the same sleeping and bath facilities, or 37.3%
2. Spending millions of tax dollars to build separate sleeping and bath facilities for homosexuals and heterosexuals, or 7.4%
3. Allowing the military to keep its present policy of taking only those who say they are not homosexuals 46.9%
4. Don't Know/Refused 8.5%

8. Do you think young people that you know will be more likely or less likely to join the military if they have to share the same sleeping, shower and toilet facilities with homosexuals?

1. More likely 11.3% 2. Less likely 54.8%

3. Don't Know/Refused 34.0%

9. Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for your Senator or Congressman if they vote to make the military accept homosexuals in the armed forces?

1. More likely 32.6% 2. Less likely 43.0%

3. Don't Know/Refused 24.4%

If you knew that each of the following statements were true for each, would you tell me if you would be more likely or less likely to make the military accept homosexuals in the armed forces?

	More likely	Less likely	DK/Ref.
10. General Colin Powell opposes requiring the military to accept homosexuals saying -it is quote-inconsistent with maintaining good order and discipline	33.1%	54.0%	12.9%
11. If the military is required to admit homosexuals, the taxpayers might have to pay for training courses for soldiers and sailors to sensitize them to accept homosexuals	34.5%	55.6%	9.9%
12. Senator Sam Nunn, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, opposes requiring the military to accept homosexuals	34.6%	50.4%	15.0%
13. Bill Clinton supports allowing gays in the military because gays contributed over $3 million to his campaign for President	29.6%	53.0%	17.4%
14. An American Security Council study found that it would cost the military an additional $4.6 billion for AIDS treatment if homosexuals were let into the military in the same proportion as in the overall population	26.6%	58.8%	14.6%
15. Currently, the military does not accept recruits with heart disease, cancer and diabetes, but homosexual activists are lobbying to stop the military from testing recruits and current soldiers for AIDS	26.9%	61.3%	11.9%

-CONTINUED-

16. If the military is required to accept homosexuals, the lives of soldiers could be endangered because of the fear of AIDS if soldiers ever need help in combat situations	28.1%	58.3%	13.6%
17. Independent polls show that 75% of the men and women in the ranks of the Armed Forces do not support lifting the ban on gays in the military.	34.8%	52.3%	13.0%

18. Now, if you knew all the previous statements to be true, would you favor or oppose requiring the military to accept homosexuals in the armed services?

1. Favor 35.8%
2. Oppose 54.1%
3. DK/Refused 10.1%

IF FAVOR:

19. Why do you favor requiring the military to accept homosexuals?

1. Lifestyle/sexual preference doesn't matter	23.1%
2. Already there	16.8%
3. Equal rights/opportunity	12.6%
4. Their right/civil/constitutional	10.5%
5. Against discrimination/prejudice	10.1%
6. Fair thing to do	5.2%

20. Do you think Bill Clinton should overrule General Colin Powell and require the military to accept homosexuals in the armed forces?

1. Yes 37.1%
2. No 54.4%
3. DK/Refused 8.5%

21. With which political party are you affiliated?

1. Republican 32.4%
2. Democrat 38.8%
3. Independent 21.3%
4. Other (specify) 0.1%
5. DK/Refused 7.5%

22. What is the last grade of formal education you have completed?

1. Less than high school graduate	9.1%
2. High school graduate	28.0%
3. Some College	27.6%
4. College graduate	26.1%
5. Post graduate	8.1%
6. Don't Know/Refused	1.0%

23. What is your religion?

1. Fundamentalist/Evangelical Protestant	10.3%
2. Mainstream Protestant	43.1%
3. Roman Catholic	25.6%
4. Jewish	3.1%
5. Mormon	1.1%
6. Atheist/Agnostic	2.6%
7. Other (specify)	1.3%
8. Don't Know/Refused	12.9%

24. Are you or is any member of your household a military veteran?

1. Yes 45.4% 2. No 52.4%

3. Don't Know/Refused 2.3%

25. Are you or is any member of your household currently serving in the armed forces, reserves or National Guard?

1. Yes 13.1% 2. No 86.0%

3. Don't Know/Refused 0.9%

26. Are there children in your household under the age 18 years old?

1. Yes 39.5% 2. No 58.0%

3. DK/Refused 2.5%

27. What is your race?

1. Hispanic	4.3%
2. African-American	9.6%
3. White	82.6%
4. Asiatic	0.9%
5. Other (specify)	1.1%
6. Refused	1.5%

28. What is your age?

1. 18-25	9.9%	2. 26-40	33.0%
3. 41-55	27.5%	4. 56-65	11.5%
5. Over 65	17.3%	6. Refused	0.9%

29. Gender:

1. Male 50.0% 2. Female 50.0%

30. What is your current marital status?

1. Single, never married	20.3%	2. Married	60.9%
3. Separated	1.3%	4. Divorced	9.0%
5. Widowed	7.4%	6. Don't Know/Refused	1.3%

31. Area:

1. New England	6.1%	2. Middle Atlantic	14.8%
3. East No. Central	18.4%	4. West No. Central	8.3%
5. South Atlantic	16.4%	6. East So. Central	5.8%
7. West So. Central	9.6%	8. Mountain	5.9%
9. Pacific	14.9%		

FILE
70

News

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New York, New York 10003

The Alan Guttmacher Institute

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212/254-5656

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE:
THURS. 6 A.M., APRIL 15, 1993

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR AND CONDOM USE REVEALED IN NEW NATIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE SURVEY OF U.S. MEN AGED 20–39

Information from one of the most comprehensive surveys to date on the sexual behavior and condom use of adult U.S. men between the ages of 20 and 39 — The National Survey of Men — is being released for the first time in the March/April 1993 issue of *Family Planning Perspectives*, the bimonthly peer-reviewed journal published by The Alan Guttmacher Institute (AGI). Four separate analyses by a team of researchers from Battelle Human Affairs Research Centers in Seattle, Washington, provide information about men's experience with vaginal, anal and oral sex; those who are most likely to use condoms; the importance of certain features of condoms; and how men's perceptions of their risk of AIDS affect their sexual behavior.

Jeannie Rosoff, president of AGI comments: "These studies have major implications for the development of public health strategies and programs to prevent HIV and sexually transmitted diseases, as well as unintended pregnancy. They show people are willing to answer questions about sexual practices, contrary to what is often believed. However, further research is urgently needed to confirm these findings and broaden our knowledge of the underlying factors that prompt individual sexual behavior."

Key findings from the 1991 nationally representative survey of 3,321 men, which was funded by a grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, include:

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR:

- Nearly all U.S. men aged 20–39 are sexually experienced; the average age at first sexual contact is 17 among white men and 15 among black men.
- Men in this age-group have vaginal sex about once a week.
- Nearly 1/4 of men have had 20 or more vaginal sex partners thus far in their lifetime (22% of white men and 35% of black men).

- The median lifetime number of vaginal sex partners is 7 among white men and 10 among black men.
- 3/4 of the men have performed or received oral sex.
- Men older than 25, men in a relationship, white men, and men with more education are more likely than their counterparts to have had oral sex.
- 20% of men aged 20–39 have had anal sex; 90% had anal sex for the first time with a woman.
- Men older than 35, unmarried men, white men, Hispanic men and more educated men are more likely to have had anal intercourse.
- Hispanic men are at slightly higher risk of contracting and transmitting human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) than non-Hispanic men—they are more likely to have a pattern of multiple vaginal sex partners, greater involvement in anal intercourse, and more prevalent same-gender sexual contact.
- Men who are not members of an organized religion generally engage in riskier sexual practices.
- Only 2% of sexually active men report having had any same-gender oral or anal sexual activity during the last 10 years, and only 1% reported being exclusively homosexual.

CONDOM USE:

- Black men, young men, men who do not live with their spouse or regular sex partner, Hispanics and men who have more than a high school education are much more likely to use condoms.
- White men are least likely to use condoms (25%), compared with Hispanic men (39%) and black men (38%).
- Black men are almost twice as likely to use condoms for both birth control and disease prevention than are white men (72% vs. 37%).
- Single men are about twice as likely as married men (45% vs. 18%) or men living with their sexual partner (24%) to use a condom.
- Men aged 20–30 are more likely to use condoms than those aged 30–40 (36% vs. 19%).
- Among white men, condom use increases with years of education; among black men, those with a high school education are much less likely to use condoms than are those with more or less than a high school education.
- Condom use is higher among men who have had anal sex, men who have had a one-night stand, bisexual or homosexual men and men who have multiple partners.
- Men are more likely to use condoms if they know someone who has AIDS, if they think that the prevalence of HIV is higher in their community than the U.S. average, and if they think that they are at risk of contracting HIV.

- Condom use is higher among men who have had a recent sexually transmitted disease and men who believe that use prevents disease transmission.

CONDOM PERCEPTIONS AND PREFERENCES:

- For 3/4 of men, a benefit of using condoms is that it "shows that you are a concerned and caring person." This perception is highest among black men (89%), men aged 20–24 (78%) and men with less than a high school education (81%).
- Black men, men with no regular sexual partner, men aged 35–39, Hispanic men, and men with less than a high school education are also more likely to believe that condom use conveys negative messages to their partner about possible HIV infection.
- 27% of men are embarrassed to buy condoms; white men, Hispanic men and highly educated men are more likely to feel this way than are others.
- A majority of men believe condom use reduces sensation (75%) and that they have to be careful during sex or the condom will break (64%); a minority of men believe that condom use adds to sexual excitement (16%) and that use makes sex last longer (32%).
- Black men, unmarried men and poorly educated men have less confidence in condom reliability than other groups of men and believe that condoms often slip off or break during sex.
- Condom users prefer condoms that "stay on" (58%), are "easy to put on" (57%) and have the "right amount of lubrication" (54%). It is also important to users that condoms are easy to obtain (47%), have a reservoir tip (43%) and are thin (42%).
- Few men identify color (6%), ribbing (13%) and sexual partner's preference (27%) for condom type as important.

PERCEPTIONS OF AIDS RISK AND RELATED BEHAVIOR:

- 96% of men know that AIDS destroys the immune system and has no cure.
- Men's perception of AIDS severity has little impact on their sexual behavior: There is no clear relationship between men's knowledge of AIDS and their recent sexual frequency, their condom use or their participation in anal or casual sex.
- 1/4 of men worry frequently about AIDS. Younger men, black men and men with less education are more likely to say that they worry frequently about AIDS and are more likely to have been tested for HIV.
- Generally, men overestimate HIV transmission rates; however, men with more education and those who know someone who is HIV-positive believe that transmission rates are lower.
- 41% of men have been tested to find out if they are infected with HIV.

- Few men (6%) think there is a 50% or higher chance that they are HIV-positive, but 34% believe there is some chance they are infected. 60% of men believe that there is no chance that they are HIV-positive.
- Men's speculation about their own HIV status and their perception of the AIDS rate in their own community is moderately related to their recent sexual behavior.
- Men's perception of their HIV status is strongly related to their past HIV risk behaviors and perceptions about the AIDS rate in their own community.
- Men who know someone who is HIV-positive are more likely to be tested for HIV, to worry about AIDS and to believe that they may be HIV-positive.

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For further information, contact the authors — John O.G. Billy, William R. Grady, Daniel H. Klepinger and Koray Tanfer — at Battelle Human Affairs Research Centers, 206/525-3130.

Note to Editors/Reporters: Information about the sample design, questionnaire contents and methodology can be found in the Technical Note, pages 83–86.

The Alan Guttmacher Institute is an independent, nonprofit corporation for research, policy analysis and public education, focusing on reproductive health issues, and has offices in New York and Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN
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SENATE SURVEY ON HOMOSEXUALS IN THE MILITARY

The following survey, conducted by the American Family Association, is a count of all U.S. Senators' positions on homosexuals in the military, as of April 22, 1993.

The questions posed to staffers were: (1) "Does the Senator favor the ban on homosexuals in the military that was in effect on January 1, 1993?" and (2) "Will the Senator vote to overturn an order issued by President Clinton allowing homosexuals in the military?"

The survey found 36 senators in favor of keeping the ban on homosexuals in the military, 30 senators oppose the ban, and 34 senators undecided or waiting until the hearings conclude to make a decision.

A listing of senators and their position follows, as well as a state by state breakdown of the senators' responses.

227 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Suite 100-A • Washington, D.C. 20002

In Favor of Ban

Howell Heflin (D AL)
Richard C. Shelby (D AL)
Frank H. Murcowski (R AK)
Ted Stevens (R AK)
John McCain (R AZ)
Hank Brown (R CO)
William V. Roth, Jr. (R DE)
Connie Mack (R FL)
Paul Coverdell (R GA)
Sam Nunn (D GA)
Larry E. Craig (R ID)
Dirk Kempthorne (R ID)
Dan Coats (R IN)
Bob Dole (R KS)
Wendell Ford (D KY)
Mitch McConnell (R KY)
Thad Cochran (R MS)
Trent Lott (R MS)
Christopher S. Bond (R MO)
John C. Danforth (R MO)
Conrad Burns (R MT)
Judd Gregg (R NH)
Robert C. Smith (R NH)
Pete V. Domenici (R NM)
Launch Faircloth (R NC)
Jesse Helms (R NC)
Don Nickles (R OK)
Ernest F. Hollings (D SC)
Strom Thurmond (R SC)
Larry Pressler (R SD)
Phil Gramm (R TX)
Robert F. Bennett (R UT)
John W. Warner (R VA)
Alan K. Simpson (R WY)
Malcolm Wallop (R WY)
Charles E. Grassley (R IA)

Oppose Ban

Barbara Boxer (D CA)
Dianne Feinstein (D CA)
Christopher J. Dodd (D CT)
Daniel K. Inouye (D HI)
Carol Moseley-Braun (D IL)
Paul Simon (D IL)
George J. Mitchell (D ME)
Barbara Mikulski (D MD)
Paul S. Sarbanes (D MD)
Edward M. Kennedy (D MA)
John Kerry (D MA)
Bill Bradley (D NJ)
Frank Lautenberg (D NJ)
Jeff Bingaman (D NM)
Alfonze D'Amato (R NY)
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D NY)
Byron L. Dorgan (D ND)
Howard M. Metzenbaum (D OH)
Bob Packwood (R OR)
Harris Wofford (D PA)
John H. Chafee (R RI)
Claiborne Pell (D RI)
James M. Jeffords (R VT)
Patrick Leahy (D VT)
Charles S. Robb (D VA)
Patty Murray (D WA)
Russell D. Feingold (D WI)
Daniel K. Akaka (D HI)
Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D CO)
Paul Wellstone (D MN)

Undecided/Waiting to Respond

Dennis DeConcini (D AZ)
Dale Bumpers (D AR)
David Pryor (D AR)
Joseph I. Lieberman (D CT)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D DE)
Bob Graham (D FL)
Richard G. Lugar (R IN)
Tom Harkin (D IA)
Nancy Kassebaum (R KS)
John B. Breaux (D LA)
J. Bennett Johnston (D LA)
William S. Cohen (R ME)
Carl Levin (D MI)
Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (D MI)
Dave Durenberger (R MN)
Max Baucus (D MT)
Jim Exon (D NE)
Richard H. Bryan (D NV)
Harry Reid (D NV)
Kent Conrad (D ND)
John Glenn (D OH)
David L. Boren (D OK)
Mark O. Hatfield (R OR)
Arlen Specter (R PA)
Tom Daschle (D SD)
Harlan Mathews (D TN)
Jim Sasser (D TN)
Robert Krueger (D TX)
Orrin Hatch (R UT)
Slade Gorton (R WA)
Robert C. Byrd (D WV)
John D. Rockefeller (D WV)
Herb Kohl (D WI)
Bob Kerrey (D NE)

Alabama

Howell Heflin (D)
224-4124
1. Yes; favors ban
2. Yes

Richard C. Shelby (D)
224-5744
1. Yes
2. Yes

Alaska

Frank H. Murkowski (R)
224-6665
1. Yes; favors ban very strongly
2. Yes

Ted Stevens (R)
224-3004
1. Yes; will go with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and DOD's recommendation.
2. Undecided; ranking member of Defense Appropriations

Arizona

Dennis DeConcini (D)
224-4521
1. Undecided; change from earlier statement infavor of lifting ban as a result of Nunn hearings.
2. Undecided

John McCain (R)
224-2235
1. Yes
2. Yes

Arkansas

Dale Bumpers (D)
224-4843
1. Undecided; will wait until hearings conclude to make decision.
2. No response

David Pryor (D)
224-2353
1. No response; waiting until after hearings to respond.
2. No response

California

Barbara Boxer (D)
224-3553
1. No
2. No

Dianne Feinstein (D)
224-3841
1. No
2. No

Colorado

Hank Brown (R)
224-5941
1. Yes
2. Yes

Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D)
224-5852
1. Yes
2. No response

Connecticut

Christopher J. Dodd (D)
224-2823
1. No
2. No

Joseph I. Lieberman (D)
224-4041
1. Undecided; waiting for all information from hearings before forming a position on issue. On SASC; believes the burden of proof is on those who discriminate.
2. Undecided

Delaware

Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D)
224-5042
1. Undecided until after hearings.
2. No response, premature to ask question.

William V. Roth, Jr. (R)
224-2441
1. At this point, does not favor lifting ban; voted in favor of amendment to Family Leave Act.
2. Cannot answer; depends on what the legislation says.

Florida

Bob Graham (D)
224-3041
1. Undecided
2. Undecided

Connie Mack (R)
224-5274
1. Yes
2. Cannot answer; depends on exact wording, but supports military fully.

Georgia

Paul Coverdell (R)
224-3643
1. Will follow lead of military; favors keeping ban if military comes to that conclusion.
2. Same as above.

Sam Nunn (D)
224-3521
1. Yes
2. Currently opposed, but since he's chairing hearings, will wait to hear all testimony before making a final decision.

Hawaii

Daniel K. Akaka (D)
224-6361
1. No
2. No

Daniel K. Inouye (D)
224-3934
1. No
2. No

Idaho

Larry E. Craig (R)
224-2754
1. Yes
2. Yes

Dirk Kempthorne (R)
224-6142
1. Yes
2. Yes, if necessary

Illinois

Carol Moseley-Braun (D)
224-2854
1. No
2. Favors gays; thinks it is a civil rights issue. Has spoken against ban.

Paul Simon (D)
224-2152
1. No
2. Cannot answer, but if vote was today, would not vote to overturn order.

Indiana

Daniel R. Coats (R)
224-5623
1. Yes
2. Yes

Richard G. Lugar (R)
224-4814
1. Voted to uphold ban on 2/4 vote (Dole Amendment). Will follow hearings closely and make decision after their completion. Concerned about living arrangements, marital status, etc.
2. Yes; thinks ban should not be lifted by executive order; voted against Clinton the first time he tried to lift ban.

Iowa

Charles E. Grassley (R)
224-3744
1. Yes; voted against lifting ban on 2/4 vote (Dole Amendment).
2. Yes

Tom Harkin (D)
224-3254
1. Watching hearings before taking position; voted for the Nunn Compromise.
2. No

Kansas

Bob Dole (R)
224-6521
1. Yes
2. Favors ban strongly, but cannot say what he would do in this case.

Nancy Kassebaum (R)
224-4774
1. No position; waiting for hearings to conclude before taking a position.
2. Cannot answer.

Kentucky

Wendell H. Ford (D)
224-4343
1. Yes
2. No

Mitch McConnell (R)
224-2541
1. Yes
2. Will not issue statement in hypothetical situation; in support of ban but will wait to examine report.

Louisiana

John B. Breaux (D)
224-4623
1. Undecided; waiting for results of hearings.
2. Undecided

J. Bennett Johnston (D)
224-5824
1. Will wait until hearings are over, will study positions of Nunn and Powell.
2. Cannot answer at this point.

Maine

William S. Cohen (R)
224-2523
1. Undecided
2. Undecided

George J. Mitchell (D)
224-5344
1. No
2. No

Maryland

Barbara Mikulski (D)
224-4654
1. No
2. No

Paul S. Sarbanes (D)
224-4524
1. No
2. No

Massachusetts

Edward M. Kennedy (D)
224-4543
1. No
2. No

John Kerry (D)
224-2742
1. No
2. No

Michigan

Carl Levin (D)
224-6221
1. Undecided; wants objective, fair hearings; feels it is imcumbent upon DOD to make its case. So far, the case for a total ban has not been strong enough.
2. Undecided; depends on hearings

Usually votes liberally on social issues; votes for the protection of civil rights -- if the homosexual issue is a civil rights issue, the military must make the case that it is not.

Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (D)
224-4822
1. Undecided; made a very vague statement on issue, but when staff tried to pen him down on it, said he was waiting to see what the Pentagon/military came up with in the hearings.
2. Cannot answer.

Minnesota

Dave Durenberger (R)
224-3244
1. Undecided
2. Undecided

Paul Wellstone (D)
224-5641
1. No
2. No

Mississippi

Thad Cochran (R)
224-5054
1. Yes
2. Most likely, but does think some changes should be made.

Trent Lott (R)
224-6253
1. Yes
2. Yes

Missouri

Christopher S. Bond (R)
224-5721
1. Yes
2. Yes

John C. Danforth (R)
224-6154
1. Yes
2. Yes

Montana

Max Baucus (D)
224-2651
1. Waiting for hearings to conclude before taking position; thinks it is time to review the ban.
2. Cannot answer, but would be attentive to both sides of the debate that would occur.

Conrad Burns (R)
224-2644
1. Yes
2. Undecided

Nebraska

Jim Exon (D)
224-4224
1. Undecided
2. No response

Bob Kerrey (D)
224-6551
1. Undecided; waiting for hearings to conclude before making decision.
2. Undecided; depends on details of order.

Nevada

Richard H. Bryan (D)
224-6244
1. Undecided
2. Undecided

Harry Reid (D)
224-3542
1. Waiting until hearings are completed to make decision.
2. No response

New Hampshire

Judd Gregg (R)
224-3324
1. Yes
2. Cannot answer

Robert C. Smith (R)
224-2841
1. Yes
2. Yes

New Jersey

Bill Bradley (D)
224-3224
1. No
2. No

Frank R. Lautenberg (D)
224-4744; 224-2711
1. No; against discrimination in any form
2. Undecided, but when plan was first published, supported Clinton

New Mexico

Jeff Bingaman (D)
224-5521
1. No
2. No

Pete V. Domenici (R)
224-6621
1. Yes
2.

New York

Alfonse M. D'Amato (R)
224-6542
1. No
2. Cannot say at this point; matter of conduct

Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D)
224-4451
1. No; favors lifting ban
2. No

North Carolina

Lauch Faircloth (R)
224-3154
1. Yes
2. Yes

Jesse Helms (R)
224-6342
1. Yes
2. Yes
In line w/AFA on issue.

North Dakota

Kent Conrad (D)
224-2043
1. Undecided
2. Undecided

Byron L. Dorgan (D)
224-2551
1. Far too much attention has been given to issue; thinks ban should be lifted over a long period of time if morale of troops will not be hurt.
2. Cannot answer; depends on #1.

Ohio

John Glenn (D)
224-3353
1. No position as of yet; will wait until after hearings.
2. No position; a veteran of WWII and Korea, therefore has a unique perspective of unit cohesion, etc.; will bring that view to the table.

Howard M. Metzenbaum (D)
224-2315
1. No
2. No

Oklahoma

David L. Boren (D)
224-4721
1. Waiting for hearings to finish before taking a position.
2. Depends on what conduct code Clinton's executive order would present; if it was fairly reasonable, he would be disposed for it.

Don Nickles (R)
224-5754
1. Yes
2. Yes

Oregon

Mark O. Hatfield (R)
224-3753
1. No position
2. No position

Bob Packwood (R)
224-5244
1. No
2. Depends on how order is worded

Pennsylvania

Arlen Specter (R)
224-4254
1. Undecided; watching hearings.
2. Cannot answer.

Harris Wofford (D)
224-6324
1. No
2. No

Rhode Island

John H. Chafee (R)
224-2921
1. Favors relaxing ban, but undecided about gays serving in all units etc.
2. Undecided, if a wholescale overturning.

Claiborne Pell (D)
224-4642
1. No
2. No

South Carolina

Ernest F. Hollings (D)
224-6121
1. Yes
2. Cannot answer

Strom Thurmond (R)
224-5972
1. Yes
2. Cannot answer; depends on #1.

South Dakota

Tom Daschle (D)
224-2321
1. Waiting for hearings to conclude before making decision; hopeful a solution can be worked out.
2. Doubtful, but premature to say at this time.

Larry Pressler (R)
224-5842
1. Yes
2. Yes

Tennessee

Harlan Mathews (D)
224-4944
1. Undecided
2. Undecided

Jim Sasser (D)
224-3344
1. Undecided
2. Undecided
Spending all his time on budget; has not taken a position on issue.

Texas

Phil Gramm (R)
224-2934
1. Yes
2. Would have to see legislation before answering, but strongly in favor of keeping ban.

Robert Krueger (D)
224-5922
1. Thinks there should be a way of allowing those who want to serve to do so, but also thinks the Joint Chiefs of Staff and military should decide whether the ban should be lifted.
2. Cannot answer; a blanket order will not happen, so cannot say whether he would or not; not a fair question.

Utah

Robert F. Bennett (R)
224-5444
1. Yes
2. Yes, according to position statement (faxed over)

Orrin G. Hatch (R)
224-5251
1. Undecided; waiting for hearings to close.
2. Cannot answer; mute point

Vermont

James M. Jeffords (R)
224-5141
1. No
2. No

Patrick J. Leahy (D)
224-4242
1. No
2.

Virginia

Charles S. Robb (D)
224-4024
1. No
2. No

John W. Warner (R)
224-2023
1. Yes
2. Yes

Washington

Slade Gorton (R)
224-3441
1. Undecided
2. Undecided; supported Dole proposal

Patty Murray (D)
224-2621
1. No
2. No

West Virginia

Robert C. Byrd (D)
224-3954
1. Undecided
2. Undecided

John D. Rockefeller IV (D)
224-6472
1. Watching hearings; against discrimination in general, but understands the military has a position.
2. Cannot answer; the order would be some variation of what was in effect on 1/1/93, so without seeing it, cannot answer.

Wisconsin

Russell D. Feingold (D)
224-5323
1. No
2. No

Herb Kohl (D)
224-5653
1. Waiting until end of hearings to make decision; does believe sexual preference should not be the deciding factor, rather, behavior and practicality should be.
2. No response

Wyoming

Alan K. Simpson (R)
224-3424
1. Yes
2. Yes, very likely; feels it should be a congressional decision; will see what the military experts say - if they differ from the President, he would vote to overturn order.

Malcolm Wallop (R)
224-6441
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THE RETIRED OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

Alexandria, Virginia

Homosexuals in the Military Research Study

December 1992

Prepared by

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The Gallup Organization
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Introduction

The Gallup Organization of Princeton, New Jersey conducted market research for The Retired Officers Association (TROA) of Alexandria, Virginia. The overall purpose of this market research was to determine, among current TROA members, their attitudes and opinions with regard to the issue of allowing homosexuals in the military.

Methodology

To accomplish the objectives of this study, The Gallup Organization interviewed 1,013 current TROA members across the continental United States. TROA members were randomly selected from a list of current TROA members provided by the organization.

Respondents were interviewed by telephone between November 27 and December 1, 1992. The Gallup Organization used a multiple-callback methodology in which up to five callbacks were made to the same telephone number in order to eliminate bias in favor of those respondents easy-to-reach. Gallup provided experienced, professionally trained interviewers under the exclusive employment of Gallup. All interviewers involved in this project were briefed specifically as to the objectives and methodology of the study.

All field work was validated at the 10% level by supervisory callbacks. Telephone interviews were monitored internally as part of the ongoing Gallup process for evaluating interviewers. Completed questionnaires were edited and coded independently as a quality-control measure.

Survey Instrument Development

Items included in the questionnaire were mutually agreed upon by The Gallup Organization and TROA. TROA had responsibility for identifying question areas and information desired. Gallup had responsibility for ensuring that all items were written technically correct and without bias.

Stability of Results

At the 95% level of confidence, the maximum expected error range for a sample of 1,013 TROA members is ±3.1%. Stated more simply, if 100 different samples of 1,013 TROA members were chosen randomly from a national sample of TROA members, 95 times out of 100 the results obtained would vary no more than ±3.1 percentage points from the results that would be obtained if the entire population of TROA members were interviewed.

Reports Prepared

TROA has been provided a complete set of tabular results by frequency and percentage for each of the major classifications. These tabular results should serve as reference material and be consulted before important decisions are made. This narrative report focuses on what are felt to be the most meaningful findings of this study.

"How familiar are you with the issue of allowing homosexuals in the military? Are you very familiar, somewhat familiar, not too familiar, or not at all familiar with this issue?"

TABLE 1
Familiarity With Issue of
Homosexuals Being Allowed
in the Military
(n=1,013)

Response	Percent
Very familiar	58%
Somewhat familiar	36
Not too familiar	4
Not at all familiar	1
Don't know	1

- In general, the respondents showed a high degree of familiarity with the issues of homosexuals being allowed in the military. More than nine-tenths (94%) of the retired officers said they were either very familiar (58%) or somewhat familiar (36%) with the issue of allowing homosexuals in the military.

"Currently, homosexuals are not allowed to serve in the military and an admission of homosexuality is sufficient evidence for discharge. President-elect Bill Clinton has said that he will lift the ban and open the military ranks to homosexuals. In general, would you say that you favor or oppose allowing homosexuals in the military?"

TABLE 2
Favor/Oppose Allowing Homosexuals in the Military
(n=1,013)

Response	Percent	
Strongly favor	3%	
Favor	10	
Net (strongly favor/favor)		13%
Oppose	16	
Strongly oppose	67	
Net (strongly oppose/oppose)		83%
Don't know	2	
Refused	2	

- The great majority (83%) of retired officers said they either strongly opposed (67%) or opposed (16%) allowing homosexuals in the military. Respondents in the Navy (85% strongly opposed/opposed), respondents who did not have postgraduate education (85%) and respondents who had recommended the military as a career to either a family member or friend were particularly opposed to allowing homosexuals in the military.

- Less than one-seventh (13%) of the respondents said they either strongly favored (3%) or favored (10%) allowing homosexuals in the military.

- It should be noted, for the most part, that most respondents had a set opinion with regard to the issue of allowing homosexuals in the military. Only two percent (2%) of the respondents said they did not know whether they favored or opposed allowing homosexuals in the military.

"Currently, homosexuals are not allowed to serve in the military and an admission of homosexuality is sufficient evidence for discharge. President-elect Bill Clinton has said that he will lift the ban and open the military ranks to homosexuals. In general, would you say that you favor or oppose allowing homosexuals in the military?"

TABLE 3
Favor/Oppose Allowing Homosexuals in the Military -- by Key Group

	% Strongly favor/ Favor	% Strongly oppose/ Oppose
Total (n=1,013)	13%	83%
Branch of Service		
Army (n=391)	14%	82%
Air Force (n=328)	16	80
Navy (n=234)	11	85
Education		
Less than college degree	13%	84%
College graduate	11	85
Postgraduate work/degree	15	81

"Why do you favor allowing homosexuals in the military?"

TABLE 4
Reasons for Favoring Allowance of Homosexuals in the Military
(n=135; those who strongly favored or favored allowing homosexuals in the military)

Response	Percent
Always been there	20%
Should be allowed/equality	16
Should be judged on behavior	12
They are just as productive	10
It's the right thing	5
They have the right to serve their country	5
Wouldn't cause any problems	4
No reason not to	3
It's their own business	3
Good previous experience with homosexuals	3
Sign of the times	3
Other	13
Don't know	1
Refused	1

- Among the 135 retired officers who said they strongly favored or favored allowing homosexuals in the military, the most common reasons cited for favoring such an allowance were:

  - that homosexuals have always been in the military (20%)
  - that they should be allowed/equality (16%)
  - that homosexuals should be judged on their behavior, not on their sexual preference (12%)
  - that homosexuals are just as productive (10%)

- No other responses were named by more than five percent (5%) of the respondents as a reason for favoring allowing homosexuals in the military.

"Why do you oppose allowing homosexuals in the military?"

TABLE 5
Reasons for Opposing Allowance of Homosexuals in the Military
(n=836; those who strongly oppose or oppose allowing homosexuals in the military)

Response	Percent
Could have a negative effect on morale	20%
Could have a negative effect on discipline	11
Close living quarters	7
Don't fit/don't belong	6
I oppose the lifestyle	6
Causes problems we don't need	5
Bad past experience with homosexuals	5
Disruptive	4
Will not work	4
Could affect combat readiness	3
Don't like homosexuals	3
Wouldn't be accepted by other soldiers	3
Don't think it is right	3
Other	20
Don't know	*

* Less than 1% mention

- Respondents tended to cite a wide variety of reasons for opposing allowing homosexuals in the military. In fact, they cited so many different reasons, that only two -- could have a negative effect on morale (20%) and could have a negative effect on discipline (11%) -- received more than seven percent (7%) mention.

- In general, respondents who opposed allowing homosexuals in the military tended to cite a disruptive negative effect (on morale, on discipline, combat readiness, lack of acceptance, etc.) as being the primary reason why they opposed allowing homosexuals in the military.

HAVE YOU EVER PERSONALLY RECOMMENDED A MILITARY CAREER TO A FRIEND OR FAMILY MEMBER?
(n=1,013)

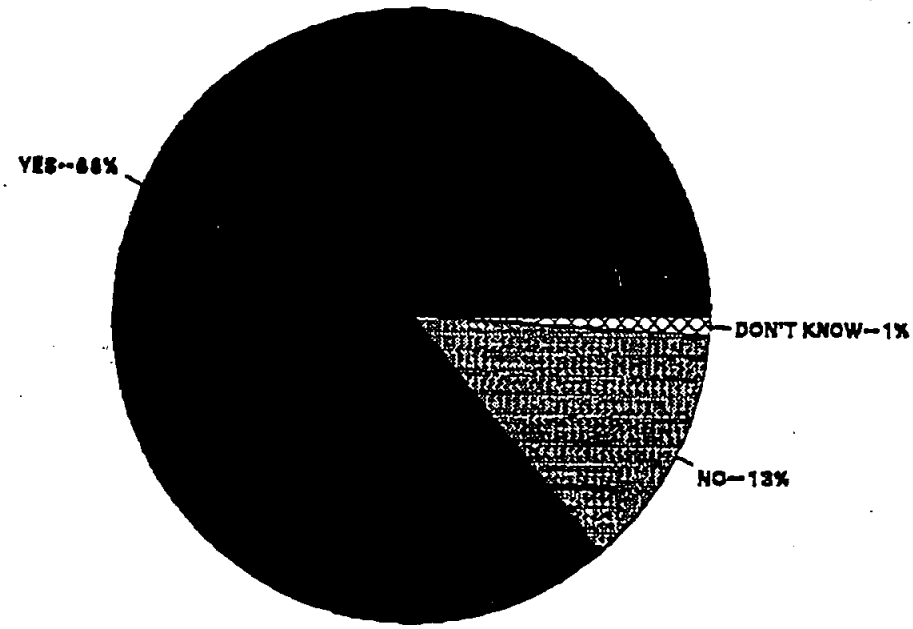
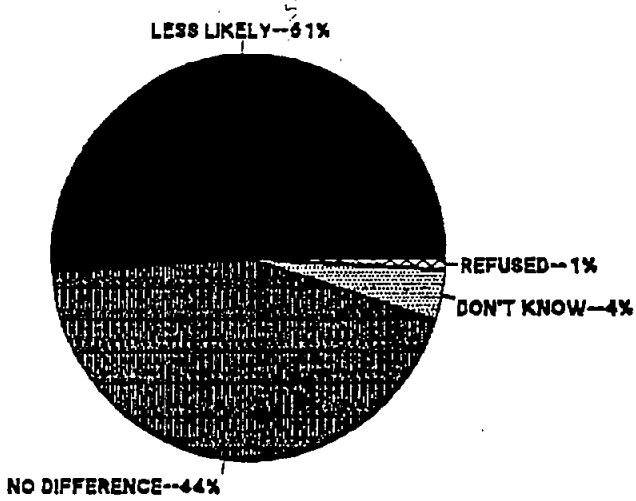


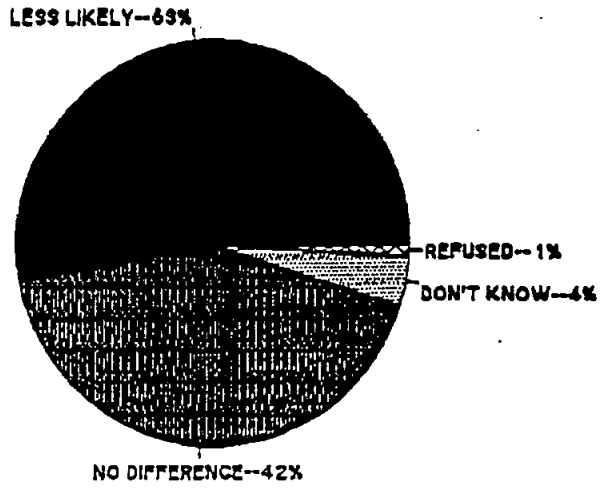
FIGURE 1

- Approximately five-sixths (86%) of the respondents said they had personally recommended a military career to a friend or family member. This level of recommending military service was consistent across all branches of service and officer types.

IF HOMOSEXUALS WERE ALLOWED TO SERVE IN THE MILITARY, DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD BE MORE LIKELY OR LESS LIKELY TO RECOMMEND A MILITARY CAREER, OR WOULD IT MAKE NO DIFFERENCE ON YOU LIKELIHOOD TO RECOMMEND A MILITARY CAREER TO A FRIEND OR FAMILY MEMBER?



TOTAL POPULATION
(n=1,013)



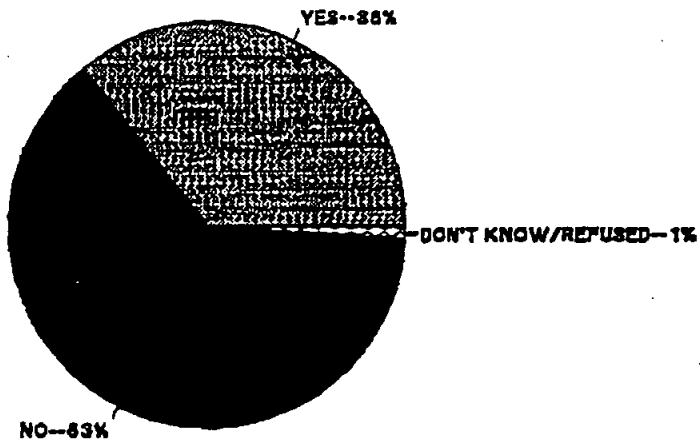
THOSE WHO HAVE RECOMMENDED
A MILITARY CAREER
(n=674)

FIGURE 2

- Approximately one-half (51%) of the respondents said they would be less likely to recommend a military career to a friend or family member if homosexuals were allowed to serve in the military. Slightly less than one-half (44%) said that it would make no difference in their recommendation of a military career, while only three respondents (less than 1%) said that allowing homosexuals in the military would make them more likely to recommend a military career.

- Among respondents who had previously recommended a military career to someone, 53% said they would be less likely to recommend a military career in the future if homosexuals were allowed in the military.

DID YOU EVER HAVE TO DEAL ADMINISTRATIVELY WITH A HOMOSEXUAL INCIDENT DURING A TOUR OF DUTY? (n=1,013)



WOULD YOU SAY THAT EXPERIENCE, OR THOSE EXPERIENCES, WAS A MAJOR DISRUPTION, A MINOR DISRUPTION, OR NO DISRUPTION AT ALL WITH REGARD TO THE NORMAL OPERATION OF THE COMMAND?

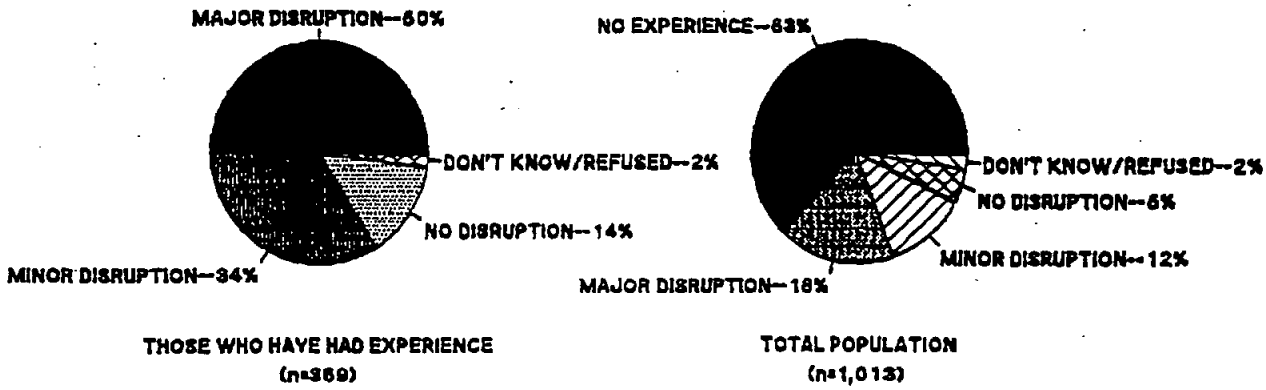


FIGURE 3

- Slightly more than one-third (36%) of the respondents said they had to deal administratively with a homosexual incidence during a tour of duty. Of these respondents, 50% said that the experience (or experiences) was a major disruption with regard to the normal operation of their command, 34% indicated that it was a minor disruption, while only 14% said it was no disruption.

"If the ban on homosexuals in the military was lifted, do you think it would have a positive effect, a negative effect, or make no difference for the following? How about (___)?"

TABLE 6
Effect on Allowing Homosexuals in Military on Various Factors
(n=1,013)

Factor	Positive Effect	Make no Difference	Negative Effect	Net Difference (positive minus negative)	Don't know
The morale of the military	3%	17%	78%	-75%	2%
Military pride	3	22	72	-69%	2
The level of trust of troops for one another	4	20	73	-69%	3
The discipline of the military	4	22	70	-66%	3
The United States' Combat Capabilities	3	28	66	-62% 4	
The number of individuals signing up for military service	4	29	58	-54%	8
The right of privacy of individuals on active duty	7	29	53	-46%	9
The number of resignations from military service	10	29	49	-39%	11

- Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they thought allowing homosexuals in the military would cause a positive effect, a negative effect or make no difference on various factors involving the military. By taking the number of respondents who said that allowing homosexuals in the military would cause a positive effect on the factor and subtracting out the respondents who said that such an allowance would cause a negative effect, we generate a "net difference." All eight of the tested factors in this study had a negative "net difference"

(indicating that for each one, the number of respondents saying that allowing homosexuals in the military would cause a negative effect was greater than the number of respondents saying it would cause a positive effect). Those factors that were most negatively affected (according to the respondents) by the allowance of homosexuals in the military were:

- the morale of the military (-75% net difference)
- military pride (-69%)
- the level of trust of troops for one another (-68%)
- the discipline of the military (-66%)

- Those factors that respondents believed would be least negatively affected by allowing homosexuals in the military were:

  - the number of resignations from military service (-39%)
  - the right of privacy of individuals on active duty (-46%)
  - the number of individuals signing up for military service (-54%)

- Only one of the eight tested factors – the number of resignations from military service – had at least ten percent (10%) of the respondents say that allowing homosexuals in the military would have a positive effect on that factor.

EFFECTS OF ALLOWING HOMOSEXUALS IN THE MILITARY ON VARIOUS FACTORS

(n=1,013)

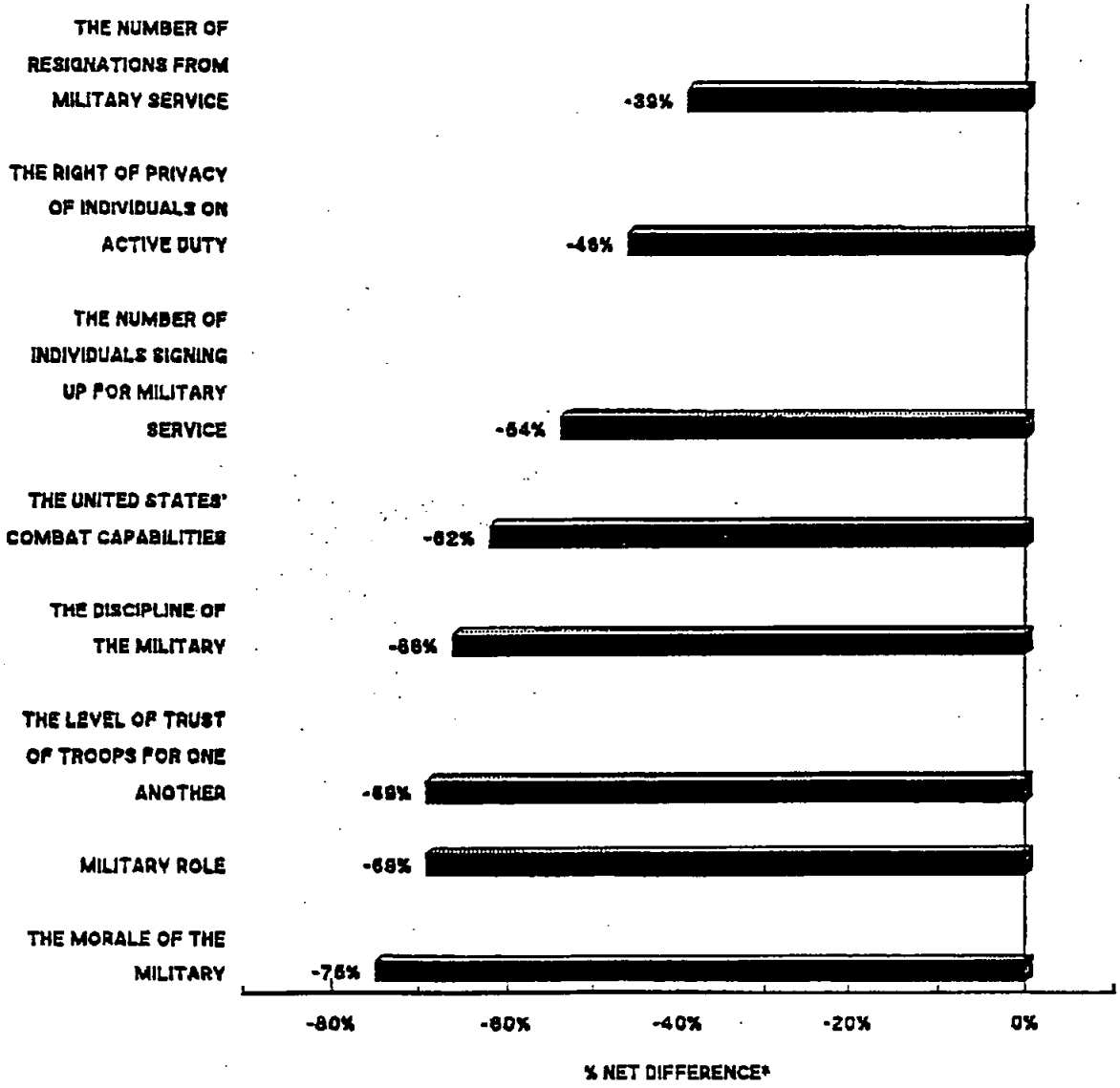


FIGURE 4 *EQUALS POSITIVE EFFECT MINUS NEGATIVE EFFECT

"A prominent senator has said that while he supports President-elect Clinton's plan to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military, he believes some restrictions may be necessary. Among the restrictions suggested is not allowing homosexuals in combat. If the ban on homosexuals in the military was lifted, would you favor or oppose this position?"

TABLE 7
Favor/Oppose Not Allowing Homosexuals in Combat
If Homosexuals Were Allowed in Military
(n=1,013)

Response	Percent	
Strongly favor	13%	
Favor	11	
Net (strongly favor/favor)		25%
Strongly oppose	38	
Oppose	28	
Net (strongly oppose/oppose)		66%
Don't know	6	
Refused	3	

- Approximately one-fourth (25%) of the respondents said they would strongly favor or favor not allowing homosexuals in combat if the ban on homosexuals in the military was lifted.
- Approximately two-thirds (66%) of the respondents said they strongly opposed (38%) or opposed (28%) such a position.

- The most common reasons cited by respondents who favored not allowing homosexuals in combat (if they were allowed in the military) were:

  - trust involved (17%)
  - morale problems (11%)
  - homosexuals should not be in the military (9%)
  - negative effect on combat (8%)
  - close contact in combat (8%)

- The most common reasons for opposing this position (and therefore believing that if homosexuals if were allowed in the military they should be allowed in combat) were:

  - if they are in the military, they should be in combat (16%)
  - there should be no restrictions (14%)
  - treat them equally (10%)
  - homosexuals shouldn't be in the military at all (9%)
  - they should fight like everyone else (9%)

TABLE A
Sample Characteristics
(n=1,013)

	Percent
Gender	
Male	97%
Female	3
Age	
25-34	1%
35-44	5
45-54	11
55-64	21
65-74	39
75 and older	23
Mean	**66.2**
Education	
Less than high school graduate	*
High school graduate	5
Trade/technical/vocational training	1
Some college	14
College graduate	29
Postgraduate work/degree	50

* Less than 1% mention

TABLE B
Sample Characteristics
(n=1,013)

	Percent
Branch of Service	
Army	39%
Air Force	32
Navy	23
Marines	4
Coast Guard	1
Public Health	*
Number of Years Served in Military	
Less than 10 years	7%
10-19 years	4
20-29 years	62
30-39 years	25
40 years or more	2
Rank Last Held	
Lt. Colonel	29%
Colonel	21
Major	13
Captain	10
Commander	6
Lt. Commander	6
CWO	6
Lieutenant	4
Other	5
Region	
Northeast	10%
South Central	54
North Central	8
West	28

FILE
71

Overview

- **Objective:**
  - provide the relevant information that the SECDEF can use in preparing the draft Executive Order ending discrimination in the military on the basis of sexual orientation
  - provide the information and analysis required to structure the issues
  - develop an analytic framework to evaluate a range of implementation alternatives
- **Tasks**
  - Establishing the context
  - Understanding what really matters
  - Identifying and assessing options
  - Implementing and evaluating policy change

RAND's Research Team

- Sociologists
- Anthropologist
- Social Psychologists
- Psychologists
- Survey Researcher
- Economists
- Lawyers
- Historians
- Policy Researchers
- Military Officers
- Medical Doctor
- Political Scientists

Activities and Issues Matrix

		Activities \ Issues	Evaluation of Relevant Scientific Knowledge				Understanding Implementation (Site Visits)			History	Legal	"Policy Space"
			Human Sexuality, Life Styles, Harassement, and Health Issues	Sources and Content of Opinion and Beliefs	Inividual and Small Group Behavior	Large Group Behavior and Managing Change	Foreign Militaries	Domestic Institutions	CONUS Base and Ship Facilities Review	Racial, Gender and Gay Experience in the		
Items to be Addressed												
	DOD#1 (Items for Implementation)											
	Nunn's Questions											
	DOD #2 (Issues)											
	President's Tasker											

Evaluation of Current Scientific Literature

- **Examine relevant theory and evidence**
  - social science literature
  - military science literature
  - medical literature
- **Critical evaluation**
  - applicability
  - predicted consequences of policy options
  - implications for successful implementation
- **Teams**
  - human sexuality, life styles, harassment and health
  - sources and content of opinion and beliefs
  - Individual and small group behavior
  - large group behavior and managing change

Homosexuals and U.S. Military Personnel Policy: Policy Options and Assessment

Human Sexuality, Lifestyles, Harassment and Health Issues

- Definitions and prevalence of sexual orientations
- Diversity of gay and lesbian lifestyles
- Types and incidence of:
  - female-female sexual activities
  - male-female sexual activities
  - male-male sexual activities
- Incidence of sexually transmitted diseases (including HIV infection)
- Sexual misconduct: Consensual and non-consensual
- Explore model codes of sexual conduct

Sources and Content of Opinions and Beliefs

- **Sources**
  - general population
  - women vs. men
  - military members and enlistment-age youths
- **Content**
  - attitudes towards proposed policy
  - attitudes about homosexuality, homosexual
  - religious and political beliefs
  - attitudes towards the integration of women and minorities into the military
  - attitudes about affirmative action

Sources and Content of Opinions and Beliefs (II)

- **Influences**
  - medical and scientific information
  - media
  - ethics and morality
  - religion
  - political ideology
- **Data**
  - public opinion surveys
  - literature reviews

Individual and Small Group Behavior

- **Likely influences of attitudes on:**
  - enlistment and retention
  - unit cohesion and morale
  - discipline
  - military effectiveness
- **Conditions for successful intergroup contact and cooperation**
- **Role of leadership and military socialization**

Large Group Behavior and Managing Change

- Examine literature and experience
- Focus on organizational integration of gays, women and racial/ethnic groups
- Examine effectiveness of implementation strategies
  - leadership training
  - preventive measures to minimize resistance
  - conflict management

Understanding Implementation

- Overarching question: does institution's experience provide useful lessons for design of U.S. policy and implementation?
  - If no, why not?
  - If yes, how and with what limitations?
- Visit analogous institutions that have partial or no restrictions on service by open homosexuals
  - Foreign military
  - U.S. fire departments
  - U.S. police departments
- CONUS facilities visits

Preliminary Choice of Sites

- **Foreign military**
  - Israel
  - Germany
  - France
  - Canada
  - Norway
  - Netherlands
  - UK
- **Domestic police and fire**
  - Will select from cities and counties with nondiscrimination policies
  - Will select from larger units across the country

Military Privacy Conditions

- **Obtain representative sample of privacy conditions found in military lifestyle (include visual evidence)**
  - - include all four services (active and reserve)
  - plus U. S. Coast Guard as appropriate
  - - include both genders
  - - include academies and various size bases
  - - include combat and support units
  - - include garrison, field, in flight and at sea
  - environments
  - - include living, sleeping, shower and toilet facilities

History

- **Overarching question: does institution's experience provide useful lessons for design of U.S. policy and implementation?**
  - If no, why not?
  - If yes, how and with what limitations?
- **Focus on analogous racial situations**
  - Racial attitudes during the 1940s
  - The decision to integrate and the integration process
  - Performs in Korean and Viet Nam war
- **Examine gender integration**
  - Impact on unit cohesion

What is Defining the "Policy Space"?

- Searching for *useful* ways of thinking about the problem that help use define and evaluate policy options
- Expanding the policy space even though partisans may want to narrow it
- Exploring analogs
  - finding dimensions that will extend thinking
  - locating the "jugulars"
  - discovering missing elements

Products of this Study

- **Information that can be used to prepare the draft Executive Order and implementing documents**
- **Draft report detailing our research and briefing highlighting our findings**
  - specification and assessment of options
  - suggestions for structuring the implementation process
  - general and specific means to monitor progress

FILE
72

RAND

Homosexuals and U.S. Military Personnel Policy: Policy Options and Assessment

An Interim Report

June 3, 1993

Mandate of the Study

Analysis to assist in developing and evaluating policy options

- for ending discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the Armed Forces
- in a manner that is practical and realistic
- that preserve high standards of combat effectiveness and unit cohesion

Establishing the Context

- Reviewed scientific literature on sexuality, health, group cohesion, history, law, organizational behavior
- Conducted domestic and foreign field visits to examine analogous experiences
- Conducted focus groups (including serving homosexuals) on attitudes
- Consulted [military] and academic experts

Results of the Research

- U.S. historical experience
  - coping with change in the military
  - evolution of policy toward homosexuals
- Foreign militaries
- Contemporary U.S. context
  - public attitudes
  - police and fire departments
- Sexual practices
  - in the general population
  - in the U.S. military
- Unit Cohesion
  - attitudes of U.S. military
  - scientific research

Military Adaptation to Change (1): Racial Integration

- Racial integration resisted by military leadership
  - not consistent with prevailing societal norms
  - would create tensions in units
  - would impair combat efficiency
- Initial experience
  - clear civilian leadership required
  - tensions and friction, some violence
  - integrated units able to function effectively in combat (Korea--Project Clear)

Military Adaptation to Change (2): Racial Integration

- 1954: last segregated unit
- early 1960s: integration on duty, not off duty
  - black reenlistment rate high
  - off-base discrimination
- 1968-72: Vietnam, increased social tension
  - effective early combat performance in Vietnam
  - disproportionately high black draft calls
  - veneer of racial harmony shattered
- Post-Vietnam: aggressive support for equal opportunity

Policy Toward Homosexuals (1)

- 1916: Articles of War proscribe "assault with intent to commit sodomy"
- 1920: sodomy itself an offense
- Inter-War period: sporadic, minimal enforcement
- WW II: many homosexuals served, 2000 discharges per year (out of 12 million force)
- 1948 and following years: strict enforcement of ban in U.S. government and in military, 2000 discharges per year (out of 1.4 million force)
- 1960s: discretion of discharge review boards

Policy Toward Homosexuals (2)

- 1970s: uneven application of separation standards
  - growing judicial concern over administrative procedures (consistency, documentation, standards)
- 1981: DoD Directive 1332.14, encl 8: "homosexuality is incompatible with military service"
  - tightened procedures: mandatory discharge
  - separate standard for "misconduct"

Results of the Research

- U.S. historical experience
  - coping with change in the military
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- Sexual practices
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  - in the U.S. military
- Unit Cohesion
  - attitudes of U.S. military
  - scientific research

Study of Foreign Militaries

- Not a "model" for the U.S., but instructive for addressing relevant issues
- Insights and lessons from authoritative experts regarding:
  - Role of military in society
  - Social and legal status of homosexuals
  - Military policy and its implementation
  - Actual experience of integration
- Countries visited:
  - NATO Allies (Canada, France, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, UK)
  - Israel

Foreign Militaries: Policy and Practice

- Formal regulations on homosexuals in military vary
  - Homosexual behavior decriminalized in civil law all countries, but UK military law still prohibits sodomy
  - UK and Germany exclude homosexuals at accession
  - Only UK investigates allegations and dismisses homosexuals upon discovery/declaration
- Homosexuals serve in all militaries visited
  - Few openly homosexual members
    - none in UK, less than 1% in Netherlands
  - Homosexuals sometimes given special assignments in Germany

Foreign Militaries: Experience

- Effects of change: three countries that changed policy (Netherlands, Norway, Canada) report no serious problems
- Presence of homosexuals resulted in
  - no reported disciplinary problems
  - no impairment of *organizational* effectiveness
- Most militaries deal with homosexuality on individual, not categorical basis
- No formal process for addressing problems due to homosexuals serving
  - Germany: it depends
  - Israel: counseling and support

Results of the Research

- U.S. historical experience
  - coping with change in the military
  - evolution of policy toward homosexuals
- Foreign militaries
- Contemporary U.S. context
  - public attitudes
  - police and fire departments
- Sexual practices
  - in the general population
  - in the U.S. military
- Unit Cohesion
  - attitudes of U.S. military
  - scientific research



U.S. Public Opinion on Sexual Orientation Is Divided

- Homosexuality considered an unacceptable lifestyle by nearly 60% of Americans
- 80% believe that homosexuals should have equal employment opportunity
- 45% "would not mind" working around homosexuals, while roughly 50% would "prefer not to" or "strongly object"
- 40-50% believe that homosexuals should be able to serve in the armed forces
- 80% believe homosexuals should be included in any draft

[Data from variety of polls; females more accepting; educational level greatest effect on acceptance]

Study of U.S. Police and Fire Departments

- Responses of institutions and individuals in *American* society
- Study focused on:
  - integration of homosexuals
  - social climate for policy change
  - actual nature of the non-discrimination policy
  - implementation process
  - consequences of policy change
- Cities with non-discrimination policies visited: Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, New York, San Diego, Seattle

Experience of U.S. Police and Fire Departments: Individual Behaviors

Homosexuals:

- Virtually all gays and lesbians generally conform to local and institutional norms and customs
- Few homosexuals "came out" (more in police than in fire departments)
- Sexual advances by homosexuals toward heterosexuals are infrequent

Heterosexuals:

- Resent or fear special treatment of homosexuals
- Concerns about HIV
- Some hostility toward homosexuals, but no reported violence

Experience of U.S. Police and Fire Departments: Organizational Behavior

- Reported effectiveness undiminished
- No reported effect on recruitment and retention
- Few formal complaints of harassment
- Strong cultural norms to "work it out" within the unit
- Privacy issues worked out relatively quickly

U.S. Police and Fire Departments: Observations on Implementation

- Policy message must be clear and simple
- Leadership is critical
  - senior leadership must show commitment to change
  - must address early cases of resistance firmly
  - training for leaders can be effective
- Strict standards of professional conduct are important:
  - behavior can be controlled; attitudes cannot
  - special class protections lead to resentment
  - sensitivity training for rank and file unlikely to be effective

Why Examine Sexual Behavior?

The debate over homosexuals in the military often focuses on three issues:

- Sexual orientation vs. sexual behavior
- Prohibited sexual practices
- Concerns about sexually transmitted diseases and AIDS

DoD Directive 1332.14
(encl. 3H)

Homosexuality

1. Basis

a. *Homosexuality is incompatible with military service.* The presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a *propensity to engage in homosexual conduct, seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission*. The presence of such members adversely affects the ability of the Military Services to maintain discipline, good order, and morale; to foster mutual trust and confidence among service members; to ensure the integrity of the system of rank and command; to facilitate assignment and worldwide deployment of service members who frequently must live and work under close conditions affording minimal privacy; to recruit and retain members of the Military Services; to maintain the public acceptability of military service; and to prevent breaches of security.

b. As used in this section:

(1) *Homosexual means a person, regardless of sex, who engages in, desires to engage in, or intends to engage in homosexual acts; . . .*

(3) A homosexual act means bodily contact, actively undertaken or passively permitted, between members of the same sex for the purpose of satisfying sexual desires.

Sex Partners of Males in the U.S. Army
(1991 Army-wide AIDS Survey)

Reported behavior in past 12-24 months:

• At least one answer indicating oral and anal sexual activities with another man	9.9%
• Gender of Partners	
– Male partners only	1.0%
– Male and female partners	8.9%
– Female partners only	82.7%
– Indeterminate	2.5%
– No sex reported	4.9%
• total	100.0%

UCMJ Article 125

Statute:

"(a) Any person subject to this chapter who *engages in unnatural carnal copulation with another person of the same or opposite sex* or with an animal is guilty of sodomy. Penetration, however slight, is sufficient to complete the offense.

(b) Any person found guilty of sodomy shall be punished as a court-martial may direct."

From the Manual for Courts Martial:

b. Elements.

(1) That the accused engaged in unnatural carnal copulation with a certain other person or with an animal.

[Note: Add either or both of the following elements, if applicable]

(2) That the act was done with a child under the age of 16.

(3) That the act was done by force and without the consent of the other person.

c. Explanation. It is *unnatural carnal copulation for a person to take into that person's mouth or anus the sexual organ of another person* or of an animal; or to place that person's sexual organ in the mouth or anus of another person or of an animal; or to have carnal copulation in any opening of the body, except the sexual parts, with another person; or to have carnal copulation with an animal.

Sexual Practices in U.S. Population
(age 18-39)

These practices are prohibited by UCMJ section 125 as currently interpreted:

- At least 75% of heterosexuals engage in oral sex
- At least 75% of homosexuals engage in oral sex
- At least 20% of heterosexuals engage in anal intercourse
- Anal intercourse among male homosexuals varies from 10% (in some high HIV-prevalence areas) to 70% (in some low HIV-prevalence areas)

High-risk Sexual Behavior of U.S. Service Personnel

- Army-wide AIDS study (prior 12-months behavior)
  - 42% had one or more risk factors
  - 33% had "one night stands" in which 40% never used a condom
  - 24% of married personnel had sex with other than spouse: 66% "one night stands," 11% prostitutes, 11% "anonymous" partners
  - 8% had 10 or more sex partners
- Navy data (Pacific Health Bulletin, 1991, 1992) on sexual contacts
  - 68% agreed that "having sex with 'bar girls' is normal part of WESTPAC experience."
  - 43-84% of crew had contact with prostitutes (Thai prostitutes 20-67% HIV +)

AIDS Concerns if Ban Lifted

- Blood supply is protected
  - screening (at accession and routinely)
  - all personnel screened prior to deployment
  - battlefield transfusions are rare and taken from screened personnel
- Incidence of AIDS unlikely to increase
  - existing screening programs
  - high-risk sexual practices now widespread

Results of the Research

- U.S. historical experience
  - coping with change in the military
  - evolution of policy toward homosexuals
- Foreign militaries
- Contemporary U.S. context
  - public attitudes
  - police and fire departments
- Sexual practices
  - in the general population
  - in the U.S. military
- Unit Cohesion
  - attitudes of U.S. military
  - scientific research



Military Members Overwhelmingly Oppose Lifting the Ban

- 59% disapprove strongly, 15% disapprove somewhat
- 81% expect physical violence against gays if the ban is lifted
- 68% are personally worried about the possible impact of permitting homosexuals in the military

[Source: LA Times survey, January, 1993, enlisted personnel only]

Reasons for Opposition

- Opposition to sharing facilities/quarters - 63%
- Immoral - 40%
- Contribute to the spread of AIDS - 28%
- Against religious views - 21%
- Not as reliable in a combat situation - 15%
- Morale, cause conflict, threat of violence, cost of facilities, threat of violence and want same rights as married persons - 7%

Homosexuals in the Military
One of Many Concerns

- Concerns about downsizing the military edge lifting the ban as the top problem facing the military (52% vs. 48%)
- 66% feel controversy over the ban is drawing attention from more serious issues, only 23% feel it is getting the attention it deserves
- 11% would not reenlist if the ban is lifted, 44% would reenlist anyway and 38% don't plan to reenlist no matter what

Unit Cohesion is Central Focus of Current Debate

- Regarded by military as key element of combat effectiveness
- Element of President's Directive
- *What is really known about unit cohesion and military effectiveness?*

Analysis of Unit Cohesion

- Exhaustive review of literature
  - military
    - ethnographic
    - historical and biographical
  - sports research
  - work-group research
  - experimental laboratory research
- Interviews with experts
  - ARI, Walter Reed
  - social psychologists specializing in small group behavior

Need To Distinguish Multiple Concepts

- Vertical and horizontal cohesion
- Task cohesion
  - shared commitment to group's tasks and objectives
- Social cohesion
  - interpersonal "attraction" among members
- Morale/Esprit de Corps
  - more general concept than cohesion; also involves general satisfaction with conditions, pride, and motivation
  - unlike cohesion, meaningfully applicable to larger groups as well as small units

What Produces Cohesion?

- Similarity
- Proximity
- Length of time together
- Interdependence (common goals, shared fate)
- Leadership
- Successful performance
  - effect of performance on cohesion is stronger than effect of cohesion on performance

Cohesion Is Not Always Productive; *Type* of Cohesion Matters

- *Task cohesion* is reliably associated with positive performance, but *social cohesion* has mixed effects -- sometimes negative
- In some situations, *social cohesion* undermines performance
  - excessive socializing
  - rate-busting
  - 'groupthink' (faulty decision processes)
  - insubordination, mutiny

Will Presence of an Open Homosexual Disrupt Cohesion?

- Relationship of sexual orientation to cohesion has not been systematically studied
- *Member similarity* is reliable determinant of *social* cohesion, not *task* cohesion
- Relationship of social cohesion to task cohesion weak: "you don't have to like a person to get the job done"
- Impact of homosexual on task cohesion cannot be predicted

What Have We Learned?

- Few homosexuals serve openly in foreign militaries or in domestic police and fire departments
- Behaviors tend to conform to norms and culture of organization
- Successful integration policies treat homosexuals on an individual basis, rather than categorically
- Sexual practices are similar, regardless of gender of partner
- High-risk sexual behavior is common in U.S. military

What Have We Learned? (2)

- Unit Cohesion
  - strong anti-homosexual attitudes are present in U.S. military today
  - no basis in the scientific literature for predicting breakdown of task cohesion
  - evidence from analogous experience suggests organizational effectiveness need not decline
- Empirical research does not support the contention that homosexuality, per se, is incompatible with military service

Developing Non-discrimination Options

Countries and institutions that do not discriminate pursue two basic strategies:

- (1) Treat homosexuals as a class
  - special treatment
  - attempt to change majority attitudes
- (2) Treat homosexuals on individual basis
  - existing policies and regulations
  - case-by-case

Implications for Policy Options (1)

- Permit homosexuals as a class to serve
  - implies special treatment, e.g., affirmative action
  - fosters resentment and resistance
  - continues to use sexual orientation as a basis for policy
- Consider sexual orientation to be "not germane" to military service
  - Consistent with empirical research, meets the President's directive
  - *Can this option be implemented in a "practical and realistic manner" consistent with "high standards of combat effectiveness and unit cohesion"?*

What This Option Does

- Ends discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the military
  - implies no endorsement of "gay lifestyle"
  - requires tolerance and restraint
- Maintains a professional, disciplined, capable force
- Emphasizes actual behavior
  - strictly limits inappropriate personal and sexual conduct regardless of gender or sexual orientation
  - holds all individuals to same standards of professional conduct

Elements of the Policy

- No discrimination based on sexual orientation
- Single, gender- and orientation-neutral, professional standard of conduct
- No prohibitions on private, consensual sex among adults
- Strict rules on personal and sexual harassment
- Few changes required in regulations and procedures

Practical and Realistic Implementation

- Standards of conduct
- Guidelines for military assignment and benefits
- Policy on privacy
- Rules on sexual conduct
- Dealing with potential unit cohesion problems

Standards of Personal Conduct

1. Members of the military services shall comport themselves in ways that enhance good discipline and operational effectiveness. Toward that end, each individual has a responsibility to

- practice tolerance toward others
- show respect for the sensibilities of others.

2. Inappropriate personal conduct is behavior directed at or offensive to another individual or a group that goes beyond the bounds of good judgment and common sense and that a reasonable person ought to have known would be unwelcome. Such behavior is contrary to good order and discipline. It creates a negative atmosphere that undermines the integrity of the workplace, reduces productivity and morale, and destroys professionalism.

3. Categories of inappropriate personal conduct include, but are not limited to, sexual harassment, fraternization, personal harassment, abuse of authority, inappropriate displays of affection, and inappropriate discussion of sexuality. The first two of these are addressed in existing regulations; this policy statement pertains to the last four.

- Personal harassment is inappropriate physical or verbal conduct toward others based on personal characteristics, such as race, gender, sexual orientation, or physical features.
- Abuse of authority is inappropriate use of authority to injure another individual based on personal characteristics, such as race, gender, sexual orientation, or physical features.
- Inappropriate displays of affection are those expressions of a personal relationship that would generally be viewed as unseemly or provocative under the circumstances.
- Explicit discussions of sexual practices, experience or desires are generally inappropriate when directed at persons known to be offended by such discussions or when continued over the objection of persons who are offended by such discussions.

4. Leaders at every level of the chain of command are responsible for ensuring that their subordinates are aware of and comply with these standards.

Guidelines for Military Assignment and Benefits

- No restrictions or preferential assignment
- No reference to sexual orientation in personnel records
- Assignments based on performance, capability
- Benefits policies and standards consistent throughout federal government
  - homosexual marriages not recognized
  - same-sex cohabitants treated like heterosexual cohabitants

Policy on Privacy

- Ensure freedom from personal and sexual harassment
- Encourage individuals to accommodate each other's concerns
- Maximize flexibility in sleeping and bathroom facilities where feasible
- Leadership may need to intervene on case-by-case basis

Rules on Sexual Conduct

- Rescind Enclosure 3H of DoD Directive 1332.14
- Revise the Manual for Courts Martial to limit sodomy charges to non-consensual sex
- Enforce standards equally
  - set investigative guidelines and enforcement accordingly

UCMJ Article 125: Possible Revisions to Manuals for Court Martial

b. Elements.

(1) That the accused engaged in [unnatural] carnal copulation with a certain other person or with an animal; *and*

(2) That the act was done by force and without the consent of the other person.

[Note: Add the following element, if applicable]

(3) That the act was done with a child under the age of 16.

c. Explanation. It is unnatural carnal copulation for a person to take into that person's mouth or anus the sexual organ of another *non-consenting* adult or of an animal; or to place that person's sexual organ in the mouth or anus of another *non-consenting* adult or of an animal; or to have carnal copulation in any opening of the body, except the sexual parts, with another *non-consenting* adult; or to have carnal copulation with an animal.

This revision limits "unnatural" to non-consenting acts between adults and to either consensual or non-consensual acts with children under 16. Neither Article 125 nor prior editions of the Manual for Courts Martial defined "unnatural." Instead the definitional role was left to the military judiciary. In this revision the President fills the definitional gap and provides clear guidance to commanders and military judges as to the precise scope of Article 125.

Dealing with Potential Unit Cohesion Problems

- Personnel problems are recurring issues for leaders
  - Unit commanders are trained to deal with these issues and do it all the time
- Units will not be allowed to remain dysfunctional
  - problems should be addressed when they arise, with appropriate outside support and assistance
  - disruptive individuals will not be tolerated

What This Option Does

- Ends discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the military
  - implies no endorsement of "gay lifestyle"
  - requires tolerance and restraint
- Maintains a professional, disciplined, capable force
- Emphasizes actual behavior
  - strictly limits inappropriate personal and sexual conduct regardless of gender or sexual orientation
  - holds all individuals to same standards of professional conduct

FILE
73

Reno

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

July 19, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: DEFENSIBILITY OF THE NEW POLICY ON HOMOSEXUAL CONDUCT IN THE ARMED FORCES

The Supreme Court has repeatedly stated that the courts must review decisions by the President and by military commanders deferentially, taking into account the separate nature and special needs of military society. As a consequence, it is possible to justify in the military setting constraints on individual liberty and choice that might be invalid in civilian society. Because of the extraordinary deference paid by the courts to military service, we are confident that the new policy proposed by the Secretary of Defense will be upheld against constitutional challenge. Moreover, the proposed policy (hereafter, "the policy") that the Secretary of Defense has submitted changes earlier policy in three respects that should improve the ability of the Department of Justice to defend the policy in court.

First, the policy changes the premises on the basis of which questions involving the service of homosexuals in the military are to be resolved. The policy reiterates the prior Defense Department view that "homosexuality is incompatible with military service because it interferes with the factors critical to combat effectiveness." However, the policy adopts a new position that sexual orientation is a private matter and is not a bar to service "unless manifested by homosexual conduct." Under the policy, therefore, the military would be directed to judge an individual's suitability for service on the basis of conduct, and homosexual conduct (but not an unmanifested orientation) would be grounds for separation from service. We can be confident that the prohibition on acts that everyone would regard as explicitly sexual would be sustained under existing case law.

Second, the policy implements the distinction between "status" and "conduct" that you drew in your January 29 directive. Most important in this regard is the treatment of statements of homosexuality or bisexuality as creating "a rebuttable presumption that the service member is engaging in homosexual acts or has a propensity or intent to do so." First Amendment problems would

arise if the policy proscribed certain speech, in and of itself, because of disapproval of the content or the viewpoint expressed. This approach provides much clearer authority than did the pre-January policy for the argument that the Department of Justice has been making persuasively to the courts up to this point that a member who credibly disproved any intent or propensity to commit physical acts would not be subject to separation. The new policy suggests a meaningful opportunity to rebut the presumption flowing from statements of homosexuality. As a consequence, the Department of Justice will be better able to argue that the policy is not directed at speech or expression itself, and that any burdens in those respects are incidental to the achievement of an important governmental interest.

Third, the policy would substantially change pre-January investigative policies. Applicants for military service would not be questioned about their sexual orientation or behavior. Investigations would no longer be conducted for the sole purpose of determining an individual's sexual orientation. Commanders will initiate investigations only where there is credible evidence of "homosexual conduct." This change will make decisions made under the policy appear fairer, more even-handed, and conduct-based, and therefore easier to defend.

FILE
74

Reserve Officers Association of the United States

The Professional Association Representing All Officers

June 25, 1993

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense
Military Manpower and Personnel Policy (O&EPM)
4000 Defense Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301-4000

Dear Sir:

Thank you for providing the Reserve Officers Association the opportunity to comment on sexual orientation as a basis for determining who may serve in the Armed Forces.

Enclosed is a copy of a resolution which was overwhelmingly adopted at our national meeting in January 1993 and a statement concerning homosexuals in the military.

Sincerely,

Evan L. Hultman

Evan L. Hultman
Major General, AUS (Ret.)
Executive Director

Resolution No. 93-7
(Defense Policy/Programs)

RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Uniformed Services Policy Regarding Homosexuals

WHEREAS, allowing acknowledged homosexuals to serve in the military will impair the Department of Defense's capability to provide adequate national security; and

WHEREAS, the Uniform Code of Military Justice, an Act of Congress, prohibits sodomy and other deviant behavior on the part of service personnel; and

WHEREAS, the special conditions and operational demands related to military service, especially in wartime, are unique to serving in the military and must not be confused with conditions prevailing in society as a whole; and

WHEREAS, heterosexual personnel experience significant stress when forced to associate with overt homosexuals in close quarters, lacking privacy, and during life and death situations; and

WHEREAS, forcing heterosexual military personnel to serve with overt homosexuals threatens morale, discipline, and esprit de corps, that which is at the core of combat effectiveness; and

WHEREAS, service in the armed forces is not a right but a unique calling, entered into by those who meet stringent physical and mental requirements; and

WHEREAS, discrimination related to behavior and lifestyle must not be confused or equated with that based on gender, race or religion;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, chartered by Congress, urge the Congress and the uniformed services to sustain policies excluding homosexuals from the uniformed services.

This supersedes Resolution No. 91-57
Adopted by the National Council
27 January 1993

Attest: Evan L. Hultman

Evan L. Hultman
Major General, AUS (Ret.)
National Executive Director

Statement of Major General Evan L. Hultman, AUS (Ret.), Executive Director of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, for the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Military Manpower and Personnel Policy) concerning Homosexuals in the Military.

Mr. Secretary and members of the working group:

On behalf of the many members of the Reserve Officers Association from each of the uniformed services, I appreciate this opportunity to comment on the effect lifting the military ban on homosexuals would have on military readiness. ROA is chartered by the Congress with the purpose to support a military policy that will ensure adequate national security. A failure by ROA to address this fundamental defense issue would be to ignore the purpose of the association. The lifting of the ban on homosexuals affects both the active and the Reserve components, and I will treat the issue with little distinction.

In his opening remarks, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Sam Nunn, so effectively set the tone of his committee's hearings by stating: "When the interests of some individuals bear upon the cohesion and effectiveness of an institution upon which our national security depends, we must move cautiously. This caution in my view is not prejudice--it is prudence." Those who brought an open mind to the Senate hearings were sensitized to the complexity of the issue and the many potentially costly and menacing ramifications associated with lifting the homosexual ban.

Military readiness is, and must be, the crux of this ongoing debate--any other issues must be secondary to that of readiness. Most commentators pay lip service to the differences between mili-

tary and civilian occupations, but it is apparent that not everyone appreciates the uncommon characteristics of military life. The special conditions and operational demands related to military service, especially in wartime, are unique to serving in the military and must not be confused with conditions prevailing in society as a whole. The job of the military is to win wars, and anything which unduly detracts from that responsibility must be avoided.

In the minds of those who are most familiar with the issue--and certainly the great majority of those directly affected by the change--there is little doubt that a policy change would have a fundamental and negative effect on military capability. General Norman Schwarzkopf may have best summed up the concern his statement to the Senate Armed Services Committee: "However, in every case that I am familiar with, and there are many, when it became known in the unit that someone was openly homosexual, polarization occurred, violence sometimes followed, morale broke down, and unit effectiveness suffered."

Even those who would refocus the issue to that of "civil rights" cannot conclude with any assurance that military effectiveness would not be degraded. Indeed, one of the most outspoken proponents of change, the former Assistant Secretary of Defense Lawrence Korb, was forced to concede in response to a question by Chairman Nunn that military cohesiveness would probably suffer, if only in the short term.

For those who attempt to compare the integration of homosexuals to that of racial integration, there is no better response

than that made to Representative Patricia Schroeder by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Colin Powell, when he stated: "Skin color is a benign, non-behavioral characteristic. Sexual orientation is perhaps the most profound of human behavioral characteristics. Comparison of the two is a convenient but invalid argument." And in testifying before the Senate Armed Service Committee, Lt. Gen. Calvin Waller stated that he was "offended" by the analogy relating the struggle by blacks to the attempt to open the military up to homosexuals.

Mr. William Daryl Henderson, a former commander and member of the Army Research Institute, told the Senate Armed Services Committee that support among military leaders and the public was greater for racial integration in the late 1940s and the 1950s than is existing support for integrating homosexuals into the military today. ROA agrees with Mr. Henderson's conclusion that homosexuality is "more intractable than race."

While proponents of lifting the ban are prone to contrast sexual orientation and behavior, the distinction is little more than semantics. In the real world, sexual orientation is defined by behavior, and it is essentially impossible to distinguish between orientation and behavior, in fact and perceptually.

The opposition felt by the rank-and-file members of the military to homosexuality is perhaps best indicated by the Los Angeles Times survey of 2,300 military enlistees in February 1993, which found that 74 percent disapproved of changing the policy and 81 percent predicted physical violence against homosexuals by other

service personnel. Ten percent of those who would otherwise make a career of the military indicated they would not remain in the service if homosexuals were allowed to serve openly.

The resistance which is so deeply felt by military personnel of all ranks can be traced to the families and communities which the military members represent. Their aversion to homosexuality is not newly acquired nor is it simply based on myth as proponents of a policy change suggest. Judeo-Christian opposition to homosexuality is well established, and there is ample evidence that the repugnance related to homosexuality has permeated most societies and cultures for many centuries. While the aversion to homosexuality is, no doubt, learned, it is a cultural predisposition which is widely held and has deep roots.

The attempt by proponents of lifting the ban to refocus the discussion away from military readiness and onto civil rights has done much to confuse the issue but little to change it. The right of individuals to oppose the behavior and lifestyle which are common to homosexuals is protected by the First Amendment--a right which seems to be ignored by proponents of lifting the ban.

That serving in the military is a unique calling and not a right; that the military has the authority to restrict service to those who meet strict physical, mental, and behavioral standards has been affirmed by the courts. That homosexuals are not safeguarded by the Civil Rights Act which protects classes, including race, religion, and gender, has also been established by the courts.

In reporting on the initial Senate hearings on homosexuals in the military, the Congressional Quarterly suggested that it is ironic that supporters of the ban are forced to "acknowledge that gays have long served honorably--if secretly--in the nation's armed forces." The reporter, like so many who call attention to homosexuals who have served, seems to have missed the point completely. The question is not whether homosexuals are capable of firing a weapon, driving a tank, or launching an aircraft from the deck of a carrier or flying the aircraft; the question is what effect does the presence of an avowed homosexual have on the cohesion, morale, and effectiveness of the military unit--few would question the ability of some homosexuals to perform military duties.

It is the knowledge that the person in the bunk or in the foxhole next to you is homosexual that is at issue. Ignoring any question of integrity, the homosexual who "remains in the closet" and does his job, has no effect on unit morale and cohesion. It is the coming out of the "closet" that becomes the problem. Thus, that homosexuals have served effectively "in the closet" in the past is irrelevant in the current debate--that few are able or willing to remain "in the closet" is relevant.

At issue is, what happens when you try to force the unit to accept, work with, and yes, shower and bunk with a person whose sexual orientation and behavior is repugnant to that of the other members of the team or crew? Do you "educate" the 98 or 99 percent of the unit who object to the behavior of the one or more persons in question? And how do you change the attitude of one whose

psyche has been molded for 18 or more years and who has a visceral reaction when confronted with one whose orientation or behavior is homosexual? Is the military to provide "sensitivity training," and whose values will be taught--the values of the minority or those of the majority?

In a statement on the Senate floor on 4 February, Senator Charles Robb said that excellent soldiers have in common "five basic virtues" and suggested some homosexuals possess these qualities. He included "loyalty to country, commanders, and comrades" as one of five virtues of an excellent soldier.

Loyalty is, indeed, a critical quality. And what happens to loyalty when a homosexual is introduced into a unit in which more than half of the unit members find homosexual behavior offensive. Will unit members feel loyalty for a homosexual comrade? And what loyalty and respect will a commander receive if he is homosexual? Ignoring the sensibilities of the majority of military personnel will decisively undermine the faith, loyalty, and trust individuals must have for their leaders and comrades in arms, and unit effectiveness will inevitably be eroded.

Some have suggested that any difficulties can be overcome by decisive leadership. Those who contend that military effectiveness can be maintained with leadership in the event the homosexual ban is lifted are naive, foolish, or dishonest. Integrity is undoubtedly an important--if not the most important--attribute of a leader. An individual who attempts to change the views of those who he would lead--views which are deep-rooted and strongly held

--puts his own integrity in question. The leader who knowingly marches his platoon through quicksand will lose the respect of his troops and with it his ability to lead. Leadership has its limitations; there are many circumstances that cannot be overcome with leadership, regardless of how capable the leader might be.

Naval personnel and dependents at Alameda Naval Air Station, California recently objected to having a medic, who had "come out of the closet" and had not yet been transferred to the Inactive Ready Reserve, to draw blood at the Alameda Hospital. Because the rate of male homosexuals testing HIV-1 positive is higher than among heterosexual males, there was a concern that the risk of contracting AIDS was greatly increased. While the risk would increase only if the medic failed to carefully follow standard procedures, the perceived danger was real. There is little to suggest that education can eliminate the perception of a greater risk, and the impact on morale under these circumstances cannot be ignored.

In speaking to an audience of Reservists recently, a service Reserve chief commented that Reservists, by nature, are "very conservative." He suggested that members of the Reserve components might be even less tolerant of avowed homosexuals than their active-duty counterparts. He went on to say that he was gravely concerned about the impact any change in the DoD homosexual policy would have on the Reserve components.

Reserve commanders and senior enlisted advisers are complaining that the homosexual policy change has caused so much

concern among the rank and file that the leadership is spending time that might be better spent addressing other readiness issues in attempting to allay individual fears and concerns. There is a concern among the troops that the leadership is unable or afraid to speak out and that the majority view of the military is not being heard. Those expressing concerns are not limited to any age group--young enlisted personnel and officers seem to be at least as concerned as are senior members of the military.

A young, newly promoted, active duty first lieutenant and ROA member recently inquired as to the association's position on the military homosexual ban. He indicated in his correspondence that he could continue to support ROA only if it were actively opposed to lifting the ban.

A senior enlisted member of a Reserve component reported that, during a field trip to a northern unit, a staff sergeant threatened to quit if the ban is lifted. Two brothers at Duke Field in Florida have already transferred from the Selected to the Individual Ready Reserve in protest to any policy change. A female airman wanted to know what actions she could take if she were assigned to share a room with an individual whom she believed to be lesbian.

Relevant is the case of Lieutenant Dunning, a Naval Reservist who "came out of the closet" earlier this year and recently arrived at the Alameda Naval Reserve Center to drill accompanied by media representatives. In what he believed was in keeping with the current policy, the commander attempted to change Lieutenant Dunning's Selected Reserve status to that of "records review." The

commander's action was overturned pending a review, and the Reservist is being allowed to drill for pay. While the commander has attempted to play down the incident, the attitude of other Reservists, though not open, has been hostile resentment.

In addition to offending the sensibilities of other Reservists, the incident raises a question. The fact that the lieutenant revealed her sexual preference while not on active duty appears to have influenced the handling of the incident. If the lieutenant is not to be held responsible for her actions while not on active duty, what actions are Reservists held responsible for while not on duty and what precedence does this set regarding homosexual behavior? Had the lieutenant, while not on active duty, committed an act related to homosexual behavior and punishable under the UCMJ, would she be held responsible?

Much has been said about the impact lifting the ban on homosexuals will have on the dangers to health and the increased cost of health care. Proponents of lifting the ban have attempted to minimize the dangers and the costs, but ROA remains very concerned. The increased rate of male homosexuals testing HIV-1 positive is well documented, and there is nothing to suggest that homosexuals will remain celibate while serving in the military. Given the likelihood that homosexuals will have relations with individuals in the civilian community and the increased incidence of HIV-1/AIDS among male homosexuals, it is inevitable that the rate of AIDS or of those testing HIV-1 positive will increase.

I would call attention to the fact that, in a House Armed Services Military Forces and Personnel Subcommittee hearing on 11 May, the Army surgeon general disagreed with a memo promulgated by the acting health chief for the Department of Defense. Army Lt. Gen. Alcide M. LaNoue said that lifting the ban would increase AIDS treatment and costs for the military and leave the AIDS education program in shambles.

The impact of an increased HIV-1 positive rate on combat medicine is especially troubling. The HIV-1 problem is exacerbated on the battlefield by the inability to maintain sterile conditions, the profusion of open wounds, the inability to adequately test the blood supply, person-to-person blood transfusions, and the need to provide mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. The real and perceived problems of coping with the HIV-1 virus in combat create fear and anxiety and diminish morale.

The impact that the lifting of the homosexual ban might have on military recruitment and retention cannot be measured or predicted with accuracy, but it is of particular concern. It can be assumed that some of the large number of individuals who have said they would leave the service if the ban is lifted, would find that very difficult to do, but there is little doubt that the impact would be significant.

Reports of individuals separating or threatening to separate have already been discussed. Military recruiters are receiving questions regarding the policy and changes thereto from potential recruits and their parents and are expressing their concern that

recruiting will suffer significantly if the ban is lifted. The reports ROA has received through military channels were reinforced by Cong. G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery. During a 28 April House military personnel hearing, Mr. Montgomery reported that military recruiters had expressed to him their concerns.

While General Powell and the service chiefs are supporting, in the best military tradition, the policy as established by the civilian leadership, it is hoped that they will not retreat from their initial opposition to lifting the ban on homosexuals, which they so clearly and forcefully articulated, and it is hoped that their early positions will not be ignored. Their resistance to allowing avowed homosexuals to serve in the military is exceeded only by those who will be most directly affected by any policy change, the enlisted men and women who will be forced to bunk and shower with individuals whose sexual orientation and lifestyle is so in contrast to that of their own.

I would summarize by saying that the sensibilities relating to homosexuality are deeply held and as old as mankind. Military personnel face different pressures and a different environment in their service to their country--pressures of life and death. While it should be noted that the rights of those who have an aversion to homosexuality and the rights of homosexuals have equal protection under the law, the needs of the military take precedence over individual rights. In considering whether or not homosexuals should be allowed to openly serve in the military, the only legitmate issue is whether or not military effectiveness will be dimin-

ished or enhanced. Forcing men and women in uniform to serve with avowed homosexuals will have a profound negative effect on morale and military capabilities.

Again, I appreciate efforts to weigh the issues involved with any action to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military. I hope my comments will help you to better understand the concerns of military personnel generally and specifically the concerns of Reservists.

FILE
75

THE
RETIRED
OFFICERS
ASSOCIATION

201 North Washington Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314-2539
(703) 549-2311

May 19, 1993

Robert M. Alexander
Lieutenant General, USAF
DASD/MMPP
Rm. 3E767, Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear General Alexander:

Thank you for your letter of 6 May 1993 requesting our Association's input on the issue of ending the ban against service by avowed homosexuals in our nation's armed forces.

As you are no doubt aware, The Retired Officers Association commissioned a Gallup Poll of our members in December, 1992 to ascertain their opinions on this very emotional subject. Rather than interpret the results for you, I have the taken the liberty of attaching a copy of the results from that poll.

Additionally, earlier this month, Colonel John Ripley, USMC (Ret) testified before the House Armed Services Committee representing the Association. A copy of his testimony is also attached and, in our opinion, that testimony fairly sets out our position on this issue.

I hope these documents will be of use to you in your efforts and you have my assurances that TROA stands ready to provide any additional information you may request.

Sincerely,

Paul W. Arcari

Paul W. Arcari
Colonel, USAF (Ret)
Director, Government relations

2 Enclosures

The Gallup Organization, Inc.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Association Research Group
300 South 68th Street Pl.
Lincoln, Nebraska 68510
(402) 489-8700

THE RETIRED OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

Alexandria, Virginia

Homosexuals in the Military Research Study

December 1992

Prepared by

Scott S. Ahlstrand, Senior Analyst
The Gallup Organization
Princeton, New Jersey

Introduction

The Gallup Organization of Princeton, New Jersey conducted market research for The Retired Officers Association (TROA) of Alexandria, Virginia. The overall purpose of this market research was to determine, among current TROA members, their attitudes and opinions with regard to the issue of allowing homosexuals in the military.

Methodology

To accomplish the objectives of this study, The Gallup Organization interviewed 1,013 current TROA members across the continental United States. TROA members were randomly selected from a list of current TROA members provided by the organization.

Respondents were interviewed by telephone between November 27 and December 1, 1992. The Gallup Organization used a multiple-callback methodology in which up to five callbacks were made to the same telephone number in order to eliminate bias in favor of those respondents easy-to-reach. Gallup provided experienced, professionally trained interviewers under the exclusive employment of Gallup. All interviewers involved in this project were briefed specifically as to the objectives and methodology of the study.

All field work was validated at the 10% level by supervisory callbacks. Telephone interviews were monitored internally as part of the ongoing Gallup process for evaluating interviewers. Completed questionnaires were edited and coded independently as a quality-control measure.

Survey Instrument Development

Items included in the questionnaire were mutually agreed upon by The Gallup Organization and TROA. TROA had responsibility for identifying question areas and information desired. Gallup had responsibility for ensuring that all items were written technically correct and without bias.

Stability of Results

At the 95% level of confidence, the maximum expected error range for a sample of 1,013 TROA members is $\pm$3.1%. Stated more simply, if 100 different samples of 1,013 TROA members were chosen randomly from a national sample of TROA members, 95 times out of 100 the results obtained would vary no more than $\pm$3.1 percentage points from the results that would be obtained if the entire population of TROA members were interviewed.

Reports Prepared

TROA has been provided a complete set of tabular results by frequency and percentage for each of the major classifications. These tabular results should serve as reference material and be consulted before important decisions are made. This narrative report focuses on what are felt to be the most meaningful findings of this study.

"How familiar are you with the issue of allowing homosexuals in the military? Are you very familiar, somewhat familiar, not too familiar, or not at all familiar with this issue?"

TABLE 1
Familiarity With Issue of Homosexuals Being Allowed In the Military
(n=1,013)

Response	Percent
Very familiar	58%
Somewhat familiar	36
Not too familiar	4
Not at all familiar	1
Don't know	1

- In general, the respondents showed a high degree of familiarity with the issues of homosexuals being allowed in the military. More than nine-tenths (94%) of the retired officers said they were either very familiar (58%) or somewhat familiar (36%) with the issue of allowing homosexuals in the military.

"Currently, homosexuals are not allowed to serve in the military and an admission of homosexuality is sufficient evidence for discharge. President-elect Bill Clinton has said that he will lift the ban and open the military ranks to homosexuals. In general, would you say that you favor or oppose allowing homosexuals in the military?"

TABLE 2
Favor/Oppose Allowing Homosexuals In the Military
(n=1,013)

Response	Percent	
Strongly favor	3%	
Favor	10	
Net (strongly favor/favor)		13%
Oppose	16	
Strongly oppose	67	
Net (strongly oppose/oppose)		83%
Don't know	2	
Refused	2	

- The great majority (83%) of retired officers said they either strongly opposed (67%) or opposed (16%) allowing homosexuals in the military. Respondents in the Navy (85% strongly opposed/opposed), respondents who did not have postgraduate education (85%) and respondents who had recommended the military as a career to either a family member or friend were particularly opposed to allowing homosexuals in the military.

- Less than one-seventh (13%) of the respondents said they either strongly favored (3%) or favored (10%) allowing homosexuals in the military.

- It should be noted, for the most part, that most respondents had a set opinion with regard to the issue of allowing homosexuals in the military. Only two percent (2%) of the respondents said they did not know whether they favored or opposed allowing homosexuals in the military.

"Currently, homosexuals are not allowed to serve in the military and an admission of homosexuality is sufficient evidence for discharge. President-elect Bill Clinton has said that he will lift the ban and open the military ranks to homosexuals. In general, would you say that you favor or oppose allowing homosexuals in the military?"

TABLE 3
Favor/Oppose Allowing Homosexuals
in the Military -- by Key Group

	% Strongly favor/ Favor	% Strongly oppose/ Oppose
Total (n=1,013)	13%	83%
Branch of Service		
Army (n=391)	14%	82%
Air Force (n=328)	16	80
Navy (n=234)	11	85
Education		
Less than college degree	13%	84%
College graduate	11	85
Postgraduate work/degree	15	81

"Why do you favor allowing homosexuals in the military?"

TABLE 4
Reasons for Favoring Allowance of Homosexuals in the Military
(n=135; those who strongly favored or favored allowing homosexuals in the military)

Response	Percent
Always been there	20%
Should be allowed/equality	16
Should be judged on behavior	12
They are just as productive	10
It's the right thing	5
They have the right to serve their country	5
Wouldn't cause any problems	4
No reason not to	3
It's their own business	3
Good previous experience with homosexuals	3
Sign of the times	3
Other	13
Don't know	1
Refused	1

- Among the 135 retired officers who said they strongly favored or favored allowing homosexuals in the military, the most common reasons cited for favoring such an allowance were:

  - that homosexuals have always been in the military (20%)
  - that they should be allowed/equality (16%)
  - that homosexuals should be judged on their behavior, not on their sexual preference (12%)
  - that homosexuals are just as productive (10%)

- No other responses were named by more than five percent (5%) of the respondents as a reason for favoring allowing homosexuals in the military.

"Why do you oppose allowing homosexuals in the military?"

TABLE 5
Reasons for Opposing Allowance of Homosexuals in the Military
(n=836; those who strongly oppose or oppose allowing homosexuals in the military)

Response	Percent
Could have a negative effect on morale	20%
Could have a negative effect on discipline	11
Close living quarters	7
Don't fit/don't belong	6
I oppose the lifestyle	6
Causes problems we don't need	5
Bad past experience with homosexuals	5
Disruptive	4
Will not work	4
Could affect combat readiness	3
Don't like homosexuals	3
Wouldn't be accepted by other soldiers	3
Don't think it is right	3
Other	20
Don't know	*

* Less than 1% mention

- Respondents tended to cite a wide variety of reasons for opposing allowing homosexuals in the military. In fact, they cited so many different reasons, that only two -- could have a negative effect on morale (20%) and could have a negative effect on discipline (11%) -- received more than seven percent (7%) mention.

- In general, respondents who opposed allowing homosexuals in the military tended to cite a disruptive negative effect (on morale, on discipline, combat readiness, lack of acceptance, etc.) as being the primary reason why they opposed allowing homosexuals in the military.

HAVE YOU EVER PERSONALLY RECOMMENDED A MILITARY CAREER TO A FRIEND OR FAMILY MEMBER? (n=1,013)

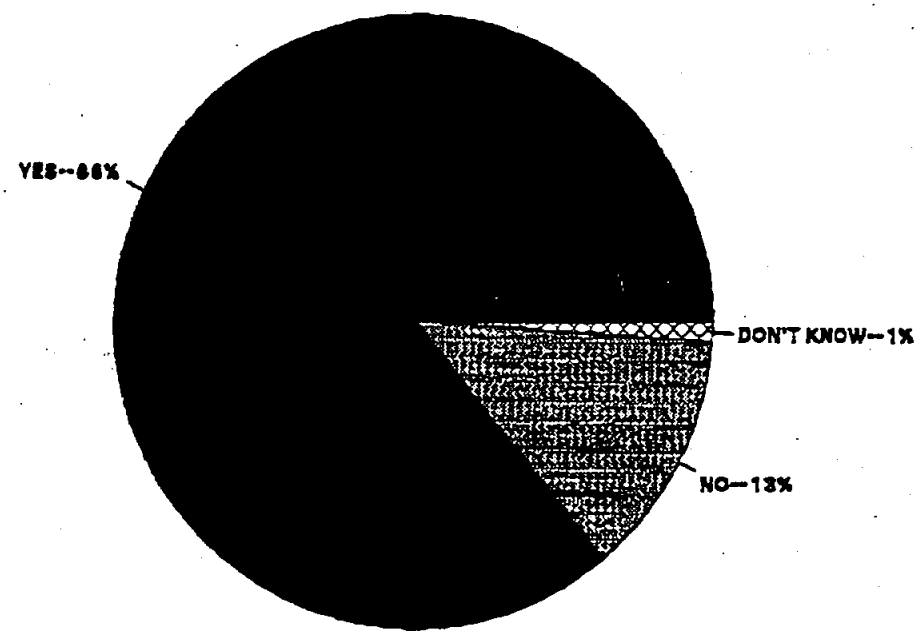
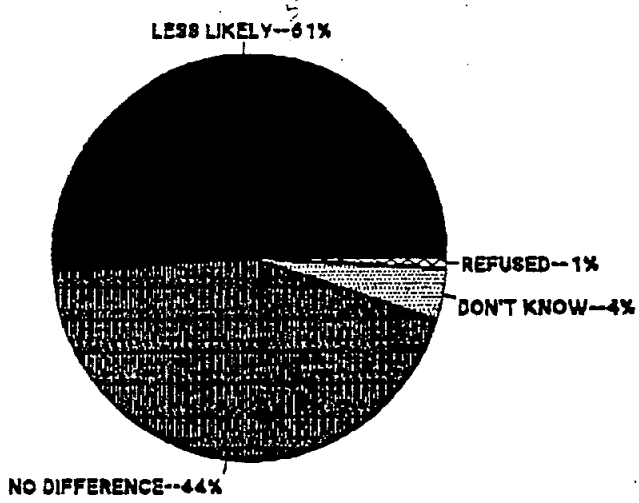


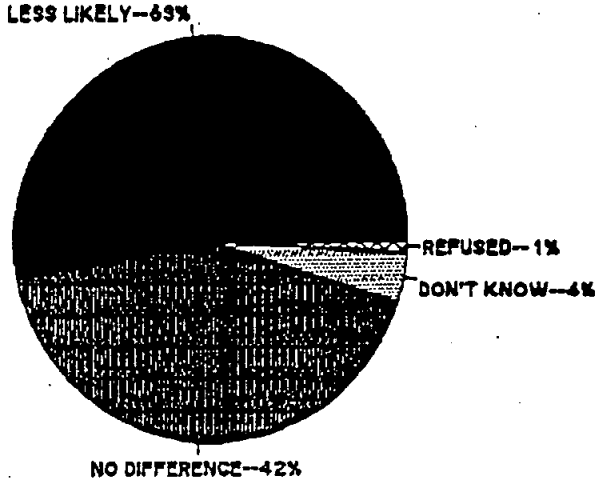
FIGURE 1

- Approximately five-sixths (86%) of the respondents said they had personally recommended a military career to a friend or family member. This level of recommending military service was consistent across all branches of service and officer types.

IF HOMOSEXUALS WERE ALLOWED TO SERVE IN THE MILITARY, DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD BE MORE LIKELY OR LESS LIKELY TO RECOMMEND A MILITARY CAREER, OR WOULD IT MAKE NO DIFFERENCE ON YOU LIKELIHOOD TO RECOMMEND A MILITARY CAREER TO A FRIEND OR FAMILY MEMBER?



TOTAL POPULATION
(n=1,013)



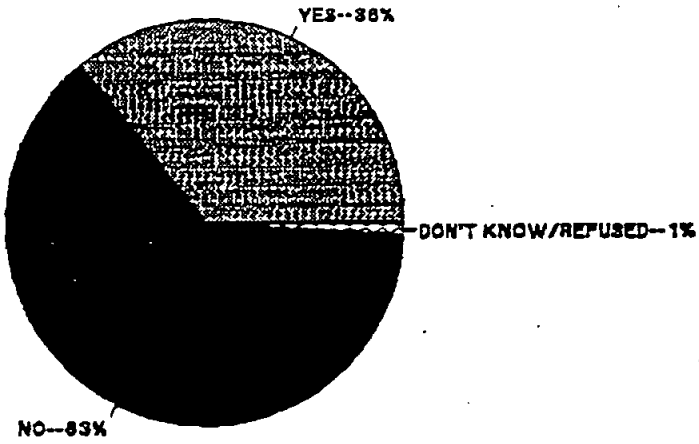
THOSE WHO HAVE RECOMMENDED
A MILITARY CAREER
(n=674)

FIGURE 2

- Approximately one-half (51%) of the respondents said they would be less likely to recommend a military career to a friend or family member if homosexuals were allowed to serve in the military. Slightly less than one-half (44%) said that it would make no difference in their recommendation of a military career, while only three respondents (less than 1%) said that allowing homosexuals in the military would make them more likely to recommend a military career.

- Among respondents who had previously recommended a military career to someone, 53% said they would be less likely to recommend a military career in the future if homosexuals were allowed in the military.

DID YOU EVER HAVE TO DEAL ADMINISTRATIVELY WITH A HOMOSEXUAL INCIDENT DURING A TOUR OF DUTY? (n= 1,0 1 3)



WOULD YOU SAY THAT EXPERIENCE, OR THOSE EXPERIENCES, WAS A MAJOR DISRUPTION, A MINOR DISRUPTION, OR NO DISRUPTION AT ALL WITH REGARD TO THE NORMAL OPERATION OF THE COMMAND?

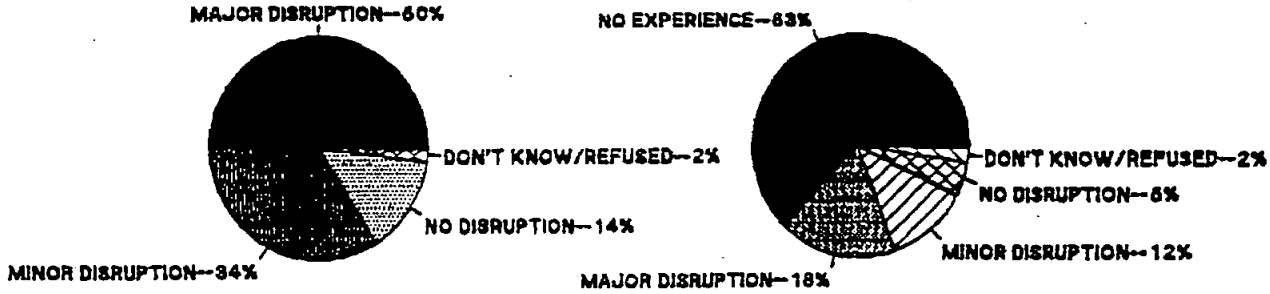


FIGURE 3

- Slightly more than one-third (36%) of the respondents said they had to deal administratively with a homosexual incidence during a tour of duty. Of these respondents, 50% said that the experience (or experiences) was a major disruption with regard to the normal operation of their command, 34% indicated that it was a minor disruption, while only 14% said it was no disruption.

"If the ban on homosexuals in the military was lifted, do you think it would have a positive effect, a negative effect, or make no difference for the following? How about (___)?"

TABLE 6
Effect on Allowing Homosexuals in Military on Various Factors
(n=1,013)

Factor	Positive Effect	Make no Difference	Negative Effect	Net Difference (positive minus negative)	Don't know
The morale of the military	3%	17%	78%	-75%	2%
Military pride	3	22	72	-69%	2
The level of trust of troops for one another	4	20	73	-69%	3
The discipline of the military	4	22	70	-66%	3
The United States' Combat Capabilities	3	28	66	-62% 4	
The number of individuals signing up for military service	4	29	58	-54%	8
The right of privacy of individuals on active duty	7	29	53	-46%	9
The number of resignations from military service	10	29	49	-39%	11

- Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they thought allowing homosexuals in the military would cause a positive effect, a negative effect or make no difference on various factors involving the military. By taking the number of respondents who said that allowing homosexuals in the military would cause a positive effect on the factor and subtracting out the respondents who said that such an allowance would cause a negative effect, we generate a "net difference." All eight of the tested factors in this study had a negative "net difference"

(indicating that for each one, the number of respondents saying that allowing homosexuals in the military would cause a negative effect was greater than the number of respondents saying it would cause a positive effect). Those factors that were most negatively affected (according to the respondents) by the allowance of homosexuals in the military were:

- the morale of the military (-75% net difference)
- military pride (-69%)
- the level of trust of troops for one another (-69%)
- the discipline of the military (-66%)

- Those factors that respondents believed would be least negatively affected by allowing homosexuals in the military were:

  - the number of resignations from military service (-39%)
  - the right of privacy of individuals on active duty (-46%)
  - the number of individuals signing up for military service (-54%)

- Only one of the eight tested factors – the number of resignations from military service – had at least ten percent (10%) of the respondents say that allowing homosexuals in the military would have a positive effect on that factor.

EFFECTS OF ALLOWING HOMOSEXUALS IN THE MILITARY ON VARIOUS FACTORS

(n= 1,013)

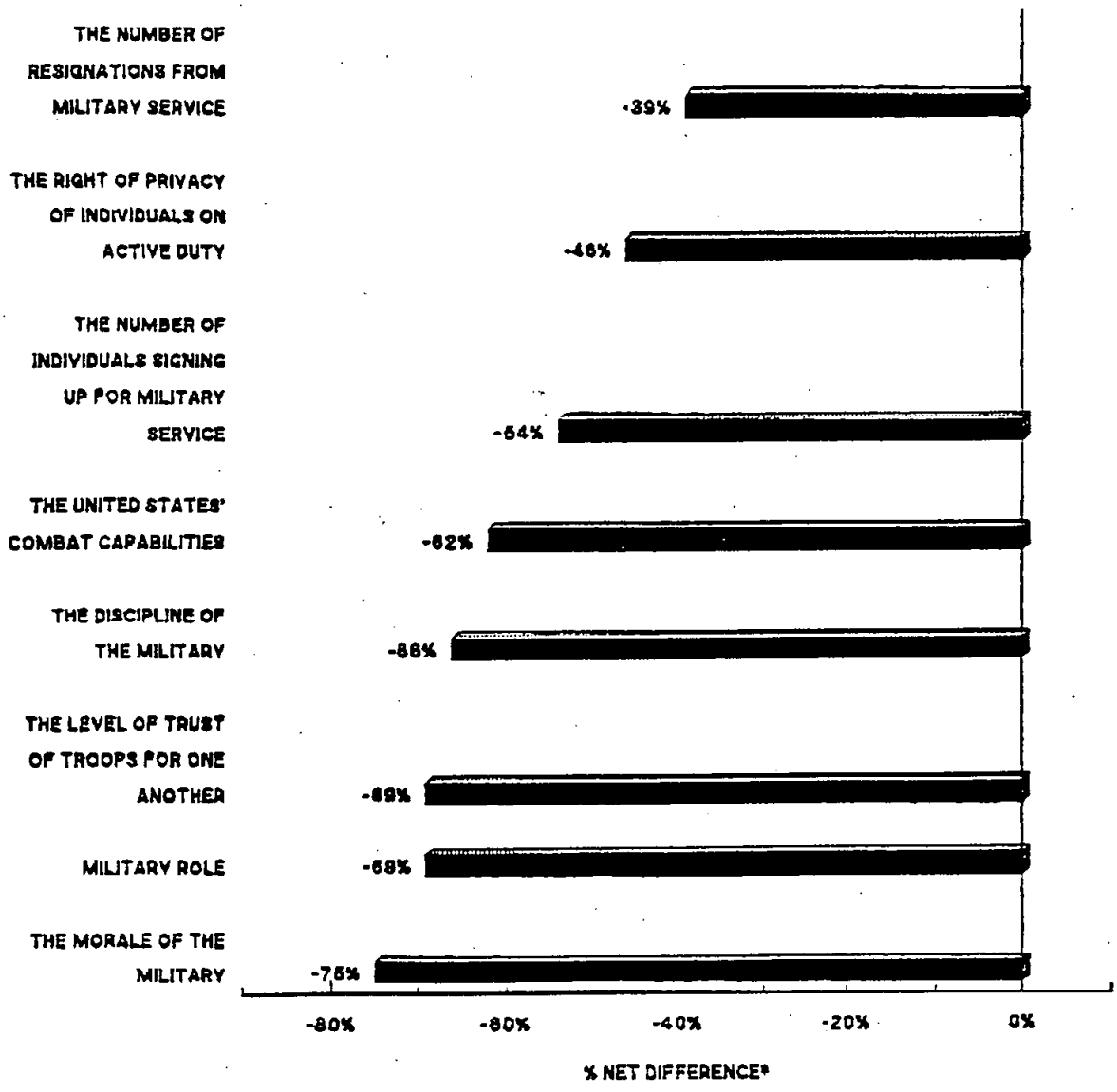


FIGURE 4 *EQUALS POSITIVE EFFECT MINUS NEGATIVE EFFECT

"A prominent senator has said that while he supports President-elect Clinton's plan to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military, he believes some restrictions may be necessary. Among the restrictions suggested is not allowing homosexuals in combat. If the ban on homosexuals in the military was lifted, would you favor or oppose this position?"

TABLE 7
Favor/Oppose Not Allowing Homosexuals in Combat If Homosexuals Were Allowed in Military
(n=1,013)

Response	Percent	
Strongly favor	13%	
Favor	11	
Net (strongly favor/favor)		25%
Strongly oppose	38	
Oppose	28	
Net (strongly oppose/oppose)		66%
Don't know	6	
Refused	3	

- Approximately one-fourth (25%) of the respondents said they would strongly favor or favor not allowing homosexuals in combat if the ban on homosexuals in the military was lifted.
- Approximately two-thirds (66%) of the respondents said they strongly opposed (38%) or opposed (28%) such a position.

- The most common reasons cited by respondents who favored not allowing homosexuals in combat (if they were allowed in the military) were:

  - trust involved (17%)
  - morale problems (11%)
  - homosexuals should not be in the military (9%)
  - negative effect on combat (8%)
  - close contact in combat (8%)

- The most common reasons for opposing this position (and therefore believing that if homosexuals if were allowed in the military they should be allowed in combat) were:

  - if they are in the military, they should be in combat (16%)
  - there should be no restrictions (14%)
  - treat them equally (10%)
  - homosexuals shouldn't be in the military at all (9%)
  - they should fight like everyone else (9%)

TABLE A
Sample Characteristics
(n=1,013)

	Percent
Gender	
Male	97%
Female	3
Age	
25-34	1%
35-44	5
45-54	11
55-64	21
65-74	39
75 and older	23
Mean	**66.2**
Education	
Less than high school graduate	*
High school graduate	5
Trade/technical/vocational training	1
Some college	14
College graduate	29
Postgraduate work/degree	50

* Less than 1% mention

TABLE B
Sample Characteristics
(n=1,013)

	Percent
Branch of Service	
Army	39%
Air Force	32
Navy	23
Marines	4
Coast Guard	1
Public Health	*
Number of Years Served in Military	
Less than 10 years	7%
10-19 years	4
20-29 years	62
30-39 years	25
40 years or more	2
Rank Last Held	
Lt. Colonel	29%
Colonel	21
Major	13
Captain	10
Commander	6
Lt. Commander	6
CWO	6
Lieutenant	4
Other	5
Region	
Northeast	10%
South Central	54
North Central	8
West	28

THE
RETIRED
OFFICERS
ASSOCIATION

201 North Washington Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314-2539
(703) 549-2311

STATEMENT OF

THE RETIRED OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

before the

HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

Presented by

COLONEL JOHN W. RIPLEY
UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS
(RETIRED)

MAY 4, 1993

Biography - Colonel John W. Ripley, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)
President, Southern Virginia College for Women

Colonel Ripley has dedicated his life to the military. After his June 1957 graduation from high school in Radford, Va., he served one year in the Marine Corps before entering the United States Naval Academy with a Secretary of the Navy appointment in 1958. In June of 1962, he was commissioned a Second Lieutenant, USMC and entered the Basic School at Quantico, Virginia.

Highlights of Colonel Ripley's military career include two tours in Vietnam, six valorous decorations, including the Navy Cross, the Silver Star and the Purple Heart, and fourteen personal decorations. He earned the distinction before his retirement as one of the Marines most experienced in ground combat, a subject he has lectured on extensively. His testimony before the Presidential Commission on Women in Combat has been entered into the Congressional Record. As a captain, Colonel Ripley served in the British Royal Marine Commando's, commanding a Rifle Company in Norway, Singapore and Malaya. While serving in northern Malaya he campaigned for several months with the famous Gurkha Rifles. Colonel Ripley has commanded at every level including three platoons, three companies and two years each as a battalion and regimental commander. He became an expert in Arctic warfare having operated in the Arctic of North Norway for five winters with his company, battalion and later regiment.

He was also assigned to the Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as a political/military planner, where he interfaced with the State Department. As a Joint Chiefs of Staff representative, Colonel Ripley was the only Marine on the State/Defense Department Committee forming sensitive national policy for the Middle East.

Colonel Ripley attended American University, earning a Master of Science in Environmental Systems Management (1976). He also attended the Naval War College (senior course) for Management and Decision Making (1982).

His service in the academic arena includes an assistant professorship at Oregon State University, where he taught history for three years. As the Director of the Division of English and History (Dean of Humanities) at the U.S. Naval Academy, Colonel Ripley revolutionalized the humanities curriculum and special programs. He also dealt extensively with budget allocation, long-range goals and policies, and admissions. He was, as well, the senior Marine Officer at the Naval Academy. Most recently, Colonel Ripley has served as Commanding Officer of the Naval ROTC Unit at Virginia Military Institute, where he created the largest, most productive NROTC unit in the nation. It is from this position that Colonel Ripley came to Southern Virginia College for Women.

Colonel Ripley has been elected to Phi Alpha Theta, a history honorary. He also holds the distinction of having commissioned more officers in the Marine Corps than anyone on record. He is the subject of, or in, 20 books and has lectured widely on the value of humanities, classics and a liberal arts education. Colonel Ripley is married and has four children: one son a UVA graduate, two sons at VMI, and a daughter at the University of Oregon.

B I O G R A P H Y

COLONEL JOHN WALTER RIPLEY 223 50 2691/9906/9640/9953, USMC

Colonel Ripley joined the Marine Corps in June 1957 upon graduation from Radford High School, Radford, Virginia. After serving over a year he entered the United States Naval Academy with a Secretary of the Navy appointment and in June 1962 was commissioned therefrom as a Second Lieutenant, USMC. He attended the Basic School, Quantico, Virginia and was afterwards assigned Sea Duty with Marine Detachment, USS INDEPENDENCE (CVA-62). In February 1964 Colonel Ripley joined 2d Battalion, 2d Marines where he served as Rifle Platoon then Weapons Platoon Commander and later Assistant Operations Officer.

Transferred to 2d Force Reconnaissance Company in May 1965 he served as Pathfinder/Recon Platoon Commander. Here he completed the Airborne, Scuba, Ranger and Jumpmaster courses. In October 1966 Colonel Ripley joined 3d Marines, 3d Marine Division in the DMZ area of Vietnam. Initially assigned as Assistant Operations Officer, in January 1967 he took command of Lima Company 3d Battalion, 3d Marines operating at and around CON TIEN, CAM LO, DONG HA, CAMP CARROL, ROCKPILE, CA LU and KHE SANH. He was wounded in action and returned to duty in March 1967 serving 11 months as Company Commander.

Following Vietnam he attended Amphibious Warfare School and on completion became Infantry Officer Monitor, Headquarters, Marine Corps. In October 1969 he transferred to the Royal Marine Commandos, completing the Commando course at Lympstone, England. He then served in Singapore in 3d Commando Brigade and in 40 Commando in northern Malaya. Following this was attachment to Special Boat Service (3d SBS). He also served in "Zulu" Company Group in north Norway. Taking command of "Yankee" Company he deployed with them throughout England, Scotland and Wales, then returned to Norway for his second winter where he completed the Mountain and Arctic Warfare Course at Elvegardsmoen. He also completed the Joint Warfare Course at Old Sarum, England.

Colonel Ripley returned to Vietnam in 1971 and served as Senior Advisor to the 3d Vietnamese Marine Battalion which operated along the DMZ. He was at Dong Ha with his battalion during the 1972 North Vietnamese Easter Invasion. Returning in 1972 he became the Marine Officer Instructor at Oregon State University. In 1975 he attended American University in the Advanced Degree Program earning a Master of Science degree and was then assigned to the Office of the Chief of Staff, HQMC on completion. There he served as Head, Requirements Branch, Special Projects Directorate and as the Administrative Assistant/Aide to the Chief of Staff.

Colonel Ripley commanded 1st Battalion, 2d Marines from July 1979 to May 1981. During the period they deployed for Combined Arms Exercise 2-80 then to Mountain Warfare Training Center, Bridgeport, California. In January 1981 Battalion Landing Team 1/2 deployed to north Norway and in March became the first BLT to conduct Arctic Warfare Training and winter operations in the Arctic during exercise ANORAK EXPRESS.

Following his tour in 2d Marine Division Colonel Ripley attended the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, graduating in June 1982. He then reported to the Joint Staff, Joint Chiefs of Staff serving there as Political-Military Planner and Branch Chief, European Division, J-5. He next transferred to the U. S. Naval Academy serving there from June 1984 to July 1987 as Senior Marine and Director, Division of English & History. Colonel Ripley spent a year as Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3 with 3d Marine Expeditionary Force, Okinawa, Japan before beginning his assignment as Commanding Officer, 2d Marine Regiment in July 1988. After two years in Command of 2d Marines which involved two major deployments of the Regiment he transferred to Lexington, Virginia where he now commands the Navy-Marine Corps ROTC Unit at Virginia Military Institute, one of the largest in the country.

Colonel Ripley's personal decorations include the Navy Cross, the Silver Star, the Legion of Merit, two awards of the Bronze Star with Combat "V", the Purple Heart, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, the Meritorious Service Medal, the Navy Commendation Medal, the Presidential Unit Citation, and the Navy Unit Citation, the Combat Action Ribbon, the Vietnamese Distinguished Service Order and the Cross of Gallantry with Gold Star.

Colonel Ripley and his wife, Molin, have four children; Stephen, 1st LT USMC, Mary, Thomas, and John Michael.

Statement by Colonel John W. Ripley, USMC (Ret.)
for the House Armed Services Committee

Subject: The preservation on the ban of homosexuals in the armed forces.

4 May 1993

The American public has been deluded into a false understanding of the real purpose of its military forces. More specifically, it sees the armed forces of the nation in a multi-faceted role; as peace keepers, as primary disaster relief forces, as the nation's first line of humanitarian aid in foreign countries, as well as in our own country; as an enormously successful and proven platform for social engineering; and as vigilant, obedient and receptive organizations eagerly prepared to do what it's nation expects of it. The very last thing the citizens of this nation expect of the military in our particular climate is its single purpose for existence; the fighting and the prosecution of war; especially violent and protracted warfare on a large, continuous scale. Americans simply don't see us that way anymore. They have seen us in these other roles so often and so successful that the American mind is conditioned to their military as a helpful, sensitive organization as opposed to a fighting, brutally efficient means of destroying the nation's enemies; and together with that, the expansion of our national policy through this means. In our present role the armed forces have moved away from the traditional role of fighting and winning into a more bizzare and unintended role as an engine of social change. We have become, in effect, a large petri dish where social laboratories and experimenters can create new systems or grow new models to test, if you will, within a highly controlled group that which they wish to create. In the armed forces today you hear such things as, "the rights of the

individual," "career path," "job protection" or "constitutionally protected freedoms," which in my youth and later as a senior officer I never heard, ever, any discussion of these subjects. We are and were simply the protectors of these freedoms and never did we have the full embodiment thereof, nor did we expect to enjoy the full embodiment of constitutional freedoms. To even think in these terms as a military man is patently ludicrous and counterproductive to the mindset of a warrior who must think only of mission accomplishment and the good of the unit. Never, ever may he think of his own personal well being in this context.

Our freedoms and our protection come from you, the Congress. From no one else. You are statutorily and constitutionally required to raise, to provide and to maintain us and you also establish the policies under which we in the armed forces function. Let me stress that again. You maintain us and you protect us. We cannot protect ourselves. We cannot, as is the case in other forms of government, close ourselves off from society, establish our own rules and expect to isolate and self-govern. You must do that; you must do that for us. Not to do that is an abrogation of the sacred trust which we feel in the armed forces with you, the Congress, as protectors. As long as I've been a Marine, over thirty-five years, I have know and felt very deeply seated within me the extraordinary lengths the Congress went to to protect and to look after the Marine Corps. One could even say that the Marine Corps exists today in its modern form because of the National Security Act of 1947 which,

in fact, protected and created the modern day Marine Corps. While in those days other services and certainly the administration were trying to diminish; in fact, do away with, the Marine Corps. So it is to you, the Congress, that we look for overview and for benevolent protection which we personally cannot do ourselves.

In the spirit of this understanding I must ask you, how is it that you can suggest anything that would knowingly from all indications, certainly from the overwhelming majority of opinions of the American public, if not the overwhelming majority here in the Congress, and certainly amongst the military itself (a percentage well over 3/4 in the 80 to 90 percentile range) how could you do anything that would have such a threat of destroying our effectiveness, indeed destroying us altogether as would be the case in lifting the ban of homosexuals in our ranks?

As you know, and as has been said here over and over, service in the military is a privilege extended only to those who are fit and physically able to perform military service. We in the military are very discriminatory. We have always been, and it must be so. We discriminate between the too weak, the too tall, the too fat, the flat-footed, the disease ridden, single parents, morally corrupt, drug users, alcoholics, or abusers of any substance; we discriminate against the altogether good Americans who simply can't be expected to perform at our standards -- and our standards are high and obviously must remain high.

To serve in the military is a privilege which must be guarded and lived up to every single day by the individual. It is no good to enter the military and having entered then quit. Your performance must be at an exceptional level in order to remain; to be reenlisted and to be promoted. Perhaps the greatest discrimination of all we practice is perhaps eliminating from our ranks, by way of promotion or separation, those who do not have the ability to proceed on.

Let's talk about leaders for a moment. Especially combat leadership, of which I have had a considerable amount of experience; mostly at the Company and Battalion level. All Marines understand that to win in combat, and to keep focused on the mission, you have to subordinate, to subjugate individual instinct for self-preservation -- and for personal protection or comfort -- to the needs of the unit. The unit prevails. It is only the unit which you must consider. The unit, it's preservation, and of course the mission. Nothing else matters. When an individual starts thinking about himself, or permits himself to be distracted by anything, this distraction can ultimately lead to destruction. In combat, if you are distracted, even for an instant you will get people killed and you will get yourself killed. Homosexuals constantly focus on themselves; their so-called needs, what they want, their entitlements, their rights; they never talk about the good of the unit. It is this constant focus on themselves; the inability to subjugate or to subordinate their own personal desire

for the good of the unit; this is an instant indicator of trouble in combat; and frankly, even not in combat.

Combat leadership is based exclusively and almost totally on trust. The unit commander, the Platoon commander, the Company commander must trust in his Marines doing what is expected of them; what they have been trained to do despite the great threat to them. And the Marines trust in their commanders; that they will look after them and get them out of this mess -- provide good judgement, good command calls and not expose them unnecessarily to enemy threat. When sexuality enters the equation, these bonds of trust are simply blown away. No one can trust a leader, nor can a leader trust a subordinate, if they think there are sexual feelings just beneath the surface. It makes no difference if he's suppressing those feelings, it makes trust virtually impossible. Trust is also a function of character and all those elements that make up such character; respect, loyalty up and down, and certainly courage, and the ability to make good judgements. Men trust each other when they are alike; like values, similar training, the same objectives, the traditional values given to them by their families before they entered the military. This commonality breeds trust; trust in each other, and without this trust there will be no leadership -- not on the battlefield -- not anywhere.

If there is one overwhelming characteristic of the battlefield with which I am familiar, it is the extreme and constant likelihood of death, serious injury, traumatic wounds; torn, bleeding bodies seen so shocking that no one in this room could hardly prepare or imagine them. Even realizing that this happens on a frequent, almost daily basis, the combat veteran is still shocked at what he sees when his own men suffer such grievous injuries regularly. Consider the great fear that all military men, in or out of combat, would have knowing that homosexuals serve with them who comprise at least 2/3 of all current AIDS cases and are far more likely to suffer from and spread infectious diseases such as hepatitis, and syphilis than any other group. We see each of them as infectious and life-threatening disease carriers. They are eleven times more probable of having syphilis, they are eight times more probable of having hepatitis and they are a shocking, incredible, five thousand times more probable of having AIDS. How can any sane person not feel threatened working around such an obvious, extraordinary threat to his personal health. And in combat, the story becomes radicalized on a comparison with non-combat. This is where blood flows so freely that it is unusual throughout the day not to be wearing someone's else's blood. Let me give you an example, (the example of the shoot down as Khe Sanh). It seemed to me in combat that on a regular basis, several times a day, I was pinching off someone's artery, sticking a thumb in a chest hole to prevent loss of breath, giving mouth to mouth resuscitation, pouring a canteen of water into an open abdomen to flush out the filth and blood and try to find the wound, trying to gently put a

man's jaw back into place so he wouldn't choke to death on his own blood, replacing eyes back in their sockets, collecting limbs and throwing them in ponchos so that they could be evacuated with the body. This was regular activity, normal activity -- not unusual at all. Now can you imagine the extraordinary fear fighting men have thinking that at least some of that blood may come from a homosexual who without question to our way of thinking will carry a life threatening disease? I myself carry a very serious disease because of having been immersed in the blood of those around me. I am disabled because of this and it came from normal circumstances -- not those imposed on me by the forced perversion of homosexuals being around me. For a homosexual to claim that they are just like the rest of us and that this won't affect them and they will be, so to speak, "clean" is bloody nonsense. We know they have hundreds of sexual partners during their lifetime and they continue to engage in male to male sex not using condoms with no thought of the spread of disease. Another realization recently is that they are far more likely to suffer from intestinal disorders, know as gay bowel syndrome. To think that these walking repositories of disease -- this alone would be imposed on the battlefield -- is beyond shocking and virtually defies any logic whatsoever. No one, no one in this room, no one outside this room, no one anywhere can challenge the logic of not putting that kind of added threat in a combat environment. This could be a threat equal to the enemy itself. A great threat upon the health and the continuing existence of your own men. If Magic Johnson's teammates run from him on the basketball court because he has a open bleeding cut, can

you imagine how these men in combat will feel when they literally swim in each others blood during fire fights and evacuation of the wounded and dead. I don't think you can imagine that because I dare say none of you have experienced it -- not to that degree. But I will tell you this, men will not do this! If you impose that in combat, on us, men will not look after each other. I can tell you that as firmly as I sit here -- men will not look after a bleeding, known homosexual; they will not care for him, they will not give him mouth to mouth resuscitation or any other form of aid if in fact it means they are threatening their own life. This will not happen. If you impose this on us you are asking too much. Men under fire will throw themselves on grenades to protect the rest, they will charge ahead of the others to silence a machine gun knowing it will more than likely kill them; they will protect each other from enemy fire under greatly hazardous conditions; but they will not, openly, expose themselves to deadly diseases just because the individual himself is irresponsible and has contracted such a disease. That will not happen. You cannot ask the corpsmen and the medics -- those responsible for looking after casualties -- to do this at all. They will become carriers of these same diseases as they go from victim to victim treating each one and spreading this disease in turn from one to the other.

A young Marine in front of me one hot day virtually disappeared; was atomized by an artillery blast that blew him into tiny fragments, and as I looked around the thirty-odd Marines around me we were all covered with part of him -- his blood, his flesh, his bones.

He was completely on all of us. Had he been AIDS infected, we in turn would have all become infected as well. Over thirty Marines would have become casualties and possibly lost our lives because of this gross irresponsibility that you would now impose on us.

I haven't even addressed the extraordinary burden on an already over-burdened health care system in the military that would look after these diseases and homosexuals. We do not have enough medical care, enough doctors, enough hospitals to treat so-called normal diseases and injuries which occur on a regular basis. Go in any military hospital today and look at the waiting room and the long lines where military men and their families wait hours upon hours just for normal treatment. You, by the way, are responsible for that. It is your charge to make that better and yet it continues to get worse. Just imagine what would happen when you add the equation of treatment of homosexuals who have, as we know, over two-thirds of all current AIDS cases.

Let me now address the greatly erroneous myth that homosexuals will obviously be accepted once the President decrees that it be so, and we simply apply better leadership. We already know from the TROA Gallup poll I mentioned that well over 80% refuse to accept that this is the right thing to do. They do not want to remove the ban. A September 1992 USA Weekend Survey of non-military respondents, over two-thirds responded that they wanted the ban to continue. There are many, many other such surveys and none of them

yet have said that even half of the American public feels this is the right thing to do. So one must ask, "who wants this to happen, and who will support it?" Well normal Americans, decent Americans will simply not support this kind of activity. They will prevent their children, sons and daughters, from joining the military. Another survey showed that over 75% -- knowing that homosexuals are in the military -- would not advise or permit their children to join. No Pentagon policy or any Congressional mandate, certainly no Presidential decree can change the American public's mind. You may change law and you may change policy but you cannot change the overwhelming, the extraordinary percentage of Americans who feel that this activity is simply unacceptable, and I'll use a term one never hears anymore, indecent. Americans are decent, God-fearing people. They do not consider homosexuality to be decent, normal or acceptable, and they will not permit their children to be around those who have a propensity or even exposure to this type of conduct; therefore, your military will become one of deviants -- deviant from the American norm. It may be called an alternate life style -- we call it a perversion of normality. It is a perversion of nature, it is a perversion of God's law, it is a perversion of statutory law. Any attempt to change that will never sit still with the American people. Certainly not for one to two percent of the population. This will not hold. Decent Americans are telling you this and I beg that you listen. Don't change the military which has served you so well -- you and the American people -- made in the image that you made us, and which has fought and won our nation's wars for over two hundred years. By making this change you will not

change us -- you will de facto destroy us. I can tell you as a Marine you will virtually destroy the Marine Corps by imposing on us this deviation of values which we hold dear; which we have fought for and which we know to be proper. You are attacking our personal integrity, you are attacking our honor and no military organization can exist without honor and personal integrity. You are asking us to look the other way ignoring a practice we feel deviant, destructive and in conflict with American and God-fearing values. We cannot do this.

I implore you as an American and as a Marine who has fought for his country and loves his Corps and country more than life itself, not to lead us into this ambush from which we can never recover.

FILE
76

BY FRANCIS WILKINSON

POLITICS

About Facing Chairman Nunn: Inside the Gay Lobby

The Campaign for Military Service Wages War Against the Ban

On January 29th gay and liberal activists met for breakfast at the Georgetown home of a Democratic political consultant. The meeting had been hastily convened by Bob Burkett, a longtime Democratic operative and political adviser to entertainment mogul David Geffen. He was joined by former Fox executive Barry Diller, EMILY's List president Ellen Malcolm and a half-dozen others. Most were veterans of liberal battles, ranging from the antiwar movement to abortion rights to the political assassination of Judge Robert Bork, which Burkett had helped mastermind.

On inauguration night, little more than a week before, they had celebrated a long-awaited victory. Now, over bagels and coffee, they were desperately trying to stave off disaster.

Intentionally or not – it's hard to tell – Defense Secretary Les Aspin had tripped a wire the Sunday before. Appearing on *Face the Nation*, Aspin suggested that President Clinton's plan to rescind the military ban on homosexuals might be overwhelmed by opposition in Congress and the Pentagon. The Christian right, which had been organizing against the move for months, recognized Aspin's equivocation as a call to arms. In the ensuing week of tele-democracy, in which the press equated a campaign of angry phone calls with the nation's popular will, Clinton's plan and gay aspirations were routed. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Colin Powell and Senate Armed Services Committee chair Sam Nunn piled on, noisily registering their opposition. Presidential power, which had seemed an awesome thing through the many years it was arrayed against them, provided no cover for gays, who, in their confusion, could muster none for the president.

"We went from wondering how to keep our people from becoming complacent to wondering whether we were going to go down the chutes," says William Waybourn, executive director of the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund. Washington's gay political community was so stunned by the onslaught that Tim McFeeley, executive director of the Human Rights Campaign Fund, the largest gay lobbying group, with a staff of thirty-eight, later felt compelled to distribute a memo to his board responding to the damning question, "Where was HRCF?"

At the start of 1993, gays' primary goal had been passage of the Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights Act, which would afford gays the same civil-rights protection – from discriminatory housing and employment practices, for instance – as heterosexuals. Breaking the military ban was expected to be an almost natural byproduct of Clinton's election. Instead, overnight it had become *the* test of gay political legitimacy. "This is now the civil-rights question on which all collateral civil-rights questions will rely," says gay-rights attorney Tom Stoddard.

In fact, the predicament was a case study of the perils of getting one's wish: Gays lost control of their agenda at precisely the moment Washington began

LEADING THE CHARGE: DAVID MIXNER



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taking it seriously. "We were caught by euphoria" over Clinton's victory, mutters Representative Barney Frank.

In the campaign, Clinton rarely strayed from his melodious message of jobs and productivity into the more dissonant theme of gay rights. But he embraced gay voters with a personal intensity unlike any presidential candidate before him. Clinton's unique relationship with gays stemmed predominantly from his appearance at a Hollywood fund-raiser last May. The event provided a $100,000 boost to Clinton's campaign at a time when, sagging in the polls, he was looking like an apt successor to Mondale and Dukakis. It was organized in large part by David Mixner, an L.A. business consultant and near-legendary gay political figure who was the only open homosexual on the Clinton campaign's executive committee.

Mixner is a vintage Friend of Bill. He'd met Clinton in 1969 at a reunion of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy campaign grunts on Martha's Vineyard. The two young activists, born three days apart, had both come from obscure backgrounds and made their own ways into movement politics. Both were handsome, with expansive charm, acute intelligence and raw political instincts. Unlike Clinton at the time, however, Mixner, one of the chief organizers of the 1969 Vietnam Moratorium, was already a bona fide political leader.

When Mixner introduced his friend to the crowd of several hundred gay men and lesbians, he told them Clinton would be "our Harry Truman," the president whose 1948 executive order integrated blacks into the military. Clinton gave one of his most memorable speeches that night. Visibly exhausted, the lumpy bags under his eyes a moldy blue-green, he stood at a podium, text in hand, and for twenty-five minutes bathed the room in empathy.

"If I could," Clinton said near the end of his speech, his emotions made raw by fatigue, "if I could wave my arm for those of you that are HIV positive and make it go away tomorrow, I would do it. So help me God, I would. If I gave up my race for the White House and everything else, I would do that."

Clinton's appearance at the Palace was a political milestone. Videotapes of the speech were passed around by gays across the country. The speech locked the candidate into a partnership with the gay electorate, a relationship cemented by more than $3 million in contributions and thousands of gay campaign volunteers. Later, a portion of the text – "I have a vision and you are a part of it . . ." – was etched in Plexiglas and made an official inaugural souvenir. For gay cognoscenti, this otherwise hackneyed trinket was like a secret handshake with Clinton. Gays knew that for the first time ever, a president's "you" meant "us."

"After the president's election I had the sense for the first time, even in New York, that gay people were part of the cultural fabric of the nation," says Tom Stoddard, who remembers Clinton as a popular upperclassman at Georgetown University, where both attended college. "Having the president embrace us meant for me the certification of my liberation. It sort of certified in the deepest possible sense that gay people are here to stay. It's like having the family made whole again."

Buoyed by acceptance, gays anticipated a Rose Garden ceremony in which Clinton would sign an executive order opening the military to homosexuals. At first, so did Clinton. But they badly miscalculated. The presidential paradigm for gay rights was not to be Truman's bold stroke of the pen, but John Kennedy's studied diffidence in the face of a politically threatening and socially disruptive civil-rights movement. Kennedy courted black voters but feared Southern senators. He felt a moral stake in the movement's success but a political stake in the dream's deferment. Clinton, who has tried on so much of JFK's style over the years, perhaps did not choose this particular suit. But he's wearing it.

For gays, the stroke of the pen will have to follow, not precede, the bus rides and marches. Further complicating matters, Clinton struck a deal with Nunn to postpone the day of reckoning for six months, then directed Aspin to produce a report by July 15th on integrating gays into the military. Having done that, Clinton retreated behind his economic program. Cut loose by their president, gays now not only have to launch their own civil-rights movement and win the nation's support. They have to deliver it on deadline.

TAPED TO A WALL IN THE THREE-ROOM office of the Campaign for Military Service, in a building just off Dupont Circle, is the scrawled essence of the campaign's message: IT'S DISCRIMINATION, STUPID. Like much else in the campaign, the message bespeaks a strong identification with the president. But it also reflects a clarity of focus. This is not a campaign about recognition of domestic partnerships or AIDS funding or hate-crimes legislation. In truth, it's not even about discrimination against homosexuals, as generally understood. It is solely about the military's very particular discrimination against homosexuals who wish to serve in its ranks.

"Discrimination against someone who wants to serve other people is especially groundless and especially offensive," says Stoddard, the campaign coordinator. Stoddard and his colleagues believe that if Americans refuse even to let gays die in combat for them, it may be quite a while before they're in the mood to address gay

grievances of a less heroic bent.

The campaign was founded by the activists who gathered in Georgetown on January 29th. Bob Burkett, on behalf of David Geffen, and Barry Diller each pledged $25,000 on the spot. (Geffen, worth hundreds of millions, is under e to contribute in the deep six fig- David Mixner, who attended a quent meeting, and three other high-profile professionals formed the core of a finance committee hoping to raise $3 million to fund the full panoply of tactics the campaign is employing: grass-roots organizing, congressional lobbying, a bus tour and prospective TV spots in targeted markets.

Organizers have few illusions about the queasiness with which many Americans consider homosexuality. But they believe a well-crafted appeal to Americans' sense of fair play will yield results. Polls show the country roughly divided on the issue. Citing a recent CBS News-*New York Times* poll indicating forty-three percent favor retracting the ban, Stoddard says the goal is to get "another ten percent" and then leverage that support into votes in Congress, where the ban's fate will likely be decided.

Gays are working their way from the edge of liberal public opinion toward the middle, hoping to capture Peoria before the Christian right gets there. The campaign has conducted focus groups in Ohio, Louisiana and Florida to test its message on Middle America, which, after a long, painful siege over abortion, finds itself subject to yet another heated values debate it would just as soon ignore.

"The people in our focus groups didn't spend two hours discussing this ," says campaign pollster Mark Mellman. And strategists know Americans may not be ready to endorse gay "lifestyles." But containing the question solely to one of discrimination by the military seemed to work. One participant said he would never hire a homosexual himself but couldn't condone a similar practice by the federal government.

Unlike the Christian right, which is as rural and suburban as gays are urban, gays don't have a lot of political experience in Middle America. In the past decade, the gay community gained political skills by organizing against AIDS; it delivered human services, raised money, built institutions. It expanded its own political infrastructure and built sturdy bridges to power on the coasts. It did not, however, make inroads to the middle, where so many gays and lesbians, after all, grew up.

In March the campaign launched a five-week trip to reach the middle, via the Midwest and the South. Called the Tour of Duty, the bus trip carried gay and lesbian veterans on a route through midsize media markets that were most notable for their political geography. (Taken together, the stops make a pretty good road map to undecided votes in Congress.) The tour's slogan, credited to *New Republic* editor Andrew Sullivan, was succinct, undemanding and on message, asking only to "Live and Let Serve."

The tour hasn't yet generated the kind of widespread publicity the campaign had hoped for. But at each stop, veterans hold a press conference to show the locals the mundane face of the gay veteran and answer nervous questions about the effect of showers on morale and AIDS on the battlefield. It is the kind of public-education effort that if reinforced over several years, could lead to substantial changes in attitudes. But a blip on the eleven o'clock news does not make for a revolution.

Still, the campaign must do its best to move what pollster Mellman calls the "malleable middle" because gays lack the numbers to muscle Congress outright. Voter Research and Surveys estimated the '92 gay vote at 2.4 percent of the total, which, due to the closet factor and the tendency of gays to congregate in the same precincts, is probably low. But estimates of 10 percent or more used by some gay groups are almost certainly too high. "We don't have the votes," acknowledges one lobbyist. "They know that."

However, as countless special interests from pro-Israel Jews to peanut farmers can attest, numbers aren't everything. With the backing of the president and congressional leadership and smart lobbying and PR, not to mention the occasional lure of a wealthy gay contributor, it is possible for gays to win on Capitol Hill. But first, says Barney Frank, the campaign must give members "the courage of their convictions in the most literal sense."

According to congressional sources in both houses, a vote on the issue is likely after Nunn's hearings and Aspin's report are concluded. Gay-rights supporters are hoping the more streamlined legislative process and party loyalty will carry the House. "I think we can win this one in the House," says Frank. But everyone is worried about the Senate. "It's not terminal in the House, but it's life threatening in the Senate," says a campaign lobbyist.

Senators are keeping tabs on a special election in May that may hold some clues to how resonant the issue is with voters. A Republican opponent of Texas Democrat Bob Krueger has produced an ad condemning Krueger's support for gays in the military. "Other members are looking at how he comes out of this," says a lobbyist.

Campaign lobbyists have graded every member of Congress from one to five based on their perceived or indicated position on repealing the ban. Ones, whose support is considered solid, are kept informed, and fives, whose opposition is deemed immutable, are monitored. Those two groups constitute a majority of the

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Senate in almost equal portions. Any member among the two-through-four minority is targeted for persuasion. "I have a gut feeling we can make this happen," says one lobbyist. "I'm hoping for some of these middle-of-the-road guys."

Lobbyists bring exemplary gay military personnel like Tracy Thorne and Greta Cammermeyer to meet legislators and tell their tales of achievement and discrimination. Gay constituents are rounded up to meet with their senator or representative both in Washington and in the home district to testify to local gay roots. Everyone is briefed beforehand on the correct way to make an impression.

In one lobbying expedition, Cathy Woolard, an HRCF lobbyist, brought Crae Pridgen and his mother to meet North Carolina Democrats in the House. Pridgen, a gay North Carolinian, was beaten by marines outside a gay bar in January, making national headlines. "We just go in and sit down, and Crae tells the story of what happened to him," Woolard says. "Mrs. Pridgen talks about how she felt as a mother. I sort of have the facts to stick in along the way." Powerful North Carolina Democrat Charlie Rose didn't tell Woolard how he would vote, but he did write a letter to the president which he deplored the beating.

The nature of gay politics dictates that nearly every aspect of the campaign is intensely personal. Gay activists trade rumors about the supposed lesbianism of a high-ranking Pentagon official's daughter, staking their hopes for civil rights on the denouement of family melodramas over dinner. In the same vein, Mixner says the campaign's best shot at receiving corporate underwriting is "a corporate CEO who has a son or daughter who is gay or lesbian."

The accent on the personal is also evident in Congress. "People are very uncomfortable with sexuality anyway," says one of the two dozen lobbyists the campaign has enlisted. "When it's homosexuality, it makes them even more uncomfortable. For the first thirty minutes you're talking to them, they're thinking: 'Is he queer? God, I wonder what those people do.' They don't hear a word you're saying. It's not until about the third visit that they actually start listening."

CAMPAIGN ORGANIZERS, MANY OF WHOM, like their president, came of age in movement politics, are acutely aware of the civil-rights precedents of buses and marches. "The parallel is not Clinton-Gore," says Tom Sheridan, a lobbyist who is organizing the campaign's efforts on Capitol Hill. "It is the Freedom Rides."

Organizers are trying to recruit the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the NAACP as coalition partners capable of validating their discrimination and even asked Coretta Scott King to lend her sainted profile to the cause. "It's important that this is not perceived as just a gay issue," says Hilary Rosen, a prominent recording-industry lobbyist who is helping the campaign. The bus tour also tried to arrange a media stop in Selma, Alabama, on the bridge where police attacked peaceful black marchers in 1965.

The similarities between the black and gay experiences, while far from exact, are undeniable. In each case, the military's exclusion policy was justified with almost identical language about troop morale and social order. And just as the franchise was once denied the "good Negro" housekeeper on account of the "bad Negroes" who would spoil it for everyone, gays who serve the military with distinction must remain closeted, lest drag queens and predatory sex fiends leave Castro Street behind for Dionysian Camp LeJeune.

If race provides one prism through which to view the issue, the battle over abortion rights, with its two polar extremes vying for the coveted middle, provides another. By the end of the Bush administration, the right finally, definitively had lost the abortion fight. Reeling from the conservative Supreme Court's refusal to overturn *Roe v. Wade* and the subsequent election of a prochoice president, the Christian right seized upon gays in the military as a values issue capable of mobilizing conservative troops – another in what appears to be an interminable line of cultural last stands.

On December 1st, while gays were busy funneling résumés to the transition team, a largely futile exercise yielding few placements in the new administration, some three dozen military and conservative-values groups met in Washington to form the Coalition to Maintain Military Readiness. Members of the coalition represented a vast grass-roots network and knew how to arouse it. The Traditional Values Coalition sent letters to the 25,000 churches in its membership, asking ministers to organize their flocks against the impending tide of sodomites; the Retired Officers Association contacted more than 400 local chapters urging them to organize members and alert local press to their opposition to Clinton's plan. Later, the group set up a 900 number that members could call to send a letter automatically to their representatives in Congress. Groups like the Family Research Institute and Concerned Women for America sent out direct-mail solicitations refining fear of "the gay lifestyle" and "militant homosexuals" into money in the bank.

Their champion in the Senate is Indiana Republican Dan Coates, who appears eager to fill the shoes of the aging titan Jesse Helms. Coates will do the shouting, but the Christian right, like the Pentagon, is counting on Democrat Sam Nunn to bar the door. "The real action," one campaign lobbyist says, "is between the administration and Nunn. I think he's put himself exactly where he wants to be."

In the intricate universe of the Armed Services Committee, as elsewhere, the issue of gays in the military raises complicated emotions about sexuality, patriotism, morality, military readiness. But it is also intimately connected to another set of considerations – about base closings, downsizing, conversion, budget priorities. Nunn has appointed himself keeper of the flame for both traditions, fighting Clinton's gays and Clinton's budget cuts with the same deliberate, soft-spoken hostility. "Nunn sees himself as the defender and surrogate for the military in this administration," says a veteran Democrat.

In part, Nunn's stance stems from the fact that he has staked his career on a single issue – military affairs – only to find his expertise drastically devalued by the Cold War's demise. "Sometimes you major in the wrong subject," says one lobbyist.

There is little Clinton can do to prod or punish the senator from Georgia, whose primary constituency has for years been the Pentagon. Nunn, who has fired two staffers because they were gay, needs no favors, perks or photo ops from Clinton's White House. When the president visited Georgia in March, Nunn stayed in Washington. During the campaign, he reneged on a commitment to escort Hillary Rodham Clinton on a Georgia visit after the Gennifer Flowers scandal erupted. All the while, Nunn seems to take a perverse joy in calling Clinton his "good friend."

Nunn unilaterally announced in January that he would begin his hearings on gays in the military in March. When the White House quietly prevailed upon him to postpone the hearings to give the president's economic plan center stage and gay activists time to organize, he acceded to the request by nudging the opening sessions ever so slightly, to the end of March.

Nunn's hearings will, more than any other single factor, set the terms of debate. Nunn has given gay groups wide latitude in choosing their own witnesses and clearly wishes his hearings to be perceived as fair. But even if the hearings are not unfavorable to gays, they represent the type of public education that lays the groundwork for long-term gains, not immediate results. In fact, the HRCF had asked Nunn to hold hearings on the issue last year, hoping a sober discussion might prod debate. In the supercharged atmosphere this year, with the clashing egos of Clinton, Nunn, Aspin and Powell all in play and the political stakes high, gays are almost incidental to their own trial.

AT THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST PRESS CONference in late March, Clinton was asked if he would be willing to support "restrictions" on the deployment of homosexuals in the military; he flatly stated that he "wouldn't rule that out." The next day, White House aides confirmed that position: The president would consider recommendations to segregate gay military personnel.

Watching the press conference, David Mixner says, made him "sick to my stomach." Clinton aide Bob Hattoy, one of the few openly gay White House aides, told a reporter he "almost started crying."

The White House later backtracked on Clinton's statement, saying it was merely a gaffe. But Clinton's most recent comment on the controversy had been his February 10th statement that he was "appalled" at the amount of time he had spent on gays in the military.

There have been other warning signs as well. Gay activists couldn't help noticing that throughout the controversial days of January, neither Hillary Clinton nor Al Gore made any show of support. And they are troubled that the president did not move quickly to appoint an AIDS czar, as he had promised, or to appoint more gays in the administration. When the White House took a dive on another campaign promise, to overturn the ban on HIV-positive immigrants, some gays began to chafe. Barney Frank counsels that the administration is solid. "They could have made a grand gesture and walked away from it," Frank says. "They made a decision not to do that."

Even so, gays are beginning to hedge their bets. Gay fund-raisers and major donors told DNC chair David Wilhelm they would withhold campaign contributions if the president doesn't hold the line. Mixner says he has delivered an unequivocal message to the White House on the consequences of dodging the fight, raising the specter of a Clinton reelection campaign in 1996 in which the candidate is never heard for all the [*Cont. on 122*]

In part, Nunn's stance stems from the fact that he has staked his career on a single issue – military affairs – only to find his expertise devalued by the end of the Cold War. "Sometimes you major in the wrong subject," says one lobbyist.

SXSW

[*Cont. from 28*] great nights at his store/performance space Lubbock or Leave It with singer-songwriter Terry Allen. Jo Carol Pierce, who was named songwriter of the year at the Austin Music Awards, performed an extraordinary two-hour theater piece, *Bad Girls Upset by the Truth*, a witty song-and-monologue cycle about sex, religion and peculiarly Texan psychoses that suggested a wigged-out Western-plains version of Laurie Anderson's *United States*.

Notable out-of-towners who pricked up the ears included Carlene Carter, who entertained a roomful of industry types dining on chicken-fried steak at Threadgill's (where Janis Joplin used to sing for her supper), and English minstrel Robyn Hitchcock, whose in-store performance at Waterloo Records with R.E.M.'s Mike Mills included a fervent romp through "Man on the Moon," complete with Hitchcock's doing Michael Stipe's original fake-Elvis hiccup vocals.

Rock critics were also elbow to elbow at Acropolis for Giant Sand, the Arizona band led by the maverick singer-guitarist Howe Gelb. There is, as many scribes have pointed out, a lot of scalding, electric Neil Young in Gelb, and there was plenty to go around that night. But there was an equally shambling charm to the sagebrush mysticism of his country-folk tangents, with swelling desert-angel background vocals by special guests Victoria Williams, former Bangle Vicki Peterson and Susan Cowsill (!). The only drag was that Giant Sand had to quit just as things started to smoke, pointing out the one disadvantage of SXSW's otherwise admirably tight organization: not allowing for the vitality of the moment. At any other Giant Sand show, the crowd would have demanded, and probably gotten, encores for days.

Other weekend highlights: the scrappy, literate folk rock of the Vigilantes of Love, from Athens, Georgia; the explosive surf-blues-mosh-hillbilly guitar strangling of the Reverend Horton Heat (check out His Worship's two smokin' Sub Pop albums); and the Austin guitar sensation Jünior Brown, whose finger-skidding command of his mutant guitar creation – a pedal steel with a Stratocaster neck attached horizontally like a sidecar – had jaws on the tables at Antone's.

But leave it to a bunch of Australians, who also know something about the pioneer spirit and wide-open spaces, to come up with the closest thing to an SXSW anthem. At the 311 Club, a Melbourne troubadours' revue starring Paul Kelly and aboriginal songwriter Archie Roach topped off the night with a rousing ode to the prevailing spirit, "I Know Where to Go to Feel Good." Even the King, if he'd really shown up, would have seconded that motion. ■

Politics

[*Cont. from 42*] hecklers who dog his trail.

"We are willing to lose our jobs; we are willing to go to jail for freedom," says Mixner, who seems eager to assume leadership of what he calls "my community." He acknowledges he has no idea whether gays, many professionals like himself, are ready to commit themselves to large-scale civil disobedience and radical protest. "I don't know until we try," he says. But as Frank told an audience composed primarily of gay congressional staffers at the end of March, "Civil disobedience is what you do when you don't have enough political power."

Despite their financial resources and growing political sophistication, gays have been unable to spur passage of their civil-rights bill or to fend off many of the local and state referendums attempting to restrict their rights.

Some activists privately concede that the campaign's "coalition" doesn't amount to much, either. Natural allies like the National Organization for Women have been disappointingly slow to lend a hand. Coretta Scott King declined to participate. Even gay groups have jealously guarded their mailing lists. "We're out here on our own again," says a member of ANGLE, an elite gay-rights group in Los Angeles. "I don't see the black community, I don't see the Hollywood community, getting involved." And money? "It will mostly come from the gay and lesbian community," Mixner says. "If we depended on going beyond there, we wouldn't succeed."

Gays cannot move forward without ending the ban. And they cannot end the ban without Clinton. The president has another opportunity to send a signal the weekend of April 25th, when what organizers expect will be the largest gay-rights march in history hits Washington. "What does Clinton do?" Mixner asks. "He can't go out of town or watch a football game."

Mixner prepared a memo for the White House on JFK's handling of the 1963 March on Washington, when, according to Gallup, six of ten whites thought blacks were pushing too hard for change. Knowing Clinton is unlikely to join a gay contingent on the speakers platform, Mixner suggested symbolic options ranging from a visit to the AIDS quilt by one of the Clintons or Gores to the president's attending Sunday services with homosexuals at the Lincoln Memorial.

Any presidential action will be scrutinized from all sides. Though inaction, too, can be historic. Kennedy watched on TV as Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech. Though King made his way to the mountaintop, Kennedy laid low. We'll soon know if Clinton too is afraid of heights. ■

Dana Carvey

[*Cont. from 52*] self a hat with string, honey." Carvey accepted this graciously, but what else could a fellow in his position do?

AFTERWARD, HE WOULD NOT CRY. THERE would be much denial, and he would think instead about his future in films, without disguises. "Can I be small and real in a film, and not use all my tricks, like a wig or a voice?" he wondered. "Can I carry a film in this fashion?" ("His characters are not nearly as funny as he is," sweats his wife, who possesses infinite faith.) And so he will try to prove himself, first as an amnesiac detective in *Clean Slate*, then as Garth again, after which he has plans to team up with his friend Jon Lovitz for a caper film or western. Also on the boards is a full-length feature musical, *Hans and Franz: The Girly-Man Dilemma*, possibly costarring and produced by Arnold Schwarzenegger, distant cousin of the pumped pair. "If I'm successful in these movies, then maybe I'll do some more," he said, noncommittally. "Or maybe I'll do a talk show, which is the only forum in show business where you're allowed to improvise. That's exhilarating for me." Already, he staved off NBC's wish to have him take over Letterman's slot this summer, bypassing negotiations in favor of waiting until all dust settles in the late-night arena. "If he did a talk show," noted Robert Smigel, "he'd probably be closer in personality to Carson than almost anyone out there." Thus, only limitless opportunity is at hand.

But first, a chapter would have to end, which it did, quietly. The last Carvey show was a show like any other, perhaps less so. As Prince Charles, he scored nicely. But the night was not electric, and the cast party at the Century Café followed suit. There, Carvey softly held forth, sipping beer at a back table with his guitarist brother Scott, Lovitz (who happened to be in town) and Todd Rundgren, who was fretting about a forthcoming experimental album. "Don't worry, true fans can grow with the artist," Carvey reassured him, hopefully. But it was clear that he was thinking of his own career as he spoke. For the rest of the evening, he remained subdued, even when set upon by a handsome, lustful young woman. "I have something I need to tell you," she said, danger flaring in her eyes. "*I wish you weren't married.*" She said it as though it were a question. Carvey smiled, as he will when he is frightened. "Is that you talking, or is that the Tom Collins in your hand?" he said, nervously, and thanked her for sharing. She moved off toward the Mike Myers table. By then, however, Carvey was out the door. He was expected to return for the following Saturday. But, in fact, he

WHERE TO BUY

Page 94: Moda Prima top available by calli 800-458-6632 for the store nearest you. Bets Johnson pants at all Betsey Johnson sto nationwide. Tony Bryant belt at Capezio, N York City; Footwear First, Berkeley, C Downstairs Market, New York City. D Marten boots at Gadzooks, Texas; Macy's, S Francisco. Tag Rag top at Bagatelle, N York City; Smith Brothers, Florida and N Jersey; Wet Seal nationwide. Cross Colou pants at Macy's, Burdine's and A&S stor nationwide. Tony Bryant belt at Capezio, Ne York City; Footwear First, Berkeley, C Downstairs Market, New York City. Conver sneakers available by calling 800-428-2667 f the store nearest you. Mossimo shirt at Nor strom, Los Angeles and San Francisco; B Drop, New York; Fast Forward, Housto Texas. Quicksilver shorts at specialty ar department stores nationwide. E.G. Smi socks at Macy's, Bloomingdale's and Bulloc stores nationwide. Converse sneakers availab by calling 800-428-2667 for the store neare you. DKNY clothing available at major d partment stores nationwide. Nike shorts ava able by calling 800-344-NIKE for the store nea est you. Tony Bryant belt at Capezio, Ne York City; Footwear First, Berkeley, C Downstairs Market, New York City. DKN socks at department and specialty stores natio wide. Georgia Boot Co. boots at America Rag, Los Angeles and San Francisco; David Z New York; Abbadabba, Atlanta. Esprit top a Macy's East Coast; Rich's and Nordstro stores nationwide. Esprit pants at Macy's Ea Coast; Nordstrom and Dillard's stores natio wide. Converse sneakers available by callin 800-428-2667 for the store nearest you.

Page 95: Guess? clothing available at depar ment stores nationwide. L.A. Gear hot pant at Macy's East Coast. Hot Sox tights a Barneys New York; Macy's and Nordstro stores nationwide.

Page 96: Mossimo top and hot pants at Di lard's, Fort Worth, Texas; Body Options, CA Nordstrom stores nationwide. Hot Sox sock at Barneys New York; Macy's and Nordstro stores nationwide. Georgia Boot Co. boots a American Rag, Los Angeles and San Francisc David Z's, New York; Abbadabba, Atlanta.

Page 97: Champion sweatshirt at sporting-good and department stores nationwide. Y.E.S. short at all department and specialty stores nationwide Hypnotic hat at Macy's, Bloomingdale's an Nordstrom stores nationwide.

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FILE
77

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF MAINE

DIANE J. MATTHEWS, Plaintiff, v. JOHN O. MARSH, JR., Defendant.	)	Civil Action File No. 82-0216P

DECLARATION OF MAJOR GENERAL H. NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF

The following unsworn declaration pursuant to 28 U.S.C. section 1746 is made pertaining to the above-captioned case:

1. I am Major General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, United States Army, and I am presently assigned as the Director of Military Personnel Management, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Department of the Army. In this capacity I am responsible for the development and promulgation of Department of the Army policy regarding homosexuality.

2. The Army, like the other armed services, excludes homosexuals from military service. Department of the Army policy with respect to homosexuality is mandated by Department of Defense Directives 1332.14 and 1332.30. The policy on homosexuality is clear and unambiguous. Homosexuality is incompatible with military service because the presence of homosexuals in the military seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military

mission. This policy rests in large part on the unique nature of the mission of the armed forces and the special needs, without parallel in civilian society, that this mission creates. The basis for the military's homosexual policy is expressed in the DOD directives and Army regulations as follows:

> Homosexuality is incompatible with military service. The presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct, seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission. The presence of such members adversely affects the ability of the armed forces to maintain discipline, good order, and morale; to foster mutual trust and confidence among servicemembers; to insure the integrity of the system of rank and command; to facilitate assignment and worldwide deployment of servicemembers who frequently must live and work under close conditions affording minimal privacy; to recruit and retain members of the armed forces; to maintain the public acceptability of military service; and to prevent breaches of security.

3. I have over 26 years of active commissioned service in the United States Army. During this time, I have served in a number of command and staff assignments, and I have led troops in combat. Among these assignments, I have held the following positions: From July 1969 to December 1969, I was the Executive Officer to the Chief of Staff, United States Army Vietnam. From December 1969 to July 1970, I commanded the 1st Battalion, 6th Infantry, 198th Infantry Brigade, 23d Infantry Division (Americal), in Vietnam. In October 1974, I became the Deputy Commander of the 172d Infantry Brigade at Fort Richardson, Alaska. Thereafter, from October 1976 to July 1978, I was the Commander of

the 1st Brigade, 9th Infantry Division at Fort Lewis, Washington. From Fort Lewis, I went to Camp H. M. Smith in Hawaii where I was the Deputy Director for Plans, United States Pacific Command. Then, from August 1980 to August 1982, I was the Assistant Division Commander, 8th Infantry Division (Mechanized), United States Army Europe. While in Europe, I was also the Community Commander for the Mainz Military Community. In August 1982, I assumed my present position. I am a graduate of the United States Military Academy, the United States Army Infantry Officers' Basic and Advanced Courses, the United States Army Command and General Staff College, and the United States Army War College. Additionally, I hold a Masters Degree from the University of Southern California.

4. Based on my personal experience and observations as both a commander and a staff officer and on reports and studies maintained by my present office, I can state that homosexuals are unsuited for military service for the following reasons, among others:

a. Homosexuals in military service have a direct, adverse impact on the morale of other Army members. Homosexuals tend to polarize units. I am aware of instances where heterosexuals have been solicited to commit homosexual acts, and, even more traumatic emotionally, physically coerced to engage in such acts. Such instances of homosexual conduct clearly destroy morale and elevate

hostility towards homosexuals.

b. Related to morale, but also an independent justification for the homosexual policy, is the respect for the privacy rights of heterosexual servicemembers who would be forced to live and work with homosexuals in conditions of minimal privacy. Even in peacetime, soldiers often share living areas, shower and toilet facilities in barracks or onboard ships. Most servicemembers view being forced to sleep, shower and use toilet facilities with members of the opposite sex as an infringement of their privacy. To force them to live under similar conditions with members of the same sex having a different sexual preference would be a similar infringement of privacy. This infringement would be aggravated in the conditions which prevail in combat or simulated combat operations. It is not inconceivable that if homosexuals were allowed to serve, separate living facilities would have to be provided for heterosexual males, homosexual males, heterosexual females and homosexual females.

c. Allowing known homosexuals to serve would damage the image of the Army in the eyes of the American people and demean its national role. Because of the prevailing aversion to homosexuals in our society and because homosexual conduct continues to be criminal in many places, including the military, the Army would suffer in esteem if known homosexuals were allowed to serve. The impact on the Army's public image would also

endanger recruitment and retention, by causing potential servicemembers to hesitate to enlist, making parents of potential servicemembers reluctant to recommend or approve the enlistment of their sons and daughters in an organization in which they would be forced to live and work with known homosexuals, and causing members of the Army to hesitate to reenlist.

d. A policy which allowed homosexuals to serve would also have a deleterious impact on duty performance and unit cohesion, order and discipline. A military leader, whether an officer or a noncommissioned officer, known as a homosexual is unable to effectively command or lead his or her soldiers because of a loss of respect and trust in his or her abilities. Further, homosexuals in leadership positions often develop emotional involvements subverting the traditional Army concepts of discipline and immediate response to orders, whether popular or not. Likewise, a soldier's performance of his or her individual duties could be influenced by emotional relationships with other homosexuals, or the fear of disclosure of homosexual conduct or possible criminal prosecution. Because of this fear, homosexuals may be increased security risks. These factors would certainly affect the Army's ability to perform successfully in peacetime or on the battlefield.

e. Finally, homosexuals, by definition, are individuals who have an established predilection for violating the Uniform Code of

Military Justice through the commission of sodomy. Exclusion of homosexuals from military service is a means of precluding military service by a group of individuals who have a natural proclivity to commit criminal acts.

5. The Army's homosexual regulations are intended only to bar service by homosexuals; that is, only persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct are prohibited from service in the United States Army. The Army's regulations concerning homosexuals do not afford a basis for barring the entry or for separating persons who simply evince academic interest in homosexuals or their causes.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed under penalty of perjury on 29 October 1982, at Arlington, Virginia.

H. NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF
Major General, U.S. Army

FILE
78

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CLIENT: O.S.D. STATION: C-SPAN

PROGRAM: Conservative Resource Center TIME: 1:30PM

DATE: 5/31/93 CITY: Chicago

W. BROOKS MC CARTY, FOUNDER, CONSERVATIVE RESOURCE CENTER: "Next, I'd like to introduce William J. Layer. Bill is with the Vietnam Veterans Institute. He was at the activities going on yesterday over on the ... at the Lincoln Monument. Bill, come on up."

WILLIAM J. LAYER, VIETNAM VETERANS INSTITUTE: "As an analyst, I have studied war; as an enlisted man, I have served in one. Military life is something I have some acquaintance with. Memorial Day began as a tribute to the dead of the Civil War. The men who served in those armies were moral men for whom the tenets of Scripture were the standards to which they adhered. They did not make excuses, nor seek to subvert the social order to justify moral failings. Being moral, they knew how behavior affected morale. Indeed, both moral and morale come from the same root. They're as linked in linguistics as they are in men's character. It is fitting that we gather this Memorial Day weekend, for it is the threat to the military character which I propose to speak about this afternoon.

"Today, we face an agenda being forced on us by those who have disdained the military for most of their careers. Look at the records of many of those who want to lift the ban, and ask how they acted toward the military during the Cold War or Vietnam, or in using the military to protect U.S. interests. The record will speak for itself. Today, we face an agenda which claims homosexuals are the victims of discrimination; that they have served their country and are the innocent victims of a witch-hunt. The military does discriminate against those behaviors detrimental to it. It has rooted out drug abuse, it has removed alcoholics, thieves, murderers and all manner of sociopaths. In fact, the military has been most generous in its dealings with homosexuals, allowing them a discharge which grants them all benefits, instead of usually prosecuting them for fraudulent enlistment; or, if they do not label themselves, or practice their perversion, ignoring them.

"Today, we face an agenda which asks us to accept homosexuality as an acceptable behavior. An agenda which now, undisguised, asks us to celebrate a behavior whose practitioners are self-made victims of hideous diseases, and whose life span is roughly half that of the heterosexual population. Clearly, it is not a life-style they want acceptance for, but a death-style. Today, we face an agenda

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which tells us to accept as normal, practices such as 'fisting', where one man rams his arm up the anus of another; 'golden showers', where they urinate on one another; oral/anal sex, which leads to Hepatitis 'A' and Hepatitis 'B'; and anal penetration, which destroys the sphincter muscles and bowel control, ruptures the membrane, and allows fecal matter into the bloodstream, and is the great AIDS vehicle. Nature intended the anus as a sewer pipe, not a fresh water intake valve. How, then, are we to expect the homosexual agenda to affect our military and naval forces? The answer almost speaks for itself. The purpose of the armed forces is war, it is killing. Anything which impedes that, anything which impedes unit cohesion, cannot be allowed. To do otherwise is to violate the memory of our sacred dead and imperil the survival of the living. In the maelstrom that is war, do we need to expose men to the risk of incurable, infectious diseases?

"William Manchester's autobiography describes combat on Iwo Jima, where the Marines cut the seats from their trousers because of dysentery. They fought in sewage, body parts, blood and mud. At Anzio, soldiers were splattered with the blood and guts of their buddies; Vietnam was no different. In battle, even a small wound can quickly become infected. Today, the weapons are deadlier, the killing swifter. In battle, there is no refrigerated blood supply; every soldier, sailor, marine and airman is a potential blood bank. Do we want to take the risk of having a man survive a battlefield wound, only to die of AIDS or contract a venereal disease from contaminated blood? If a wounded man is an avowed or suspected homosexual, will his wounds go untreated because of a justified fear of contagion? The ideologues of a social agenda demonstrate little concern for the reality of war, or even for the class of people whom they claim to represent.

"Or, is the danger of AIDS exaggerated? On one hand, homosexual advocates want AIDS testing in the military stopped. On the other hand, they want more research money; a contradiction, if there ever was one. How can you research, if you can't identify the victim? But, even testing is not enough. If AIDS is contracted between tests. The Center for Disease Control numbers call us to attention: 65 percent homosexual for AIDS, 19 percent drug users, eight percent bisexual intrevenous drug users, two percent promiscuous heterosexuals, including prostitutes. Ninety-four percent contract the disease because of their own actions. Fully 73 percent of AIDS victims have homosexual contacts. Now, add to this and the new drug-resistant strain of TB found in AIDS patients, and the health disaster looms even larger.

"In 1988, the Center for Disease Control reported that 77 percent of AIDS patients aged 13 through 24 had contracted the disease because they were drug users, or engaged in homosexual sex. The prime military age is between 17 and 24. What are we going to let ourselves in for? I'll tell you: A fiscal and physical burden on the military and V.A.

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health care systems. Let's look at the numbers found in an Army study of AIDS soldiers. Forty-one times more apt to have syphilis, a disease returning with a vengeance. Thirty-two times more apt to have enlarged lymph nodes; ten times more likely to have had Hepatitis 'B'; five times more likely to have had Hepatitis 'A', or other sexual diseases. There are those who would argue that placing homosexuals in rear echelon jobs would eliminate the risk of AIDS or other contagions. Where would they be placed? In the mess section, where parasitic bowel diseases rampant in the homosexual community can be spread by food handlers? Until modern times, the soldier's greatest enemy was disease. Are we now going to reverse the forward march of public health for political reasons? This is nonsense. The notion of placing them in the rear ignores military realities. Any study of classic military operations reveals that if an enemy can be hit in the rear, thereby defeating its logistical support, it can be defeated. And if the front line collapses, even rear area troops can quickly become infantrymen. Furthermore, troops have to be rotated, vacancies filled. From where? From the rear. Simply put, homosexuals are a health hazard.

"Military mission success and survival depends on unit cohesion, the trust each squad member must have in his comrades. The enemy poses enough of a threat. Why should military effectiveness be threatened by the danger of disease? We must ask ourselves, who would want to remain in a situation where an infected comrade posed a danger, even in peacetime? Let us not ignore the fact that, in peacetime, military and naval service is a dangerous occupation. Accidents are part of the price one pays for effective training. We must ask ourselves, what parent would want their child to enlist in an armed force where death or disability from avoidable disease had become more likely than death or disability from hostile fire? But, the question of morale neither begins nor ends with the public health issue. It reaches into the very character of military life. The armed forces are, in fact, a secular priesthood or brotherhood. It was not by accident that the great Ignatius Loyola modeled the Jesuits on the Spanish Army, in which he had been a soldier. He knew that to succeed, military discipline, a discipline built on trust and loyalty, was essential. It is that concept of trust and loyalty which is now under attack in our own armed forces. At question is the practicing homosexual's ability to work with another person or group. It has to do with authority. And if they have rejected the authority of a moral tradition, how can they accept the military ethos? They cannot, they do not, they will not.

"We can look forward to a new dimension to the sexual harrassment issue, and issues of favoritism, and maybe even quotas, all of which detract from effectiveness. Bear in mind that the armed forces, unlike civilian life, is a place where one is always on duty, that one works, eats, sleeps, socializes within the same community. Absolute trust is imperative. The energy of a military unit simply cannot be squandered.

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It must be used for the task of protecting the society. To that end, anything which causes worry, concern, anxiety, whether it is dismissed by others contemptuously as a neurotic phobia, rather than a real concern about distrust that the homosexual individual in the unit will in any way be other than an effective member; anything that turns energy away from cohesion will be a detriment to the fighting unit. Any enemy without this problem will have considerable advantage, no matter what the firepower, no matter what the logistic variable may be. The enemy to each unit's integrity will be greater than a unit with homosexual divisions in it.

"The military is not for social experiments whose objective is an attack on society's values; it is not for the experiments of homosexual advocates who have admitted that entrance into the armed forces is not enough, but who want to proselytize and win converts, or suborn a young, sexually uncertain person, to have sensitivity sessions propagate their death-style and, in the end, drive from and away from the military and naval services those on whom the well-being of the nation depends. And thereby destroy those honorable institutions. I would say to the President: Listen to the accumulated wisdom of the ages, the views of history, the counsel of your military leaders, whose expertise is ignored at our peril. I would say to him that when the advocates of a homosexual agenda try to obscure their objectives and offer the false peace-pipe, the pipe of compromise, don't inhale; just say no."

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FILE
79

DOCUMENT: 1 of 1
000000720

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MAN: Point man, move out. MAN: I know I'll be able to serve my country. MAN: It's going to cause problems. MAN: When everybody's trying to take showers together and everything, it's not going to work MAN: We're going to be there. DAN RATHER: Tonight on 48 Hours. MAN: If any [censored] faggot looks at me, I'll throw him overboard. RATHER: The battle over homosexuals in the military. WOMAN: For 15 years I served my country. And I happen to be a lesbian too. MAN: Ninety-five percent of our membership is opposed to lifting the ban. MAN: I still think I'm right. MAN: I wouldn't want to live with a gay roommate. RATHER: The front line. MAN: I'd be afraid to go to sleep in here. RATHER: In an uncivil war. MAN: I'm not attracted to straight men. MAN: You throw a homosexual in there, you're going to break up that team. WOMAN: They have a right to defend their country as well as anybody else. MAN: The majority of gays in the military are closeted. RATHER: A life in the shadows. MAN: And we'll always be closeted. RATHER: And in the trenches. MAN: There you go. WOMAN: Write your congressmen, write your senators. MAN: Homosexuals, it is not mainstream America. RATHER: Can the nation be ready for war? WOMAN: We wear the uniform. RATHER: And ready for this? WOMAN: That's a [unintelligible]. * * * RATHER: It may be the U.S. military's biggest fight since the Persian Gulf. When President Clinton first proposed dropping all restrictions against homosexuals in the service, the Joint Chiefs came out swinging. Their opposition to the Commander-in-Chief was so heated that some say it at least approached insubordination. Since then General Powell and the other service chiefs have held their fire. But as we found out in the trenches, tempers haven't cooled a bit. RICHARD SCHLESINGER: They are 13 of the best and the brightest in the United States Army, Squad 7 at the Noncommissioned Officers Academy at Fort Hood, Texas, training to be sergeants, the top of the class. They may look like they're ready for war but this is not the kind of fight they've been trained for. MAN: I mean if you like men, you don't belong there. That's [unintelligible]. You just pack your bags and leave. SCHLESINGER: It's an emotional conflict with an enemy who so far has stayed in the shadows. MAN: I don't understand how one man can like another man, personally. I just can't understand it.

SCHLESINGER: And there is another enemy lurking, more familiar to soldiers. Fear. MAN: It's something that we can't understand, that we cannot relate to. And that's why it scares us. SCHLESINGER: That scare you more than going to war? MAN: Mmmmmm. SCHLESINGER: Yes? MAN: I think so. In my MOS, I think so.
SCHLESINGER: Soldiers who want to keep gays out say their biggest fears are about the smallest spaces. You know what people say, that this tent here represents ground zero, if you will, in the debate about gays in the military.
If your tent mate -- I have to ask you. If your tent mate turned out to be gay, turns to you one night and says, "I just want you to know, 'cause we're friends, I'm gay," what do you do? What would you do? JOHN HAMILTON: Freak. SCHLESINGER: Twenty-four-year-old John Hamilton. HAMILTON: It's going to be a problem just about no matter what. The level of problem...
SCHLESINGER: It's definitely going to be a problem.
HAMILTON: For me, yeah. I knew a guy once in a unit that was gay, and I didn't have to work with him. He was somewhere else. So I was like, "Hey, not my problem." Once it got around that he was homosexual, you didn't want to hang around with him, because then no one wants to hang around with you. SCHLESINGER: Why? HAMILTON: Because it's just guilty by association. I mean it's like anything else, you know.
SCHLESINGER: Is that right? HAMILTON: Right and wrong has got very little to do with anything I do. I follow orders and I do my job, and that's what I do. I don't moralize. I moralize very little. SCHLESINGER: Could you have a gay tent mate? HAMILTON: To me, it's not the tent. That isn't ground zero for me, personally. For me, the showers in the barracks. That's ground zero. SCHLESINGER: Both sides in this argument assume that this is the last line of defense in the fight against gays in the military.
These are barracks, where soldiers live and sleep just inches apart. Nobody who lives here would want the ban lifted. MAN: I wouldn't want to live with a gay roommate. I wouldn't want to have nothing to do with it. MAN: We all got to get along in that confined area. When everybody's trying to go to the bathroom together, take showers together and everything, it's just -- it's not going to work. I can't see how it's going to work. MAN: Like if you're a woman, you have a right -- in the military, you have a right to take a bath or a shower, whatever, and not be in the presence of people who are attracted to you sexually -- i.e., men. Right? For the most part. And I think I have the same right. If I know you're a homosexual, then I have a real problem, because I know you're looking at me like that while I'm trying to shave and get my stuff together. And that bugs me. SCHLESINGER: You know, for instance, that there are gay people in the Army.
MAN: I couldn't prove that, but I'm sure there are.
SCHLESINGER: But you're sure that there are. Has it been a problem for you? Has anything happened to any of you guys? MAN: No, not yet. But we don't want it to happen, either, because it could be a big distracter in accomplishing our mission and just trying to get the team cohesion together. SCHLESINGER: But on the issue

of gays in the military, team cohesion is already a problem for Squad 7. There are divisions in the ranks. BRENDA WYNN: They have a right to defend their country as well as anybody else. And I do not believe that in a foxhole or anywhere else, if you're at war, this man is going to be standing there looking at your behind while he will have the enemy creeping across, coming towards him. SCHLESINGER: Thirty-one-year-old Brenda Wynn. WYNN: Nothing intended, nothing bad intended at all, but if you have a problem dealing with gays and homosexuals, to me, you're not comfortable in your own sexuality. Maybe you're afraid if one approach you, you might like it or something. How can it bother you? Laugh. You'll... MAN: You throw a homosexual in with five-six guys that have been working together for two years, you throw a homosexual in there, you're going to break up that team. SCHLESINGER: Didn't they say that about black people? MAN: That was years and years and years ago. SCHLESINGER: But years and years ago, didn't they say that about black people? MAN: That was years and years ago. SCHLESINGER: Didn't they say that about women, not so many years ago? MAN: Not so many years ago, we... SCHLESINGER: And you're still kind of saying that about women. MAN: You're trying to push. SCHLESINGER: The fact is, you are getting used to the women. What's to say that you can't get used to the gay people, as well? MAN: You see, the women, though, they're kept -- they're not in combat arms. We don't have to work with them directly. We don't have to deal with them. SCHLESINGER: Though they may train to fight, women are not allowed in combat. MAN: It's going to cause problems. All these guys over here, you see them shaking their heads. You're the only -- it's going to cause problems. WYNN: It's going to cause problems, but we're going to have to deal with them. MAN: Let me ask you this. Why cause more problems than we already have if you can avoid it? WYNN: These problems are already here. That's why they're all of a sudden coming to the surface. MAN: There's going to be a lot of fights. SCHLESINGER: That's the fear: that if gays are allowed to serve openly, things could get ugly. What's the problem going to be? Is it going to be gay people saying that they're gay, or is it going to be straight people wanting to beat up the gay people? MAN: That's going to be a large majority of the problem. SCHLESINGER: What, the straight people? MAN: Straight people wanting to beat up the gay people? SCHLESINGER: Well, then, whose problem is that? MAN: It's the gay people. WYNN: A homosexual man is still a man. He still has the same build, body tone and muscle. All of you keep saying "beat him up." He might beat you up. He's still a man too. He can fight. You know, all of them aren't feminine. MAN: But I cannot imagine them, you know, getting off work, getting in their car and going out to a gay bar. I can't -- I just can't imagine that. It would just blow my whole mind. SCHLESINGER: But everybody knows it happens. This is Lady V's, a gay bar in Temple, Texas, just a few miles from Fort Hood. A number of the customers are active-duty soldiers, including these two men, who do not want their identities revealed. What job do you have? MAN: I'm a communications specialist.

SCHLESINGER: You're communications. And what do you do? MAN: Artillery, howitzers. SCHLESINGER: You fire howitzers? MAN: Uh-huh. SCHLESINGER: What brings you here? MAN: The people, because they're the same I am. So, to be free. Yeah, to be free. SCHLESINGER: Saturday night is the night they can be themselves. MAN: Don't to have to worry about, you know, should I dance this way or dance that way, or go approach this person or that person. Just freedom. SCHLESINGER: At Squad 7's campsite, it's time for a few hours of sleep. How comfortable would you be if somebody told you that he was gay in the midst of one of these tents? MAN: Not very. If something like that were to come out now in a situation like this, it'd be detrimental to the mission. I can say that. I'd be very detrimental to the mission, 'cause I'd be afraid to go to sleep in here, 'cause this is tight-knit quarters. SCHLESINGER: Can't go very far in there, can you? MAN: No. You can't move. SCHLESINGER: You going to have a good night's sleep in there? MAN: Probably not. SCHLESINGER: Later in our 48 Hours, Squad 7 comes out shooting. WYNN: It's just another battle that has to be fought. SCHLESINGER: And gay soldiers shoot holes in the ban. You say you're open. On post? MAN: Yes, I am. SCHLESINGER: In the unit. MAN: Yes, I am. SCHLESINGER: Everybody knows you're gay. MAN: Yes, they do. * * * TANYA DOMI: Oh, it's my dress green uniform. I wore this uniform the entire time I was an officer. I was a captain. I was a drill instructor. I was a military police officer. I was the first officer in my family. This is my airborne wings. Yeah, I'm really proud. ERIN MORIARTY: Tanya Domi was in the Army for 15 years. DOMI: I really loved being a soldier. That's me in basic training. I loved being a company commander. That's me running with my company. Those things are very special. And that's me as a cadet. It was a special breed of people that do those things. NORM PARNS: This is the Defense Achievement Medal. This is the Outstanding Airman of the Year Ribbon. This is the Air Force Legion of Merit. This is for humanitarian service. That's my life there, after I graduated from high school up until 1990. That's my whole life. MORIARTY: Norm Parns (?) was in the Air Force for 31 years. PARNS: It's a special thing being in the military and it's a special way of life. This is from my parade when I retired. MORIARTY: A chief master sergeant. PARNS: It was really something big to get that. MORIARTY: He retired in 1990. PARNS: That's me during World War II. [Laughter] I had my own uniform and could sing "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition." DOMI: Here I am with a buddy. We were having a good time. MORIARTY: Two good soldiers. PARNS: This is a Good Conduct Medal. MORIARTY: Once united by duty. DOMI: This is for what I did in the Philippines. MORIARTY: Now divided by what they believe is right. PARNS: We don't want gays in the military. DOMI: You cannot discriminate. MORIARTY: Tanya's uniform is now in the closet. DOMI: I'm ashamed of what it is now. MORIARTY: And she's come out. DOMI: I'm as much a lesbian as I am right-handed. MORIARTY: And she speaks out. DOMI: Why can't I be treated with dignity and respect? MORIARTY:

As a project director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. DOMI: The hospitals in the military are loaded with gay men and lesbians. MORIARTY: On this day, Tanya's speaking to students at Indiana University. DOMI: They're nurses and doctors. they're lab techs. They're all over the place. PARNS: Sir, I'm Norm Parns from the Air Force Sergeants Association. MORIARTY: And Norm's got his own job. PARNS: I just want to drop a package off. MORIARTY: He's lobbying to keep the ban against gays. PARNS: Thanks a million for having us. We appreciate it. Homosexuals, that's not mainstream America. That's not the reason people join the military service. Thanks again for your support. They've come in to be molded into a small cohesive unit without that disturbance. MORIARTY: What do you say to someone like Tanya Domi? Here you have a perfectly good solider. Everyone agrees she was a good soldier for 15 years. The only thing is, she also happens to be a lesbian. What do you say to her? Why shouldn't she be able to serve? PARNS: What I said, "You should have never said anything. You should have got your 20 years and retired." MORIARTY: The fact is, Tanya didn't say anything. At any time, did you tell anyone that you were gay? DOMI: In company command? Absolutely not. MORIARTY: Still, she was investigated three times. DOMI: Six months after I was in the Army, I went to a gay bar and I was turned it. I was read my rights, you know, the right to remain silent. Anything you can -- anything that you say can be used against you in a court of law. MORIARTY: For going to a gay bar? DOMI: That's right. MORIARTY: We you ever caught in some kind of sexual conduct or anything? DOMI: No. No. But I was asked. I was asked, "Where did you spend the night? Who did you share the room with? Did you sleep in the same bed?" MORIARTY: When you were leading this company, for instance, did you ever make advances to someone who didn't want? DOMI: Oh, absolutely not. God, never. As a company commander, you have to have conduct. You have to perform and have conduct that's beyond reproach. Commanders are a very lonely situation. You're alone at the top. MORIARTY: If you're in the military and you're gay, can you talk to anybody? DOMI: No. Uh-uh. No, you don't talk about it. You don't talk about what you did on the weekend. You don't talk about who you go home to. You don't talk about anything. MORIARTY: Tanya paid a price for her silence. DOMI: It made me sick. I developed ulcerative colitis. MORIARTY: She asked for an received a medical discharge in 1990. DOMI: The ban, the policy absolutely made me sick from worrying and living with it. LOUISE: I knew that she'd have to stay in the closet, so to speak, and that she would have to live a double life. MORIARTY: Tanya's mother, Louise. LOUISE: I thought it would make her a very unhappy person. MORIARTY: Knowing your daughter, does that seem fair? Knowing the record she had, that she was a good soldier, does that seem fair to you? LOUISE: Well, of course it's not fair. I mean it's -- it's very unfair. But it's very difficult to change people in their thinking. I mean, you know, he's a human being. You know, she's just like everyone else. She

goes to her job every day. She is interested in her country, her family. PARNS: This is my son and he's in the United States Air Force, stationed in Hawaii. So there are a few of us who have worn the uniform in the Parns family. MORIARTY: I've got to ask you this question. If your son came home and said he was gay, would you want him to be unable to serve? PARNS: That's a very hard question. If my son came home and said he was gay, I would still love him. I would still support him in every thing. You know, that's a hypothetical question, and I guess I couldn't give it justice for an answer. DOMI: I really believe in the end they're going to say, "Wait a minute. These people aren't three-headed beasts." You know? "They look like the kid next door. That's the neighbor. That's the neighbor's boy." MORIARTY: Chances are you worked right alongside people who were gay. PARNS: Absolutely. MORIARTY: And you may not have known it. PARNS: Didn't know it. I guess it's the old adage. What you don't know doesn't hurt you. It doesn't make you look over your shoulder. MORIARTY: And that's the attitude Tanya wants to change. Later, she and Norm take on Capitol Hill. PARNS: Senator Dole, good to see you. SENATOR ROBERT DOLE: Nice to see you. * * * MAN: There's nothing I would like more than to be, you know, lit up and tell you who I am and show you who I am. But I'm not allowed to do that. SCHLESINGER: A voice in the dark, a face we cannot show you. MAN: It's comfortable for me because I know I'll be able to serve my country. And that's what I care about most. SCHLESINGER: What we can tell you is that he's an officer, a graduate of Annapolis, and one of thousands of sailors who live and work in San Diego, one of the Navy's largest ports and one of the places where the battle over keeping gays out of the military has moved front and center. Most of the people you are about to meet are in the middle of that fight. They are homosexual and they are in the Navy. To speak openly would almost certainly end their careers. So they will speak from the shadows. MAN: Before I came out and before I really knew who I was, before I became involved in the circle, the group of homosexuals in the military, I had no idea what the numbers were. A lot of times I'll catch myself going, "I don't believe it's this big." SCHLESINGER: Are there other gay officers? I mean do you -- you laugh. Maybe it sounds like a naive question. But is it that naive? I mean are there that many? MAN: Yes, there are that many. Officers? Yes. High-ranking officers? Yes. Your top performers in the military are gay. SCHLESINGER: Fighting words. MAN: This was given Desert Storm to [unintelligible]. SCHLESINGER: But there are gay sailors with the medals to back them up. MAN: This is an evaluation. And as you can see, all my marks are 4.0, which is the highest that you can get. SCHLESINGER: Top performers, like these two sailors. This is a good record. Are you proud of this? MAN: I'm very proud of my record. SCHLESINGER: Both are enlisted men and both have served with distinction. MAN: When you're closeted, you have to dedicate yourself to something, usually to keep your mind off of who you are. MAN: This is Armed Forces Expeditionary. MAN: So what you end up doing is dedicating yourself to

the job. MAN: And this is Humanitarian Service. I was -- it's for helping out. I can't really say where it was because it would pin me down as to who I am. But it's for helping people in their need at the hardest times. SCHLESINGER: But while theirs is a secret life, it is also a secret shared. MAN: It's like any, quote-unquote, regular straight couple.
We decided that we wanted a commitment, you know, a monogamous relationship. SCHLESINGER: The difference is that with most people their lifestyle can't get them fired. MAN: True. SCHLESINGER: With you guys, it can. So how do you keep the two separate? MAN: You learn to lie. And that's a very tough thing to do and you feel very guilty about it. I've come out to a couple of my straight friends, just 'cause they're such great friends that I thought it was important. But they know you as a person before they know you as a gay person. SCHLESINGER: And these are your shipmates. MAN: Shipmates. SCHLESINGER: Guys you sail with, guys you... MAN: I've been deployed with. SCHLESINGER: See, a lot of people would have a lot of trouble with that. MAN: I think straight men look at us as a threat, as thinking that we're sex-oriented, you know. First of all, it's just like a regular relationship. There has to be an attraction. And I'm not attracted to straight men. We're not just going to go up and grab their tail end or whatever. That's not going to happen. MAN: I don't think that if the ban is lifted you're going to see sailors wearing dresses to work. A majority of gays in the military are closeted and will always be closeted. Because, for myself, if I were to come out, I would be useless to the Navy, because of the prejudices and ignorance that's out there. SCHLESINGER: With most homosexuals in the military unable to talk... MAN: I was in the Navy for 27 years as both an aviator and a physician. MAN: I have 47 jumps with the 82nd Airborne. SCHLESINGER: ...other gays and lesbians in San Diego, veterans and civilians... WOMAN: I spent four years in the Navy in the mid-'70s. At the time, I thought I was heterosexual. SCHLESINGER: ...are speaking out for them. WOMAN: If the ban stays and it's okay to discriminate against us for that reason, what's next? WOMAN: Where else in society can you be found guilty of a thought crime. For being gay, not acting on anything, but just for being gay, you can be discharged. You can be out of a career. You can lose your friends, lose your rank. SCHLESINGER: There are some who charge you can even lose your life. WOMAN: I had two men knocking at my door, telling me that my son had been assaulted. SCHLESINGER: San Diego-based sailor Allen Schindler was murdered in Japan last October. WOMAN: His head was so caved-in that his eyes was even with his ears. SCHLESINGER: The alleged victim of gay-bashing. WOMAN: A sailor that looked nothing like the boy who left my house two months before that. SCHLESINGER: A 21-year-old shipmate is charged with the murder, while the Pentagon faces charges that it hasn't gone far enough by simply saying it does not condone Schindler's death. JIM WOODWARD: Nobody ever told them it was wrong to kill a person they thought was gay. SCHLESINGER: Jim Woodward heads

a San Diego gay veterans group. WOODWARD: If there was a black man who had been hung up on a burning cross and hanged, as Allen Schindler had been stomped to death, I know damn well that Coli Powell would have done more than not condone that. MAN: What I've heard is very scary. What I've heard is ignorance, genuine hatred toward homosexuals by some people. SCHLESINGER: Can you remember specific threats that you've heard? I mean I'm interested in how people put this. MAN: Basically they say -- and I'll be very frank. If any [censored] faggot looks at me, I'll throw him overboard. MAN: There are comments made. You know, people just walk by and under their breath say "Fag" or something like that. You can't stop your life because of it. You've got to keep going. SCHLESINGER: But not without a fight. MAN [on telephone]: I need to get to you and get some more flyers. We have all these lists, how to reach your representatives. General Powell's, the White House, Les Aspin. MAN: I've called every single one, and I've got the phone bill to prove it. SCHLESINGER: What kind of response did you get? MAN: Senator Feinstein, Dianne Feinstein, has asked us if we would come to Washington and sit in front of a congressional board. SCHLESINGER: What do you say about that? MAN: I'd like to. In theory, it'd be great. But it's not a sure thing. And I'm not willing right now to put my career, and possibly my life, on the line. My parents are scared enough just about this interview, worried that people will find out. And they don't want to see their son dead on the street somewhere because he's gay. SCHLESINGER: So, for now, they stay in the shadows. MAN: We're going to be there. We always will. It's just whether or not you're going to continue to hunt us and force us to fear. * * * SCHLESINGER: Remember Squad 7 at Fort Hood, Texas? It's facing the biggest test yet. In this training exercise, sergeants in the making must rescue a POW in enemy territory. MAN: We will conduct a raid of a suspected POW camp at Grid Papa Kilo. SCHLESINGER: Team cohesion is crucial to accomplishing the mission. In the field, the team is cohesive. But it is not when it comes to this issue. MAN: There are gays in the military. They're not out of the closet. If they open it, a lot of people aren't going to like it. WYNN: You can meet somebody and not even know they're homosexual. What if you become very good friends and then down the road, just because he thinks he should let you know, that he says, okay, you know, "I think I should let you know that I'm homosexual"? Nobody else knows. All of a sudden, is he not your friend anymore? MAN: Well, no. And you've got a good point. You've got a good point. But the thing of it is, is that I don't have to shower in front of him. Okay? If I was out in the civilian world and I met a homosexual and we became friends and I didn't know that he was homosexual and he let me know, I can still go home to my own personal private shower, and I don't have to sleep next to him in that little pup tent over there out in the field. You see what I'm saying? It's a difference. SCHLESINGER: But at this bar outside Fort Hood, one gay soldier, who wants to remain anonymous, says the soldiers he works with accept his

sexual orientation. You say you're open. On the post? MAN: Yes, I am. SCHLESINGER: In the unit. MAN: Yes, I am. SCHLESINGER: Everybody knows you're gay. MAN: Yes, they do. SCHLESINGER: How do they behave? MAN: I spent eight months in Saudi Arabia and nothing happened. SCHLESINGER: You were in Saudi Arabia. MAN: Yes, I was. SCHLESINGER: You have told people that you're gay. MAN: Yes. SCHLESINGER: Have you told sergeants? MAN: A couple SCHLESINGER: Anybody higher than a sergeant? Have you told a lieutenant? MAN: Yes, I have. SCHLESINGER: Stop me when I get too high. Have you told a captain? MAN: Yes, I have. SCHLESINGER: Have you told a major? MAN: Yes, I have. SCHLESINGER: We're getting into lieutenant colonel territory. MAN: No, not that far. Two majors. That's about it. SCHLESINGER: Several of the gay men we talked to at Fort Hood reported they have told fellow soldiers and officers about their homosexuality. And we found what some might consider a surprising number of men who could accept gay soldiers. MAN: They're all soldiers. So as long as they keep, you know, his sexual preference and everything out of the workplace, I mean life as a soldier could be great. SCHLESINGER: These soldiers are in the armored division. It doesn't get much more macho than this. But these men are older and are not as frightened as the younger soldiers of Squad 7. Could he tell you that he's gay? MAN: Roger. SCHLESINGER: Just say, "I'm gay." MAN: Roger. MAN: That's his prerogative. He could be gay. But he has to realize that while he's on the job he has to maintain a professional attitude, like the rest of us. SCHLESINGER: Tanks provide even less privacy than Squad 7 has in tents and barracks. What is life like inside one of these things? MAN: Loud. MAN: It's crowded. MAN: Definitely crowded. SCHLESINGER: And despite their extremely close quarters, these soldiers say if the ban is lifted, they can adjust. If all the gay soldiers do is say, "I'm gay. Just wanted you to know that," and went about their business, is that a problem for you? MAN: Negative. MAN: No. MAN: Negative. MAN: We are professionals. And regardless of what their sexual preferences are or what their gender is, we are soldiers. If they say they are gay, they're just a gay soldier. SCHLESINGER: Back in the field with the younger members of Squad 7, the idea of a gay soldier is unacceptable to most. [Clip of men singing "Amazing Grace"] SCHLESINGER: And religious beliefs keep some members of the squad from accepting gays at all. MAN: A homosexual, they're immoral. Okay. We should not condone it or should not put the stamp of approval and say, "Okie- dokie. You're okay," because we suddenly have a change of heart. SCHLESINGER: The training exercise is almost over. Squad 7 has captured the POW, but not without leaving six people dead. MAN: If you aren't dead, come over here and look around. Thirteen-man squad. How many people got killed? MAN: Six. MAN: You know how many people you went up against? Three individuals. That was the quietest firefight I've ever heard in my entire life. There was no communication whatsoever. SCHLESINGER: For one member of Squad 7, the failed mission is a lesson in the value of team cohesion, regardless of who is on the

team. WYNN: Well, a soldier is a soldier when it comes down to really real combat. They cover each other's back real good. They will die for each other. They will just do whatever they have to do to get out alive. SCHLESINGER: Would you be able to develop a kind of a bond that you need in maneuvers like this or in battle with a man if he told you that he was a gay man? WYNN: Well, I believe that it can be done. MAN: I mean if you like men, you don't belong there. That's just it. You just pack your bags and leave. WYNN: They have a right to defend their country as well as anybody else. MAN: You start allowing homosexuals in there, it's going to break down your cohesiveness, it's going to break down your teamwork. It's just going to cause a problem. WYNN: We're all one family when we wear this uniform. That's the Army family. MAN: It's something that we can't understand, that we cannot relate to. And that's why it scares us. * * * [Clip of Tanya Domi lobbying on Capitol Hill] MORIARTY: Tanya Domi needs all the allies she can get in what is turning out to be the biggest battle of her life: opening up the military to gays and lesbians. DOMI: For 15 years of my life I served my country. Not only was I a soldier, and a good one, but I'm an American and I happen to be a lesbian too. MORIARTY: This is what she's up against, Norm Parns and the Air Force Sergeants Association. PARNS: 95-98 percent of our membership, which runs around 167,000 people, is adamantly opposed to lifting the ban. MORIARTY: The lines are drawn. DOMI: It's government-sanctioned discrimination. MORIARTY: President Clinton has said he'll sign an order lifting the ban on July 15th. PARNS: We understand that. But we see this as a readiness issue. MORIARTY: But Norm is hoping to convince Congress to act first and make the ban law. What are you afraid will happen if the ban is lifted? PARNS: Recruiting will go down. People join the service, there's a tradition there in families. The family issue is going to be such as they're not going to want their young sons and daughters to serve. DOMI: People are saying now that this is the best military we've ever had. And the reality is, is that gay men and lesbians are a part of that force. PARNS: We see a great increase on having to test everybody on a regular basis, and not just randomly, for HIV. DOMI: And actually AIDS is transmitted by unsafe sexual practices and has little to do with orientation. PARNS: I do not believe that mainstream America is ready to handle the homosexual issue yet. I think they're fighting with it. And I don't see it as being right to say, "We can't handle it. You handle it." MORIARTY: And in fact, isn't it pretty crucial that you change people's attitudes in just these next few months? DOMI: Absolutely. MORIARTY: It's not easy. DOMI: They call this pounding marble. MORIARTY: Tanya's one-woman crusade often ends here at the reception desk. While Norm and his colleagues walk the corridors of power. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole. SENATOR DOLE: As I see it, it's not gay-bashing. I don't like to discriminate against anybody. I'm disabled, myself. I don't want to be discriminated against. DOMI: I resent that. I resent what people say about drawing analogies

between people that are diabetic or alcoholic or disabled. We are talking about able-bodied people who serve. They are there. MORIARTY: But if there is strength in numbers, Norm has it. PARNS: We don't want the U.S. military forces to be out there without someone speaking for them. MORIARTY: According to recent polls, three-quarters of the active military oppose lifting the ban. MAN: Our President has picked up with a loser on this one. MORIARTY: And today the Air Force Sergeants Association is holding a forum. MAN: Next this morning, we have Senior Master Sergeant, USAF- Retired, Frank Bierce. The invited speakers? Retired and active military personnel. MAN: Homosexuals would request equal housing, medical and other benefits for their, quote-unquote, partners. WOMAN: And to be living with another female that is openly lesbian, I'd never have a place to unwind. GENERAL LARRY TIBBETTS: We've got the most efficient, effective, highest-quality armed force this country has ever seen. MORIARTY: Retired General Larry Tibbetts. GENERAL TIBBETTS: Let's don't fix it if it's not broke. DOMI: Well, it is broke. It cost the American taxpayers nearly half a billion dollars between 1980 and 1990 to recruit, train and discharge gay and lesbian service members, a half a billion dollars. MORIARTY: What would you say to someone who says, "I'm gay and all I want is the right to serve?" PARNS: I'd say let's fix General Motors or AT&T first. DOMI: Right now the environment has been so loaded with disinformation by the right wing. MORIARTY: This is your magazine? PARNS: Yes it is, "Sergeants." MORIARTY: And there is a picture in here of two soldiers holding hands. Where did that picture come from? PARNS: [Laughter] MORIARTY: This is a staged picture, right? PARNS: Yes, it is. MORIARTY: Do you really thing this is going to happen if the ban were lifted? PARNS: Probably, in some way, shape or form, we will see some of that. DOMI: That's a lie. That couldn't happen. MORIARTY: Why couldn't this happen? DOMI: It's called public display of affection in uniform. People cannot hold hands in uniform. PARNS: It is the sort of thing that would make people feel uncomfortable. MORIARTY: Is it fair, though, to keep homosexuals from serving simply because the straight soldiers are uncomfortable with homosexuality? PARNS: If you want a yes or no, I'd say yes. DOMI: Thank you. Write your congressmen, write your senators. Have your voices heard and come to Washington... MORIARTY: Now Tanya's taking her show on the road with a group called Campaign for Military Service. DOMI: We're going to 32 cities throughout 24 states. MORIARTY: She's leading fellow gay veterans on a five-week bus trip they're calling "A Tour of Duty." DOMI: He played football at the University of Alabama, Alan Stevens. [Applause] DOMI: It's a tour of duty to go out and put a face on the issue, to take it to Americans across this country. MAN: Most of the straight men in the military feel like it's their manly duty to defend the service against gays. MAN: Why are you going to make straight men have to shower with gay men? I mean to us... DOMI: They already do, sir. And the issue's conduct. Let's address conduct. I think this is going to be a good

experience. You know, there will be people that disagree, but, you know, this is America. People get to disagree. HOST: Good morning. You're on Viewpoint. Do you have a question for Tanya? MAN: Yes. Why do you try to impose your will on a democracy that doesn't want you? MAN: ...call a woman a woman and a man a man and... DOMI: What we're saying is, "Treat us fairly." That doesn't mean that you have to accept people. That means that you have to treat people with dignity and respect. MORIARTY: If lifting the ban is an issue that divides communities, it also divides families. PARNS: It's almost time of Jeopardy. MORIARTY: Even Norm's. MRS. PARNS: It is a subject that everybody has an opinion on. MORIARTY: His wife, Jo. MRS. PARNS: Do I agree with the ban on homosexuality within the military? No. MORIARTY: Why do you think the ban should be lifted? MRS. PARNS: Basically, I don't believe, as some people do, that it is a chosen way of life. PARNS: I know everybody has their own opinion, and I respect that. MRS. PARNS: We are both very strong, opinionated people. It is one thing that I don't think we'll ever agree on. MORIARTY: Fighting to keep the ban in place is more than just a job for you, isn't it? PARNS: Yes, it is. Right now it is the biggest thing. DOMI: You know, we wear the uniform. We serve. We have given our lives. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is a person who served in the military, and maybe that person was a gay man. * * * BOB SIMON: This is Gaza and this is an Israeli platoon on what appears to be a quiet day. But it was on seemingly quiet days just like this that eleven Israeli soldiers were shot and killed here over the last six months. This is a crossroads in Derobalo (?), one of the toughest streets in one of the toughest neighborhoods in the Gaza Strip. Questions of sexual orientation are very far from anyone's mind. The Israelis have always permitted homosexuals to serve in the army. And that doesn't bother Gaza Brigade Commander Colonel Yowash (?). COLONEL YOWASH: For me, I have no problem with this. Everyone has a right to live his life. SIMON: If you discovered that somebody in your unit is homosexual, does he receive any different treatment? COLONEL YOWASH: Just not to do it in public. SIMON: There may be no official sanctions against gays. But as in other armies that have lifted the ban, acceptance is another matter. ETAN FOX: They grow up on this myth of Israeli soldier being strong, handsome, physically fit, very sure of his way, of his country's way. One of the characteristics of this myth, of course, is he is straight. It's a big burden on, you know, young Israelis living with this image of what they have to be when they become soldiers. SIMON: Etan Fox, an Israeli army veteran, is now a film director. He's showing his controversial movie about army life to high school students all over the country. It tells the story of a young recruit who discovers on a day's leave that the commanding officer of his combat unit is a homosexual. FOX: I don't think soldiers feel comfortable to actually declare, "We are homosexuals. We are lesbians." But the fact is that of course the army is full of homosexuals and lesbians, because it's the army of the people. MAN: We are still not accepted

as equal portion of the population. There are still limitations, even in the Israeli army. UZI EVAN: The Israeli command had put a great deal of faith in Uzi Evan. He was a high-ranking officer in Israeli intelligence. But when it became known that he was homosexual, he was fired. EVAN: They immediately removed me from the very sensitive position that I had at that time. SIMON: Sexual orientation is still a handicap. EVAN: Above a certain rank, above a certain job, yes. SIMON: While laws banning homosexuality in Israel were repealed five years ago, Israel's gay community is still largely in the shadows. Even gay activists are reluctant to come out of the closet. In fact, many members of this gay rights group did not want their faces shown on camera. LEORA MORIEL: In the United States you have a volunteer army. In Israel you have an army as a socializing factor... SIMON: Leora Moriel (?), one of the few gay rights activists who would speak openly to us. What would happen if today -- take the elite of the elite -- an Israeli pilot were to let it be known that he's gay? MORIEL: I think that this would move the gay liberation movement in Israel ten years forward, another form of proof that it does not make a difference, rather than that he be dismissed. SIMON: It's clear what your hopes are. What do you think would happen? MORIEL: I don't think he would come out, because he would not want to take the chance that he would be dismissed. SIMON: U.S. congressional leaders say they will consider the experience of foreign armies in deciding on the American ban. But each army is as different as the society it is pledged to defend. What does appear to be universal is the wide gap between official tolerance and acceptance. PHIL JONES: It may not look like it, but you're at the front lines of the battle over gays in the military. Inside this Capitol Hill office building, members of the Senate Armed Services Committee are grappling over many of the same questions you've heard elsewhere in this broadcasts. SENATOR SAM NUNN: The committee will come to order. JONES: Committee hearings got under way just last week. SENATOR NUNN: We must, in my view, move very cautiously. JONES: The political general here is Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn. SENATOR NUNN: There is no inherent right of anyone to serve in the military. That's not an inherent right. JONES: Of the congressional big guns opposing an end to the ban, few have been more outspoken than Senator Nunn. SENATOR NUNN: I flunked an eye test when I wanted to get into the United States Navy when I was 18. There were a lot of things I could have done in the Navy. The military discriminates all the time. JONES: I read in one story you were described as a spoiled child who was quarreling with a President, critical of you, because here you are in your powerful position taking on a Democratic President. SENATOR NUNN: I don't think the people of Georgia sent me up here to salute and say, "Okay. The President's Commander-in-Chief and I'm going to obey every single thing that he hands out of the White House." That wasn't why I was elected. JONES: So many of the military people have been so outspoken and so visible on this issue. That has led

some to wonder if this is not insubordination. SENATOR NUNN: I would consider it insubordination if a President asked General Powell a question and he did not give his view. Now, they also have a duty, once a decision is taken, to salute and obey that decision, or to resign. JONES: Look, we all know that the person sitting right here in the center of a committee hearing, the Chairman, knows what's going on, has a whole lot of power. SENATOR NUNN: Theoretically. JONES: Theoretically. And we all know that you're there.

Look ahead. SENATOR NUNN: We have to decide, are we going to have different rules for people who are homosexual? And there's a bottom-line consideration here of the nation's security and whether we're going to be able to maintain our strong military force. RATHER: Both President Clinton and congressional leaders have hinted at compromise. One suggestion, continue the temporary policy of restricting recruiters from asking about sexual orientation. But given the heat generated by this debate, that, at best, is just a cease-fire. I'm Dan Rather and that's 48 Hours for this week.

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80

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LARRY KING: Ladies and gentlemen, our guest tonight, for the full hour, with your phone calls--flew in from Phoenix today to be with us--the honorable Barry Goldwater.

You're looking terrific. How are you feeling?

BARRY GOLDWATER: I've never felt better in my life. I feel younger every day. In fact, the older I get, the younger I feel.

MR. KING: You've had how many hip operations?

MR. GOLDWATER: Four. Two knees and a shoulder.

MR. KING: You have false hips?

MR. GOLDWATER: Yeah.

MR. KING: Now, Bo Jackson's playing baseball this year. Does that surprise you?

MR. GOLDWATER: No. I mean, he can't play football.

MR. KING: No. But baseball he can turn--

MR. GOLDWATER: As long as you can run--and you can run with two hips replaced--you can get away with it, in my opinion.

MR. KING: Alright, first things first. Apparently, based on information we've received tonight, the president has tentatively decided on Judge Stephen Breyer to be the next

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supreme court nominee. He's in the hospital from a biking accident in Boston. It was down to him and Babbitt. Babbitt's from your state, and I know you know him. What do you think?

MR. GOLDWATER: Well, Babbitt's one of the nicest men I've ever known. He comes from a wonderful old Arizona family. He was a good governor. But, to be honest with you, I would rather have him as Secretary of the Interior.

Now, I'm selfish. Arizona can only tax 17 percent of our land. Now, that was fine when we were a small state, but now that we're getting to be a big state, that's not going to work. So, I'd rather have a man as Secretary of the Interior who knows land and who knows the works and has been there. I think he'd do much better at that than he would as being a justice of the supreme court. And to top it all off, we already have two Arizonans who are on the supreme court. And putting a third one on might prejudice it a bit.

MR. KING: Outweigh it a little. You've got Rehnquist and O'Connor, right.

MR. GOLDWATER: Rehnquist and O'Connor, yes.

MR. KING: The coming out--Barry Goldwater came out today, in a sense, for gays in the military.

MR. GOLDWATER: Yes.

MR. KING: Had you thought about this for a long time?

MR. GOLDWATER: Well, I hadn't really thought about it. In the 37 years I spent in uniform and out of uniform as a reserve officer I never ran into a gay. Never once in all of those years was it even discussed.

And I feel it's a constitutional matter to begin with. Every man has freedom of speech--as long as what he says doesn't hurt somebody--and freedom of association. He can join with who ever he wants to.

So, I saw no harm at all in having gays in the military. Now, a lot of my military friends are going to disagree with me. On the other hand, I've made this statement several months ago that I favored gays in the military. And I've had a couple of nasty letters, but that's all.

MR. KING: But it didn't get any attention.

MR. GOLDWATER: No.

MR. KING: Were you going to testify before the Nunn committee?

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MR. GOLDWATER: No, I was coming back here to introduce a young sergeant who was dismissed from the air force--from Davis Mountain Air Force Base--because he admitted to being a gay. And he's taking it to court, and I think he's right. And I agreed to come back and introduce him to the committee.

But when I got here, I found out that General Schwarzkopf was scheduled to take my place, and so that's what happened and I didn't get to introduce him.

MR. KING: We spoke to the folks at the Nunn committee today and they said they would have been happy to hear from you. And Senator Nunn has great respect for you.

MR. GOLDWATER: Well, I have great respect for him.

MR. KING: Now, was it also true that in May you had said that you supported the Nunn compromise?

MR. GOLDWATER: I did, but I changed my mind.

MR. KING: Why?

MR. GOLDWATER: Well, I got to thinking about it. And the Nunn compromise still would require some admission. I don't think any man or woman should have to tell his whole history in order to enlist in the military. The pertinent questions relating to matters that concern the keeping of secrets, education and so forth, that's all right. But I don't think what religion a man is, or what political party he is in, I don't think that makes a damned bit of difference.

MR. KING: Are you surprised at all the fuss?

MR. GOLDWATER: Well, to tell you the truth, there's not much fuss. I don't hear it at all. I live in a state with probably 300,000 retired people in my valley, several big air bases, one of the biggest army bases in the country. It's never discussed. It's never come up. It's never been a matter of issue.

I think if you left it up to the American people, their attitude would be, well, what the hell, there's nothing wrong with gay. As long as he doesn't misbehave himself.

MR. KING: So, it's behavior that counts? You agree with the president, then, it's behavior, not what your philosophy is.

MR. GOLDWATER: Well, I wouldn't even go that far. Anybody that misbehaves in uniform should get the hell out. I don't care how you misbehave.

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MR. KING: Period. Heterosexually and homosexually misbehave.

MR. GOLDWATER: That's right. It doesn't make any difference.

MR. KING: Okay, do you think it would affect men in the foxhole, or in the fighting area, or in battle zones?

MR. GOLDWATER: Well, of course, I speak from years of experience in the air force. The air force would never have any trouble with it.

When you get into the army there might be some question relative to two people having to share a night in the foxhole. But I don't believe that. I've never had any real association with a gay. I don't even know how their modus operandi really is.

KING: All right, now, you're Mr. Conservative.

GOLDWATER: That's right.

KING: And most conservatives would take a differing view of this.

GOLDWATER: I don't think so.

KING: You don't?

GOLDWATER: No.

KING: So you don't think then that you've changed? You think that most conservatives would say, live and let live?

GOLDWATER: Yes, I have changed. When I was in the military in uniform, I shared the conviction that there should not be gays in the military. But since retiring and thinking about it and realizing that the Constitution pretty well covers this, and a conservative loves that Constitution and he'll defend it, I just figured I was barking up the wrong tree. So I finally sat down and started to write a little piece, and it finally came out with what the Washington Post published this morning, and that's where I stand.

KING: You also in that article refer to blacks in the military. In fact, you I think integrated your reserve unit, did you not, in Arizona?

GOLDWATER: I integrated the National Guard, and I in fact integrated everything in Arizona that I had a hand in. But that's beside the point.

The point I have made, my first service as a second lieutenant reservist was in a black regiment. There were no

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black officers, and the word was there never would be a black officer. And I look around today, I serve on a board of directors with a retired four-star general, we were just talking about Chappy James, who was a four-star general. And blacks have done a wonderful job being officers.

And I remember the same thing was said about women-- oh, there'll never be women in a uniform. I flew with women in World War II and they were damn good.

KING: You know Colin Powell, too, don't you?

GOLDWATER: Oh, yes.

KING: Our guest is Senator Barry Goldwater. There's lots to talk about. We'll get his thoughts on things current. We'll be taking your phone calls.

A legend, still kicking pretty good. Don't go away.

COLIN POWELL (on tape): The controversy is caused by two conflicting interests. On the one hand, the interest of gay and lesbian Americans who want to be allowed the privilege of serving.

(Applause.)

On the other hand, there are concerns with respect to cohesion within the military and the rights of privacy for all who serve.

(Applause.)

The president has given us clear direction to reconcile these interests, and I believe we are near a solution that will do so.

(Announcements.)

GOLDWATER: The press in this country is lousy.

KING: What do you mean?

GOLDWATER: It's no damn good. The press spent the whole time in the campaign tearing George Bush apart. They were extolling Clinton. Now they're tearing Clinton apart. Why? What are they after? Do they want to destroy the office of president? Do they want to destroy a man just because he got elected to office?

I think the media in this country has not been fair, they haven't even been decent, and I hope they change.

KING: But if he makes some mistakes, the media's got to report it.

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GOLDWATER: If they make mistakes, that's the job of the press to record it, not to emphasize--I've been reading the national magazines the last month or two, and all they talk about is what a lousy president Clinton has been.

Well, give the man chance. You never tear your president down. He's my president. He's a Democrat and I'm a Republican. I want to give this kid a good chance. After all, it's my country, it's not his.

KING: Speaking of that, what do you think about that general who made those disparaging remarks about the president?

GOLDWATER: Well, I think it's all right.

KING: That's okay in public to (inaudible)?

GOLDWATER: Well, how public was it? If it was a private party, what we call a dining in, which we have all the time in the military, usually a man can say what he wants, and that's the end of it. He felt that way about his president. If I had been that man, I would not have said it, even though I feel those things.

I think it's too bad that he did it. Should he be court-martialed? I think that's up to the military rules of order and he'll have to live with that.

KING: Because normally you don't publicly criticize your commander-in-chief?

GOLDWATER: No, I wouldn't criticize him.

KING: And you wouldn't.

GOLDWATER: No, I wouldn't.

KING: How about protesting about the veterans memorial, the Vietnam memorial, those veterans who protested against him?

GOLDWATER: Well, I listened to that. I felt very sorry for Clinton, but after all, Clinton didn't go to Vietnam. And Vietnam was one of the most divisive experiences this country has ever lived through. We were fighting a war that no president had told us to win. No president showed the leadership to let the military men step in and win that war. We could have won that war in a matter of a couple of weeks, so I can't find too much fault.

KING: You understand their feelings, then?

GOLDWATER: I do.

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KING: Our guest is Barry Goldwater. As we go along, we'll try to draw him out and get some opinions on some things, and we'll be including your phone calls as well. We'll be right back.

(Announcements.)

RONALD REAGAN (on tape): Every American should hear what Barry Goldwater really has to say, not what a bunch of distorters of the truth would have you believe.

KING: That was a campaign ad for Barry Goldwater in 1964 from Ronald Reagan. Have you remained friends over all these years?

GOLDWATER: Oh, yes. I had a letter from him just a couple of days ago inviting me to some reformation of the Republican Party. I'm not going to answer it.

KING: Why?

GOLDWATER: Well, I don't have any ideas.

KING: You don't have any ideas about your party?

GOLDWATER: Oh, a few, but they'll keep.

KING: Barry will be 85 years old in January. All right, let's get to some other issues.

The budget vote in the Senate and the president's--we got a BTU tax, we don't have a BTU tax. We seem to be drifting, the conservative Democrats seem to have gotten hold of things. What's your overview of all this?

GOLDWATER: Well, I don't have much of an overview, but I listened a bit when I got in this afternoon to the debate in the Senate on the bill to change campaigning. And the Democrats are charging the Republicans with filibustering, where I believe it's the Democrats that are prolonging this thing.

And there's a lot about that bill that I don't think is good for America generally. I think generally we can get a better bill out of it by taking Republican and Democrat amendments to it to get away from the rather obvious view now that it is totally a Democratic effort.

KING: That's campaign reform.

GOLDWATER: That's right.

KING: How about the budget? Are we ever going to get this deficit straightened out?

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GOLDWATER: Well, if we don't get this deficit straightened out or within five years show a definite trend towards getting it straightened out, I'm going to make a helluva prediction: this country won't last 10 years, it'll be bankrupt.

If I were running a business and my business was pretty much in debt for the total value of that business, the bankers would be at the front door. And that's about the way we're getting. I think to the total value of America, the last time I had a good handle on it, it was a little over four and a half trillion dollars. And here we are getting up to three trillion dollars and we have budgets up in there that way now, so I think we have to stop spending.

Now, where do we stop it? We have to get the Congress to have enough guts to go back and stop some of these agencies that the president has no control over, that Congress has no control over. They were established and that's it. We ought to stop them.

KING: Some entitlements cut, too?

GOLDWATER: Yes.

KING: What went wrong?

GOLDWATER: Well, when you just turn--well, take a look at welfare. When you write a bill establishing a welfare agency and anybody can get money out of that fund that doesn't want to work or can't work, the man who can't work, let's help; the person who doesn't want to work, I say the hell with them.

KING: What about your party? Where is it? How would you look at the Republican Party now? You took it to the right, then it back to the center with Nixon, it went to the right with Reagan, center with Bush. Where is it at?

GOLDWATER: Well, we've lost an election, but that's not unusual. I think politics in this country sort of go around in a circle. A party will elect a president, and if he's a good man or a series of good men, they're good for about 20 years. And then we run out of men and they run out of money. And that's about where the Republican Party is today. We've run out of money and we've run out of men.

KING: Well, is there anybody you see on the horizon that appeals?

GOLDWATER: Yes, I can see--

KING: Like?

GOLDWATER: I think Jack Kemp is a very good man. Bob Dole, if he loses his temper, would be a good candidate.

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KING: If he loses it or doesn't lose his temper?

GOLDWATER: If he loses his temper.

KING: You want him to lose it?

GOLDWATER: I mean I don't want him to have a temper.

KING: Oh, when he has a temper, he's not a--

GOLDWATER: He has a temper.

There might be a woman, I think there's going to be a woman president before long. Nothing wrong with that.

KING: Your wife is in the health care field, is she not? Your new wife?

GOLDWATER: I'm sorry?

KING: Your new wife is in the health care field, is she not?

GOLDWATER: Yes, that's right, yes.

KING: Do you think we're ever going to change health care in this country?

GOLDWATER: I think eventually we're going to have to come up with something that will answer either partly--I won't say partly because we can't, but will answer the need for health care for those people who cannot afford it. And there has to be some drastic changes, in my opinion, in the cost of being sick.

I happen to be an honorary president of a hospital that's been a lot of money in the hole, but they get up to a thousand or eleven hundred dollars a day for a room. Now, who can afford that? I tried to afford it. I've been in there four times with my operations.

The average man with a bad leg or a bad hip or any kind of an operation just cannot afford to go to a first class hospital.

Now, I don't want to see the government get in the hospital business. I'd like to see the hospitals and the doctors somehow get together and reduce the cost of being sick.

KING: Voluntarily?

GOLDWATER: Voluntarily. Of course, I'm not a doctor and I have no understanding of their costs. I understand that it costs about $ 25,000 a year to become a doctor and it takes maybe four years. So you're looking at one big investment to become a doctor.

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Now, whether he charges a thousand dollars an operation or $ 20,000 an operation for the same operation, I think that should be tempered. If we don't reduce the average costs, and I don't want to see us get into the English type of doctoring, where if you're sick, they tell you who to go see. I don't want that. I want to go to the doctor I pick out.

But I think we can temper and level the cost of medicine. I wish you could see my medical bill. I don't take many pills, but I take enough. They run four, five hundred dollars a month, and hell, I feel pretty good shape.

KING: Do you miss the Senate?

GOLDWATER: No.

KING: Don't?

GOLDWATER: No. Hell, no.

KING: Don't miss this city?

GOLDWATER: I miss the city. I have a great affection for my Washington. It's my capital and I love to come here. I come here about once a month for a board meeting. But I've never been back in the Capitol, and I don't think I ever will go.

KING: Won't go back into the Senate?

GOLDWATER: Well, I just wouldn't feel right walking around in there.

KING: We'll be back with Barry Goldwater and your phone calls on "Larry King Live."

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FILE
81

NBC TODAY SHOW INTERVIEW

Guests: Sens. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.) and Daniel Coats (R-Ind.)

January 28, 1993

BRYANT GUMBEL: Senator Bob Kerrey is a Vietnam vet who won the Medal of Honor. This morning he's at our affiliate in Boston WBZ-TV. Senator, good morning.

SENATOR BOB KERREY (D-Nebraska): Good morning, Bryant.

Q: You went jogging with the president yesterday. He ask your advice or try to sell you his?

SENATOR KERREY: Well actually, we didn't talk about this particular policy that much, although we talked about it enough, I suppose. My advice was to come to the American people and say that the policy itself is secondary to American values, that one of the things that the president sees and I see and I think anybody who looks at the country today sees is that you know, we're having difficulty living with one another. We've got racial problems. We've got sexual problems. We've got problems that people just can't seem to live with one another. And the value that is terribly important to talk about today in America is that you know, you and I may disagree, you and I may be different. I may not be able to understand who you are or what you are, but we ought to be able to work alongside one another. We ought to be able to live alongside one another.

I heard somebody say that this is a social experiment in the military. It's not a social experiment. You know, we are a shining beacon for the world because we've been able, in fact, to resolve conflicts internally without resorting to violence. But increasingly in America that's becoming a pattern.

Q: But Senator, if you want to talk values, let's talk values. I mean, isn't this plain and simple a right of equality? Isn't that what this is about? This is about discrimination towards one and not another based purely on sexual orientation. Does that have any place in America in 1993?

SENATOR KERREY: No, it doesn't. I think the president should change the policy. I guess I don't quite understand the question.

Q: But you've drawn a distinction between accepting gays in the armed forces and excluding them from combat. Why?

SENATOR KERREY: Well, all I'm trying to establish is that once you get inside the military, there will be some rules and regulations that will involve selection. But I don't think that there should be a ban based upon sexual orientation. I think the president is absolutely right. He's listened to the military. The military said once this happens, we will do selection. It happens all the time inside. But we should not have a policy that discriminates and kicks people out because of their sexual orientation. So I support changing the policy.

Q: What do you see happening, Senator, over the next six months? What's going to happen over the next six months that hasn't been allowed to so far?

SENATOR KERREY: Well, I think you're going to see a variety of things. I think you're going to see the military and the president work together and try to work out the rules and procedures under which this change will occur. I think you're also apt to see an awful lot of hateful things being said, particularly about gays, particularly about people who want to change the policy. And I hope Americans are able to back off a little bit and say wait a minute, we don't want a situation here where we encourage people to be hateful, where we encourage people to do violence against somebody just because they happen to be different.

So it seems to me that the six months is going to give us the opportunity to work on the procedures itself, to work out the particular problems that we'll face, and I hope it gives Americans a chance to step back a little bit and say it's important to take this thing on early. You know, even if we had full employment, it doesn't do us an awful lot of good if we're at each other's throats all the time. I think it's valuable to take it on early.

Q: How much of the far right uproar over this, Senator, do you attribute to plain old homophobia?

SENATOR KERREY: Oh, there's a lot of it. I mean, there's a lot of--we just don't understand. Take myself as an example. I mean, I truly don't understand what it's like to be homosexual in America. I know it's tough. I know it's difficult. And I know there's an awful lot of discrimination, but I don't understand it. And what I've got to try to do is make sure that in that moment of misunderstanding and difficulty of understanding, that I don't yield to the bait that's put out there, people that want to be hateful.

Q: Senator Bob Kerrey, thanks very much, Senator. Appreciate it.

Also with us this morning with a different view, from Washington, Senator Dan Coats of Indiana. Good morning, Senator.

SENATOR DAN COATS (R-Indiana): Good morning.

Q: You've been quite vocal to your opposition to any lessening of the ban on gays in the armed forces. Why?

SENATOR COATS: Well, I would take exception with my colleague Bob Kerrey. Colin Powell and Sam Nunn and many in Congress and many in America are not advocating hate or advocating violence or even advocating intolerance. They're simply saying that a situation that you create in the military, where you have enforced intimate living situations, putting people that are sexually attracted to each other in bunks, in barracks and showers and communal areas does, as Colin Powell says, undermine the effectiveness and morale of the military and we don't think it's a practical thing to do.

Q: Is there any evidence to support that, Senator?

SENATOR COATS: Well, I think it's just common sense, Bryant. You wouldn't put men and women in living situations where they dressed and undressed in front of each other and shower together, so we separate them. But you can't do that with homosexuals. You don't want to have an all-gay barracks. That just exacerbates the sexual problem.

Q: Is there any reason to suspect that they can't control their urges in any fashion different than heterosexuals control theirs all the time?

SENATOR COATS: Well, if that were the case, why do we have a policy separating men and women? Why not put men and women in the same showers, same bunks, the same living situations? People need to understand that the military is a unique institution, that there's forced living together. When we deploy 600,000 people to the Persian Gulf and put them in tents in the desert, to shower together and use rest room facilities together, it's an entirely different situation than what takes place in normal life.

Q: Senator, have you any doubt that gays fought and fought bravely, fought nobly in the Persian Gulf, in Vietnam, in Korea?

SENATOR COATS: No, no one's questioning their patriotism or their courage. We're simply--

Q: I guess what I'm asking, was there any evidence of a lessening of morale or discipline or proper execution of orders?

SENATOR COATS: Bryant, that's partly because the current policy is in place. That does not bring gays into the military and those that are there have to remain in the closet or they're not there. If you open the policy to have an open policy of homosexuals in the military, you're going to have all kinds of problems, as General Powell has so forcefully testified.

Q: Senator, I'm sorry, you lost me somewhere along the way there. You're allowing that they did serve but you're saying that that's why we had the policy. I don't understand.

SENATOR COATS: I'm saying the policy is such that if someone declares that they're a homosexual, they are discharged from the military, and therefore those that are in the military have first of all, not been truthful when they entered the military and are keeping their sexual preference to themselves, in the closet, so to speak.

Q: So in other words, it's your contention that if they were out of the closet, so to speak or if they were openly gay, so to speak, that they might not have served as nobly, as bravely, as orderly as they did?

SENATOR COATS: No, I didn't say that. I said no one is questioning their patriotism. No one is questioning their courage. We're simply looking at the very practical aspects of bringing people together who have sexual attraction to one another and enforce the living situations. And for the same reason you wouldn't put men and women together, why would you put people together that are sexually attracted to each other? That creates all kinds of conflict and problems, morale problems for the military.

It's also a moral problem. I think a lot of America doesn't feel that it's proper to send their sons and daughters into situations where they're going to be bunking next to homosexuals or someone that's sexually attracted to them. I'm afraid this will really affect our retention of people that are currently there and recruitment of new people for the future.

Q: Final question, Senator. How do you see the battle over this issue affecting Bill Clinton's relationship with Congress, number one, and with Republicans, second?

SENATOR COATS: Well, I think President Clinton made a big mistake. Most people voted for him because they wanted him to address the economy. His own campaign manager, James Carville, kept saying "the economy, stupid", and I think the president should have heeded that advice on this issue.

Q: Senator Dan Coats. Thank you very much, Senator. Appreciate it.

END INTERVIEW

FILE
82

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DOCUMENT: 2 of 4

Today
7:00-9:00 AM
Jun 11, 1993
NBC
Copyright c 1993, National Broadcasting Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.
Segment: Profile: Former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney evaluates US foreign policy in Macedonia, Bosnia, Somalia; considers budget cuts and **gay** ban
Cost: $014.00
Nielsen: 4795760

STONE PHILLIPS, co-host:

On CLOSE UP this morning: sending US ground troops to the former Yugoslavia. In the next week, 300 US combat troops will join a United Nations peacekeeping force in Macedonia. Their mission, to keep the conflict in neighboring Bosnia from spreading. For comment and reaction, we catch up with former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, who's just about to catch a flight in Baltimore International Airport this morning.

Mr. Cheney, thanks for joining us. Good morning.

Strike RETURN for next screen_:

Mr. DICK CHENEY: Good morning, Stone.

PHILLIPS: Sending these 300 American troops to Macedonia, certainly a noble gesture. Is it necessary?

Mr. CHENEY: Well, it's not clear to me yet exactly what their mission's going to be. You know, 300 troops are a symbolic gesture perhaps, but it's not a large enough force to--to really accomplish much from a militarily standpoint.

PHILLIPS: Is it likely, as some suggest, that putting Americans there might actually encourage rather than deter Serbian attacks?

Mr. CHENEY: Part of difficulty, Stone, is that--that the various contending factions in the civil war in Yugoslavia have different kinds of motives, and it's not beyond the realm of possibility that a group, for example, that was unhappy with the basic alignment, power alignment there, might seek to involve the US, force us to get more deeply involved, in order to advance their own interest. In that scenario, US troops become a target. For example, we had the Italian airliner shot down last fall. We never knew whether the Serbs or the Muslims or the

Strike RETURN for next screen_:
Croatians had actually done the shooting. They were all operating in the same area, and some of them may have been motivated by a desire to draw US forces into that conflict.

PHILLIPS: How concerned are you that we may be getting into something here that we won't be able to get out of so easily, and that this could lead to a greater commitment of ground troops?

Mr. CHENEY: Well, if Macedonia remains peaceful, then of course, there won't be any problem here. But if somebody does, in fact, decide to take on the US force; we take casualties, for example, then the president will

have to make a decision about whether or not he's going to send in a lot more forces in order to pacify the--the area, or whether he's going to withdraw all of them. So it's always risky business, I think, to send in US forces, as a trip wire. There are a lot of forces in the world that can serve in a peacekeeping role besides US forces.

And given our capabilities and our visibility in the world, there's a greater tendency sometimes for us to become a target. And I must say in fairness to the administration, I don't think we know enough yet about what their long-range intentions are here. I'd feel better if I could see a broad overall plan for Yugoslavia, and this was viewed as just a

Strike RETURN for next screen_:
piece of it. I hope that's the case.

PHILLIPS: Bottom line, would you have been a voice of support for this move, if you had been in the administration?

Mr. CHENEY: I have argued pretty consistently against putting US forces on the ground in Yugoslavia for all kinds of reasons. Partly because the mission's always been ill-defined; nobody was able to spell out the rules of engagement. And once you commit US forces, you then have an obligation to be prepared to do whatever is necessary to support them. And this--this kind of piecemeal commitment could conceivably create a problem down the road.

PHILLIPS: I'd like...

Mr. CHENEY: Let's hope it doesn't.

PHILLIPS: I'd like to touch on a few other subjects with you--Somalia. Some 4,200 American troops still on the ground there; US gunships now standing by for a possible UN retaliation after the killing of those peacekeeping troops there last week; Mogadishu bracing itself for more violence as the warlords reassert themselves. Did we scale back too soon

Strike RETURN for next screen_:
in Somalia?

Mr. CHENEY: I don't think so, Stone. I think the Clinton administration's basically carried on with the policies that the Bush administration put in place. The key here is to have an effective UN force. And that's always been the challenge, is finding a way to stand up an effective UN force that could take over from--from our forces when we departed. Now, we're in a situation where we've maintained a contingent there to backstop the United Nations. I think that's appropriate. Having the AC-130 gunships over there, I think, is appropriate. I think it'll work. I don't have any reason at this point to believe that there's a need for a--a major infusion of US force beyond what's already been done.

PHILLIPS: **Gays** in the military. General Powell was booed roundly at Harvard University yesterday for his opposition to lifting the ban. Former Senator and hawk Barry Goldwater came out yesterday in support of lifting the ban, saying that you don't have to be straight to fight and die for your country. You just have to shoot straight. Has your position on--on not lifting the ban shifted at all?

Mr. CHENEY: It really hasn't, Stone. From the standpoint of the **gay**

Strike RETURN for next screen_:
community looking at the way the military does business and the ban, it looks like discrimination. From the standpoint of the military, the fact is, we discriminate against all kinds of people when we put together those units. We don't allow women to serve in infantry units, for example. The challenge from the standpoint of the military is to create a militarily effective force. I don't know that you're ever going to be able to reconcile those differences, and as much as I believe that someone's sexual orientations are purely a private matter, I do believe that the military advice I received when I was there, that we should leave the ban in place, was the correct advice.

PHILLIPS: We're running out of time here, but I do want to ask you about the defense budget. The Clinton administration is talking about an additional $128 billion in defense cuts over the next five years. Obviously, that can hurt, but is it doable without significantly impairing readiness?

Mr. CHENEY: I don't think so, Stone. I think the Bush plan, and taking it down some $332 billion out of the long-range budget, I think that's about as far as we could go. I think the Clinton cuts beyond that will in fact jeopardize the force. We're already starting to see a dropoff in the number of high school graduates signing up. We're beginning to see a

Strike RETURN for next screen_:
gradual erosion in that--that overall readiness level, that overall capability, and I think that's unfortunate. Those deep budget cuts will in fact do serious damage to our military capabilities.

PHILLIPS: Dick Cheney, thanks for joining us this morning. Safe travel.

Mr. CHENEY: Thank you.

PHILLIPS: And we'll be back in a moment, but first, this is TODAY on NBC.

INDEX: Military
United States
Foreign Policy
Bosnia
Macedonia
Somalia

BRS Format Mode -- Enter Command_:

DOCUMENT: 3 of 4

Today
7:00-9:00 AM Jun 11, 1993
NBC
Copyright c 1993, National Broadcasting Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.
Segment: Newscast: Navy panel recommends honorable discharge for Lieutenant Zoe Dunning
Cost: $009.00
Nielsen: 4795760

MIKE SCHNEIDER, anchor:

San Francisco now, a Navy panel is recommending that a **lesbian** Reservist be sent packing with an honorable discharge. Lieutenant Zoe Dunning says she's done nothing wrong, and claims she's being persecuted for simply being who she is.

Lieutenant ZOE DUNNING: Obviously, I'm very disappointed with the finding. I think we put forth a very strong argument, and we'll see where we take it from here. I--all I want to do is continue my naval career, and I'll take whatever steps are necessary to make that happen.

Strike RETURN for next screen_:

SCHNEIDER: Lieutenant Dunning revealed her sexual orientation in January at a rally in support of a **homosexual** sailor.

INDEX: United States
Military
Women
Homosexuality

BRS Format Mode -- Enter Command_:

FILE
83

^BC-TEXT-DOLE/GAYS-MULTITAKES@

SENATE MINORITY LEADER ROBERT DOLE (R-KAN.) AND OTHERS NEWS CONFERENCE

Topic: Republican response to the Clinton administration's proposal on homosexuals in the military

Time: 5 p.m.

Location: Senate Radio-TV Gallery

January 28, 1993

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The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann, Eric Beech, Melissa Bland, Will Dunham, Peter Ramjug and Paul Schomer also are available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-898-8345. For service problems call 1-800-435-0101.

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SENATOR BOB DOLE (R-Kansas): Well, we've just concluded another meeting. We met with probably a dozen women who'd served in different capacities in the armed services. I think they were all, as I recall, all officers in the Navy, Army.

We met yesterday with groups; many of these were individual women. I think two or three represented groups. And again, we got a good cross section. I would say in this group, probably about--some were undecided, some were in favor of lifting the ban, and some were opposed.

But the bottom line is I think, just to--we've been waiting for President Clinton to indicate precisely what he had in mind, and what I would suggest is to just have a time out, don't change anything, leave it like it is, proceed with the hearings, have the six month delay.

And if that is the case, then there wouldn't be any need for us to offer any amendments. There wouldn't be any change. But if he starts making changes, then we will offer the amendment. It will be offered at the first opportunity, which will probably be family leave next week. Senator Thurmond.

SENATOR STROM THURMOND (R-South Carolina): The Republican senators on the Armed Services Committee, and others, and Senator Dole, our Republica leader, arrived at a decision as to the procedure, and I conveyed that to Senator Nunn, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and asked him to convey it to the president.

That we would take no step to do anything if the president did nothing for the next six months. In other words, we'll all await for these hearings.

Now if the president does take any step, though, then we expect to offer legislation. That message was conveyed to Senator Nunn to convey to the president and we will await and see what the answer is.

We will not wait if the president will not wait. If the president's going ahead, we are going ahead.

I pointed out to him that a great many of us are in sympathy with some of the measures that he favors, and that we could help him with those measures and would do it.

However, if he brings up this issue now, which has created so much division of opinion, it might cause him to get reverses on some matters that he would not do so if he proceeded as we have suggested.

SENATOR DOLE: Dan, do you want to--

SENATOR THURMOND: Senator Coats.

SENATOR DAN COATS (R-Indiana): Well, I don't know that I can add anything to that other than that I believe the advice and counsel given to President-elect Clinton by a number of members of Congress, by the Joint Chiefs, and what his secretary-designee, Les Aspin, during his confirmation hearings expressed as what he believed the policy should be, was to--that this was a complex issue, an emotional issue, one with a lot of unanswered questions, and the best course of action would be to proceed very, very deliberately and very carefully with Armed Service hearings, probably both in the Senate and the House, consultation with military leaders, and then a determination made as to whether or not changes were appropriate in the current policy.

President Clinton chose not to follow that advice, and by his own choosing has made this a controversial issue and a very highly charged issue, and as such it is just unfortunately overwhelmed the administration's ability and Congress's ability to go forward with what I think the American people would like us to do, and that is address the economy, address the deficit, address health care, and a number of other issues that we all talked about this fall, and which the election really turned on,

in my opinion.

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The Reuter Transcript Report

Sen. Dole et al. news conference

January 28, 1993

MORE

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:KEYWORDS: MILITARY NAVY ARMY COMMITTEE
:PROFILE: 01

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^BC-TEXT-DOLE/GAYS-1STADD@

SENATE MINORITY LEADER ROBERT DOLE (R-KAN.) AND OTHERS NEWS CONFERENCE

Topic: Republican response to the Clinton administration's proposal on homosexuals in the military

January 28, 1993

(First Add)

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x x x my opinion.

Q: Senator Coats, yesterday, I believe--I thought you indicated yesterday that you were going to proceed with your codification amendment regardless of what (inaudible) as a preemptive, even if he decided not to go ahead. Have you changed your position?

SENATOR THURMOND: We're all working together. Senator Dole decides on the procedure. We're all working together.

SENATOR COATS: Right. Keeping things status quo and then doing the hearings would be perfectly acceptable to everybody.

Q: So you're on board now?

SENATOR COATS: We're all together. That's correct.

Q: Apparently the White House is now discussing a six month delay. But they're also discussing not questioning new recruits as to their sexual preference and no punishment of gays. If he added those things--

SENATOR DOLE: That would be a change. That would trigger action.

SENATOR COATS: I might just add the very practical problem that that raises. If we suspend the question on recruitment and a number of homosexuals are recruited under the understanding that they are free to express their sexual preference and then as a result of the hearings and a result of the consultation with the joint chiefs of staff the current policy is retained for all the reasons that those who support it think it ought to be retained, then all those people that came in during that six month period are going to be subject to dismissal under the existing policy. So it creates a very practical problem to do that.

Q: Can you get a vote next week and can you win a vote next week?

SENATOR DOLE: They're two different questions and I have two different answers. But--well, there would be a vote of some kind. It may be an indirect vote on cloture. If they want a complete action on the bill they may have to get cloture. So that would be a vote. We would hope that we could convince the leadership to give us an up or down vote. You know, that remains to be seen what leaders--

Q: Why did you delay the (inaudible)?

SENATOR DOLE: It wasn't ready. (Inaudible) up this week. The report wasn't filed until today.

SENATOR COATS: The committee was in a two day lay over--

Q: (Inaudible)?

SENATOR DOLE: I didn't. I think they want to bring it up next week. They weren't certain what this issue was.

SENATOR COATS: In committee Mrs. Kassebaum felt we ought to stay by the rules. It had nothing to do with this issue.

Q: (Inaudible) blacks and women different than allowing gays? Isn't it the same issue?

SENATOR DOLE: I think General Powell talked about

discrimination. I happen to think there's a difference. I think color of skin and sexual conduct are certainly different things, as far as I view it. And you know, we have discrimination now. If you're a certain age you can't get in. If you have certain physical or mental problems you can't get into the armed services. So it's not that this is something that's never happened. But again, we try to make it clear this is a sensitive issue. We're not interested in gay bashing. I don't believe in discriminating against anybody. I've tried to fight against that as Senator Thurmond and Senator Coats have. But this is an issue that I think is going to be addressed. We didn't ask that it be addressed. Somebody said Stephanopoulos indicated that we'd forced this issue. We didn't force the issue. President Clinton forced the issue. I don't know why he did it in his first week but he did it and we can't, even though we want to be nice and cooperate, we felt it necessary to respond.

(Simultaneous questions)

Q: (Inaudible) when you laid out your legislative strategy. What was Senator Nunn's response when you laid out your legislative strategy?

SENATOR THURMOND: He says he would convey the message to the president.

Q: Did he say anything beyond that?

SENATOR THURMOND: No. I have a feeling though he thinks very much like we do.

Q: Because of something he said?

SENATOR THURMOND: I won't go into any details.

Q: Senator Dole, could I just ask a follow-up to your--

Q: Why are you being (inaudible)?

SENATOR THURMOND: He's the only president we have and I'd like to help him in a lot of ways to get things done. And of course, I'd have to (inaudible) disagree with him.

Q: Can I just ask--you spoke about sexual conduct. But what happens to people who are homosexual, people who are lesbians, who don't have, who don't exhibit any sexual conduct (inaudible) while they're on duty in the armed services? Are we talking about behavior or--

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I might say this is a point made by two or three of the people we've just talked to. Apparently in 1982--up until that point it was discretionary with the

commander, that if the conduct was not a problem, then that was not a problem. And I think a couple of the ladies expressed their hope that that might be something that the hearing would consider--at least giving the line commander discretion because if there's no problem, no conduct, then why should you toss somebody out.

And again, I think that's why we need these hearings. Why clutter it up with making a couple of changes? If the president wants us to go out and have a vote next week, we'll have one. We may win or lose. I'm not suggesting what will happen. Maybe there'll be enough votes. Maybe they'll be able to convince people of well, we'll put this off for six months and then address it. But we're prepared. We have a number of members on our side, I might say, who haven't made a decision on this issue and they'd like to wait for the hearing process. And I haven't taken a whip check. I don't know how many votes are out there.

I think Dan wanted to address that last issue, too.

SENATOR COATS: And it also goes to, I think, the ratio discrimination question because I don't believe there's a parallel here. What we're dealing with is one of the most basic of all human characteristics and that is sexuality. And there's no comparison between discrimination because of the color of their skin, which is not justified under any circumstances, and the very practical problems that arise from putting people together in situations where there are sexual opportunities, sexual problems and sexual consequences.

For the same reason that we wouldn't put men and women together in dorms or barracks and have them dress and undress in front of each other or shower together or share bathrooms together because of the sexual element and the problems that result from that, I think that same problem arises when you bring people of the same sex in but who are sexually attracted to each other, while we solve the problem with men and women or at least try to solve the problem by separating the two. But no one has suggested that it would be feasible to separate the gays or lesbians from heterosexuals. That would just exacerbate the sexual problem. An all gay barracks--I don't think that anyone is suggesting that.

So if you conclude that it's a problem between men and women, or you can say you conclude it's not a problem by mixing homosexuals with heterosexuals, then there's no basis for separating men and women. You might as well bunk them together. You might as well keep them together. I don't know how you get around that problem. That is the problem that General Powell, the Joint Chiefs, military people, many senators and others feel is a problem that undermines morale, creates a problem with unit cohesiveness, esprit de corps, discipline, all the things that the military says is necessary to put a fighting effective--a

effective fighting force together.

SENATOR DOLE: I just want to make one comment with reference to Adam. I've got to go down and do this--

Q: (inaudible)

SENATOR DOLE: On anybody trying to think we're holding up the Family Leave bill, I'm going to go down right now on the Senate floor and consent to bringing it up without any motion to proceed. So we're not trying to slow it down. We could slow it down all next week if we were so inclined.

So we're going to consent to taking it up, also taking up NIH reauthorization. So there's no, no effort on our part to delay.

There will be amendments, some will be germane. Senator Katzenbaum has amendments to the Family Leave bill. I have some on tax credits. But this amendment will be offered, or the amendment on upholding the ban.

And I've got--

Q: Why do the Republicans (inaudible) to President Clinton?

SENATOR DOLE: What? Did they?

Q: Why did you make the offer to President Clinton?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I think that--I think that when Senator Nunn called Senator Thurmond and others to come to meet with him, we had a brief discussion on, you know, what should our position be, and we felt--everybody said we're not going to do anything. That was fair.

SENATOR THURMOND: And we're frank to tell him. We wanted him to know exactly how we stood.

SENATOR DOLE: Just say time out. Just take a time out for six months; we don't do anything; you don't do anything.

Q: But you did have the votes for a preemptive strike, preventive action. You seem to have lost them somewhere.

SENATOR DOLE: We haven't had a vote yet.

Q: Well, are you still reserving the option of going ahead and codifying existing rules--

SENATOR DOLE: Yeah, in fact I--

Q: --(inaudible)?

SENATOR DOLE: Oh, yes.

Q: So you might do that, whether he acts or not?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, if he does nothing, we have some who would like to do it in, in any event. But I think, in fairness, the president of the United States says we're not going to do anything, we're going to leave it just like it is, give us a chance to have hearings--to me that would be a reasonable--

SENATOR COATS: That's really where we were before all this started. That's--I don't know if it's--

(Simultaneous talking.)

SENATOR DOLE: But otherwise we'll--

SENATOR COATS: --(inaudible) or a surprise--

Q: Thank you.

SENATOR COATS: That's--it takes things back to where they were.

Q: Thank you.

END NEWS CONFERENCE

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The Reuter Transcript Report

Sen. Dole et al. news conference (first and final add)

January 28, 1993

REUTER

Reut17:50 01-28

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:PROFILE: 01

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FILE
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^BC-TEXT-GRAMM/LOTT-MULTITAKES-REFILING@

(REFILING TO CORRECT SLUGLINE, 2 ADDITIONAL TAKES TO FOLLOW)

SENS. PHIL GRAMM (R-TEXAS) AND TRENT LOTT (R-MISS.) NEWS CONFERENCE

Topic: The Clinton administration's plan to end the ban of homosexuals in the U.S. military.

Location: Senate Radio/TV Gallery

Time: 3:30 p.m.

January 28, 1993

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The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann, Eric Beech, Peter Ramjug and Paul Schomer also are available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-898-8345. For service problems call 1-800-435-0101.

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SENATOR PHIL GRAMM (R-Texas): As you're all aware, under the Constitution, the president is the commander-in-chief, and under long-standing military tradition, when the commander-in-chief takes a stand on an issue, there is a rigid prohibition against anybody in uniform taking a stand in opposition to the president. This, for general conduct of military affairs, is not only desirable policy; it's essential.

But when you're debating something as fundamental as forcing the militaries to take gays, in opposition to their own experience, in opposition to their will, in opposition to their united position, then you create a situation where a gag rule has been imposed on the military that prevents us from hearing from the very people who, number one, are going to be affected the most and number two, have the greatest knowledge about the potential impact of the policy change.

I'm sure there are many Americans who don't understand why they don't see Colin Powell on television talk shows, why people in uniform are not engaged in the public policy debate and why, in fact, people in uniform are prohibited from calling our offices to state their opinion.

What we are proposing to our new president, in a letter that we have sent today, is that through executive order he lift the gag rule on the military for the purpose of allowing them to engage in this important public policy debate. This would allow the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it would allow the officer corps, it would allow noncommissioned officers to come forward, to state their views, to share their concerns, to share their experience. I think it would enrich the debate. It would be vitally important. This would allow them to speak their piece, to be heard.

Obviously, once we go through the process of discovery, once we get the facts, once we make a decision, once the policy is set, then debate would end. But in the meantime, on this very important issue, it is absolutely essential that we hear from the people who are going to be affected the most and the people who have the greatest amount of information to share with us, and they are the men and women who wear the uniform of the country. Everybody from Colin Powell to the newest recruit in the United States Army deserves to be heard on this important issue. Trent.

SENATOR TRENT LOTT (R-Mississippi): Well, I think you pretty well stated it but I just want to point out, for instance, that I talked to one of the Joint Chiefs just yesterday on an unrelated matter, and in the process I tried to get off into this conversation. They're very hesitant to even express their opinion to members of Congress, members of Congress that are in the leadership, members of Congress that serve on the Armed Services Committee.

Now, at some point surely this matter is going to be considered further, that there will be hearings, I hope not in March. This issue is very vital and important right now. We should be having hearings in Congress. We should be hearing from military officers. And the American people have a right, I think, to know what the problems are and what the reservations are by our military men and women, their leaders, as well as their noncommissioned officers who are also leaders, obviously.

So that's all we're asking, is that this gag rule be removed on this one subject and only for this subject, so that we can have a full discussion of this fundamental change. As you all know, this is an evolutionary process. We don't know at this very moment exactly what the president is going to do, and I don't know quite how to explain what is happening. President Clinton was elected with a reputation of political skill and lots of it, and yet this attempt to ram this very difficult issue by the Congress, over the objections of the American people and without military consultation and obviously without their consent--it's really very confusing to me.

So I have two recommendations at this point, this afternoon, that the president stand down and not go forward with

an executive order at this point of any kind and that secondly, he lift this gag rule so that we can have a complete and full dialogue on what will be involved and the problems with this very difficult issue.

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The Reuter Transcript Report

Sens. Gramm-Lott/news conference

Jan. 28, 1993

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^BC-TEXT-GRAMM/LOTT-1STADD@

SENS. PHIL GRAMM (R-TEXAS) AND TRENT LOTT (R-MISS.) NEWS CONFERENCE

Topic: The Clinton administration's plan to end the ban of homosexuals in the U.S. military.

January 28, 1993

(First Add)

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x x x difficult issue.

Q: Are you gentlemen suggesting that when these hearings go forth at whatever time that the chiefs or other people who come to testify won't feel free to give their opinions if asked?

SENATOR GRAMM: No, we're not saying that. Obviously if they are called before committees of Congress and asked for their opinions, if and when we hold those hearings, and it may very well be that President Clinton puts the policy in place before that occurs, they will be heard.

What we are saying is that there is an effective gag rule on the military that prevents everybody from General Powell to the lowest private in the Army from stating their opinion on one subject where they're going to be affected more than anybody else, and where they have a greater degree of knowledge and experience than anybody else. And of all the people we ought to be hearing from it's basically the men and women who wear the uniform of the country and who have the responsibility and who have the facts.

The problem is that they now cannot speak up. They can't answer questions. They feel reluctant to answer questions from leaders of the Senate who opposed the president. Obviously they're not making public statements. They're not appearing in any kind of format for public discussion. And I think as a result we are losing the best information and the best advice we have. We can enrich the debate by taking this gag rule off the military. And we feel very strongly it ought to be done.

Q: Senator, have the Republicans what action they may take if the president goes ahead with any sort of executive order or with the decision to delay asking people if they're gay?

SENATOR GRAMM: Yes, I think it is clear that if the president moves ahead without hearings in the Congress, without giving us an opportunity to have an input that we are going to offer an amendment which will set into place existing policy as of January 1 and then will require that that policy stay in effect until the president and Congress acting jointly through the legislative process have changed it.

Now, I don't know what kind of negotiations are going on among the Democrats, and as I understand, they're trying to put together all kinds of proposals that in essence bring gays into the military even though the military opposes it, but delaying some implementations here and there and giving them a cloudy status.

I don't think that serves anybody well. I think we ought to have an orderly process of decision making, and decide to do it or not to do it. But to do it half way, hoping that Congress will not react and then do it the rest of the way at some later time, that's not going to fly.

We're going to have a vote on this issue and I believe the American people are strongly committed to requiring the president to present the facts, to have a debate, to let the military have their say, let them be heard, and then to make a decision in terms of writing a law.

Trent, you may want to--

Q: Will that be the family and medical leave act? Or

where are you going?

SENATOR GRAMM: The first vehicle they bring up is going to be the vehicle. So we're not choosing one particular bill. The Democrats are choosing that by deciding what they're going to bring up first.

But I think it is very clear that the first legislative vehicle that comes up is going to get the amendment.

Q: Would you do it if Clinton does nothing, as a preemptive strike, knowing that--

SENATOR GRAMM: I think to this point, since he has the ability at any time day or night to act, that there is a strong feeling in our conference that we should act to go ahead and set into place a formal procedure whereby the policy would be changed. And our basic position is this. We believe that the burden of proof is on those who want to change the policy, that they should come forward with a presentation of facts that document that this change can be made without affecting readiness, without affecting the ability of the military to do its job. And the burden of proof is on them to present this evidence. And I think basically that's the direction we're going.

Q: Senator, this is really an extension of her question, but it looks like what the White House is going to do is postpone the ban for six months and in the meantime not ask the question of recruits.

SENATOR LOTT: The president should not issue an executive order on this subject in any form at this time. Because that is the beginning of a march toward a destination. If he begins that march we will fight him every step along the way. This matter has not been presented properly. It has not been considered. The proper people in government at the Pentagon and in the Congress have not been sufficiently consulted. And if he starts down this slippery slope, we have no option but to fight him.

Now, if he, as I said earlier, if he wants to stand down and change his position, that's another thing.

But if he begins an executive order today that fuzzes around the edges but basically begins the movement towards what he has said he will do, and that is to remove the ban on homosexuals and lesbians in the military, then we as members of Congress who have a prior right to pass law will move to stop that. Because we do not believe a matter of this importance should go forward on executive order that hasn't even been thoroughly thought out.

Q: I apologize, I didn't quite understand. I just

want to make sure. If he does nothing, if the president does absolutely nothing, would you still move ahead, and on a piece of legislation, the first piece of legislation, the second piece of legislation attach a statement declaring that all things must remain as they are.

SENATOR LOTT: Let me try to clarify that by some modification. I'm inclined to agree with the approach that Senator Gramm has suggested.

But I do feel that we need to talk to our people and consult with our leader before we--I mean I don't know what he's going to do. And so I learned a long time ago in this city never say never. Let's see what he says.

What if he says hey, look, I've looked at this thing and I didn't realize all the ramifications and I quit, I'm not into this, we're going to talk about the economy, we're going to have to weigh that.

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The Reuter Transcript Report

Sens. Gramm-Lott/news conference (first add)

Jan. 28, 1993

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^BC-TEXT-GRAMM/LOTT-2NDADD@

SENS. PHIL GRAMM (R-TEXAS) AND TRENT LOTT (R-MISS.) NEWS CONFERENCE

Topic: The Clinton administration's plan to end the ban of homosexuals in the U.S. military.

January 28, 1993

(Second Add)

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x x x weigh that.

SENATOR GRAMM: That's right. But the point is, he has a stated policy now. He's not changed it. And I think that you know, we can't say that no matter what he says that that's going to carry no weight. Our strong inclination now, our plan now is to act and act immediately so the weight of law is on the side of those who believe we should be prudent here.

But let me go back to the question asked Trent. To institute a policy that would say that we would induct gays into the military but that we're not going to change the prohibition against them being in the military is I think an action that is just not worthy of the process. I think we need an orderly process to make a decision. And this kind of halfway measure I don't think serves anybody well and quite frankly, since all of this is an effort to fulfill a campaign promise to a special interest group in the election, I don't think anybody's going to be satisfied with that kind of solution.

I can tell you, we're going to fight it and my guess is that the people who support the president's action are going to say, what kind of policy is it to say we're going to let people in but we're not going to change the policy that would throw them out. So I know that people around here try to find ways to get around real obstacles. And the obstacle here is that millions of Americans are adamantly opposed to this policy. That's the obstacle.

Q: Senator Gramm, a lot of people are likening this to the effort to integrate the military during World War II and to bring women into the military. Do you see this as a different fight?

SENATOR GRAMM: I think it is totally different. I think it has nothing to do with the other battles and I think you can see that very clearly by the fact that the commanding general--the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff is black. I think it is clear that we are talking here about a fundamental issue that it totally different from that.

SENATOR LOTT: And he has so stated.

SENATOR GRAMM: And he stated it in the clearest possible way.

Q: And what is that?

SENATOR GRAMM: And basically it's this. Without getting into too many details about it, if I have a daughter and she is going to join the military, no one is asking my daughter to share bunking space 31 inches apart from people of the

opposite sex. No one has presented any effective solution to that problem which will arise when you bring gays into the military. That is exactly the way that General Powell has tried to categorize the policy and to try to relate this to very important and very correct decisions that we made in the past in eliminating discrimination I think is just wrong.

Q: (Inaudible) consider a halfway measure--a six month reprieve and not asking the lifestyle question. Would you consider that halfway?

SENATOR GRAMM: Well, I consider that a totally unworkable solution because you still have the prohibition against gays being in the military and I think that's an effort to find a political fig leaf that not only puts the gay that would come into the military in a totally untenable position, it satisfies nobody. And what we need to do is to have a procedure whereby this is debated and voted on and decided.

Q: (Inaudible)?

SENATOR LOTT: Maybe you ought to ask is the marriage over.

Q: (Inaudible) precedent?

SENATOR GRAMM: Yeah, there's a small precedent that related to the Nunn-Warner reorganization bill where we by law changed the procedure to allow people other than the joint chiefs to speak on the issue.

Q: (Inaudible)?

SENATOR LOTT: No, this was actually in the passage of the law. We set up a special procedure whereby they could go around the chain of command for a specific purpose.

Q: What was the purpose?

SENATOR LOTT: The purpose was, when a member of the joint chiefs disagreed with the chairman. And during that period at least--this was a debate in Congress--the president was not talking about executive order. We had people in the military who basically had fairly large latitude to speak out on the reorganization issue. The Navy basically opposed it. Some others were more muted, some were supportive. So that's the only precedent I remember in the short time I've been working on this bill.

SENATOR GRAMM: Yeah, that's right. But the point is, he has a stated policy now. He's not changed it. And I think that you know, we can't say that no matter what he says that that's going to carry no weight. Our strong inclination now, our plan now is to act and act immediately so the weight of law

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END NEWS CONFERENCE

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The Reuter Transcript Report

Sens. Gramm-Lott/news conference (second and final add)

Jan. 28, 1993

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85

SEN. SAM NUNN (D-GA.), CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, REMARKS IN THE SENATE CHAMBER

Topic: The military ban against homosexuals

Time: 2 p.m.

January 27, 1993

SENATOR SAM NUNN (D-Georgia): Mr. President, there has been a crescendo of interest building in recent weeks on the issue of homosexuals serving in the armed forces. Current Department of Defense policy prohibits homosexuals from serving in the armed forces of the United States.

During the presidential campaign, President Clinton made it very clear that he intended to change the current policy, so I don't think anyone should be surprised that his administration is currently developing a plan to change that policy.

Contrary to some media reports, I have had the opportunity to discuss this and other national security issues on several occasions with President Clinton. I've also had the opportunity to discuss these issues with Secretary of Defense Aspin. I've advised both President Clinton and Secretary Aspin to seek the advice, first and foremost, of a broad range of military personnel, the people who will be most directly affected by any change in the current policy on service by homosexuals. And I've urged them to seek these opinions before making any final changes.

This is certainly an appropriate issue for the president, in terms of his powers, and certainly within his constitutional powers to make decisions in this area. But it's not in a unilateral sense. The Constitution makes it very clear that Congress also has the responsibility to deal with matters of this nature affecting the armed forces of the United States.

In article I, section 8 of the Constitution, the Congress has the responsibility, quoting from that Constitution, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a Navy, and to make rules for the government in regulation of the land and naval forces, end quote, from our Constitution.

It is the responsibility of Congress to ensure the policies of the Defense Department enhance good order and discipline while also providing for fair and equitable personnel policies.

So the question of whether homosexuals should serve in the military is an issue on which the Congress and the president share constitutional responsibility.

Secretary Aspin has emphasized the need for the Congress and the president, and the executive branch to work together on this issue, and I think he's absolutely right in that respect.

It's in everyone's interest to see if we can resolve this issue through consensus rather than confrontation. There's always time for confrontation later, if it cannot be solved by consensus, but perhaps it can.

In recent days I've heard a number of commentators suggest that the policy of excluding homosexuals from the military dates back to 1982.

One of the issues that we will explore in our hearings is the historical development of the current policy. At this time, however, I'd like to provide a very brief summary of the historical development because the suggestion that the policy only dates from 1982 is inaccurate and misleading.

Until the post-World War II period, military regulations on administrative separation were drafted in a manner that gave commanders broad discretion to separate service members.

During World War II, for example, Army commanders were authorized to separate individuals for, quote, inaptness, or undesirable habits, or traits of character, end quote.

This regulation which formed the basis for the discharge of homosexuals during World War II did not list any specific traits. In 1944 the Army, in Circular number 3, endeavored to distinguish between homosexuals who were discharged because they were "not deemed reclaimable" and those who were retained because their conduct was not aggravated by independent offenses. In 1945, a greater emphasis was placed on "reclamation" of homosexual soldiers. If a homosexual soldier was deemed "rehabilitated", the soldier was returned to service.

In 1947, the policy was revised to discharge individuals who, "had homosexual tendencies", even if they had not committed homosexual acts. Those who committed homosexual acts were subject to court martial or administrative discharge, with the character of the discharge depending on the nature of the act.

Mr. President, the Uniform Code of Military Justice, enacted in 1950, included consensual sodomy as a criminal offense. In 1950, the Army adopted a mandatory separation policy which stated, quoting from that policy, "True, confirmed or habitual homosexual personnel, irrespective of sex, will not be permitted to serve in the Army in any capacity and prompt separation of known homosexuals from the Army is mandatory."

This policy was somewhat relaxed in 1955, permitting a soldier to be deemed "reclaimable"

when they "inadvertently" participated in homosexual acts. This policy was reversed in 1958 when the mandatory separation policy was reinstated.

In 1970, DoD-wide policy was issued authorizing separation on the basis of homosexual acts and homosexual tendencies. There was no definition of the term "homosexual tendencies". Under the directive, the final decision on separation of an individual soldier was a matter of command discretion rather than mandatory policy.

In the 1970s there was increasing litigation concerning the procedures and bases for the DoD policies on the separation of homosexuals. The extent to which the authority to retain these individuals and the extent to which it was exercised was unclear. In several court cases, the department was asked to provide detailed reasons for not exercising the discretion to retain the individual.

This was one of the factors leading to a detailed review of the DoD policy in the late 1970s during the end of President Carter's administration. As a result of that review, during the Carter administration, the Department of Defense made two significant changes in policy which were set forth in a memorandum issued by then-Deputy Secretary of Defense Graham Claytor on January 16, 1981.

First, the policy was liberalized by eliminating "homosexual tendencies" as a reason for separation. Second, the mandatory separation policy, which had been used in the 1950s, was reinstated. This policy incorporated without substantive change in DoD directive 1332.14, which governs enlisted administrative separations in 1982.

In short, the authority to separate homosexuals has been in effect over a lengthy period of time, although the manner in which this policy has been implemented has varied over the years.

The current policy dates from President Carter's administration. There has not been a thorough review of this policy in recent years by either the executive or the legislative branch. During the Senate's debate last year on the National Defense Authorization Act I engaged in a colloquy with my friend and colleague Senator Metzenbaum in which I pledged to him that the Armed Services Committee would hold hearings on the military's policy in this overall area this year.

And this pledge was made long before this current controversy of the last several weeks.

Our hearings on this issue will begin in March as I announced earlier this week. We will receive testimony from the civilian and military leadership of the Department of Defense. I also believe that we should hear directly from the people who will be most directly affected by any change in the current policy, the men and women serving in the ranks of all the military services. These people have every right under our system to be heard in this respect before final action is taken by Congress, and I hope by the executive branch.

We will make every effort to hear from those who support a change in the current policy, as well as those who favor retention of the current policy.

These will not be one-sided hearings. We will hear from both sides and both points of view with particular emphasis on those who now serve in our military in our armed forces.

Mr. President, I start from the premise that we should encourage every American to serve his or her country in some capacity. I'm a strong supporter, as many of my colleagues know, of national service. And I'm delighted that we have a president, President Clinton, who is making national service a top priority of his administration.

I look forward to seeing and reviewing the administration's proposals on national service in the weeks to come. Mr. President, I applaud the patriotism of all persons, including homosexuals, who desire to serve our nation in the military. I have no doubt that homosexuals have served, and are today serving in our armed forces with distinction, and many times with courage and valor.

But I also add that most of them serving today are not openly disclosing their sexual orientation. And I think everyone ought to bear in mind that that is enormously important as we go through this series of hearings and debates.

I also believe that we should give very careful consideration to the advice of our military commanders on this subject. Although we do have a volunteer force, there are still important and clear differences between civilian life and military life. And I also hope that everyone will keep that fundamentally in mind. We are not talking about civilian life. We are talking about military life and there are fundamental differences that our military people know well but too many times those of us in civilian life do not keep in mind.

Our national security requires that the armed forces maintain a high level of good order and discipline. In order to maintain military effectiveness, members of the armed forces give up many of the constitutional rights that their civilian counterparts take for granted. The number of constitutional rights military people give up is considerable, and I don't think we stop and think about that very often.

SENATOR NUNN (continuing): Military personnel are subject to involuntary assignment to anyplace in the world, often on short notice, often to places of grave danger. The requirements of discipline, including adherence to the chain of command, means that their First Amendment rights of speech and association are limited. Young officers don't walk in and tell the colonel what they think every morning, and if they bring up their First Amendment rights, they usually are not very long in the military.

Military trials and administrative procedures have procedural safeguards, but they are not the same as the rights that apply in a civilian setting. Service members are subject to searches and command inspections in living quarters that would not meet the privacy standards and warrant requirements of the Fourth Amendment that we take for granted in civilian society. I'd like to know the last time someone in the barracks raised with the first sergeant their rights under the Four Amendment when they come in for an inspection.

Members of the armed forces are subject to involuntary assignment to units, duties and living quarters. They require living and working in close proximity with others under conditions that afford little and very often no privacy, no privacy whatsoever. Particularly when military units deploy, living conditions are frequently spartan and primitive, from foxholes to cramped quarters on ships.

In recent years, we've made important improvements in the quality of life in the military, and I hope we can continue that trend. We've also made improvements in the rights afforded to service members. But the basic nature of military service, which is preparation for and participation in combat to defend the interests of the United States means that service members must continue to live in a closely regulated, highly regimented environment which, as everyone who serves in the military can tell you, does not accord them every constitutional protection that we have as individuals in civilian society.

General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, has stated that in view of the unique conditions of military service, active and open homosexuality by members of the armed forces would have a very negative effect on military morale and discipline.

Mr. President, I agree with General Powell's assessment. I also believe, however, that the country's changing, the world's changing, and that we all have to be willing to listen to other views, and those views ought to be heard. The Armed Services Committee will be hearing from all points of view, and our final judgment on this matter will be affected by the testimony we receive from a wide range of witnesses.

Mr. President, our hearings, and I hope to begin those at some point in March. I cannot pin down a date now, because we're going to have to prepare for them and we're going to have to make sure that we get knowledgeable people to testify, and also have a fairness that is evident to all in our hearings.

We'll explore a large number of issues, including some of the following questions which I believe people should begin to think about.

I do not pretend to have the answers to these questions, but there are too many people talking on this subject now, who haven't even thought of the questions, let alone the answers.

First, should the armed forces retain the policy of excluding homosexuals from military service?

What is the historical basis for this policy?

What is the basis for the policy in light of contemporary trends in American society?

As society changes in this regard, should our military services reflect those changes in society?

What has been the experience of our NATO allies and other nations around the world? Not just in terms of the letter of their laws and rules, but the actual practice in their military services on recruiting, retention, promotion and leadership of military members?

Most importantly, what would be the impact of changing the current policy on recruiting, retention, morale, discipline, as well as military effectiveness?

If the current exclusionary policy is retained, should there be an exception for persons whose record of service would otherwise warrant retention on military duty?

If so, is it possible to draft legally defensible criteria for determining whether the exception should be applied in specific cases?

If such individuals are retained, what restrictions if any should be placed on their sexual conduct on base, as well as off base?

If the general exclusionary policy is retained, should the armed services eliminate pre-enlistment questions about homosexuality?

If these questions are eliminated should the exclusionary policy be limited to those who actually engage in homosexual conduct after entering the service?

If such a policy is adopted, what policy should apply to those who openly declare their

homosexuality after entering military service, even if they're not asked any questions?

If they volunteer that declaration what then would their status be?

Before determining whether the policy should be changed, should there first be an effort to determine whether it is possible to draft a practical and legally defensible code of conduct regulating homosexuality in the military setting?

This is something that Secretary Aspin has been talking about in recent days.

Should the military have a single code of conduct that applies to conduct between members of the same sex as well as members of the opposite sex, or are we going to have two separate codes of conduct for each of those groups?

Should there be a limitation as to whether a service member may engage in homosexual acts at any location, on or off post, where a heterosexual act would otherwise be appropriate, or only off post?

Should there be restriction on homosexual acts with other military personnel?

Or only with non-military personnel? What restrictions, if any, should be placed on conduct between members of the same sex? Should such restrictions apply in circumstances in which conduct would not be prohibited if engaged in between members of the opposite sex, that is, where such conduct would not constitute any offense under the current procedures and practices and Uniform Code of Military Justice. Let's say that the conduct doesn't have any connotations of sexual harassment or fraternization or prohibited displays of affection in uniform, all of which are prohibited.

Take, for example, a request to engage in sexual activity, for example: let's spend the night together at a motel. What will we do with that? Is that a new type violation, or is it not? What about displays of affection between members of the same sex while they're out of uniform? What about displays of affection that are otherwise permissible while in uniform, such as dancing at a formal event?

These are the questions the military has to answer. Too many times we in the political world send down edicts and don't think about the implications of the things that have to follow. These are questions that have to be thought about, and every military commander will tell you that they have to go through each one of these things, and plus a lot more.

If the current exclusionary policy is changed, should there be a code of conduct regulating behavior toward homosexuals in the military? What rules, if any, should be adopted to prohibit harassment on the basis of sexual orientation? What rules, if any, should be adopted to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation? If discrimination is prohibited, how would a non-discriminatory policy affect pay and benefits and entitlements? Should homosexual couples receive the same benefits as legal, legally married couples? For example, non-military spouses now are entitled to housing, medical care, exchange and commissary privileges, and similar benefits. Military spouses also benefit from policies that accommodate marriages, such as joint assignment programs. If homosexual couples are given such benefits, will they also have to be granted to unmarried heterosexual couples?

If discrimination is prohibited, will this require express guidance and personnel actions such as instructions to promotion boards?

If discrimination is prohibited, will there be a related requirement for affirmative action in recruiting, retention and promotion to compensate for past discrimination?

If discrimination is prohibited, will there be a related requirement for affirmative action in recruiting, retention and promotion to compensate for past discrimination. If discrimination is prohibited, will there be a need for extensive sensitivity training for members of the armed forces who will carry out this sensitivity training.

Another question, Mr. President, the military currently endeavors to respect sexual privacy by establishing to the maximum extent practical separate living and bathroom arrangements for men and women.

If the policy is changed, if the policy we now have is changed, should separate arrangements also be made for those who are declared homosexuals. If the policy is changed, what accommodation, if any, should be made to a heterosexual who objects to rooming or sharing bathroom facilities with a homosexual.

These are not frivolous questions, Mr. President. These questions are going to have to be answered at the platoon level and the company level and the squad level and the barracks level by every military commander, man and women, in our military forces today that have any command authority.

If the current exclusionary policy is changed, what are the implications of tolerating homosexual acts among military members in light of the statutory prohibition against homosexual acts under the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

SENATOR NUNN (continuing): Is it all right to stand up and say in effect, I have committed

a crime under the code of military justice, and then have that policy basically say well, we will not discriminate against you because of that.

What are the legal implications in this case. If the exclusionary policy is changed, do we not also need to go back and examine the laws that relate to the Uniform Code of Military Justice. If the exclusionary policy is changed by the statutory prohibition remains, in other words, if we don't change the law but we just change the policy by executive order, can the president in the manual for court martial specifically exempt from prosecution actions that would not be prohibited under a revised DoD directive.

If so, is there also a need to address heterosexual consensual sodomy. Does that too need to be reviewed.

Regardless of whether the policy's changed, should the president who has the authority under the Uniform Code of Military Justice to establish maximum punishments, revise the current five-year maximum punishment for consensual sodomy.

If the current exclusionary policy is changed, what will be the effect on pending court martial and administrative discharge cases. If the current exclusionary policy is changed, what will be the effect on tens of thousands of past cases, particularly in terms of claims for back pay, reinstatement, promotions, and similar forms of relief.

Mr. President, there are other questions that others will think of. These are the ones that have come to my mind just in the last few days. These are difficult and emotional issues. But they must be addressed. Every man and woman in this country has a right to be respected. That is the foundation and the heart of our Constitution, which enshrines individual rights and liberties. We cherish those rights and liberties.

Our Constitution also underscores the essential role of government in providing for our common defense. When the interests of some individuals bear upon the cohesion and effectiveness of an institution on which our national security depends, we must move very cautiously.

This caution, in my view, is prudence, not prejudice.

Mr. President, a thorough airing of these matters is essential before any action is taken by the Department of Defense or the Congress. It is my intent that the Armed Services Committee hearings will provide a comprehensive discussion of these issues by persons knowledgeable in military affairs, personnel management and human relations.

Mr. President, I know there are a lot of people who would like to propose a law on the floor, and I know that there is a real effort underway to have the president sign an executive order. I would urge that those who want to legislate on this subject one way or the other think through some of these questions before they propose a specific piece of legislation.

And I would also urge that the White House and the president and all of his advisers, including my good friend the secretary of defense, think through these questions very carefully before they take any kind of action that can be final or could be perceived as final. This is not an easy issue, it's an issue that all of us need to think through very carefully because it's not simply the right of homosexuals at stake, although that is a very important consideration. It's also the right of all of those men and women who serve in the military.

END NUNN REMARKS

FILE
86

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INDEXING MENU

C.N. Publication: Transcripts
C.N. Publication Date: 930127
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ARTICLES TO BE INDEXED

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Q: Senator **Nunn,** would you address what Senator Mitchell reportedly said, that there are no more than 30 votes in the Senate that would support a resolution lifting the ban on gays in the military? SENATOR SAM **NUNN** (D-Georgia): Well, I'm not sure that Senator Mitchell ever said that. What I read in the paper was that a memorandum from Congressman Aspin, or Secretary Aspin, to President Clinton that basically talked about what Senator Mitchell said. Senator Mitchell never said that to me, so you'd have to ask him about that. My own view is that I don't have any count on how people stand in the Senate. I don't know whether there are 30 votes to uphold the existing policy or 60 votes--I'm not sure. Q: What's your vote? Q: Would you support it? SENATOR **NUNN**: I support the current policy--and I've said that on a number of occasions. I do believe we ought to have hearings. The Constitution of the United States provides that the Congress of the United States shall raise and support armies, and we have a clear specific duty to provide in statutes for the well-being and the overall provisions for those armies and navies and air forces. There's not any question about our constitutional duty, and I think Congress is going to have to address this policy. It's fine for the president to give his views, it's fine for him to decide what he's going to do on executive orders. But the fundamental policy dealing with our military is a shared responsibility, and the Congress of the United States needs to speak to it. I'm going to be having hearings on this subject. I promised Senator Metzenbaum last year on the floor of the Senate that we would have hearings on this subject, and we will have hearings on the subject some time beginning in the month of March. It may take some weeks and it may take months. So I'm not saying we'll wrap everything up in March. There are many complicated questions on the subject, and I plan to, probably tomorrow, make a speech on the floor where I will enumerate those questions that we will be going into in March. I think our committee ought to go into the hearings with a view of hearing from everyone. All of us have our own individual views, but I think we ought to all be willing for those views to be shaped after we have heard from the president and his team, Secretary Aspin, and also after we've heard from many members of the military on both sides of the issue. I think something is fundamentally flawed when the people, the men and women in the military, have an issue that is

vital to them, that affects them, and they never have been heard from. And I believe they ought to be heard from. I can assure the men and women in the military they will be heard from, whatever their views. We'll have not only top-ranking officers and members of the Joint Chiefs--we'll want to hear from them-- but I'll also have some enlisted people and some young officers so that we can get a view of the military. This is an important issue in the military, and before we make decisions on it in the Congress--and I would also hope in the White House--that we would have their thorough views. Q: In the Aspin memo, it said that the key to perhaps lifting the ban is your leadership. If you're on record as keeping the ban in place, does that mean it's doomed? SENATOR **NUNN:** I just--I really don't want to comment on a memo that I haven't read. I haven't seen the memo. I read it in the paper. I can't conclude where the votes are, I can't conclude what the Congress is going to do. I can conclude the Constitution of the United States puts this responsibility on the Congress of the United States as well as the president of the United States and commander-in-chief. It's not simply a presidential prerogative. Q: Senator, you said on one hand that your mind is made up, and you said on the other hand that you should be open to what comes out at the hearings. Does this suggest that-- SENATOR **NUNN:** I said I had a current position. That is my current position. That is my strongly held view, that the current policy has good reason for it, but I also think there are other views that ought to be heard, and our committee will hear those views. Whether I change my mind or not will depend on the testimony we have and the views of an awful lot of other people. So yes, I have a view on it. I don't have--I'm not equivocal on the subject. I think the current policy should be adhered to. But I also recognize there are court cases, there are challenges, there are many people who are in the military today who are not disclosed as homosexuals, but who probably either are or have those tendencies. We have a whole series of questions about whether this is a state of mind or whether we will basically be governing conduct. So it's a complicated, complex issue. Anyone who thinks that you can just make a decision, sign an executive order and that's it hasn't looked at the underlying questions. There are an awful lot of questions on this subject, and I'll be going into those on the floor probably sometime tomorrow. Q: Senator, is the president making a strategic error-- Q: Do you think (inaudible) the Congress in changing the situation now? SENATOR **NUNN:** I have no vote count. I don't purport to try to speak for anyone other than myself on the subject. We do have a lot of interest in the subject. Senator Metzenbaum raised it on the floor last year. He did not push for a vote. And I pledge to have hearings on it, and I'm telling you here today that we will have hearings beginning sometime in March. Q: Senator, will gay groups be invited to your hearing? SENATOR **NUNN:** Absolutely. We'll hear from all points of view on the subject. We certainly will have people in gay groups that will be invited to be heard, both in the military

and certainly in some organizations outside the military. Q: Senator, are you concerned about the way the administration has handled this so far? SENATOR **NUNN**: Will I comment on it? Q: Are you concerned about the way, the manner in which they have proceeded on this issue? SENATOR **NUNN**: Well, I'll just say that if there's a strategy there, it hasn't been explained to me. (Laughter) Q: Does that mean you're dissatisfied? SENATOR **NUNN**: No, it just means what I said. I just am not part of the strategy. I haven't been--I haven't-- Q: How much (inaudible) relationship between the Clinton White House and Congress, between Zoe Baird last week and now this week? SENATOR **NUNN**: I didn't get the question. I heard the references, but-- Q: How would you describe the beginning of the relationship between the Clinton White House and Congress, with the Zoe Baird fiasco last week, and now this coming up Monday morning? SENATOR **NUNN**: Well, I didn't view that as a contest-- the Zoe Baird nomination as a contest between the Congress and the president. I think the people in the White House concluded, as the people in the Congress and the Senate concluded as the week went on, that this was not a nomination that could be sustained. And I think that she was probably qualified for other positions, but the nature of her mistakes basically went right to the heart of her job, and that's what you look at in this situation. And she would have been charged for carrying out the very laws that she had admitted she breached with knowledge. When I first heard about the subject of Zoe Baird, I did not know whether she understood the implications of the law and had gone forward even understanding that she was violating the law. When she admitted that, then--I didn't make any public statement, but it was clear to me that that went to the heart of her job. So I didn't see this as a contest between the president and the Congress. I don't see this as a contest, this whole homosexual issue, between the president and the Congress. It may get down to that, we may have differences of opinion when we conclude. But one thing we all know is the military of the United States is important, the morale of the military of the United States is important. We also have constitutional protections for every individual in this country. We have to reconcile those things and we have to take into account not only the views of homosexuals, which are important--many of them have served ably and I'm sure many of them continue to; but also the rights of privacy of those men and women in the military that are not homosexual. Both have to be heard from. We also have a very important consideration about the military being different from any other walk of life. Almost any other job you describe, when you get through with the job, you go home at night, you have your privacy of your home. In the military, that's just not the case. And people in the military, who have served in the military, understand that and understand it well. When you go in the military of the United States, you give up a certain amount of privacy, and that makes the military unique and different from almost every other aspect of life. And we have to consider that in looking at the cohesion of the military and looking at

morale of the military and in determining if changes should be made and if they are going to be made, how to make those changes. Q: Senator, as a matter of national priorities, do you think that this issue at this time is the best thing for the military when there are troops in Somalia, when the administration is trying to come up with an alternative policy perhaps or a continuation of the policy in Iraq, the decisions that are going to have to be made about the former Yugoslavia-- is this the time for this issue when there are so many other military matters to consider? SENATOR **NUNN**: If I had my way, we would await the hearings of the Congress and probably even have a presidential commission that would deliberate on this matter, and therefore we would take any action that came out of those hearings and came out of that presidential commission recommendation some time much later this year. But that is my personal view, and the president of the United States got elected on a platform--he has his view, and we will certainly take that into account. Q: Have you and Mr. Aspin discussed this recently? SENATOR **NUNN**: I had breakfast with Secretary Aspin on Friday morning. We had many things we discussed. This was one of them. This was certainly not-- Q: So he wrote his memo--you would have had a conversation with him prior to his writing this memo? SENATOR **NUNN**: I don't know. Friday morning is when I had breakfast with him. I'm not sure when the memo was written--I don't know the date of the memo. I had breakfast with him on Friday morning, but I've had discussions-- Q: You didn't discuss with him any sort of problems (inaudible)? SENATOR **NUNN**: I've had a number of conversations with Secretary Aspin, and there have been several occasions where this subject has come up, so it's not limited to Friday. We've had several conversations. And I've had several conversations with President Clinton. Q: Senator, it seems to me that your the best- qualified person probably in the Congress to assess the mood of the Congress, and, if you don't know it, then, number one, it's surprising--but--well, I guess, number two, it's surprising. (Laughter) SENATOR **NUNN**: I never pretend to know the mood of Congress until we vote. I've seen Congress change its mind on a dime. We saw last week how quickly the Senate of the United States can react to public opinion. The ultimate question will be what the American public thinks about it. I think until you have a thorough set of hearings, until the Congress of the United States has a chance to focus on it--most people have been concerned about taxes or education or health, most people haven't sat around and focused on this one issue. So I don't think the Congress of the United States has made up its mind on the issue; if they have, I don't know what the count is, and I think the American people are closely divided. I think a thorough set of hearings, perhaps a presidential commission, should precede any kind of definitive final action Q: And do you feel there should be a recorded vote in the Congress on this? SENATOR **NUNN**: Well, it's just like any other vote--if it's controversial, there will be a recorded vote. If we were to come to some amazing consensus that it had no controversy, then I

would not object per se to a voice vote. I'd be very shocked if that happened. Q: (Inaudible.) Do you think that it is possible the Congress can go for a couple of months without a vote on it? SENATOR **NUNN:** I do not know. That's something Senator Mitchell will have to determine. I'm not trying to run away from a vote on the subject. I do think, though, before we make any kind of definitive decision in the Senate of the United States--and I would think the House would want to do the same thing--we have thorough hearings and have the record there so that everybody could understand that these issues are not simple. People think this is sort of a black-and-white issue, very simple, and that you can just make a decision like amnesty and that's it. Far from it. There are all sorts of issues that flow from your initial decision. If your initial decision is to change the policy, there are all sorts of very important questions that flow from that. And if you're going to make this decision without thinking about these questions, then basically I think that's a mistake. That's what I'm saying. Thank you. Q: It sounds like you're also saying that Congress might overrule the president on this matter, or that it's possible. SENATOR **NUNN:** Well, let me make this clear. The president can do certain things by executive order. There are certain things he can't do by executive order. He can't change the Uniform Code of Military Justice by executive order. That's a matter of law. He can't change things like survivors' benefits by law. That's a matter of policy. He probably can't change many of the housing codes in the military without Congress acting on it. So there are things the president can do by executive order, there are things he can't do by executive order. And the mistake so far in this whole debate is to believe that it is a cut-and-dried issue, that you can simply make a decision and do it. It's not that simple; there are all sorts of questions that flow from it. There are questions that relate to heterosexual behavior, there are questions relating to off-base, on-base behavior, there are questions relating to fraternization, which is the law now between officers and enlisted people, and whether that's going to carry forth. I'll lay all these out in a speech tomorrow, and I look forward to-- Q: Senator, (inaudible) says that it's very complicated to change from income tax to a consumption tax. Do you think that this is more complicated than that, because you sort of just (inaudible) the other one, you didn't have any problems talking about the transition problems there. Here you focused in and you see what all the transition problems are. I'm bringing these two together because they happen to come out at the same press conference. SENATOR **NUNN:** I don't think I can make a comparison between homosexual policy and tax policy. That's just beyond my capability. Q: The reason I say that is that people who know about it, who have looked at a tax policy, say-- SENATOR **NUNN:** Well, I certainly wouldn't be in favor of changing to a consumption-based income tax without thorough hearing. No way. So there is an analogy there. Not just one set, but a lot of sets of hearings. END **NUNN** REMARKS ..publication Transcripts

FILE
87

INDEXING MENU

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ARTICLES TO BE INDEXED

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SENATOR SAM **NUNN** (D-Georgia): I'm just going to take about two or three, because I really said all I need to say on the floor, I think. Q: Can you tell us about your breakfast this morning, (inaudible)? SENATOR **NUNN**: Cereal, skim milk, grapefruit juice, conversation. (Laughter) It was on a lot of things. He was talking about mainly his reform program in terms of--not reform, but his organization of the Department of Defense. Q: I can't believe this issue didn't come up, that he didn't ask you for your help. SENATOR **NUNN**: We did talk about this in general terms. It was just a general conversation. But I'd already talked to him.

This was a whole group of people. I've had two or three conversations with the secretary. Q: Senator, what could President Clinton say or do tomorrow that you could live with? For example, what if he says from now on we'll freeze investigations. SENATOR **NUNN**: I really don't care to get into any kind of negotiation here about compromise of some sort. What I have outlined on the floor of the Senate is very clear. What I would like to see is no final decisive legislation, no final decisive executive action. If we have final decisive executive action, we're going to have legislation--it's that simple. If we have an understanding that the executive branch is going to study this for about whatever time they'd like and we're going to have time to ask the key questions over here in Senate hearings, and most of all, most fundamentally, to hear from the men and women in uniform--if we have that kind of understanding, then I do not see where it's in the interest of the country for either side to move on this subject with any kind of final decisive action. That's about as clear as I can make it. Q: Would you support--the Republicans, as you know, would like to freeze the current policy in place, some say indefinitely, some say for six months. Is that something that you think would-- SENATOR **NUNN**: I'd have to look at the exact wording of that, and so forth. I haven't seen that proposal. I couldn't answer that without looking at it. But in effect what I'm describing is both sides not taking any final decisive action--that's the way I would word it. Q: Do you get the feeling from your meetings with people in the administration that the White House is prepared to wait until your hearings are over? SENATOR **NUNN**: Not yet; I don't have that--I don't know yet. Those

discussions are ongoing, and I'm certainly going to be interested in talking to the president tonight and see what he has in mind. Q: What do you feel about the Army--recruits are questioned about their sexual preference. How do you feel about that (inaudible)? SENATOR **NUNN**: About? I'm not sure I got-- Q: When recruits are questioned about their sexual preference. SENATOR **NUNN**: Oh, the questions? I have never thought that some of those very detailed questions were absolutely necessary on military recruitment forms, and those areas where I think many times you set people up to lie about various things. I remember once we had a whole set of hearings about people in the military on marijuana, that had smoked marijuana, and something like 98 percent of all the people answering said they'd never smoked marijuana, and yet in the population something like 70 percent of kids that age had smoked marijuana. Well, what you're doing is starting off their military career with lies, and I've never been wedded to those kind of detailed personal questions on those forms. But that's something the military people would have to consider. Q: Senator, you say you're meeting with the president tonight? SENATOR **NUNN**: We are supposed to. I understand that the White House has announced. We're supposed to go down there tonight. Q: Senator, I take it from your speech that it is possible after an extensive review of the issue that you could conclude, as President Clinton apparently has, that the policy on gays in the military should change. SENATOR **NUNN**: I have my own feeling now that the current policy is the correct policy. When we have hearings, as in all hearings, I will listen to all points of view and I will make a final decision after I've heard all points of view. Q: Senator, you indicated a moment ago, if I understood you correctly, to say you haven't decided how to vote on the issue if it comes up this week or next week? SENATOR **NUNN**: Well, I don't know what the vote will be on. It depends on the particular piece of legislation we have before us. I can envision 50 different ways it could come up. So I can't answer that question until I see the proposed amendment. Q: Well, Senator, suppose the issue were to be framed simply as a matter of codifying into law the policy that exists now. SENATOR **NUNN**: It depends on what the administration is going to do. I would prefer that there be no legislation if there is no decisive final White House action. Q: Could I follow that up just a second? SENATOR **NUNN**: I really--I think I've covered everything. Thank you. Q: One more, on a different--not on what Bob was asking you. The week started out with this revelation coming from Aspin's staff that they think you're the strategic key to this, and yesterday afternoon aides at the White House were telling reporters to listen to your speech, in effect some softening. Are you concerned that the White House is handling this with a sort of a political tin ear? SENATOR **NUNN**: No, I know they got good people down there--gosh, they're very skilled people and I have a lot of confidence in them, I have a lot of confidence in President Clinton. I've talked to him about this on numerous occasions, talked to Secretary Aspin on numerous occasions. Contrary to any media

implications, I have not in any way hinted that I have not been consulted on this. I have talked to them several times and have no complaint whatsoever on that. My main point has been that the men and women in the military services need to be heard from on this issue before final decisive action is taken that vitally affects them, that affects morale of our military, that affects a lot of individual human beings on both sides of the issue. They need to be heard from. I'm not in any way complaining about my lack of access. I've had numerous conversations on this subject, and have no problem whatsoever. Q: You seem to be saying that if the White House doesn't push it by signing an executive order, therefore you would oppose any attempt to codify current law. If the White House holds off, your (inaudible) decisive action on the other side. SENATOR **NUNN**: I prefer to state it the way I've stated it. Q: Maybe you could say it more clearly if you try it again. SENATOR **NUNN**: Steve is more articulate than I am. Q: He said that in the most articulate and correct way? SENATOR **NUNN**: I prefer it with a slight degree of inarticulation. (Laughter) END **NUNN** REMARKS

FILE
88

D ENT: 13 of 13

INDEXING MENU

C.N. Publication: Transcripts
C.N. Publication Date: 930128
C.N. Pub Page No.: rtv9

ARTICLES TO BE INDEXED

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REP. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON (D-District of Columbia): Barring people from serving their country because of their sexual orientation is unadulterated discrimination. How to bar discrimination is always open to question. It is too late in our history to argue whether to abolish discrimination. All of the arguments we hear today resonate painfully from our history: division in the country, morale of the services, apocalyptic forecasts of resistance. Then the subject was blacks. Today the subjects are gay men and lesbians. Then the stimulus was a war against racism that had been fought by segregated troops. Today the stimulus must be our own sense of right and wrong. Armed with the formidable weapon of military discipline, the services have often rapidly integrated Americans who had never before experienced equal treatment in civilian or military life. Today as well, military discipline must be used to reinforce equality, not discrimination. The military has the best institutional record in the country of eliminating discrimination, despite problems encountered by women and people of color, still the services have steadfastly refused to give in to bigotry. They must do so now. The armed services have set their own high standards, Congress and the president must hold them to it. REP. HENRY WAXMAN (D-California): I'm Henry Waxman from California. The issue is not whether there are going to be gays in the military. There always have been gays in the military, as in other walks of life. The question before us is whether people are going to be subjected to harassment, discrimination and bigotry. The American way is not to allow that sort of thing to happen. We stopped it for race. We've stopped it for disabilities. We've stopped discrimination based on sex, and we need to protect people from discrimination and bigotry for sexual orientation. We support President Clinton in his issuing of an executive order. REP. LUCIAN BLACKWELL (D-Pennsylvania): I'm pleased to stand before you to discuss the elimination of a policy which is rooted in misinformation, bigotry and outdated cultural stereotypes. Selective treatment by the armed forces is nothing new. As a veteran of the Korean War, I can tell you firsthand of the selective treatment that African Americans experienced fighting in separate platoons, subject to sparse living conditions and facing the wrath of overzealous officers. Women in the armed forces also know the selective treatment. They

know what it's like to be harassed, labeled as less than competent and restricted in their ability to serve their country. And of course, homosexuals know all too well the process of selective treatment which forbids them from living in the armed services altogether. Just as countless numbers of African Americans and women have laid down their lives in the name of their country, so too have gays. The simple fact remains, regardless of selective treatment, our blood flows all the time. This is the issue of civil rights, nothing else. One's sexual orientation has nothing to do with one's capacity to serve their country honorably. Let us dispel these foolish notions once and for all so we can proceed onwards and allow gay men and women to continue to serve their nation with the greatest sense of honor and duty that is felt by all service people, regardless of race, sex or sexual orientation. REP. JERROLD NADLER (D-New York): I am pleased to be here and I want to thank Congresswoman **Schroeder** for inviting me here today, first of all. I want to support President Clinton in his determination to end the ban on lesbians and gay men serving in the military, a pledge which he has recently reaffirmed in his meeting with the freshman class of the 103rd Congress. Instituting an end to the ban will put a halt to the inequity and discrimination that has been perpetrated against lesbians and gay members of the armed forces for the last 45 years.

Ending the ban will strengthen the military by eliminating the needless exclusion of well qualified men and women on the basis of an irrelevant characteristic. This ill-conceived discriminatory policy has been costly in financial as well as in human terms. The General Accounting Office has determined that the federal government has spent over $500 million to recruit and train replacements for personnel discharged because of their sexual preference. The United States and Great Britain remain alone among Western democracies in maintaining this medieval policy for military personnel. The time is long overdue to put a stop to this blatant and inhumane discrimination. I have been stunned in the last few days to read 45-year-old statements by respected military leaders, such as General Eisenhower and General Omar Bradley saying that for good order and maintenance of morale, they had to keep blacks segregated in the military. I didn't know about those statements, and I've been stunned to see the same statements, almost word for word, coming from members, respected members of the military today. Twenty years from now, five years from now, we will look back on those statements with the same sense of amazement and shame that we now look back upon those statements in 1947. REP. ELIOT ENGEL (D-New York): I'm Eliot Engel from New York. The thing that's important about serving in the military is one's competence. What one does in the privacy of their own bedroom is totally irrelevant. And what's so ridiculous and annoying is you've seen bigotry rear its ugly head once again. President Clinton has said that the only thing that's important is someone's competence. And inappropriate behavior, inappropriate sexual behavior, public behavior, be it heterosexual or homosexual, will

not be tolerated. What one person does, again, in the privacy of their own bedroom is no one's concern but that person. The republic will not collapse if people are allowed to admit their sexual orientation. Gay and lesbians have served in the military from the beginning of time. The question is will we continue to perpetrate a hoax and a fraud? Why should people live in fear? Why should people be afraid to say who they are? Again, the word is competent. If you are a competent soldier, if you are a competent military person, that's all that ought to count. Thank you. REP. NANCY PELOSI (D-California): Good morning. I'm Nancy Pelosi and I represent San Francisco in the Congress. But I come here not only as a member of the Congress, but also as co-chair of the Democratic platform. In that platform, the Democratic party made a strong commitment to lifting the ban on gays and lesbians in the military. I'm so pleased that our new president of the United States is keeping that commitment. Why? Because gays and lesbians have served with distinction in the armed forces. Because all of our allies, as has been indicated by my colleagues earlier, mostly all of our allies, Germany, France, Japan, Italy, Spain, Austria, Canada, the list goes on and on, in all of those countries gays and lesbians serve in the military. So this is not anything unusual. And third of all, because it's time for us to have this leadership. It's disappointing, I think, to see some of the people in the Congress turn up the heat on this issue, when in fact when we need is leadership on their part so that we can make this transition and follow the lead of that great president Harry Truman and just do it. So I commend Congresswoman **Schroeder** for her legislation. I hope that it will not be necessary, that we will be able to just follow the lead of our president, lift the ban, get rid of the hypocrisy and have a stronger country for it. Thank you. REP. LYNN WOOLSEY (D-California): I'm Lynn Woolsey from the 6th district in California. I'm a new member of the House of Representatives, a new member that's supporting our president, Bill Clinton, in removing the ban for gays in the military. I'm joining all fair-thinking Americans, Americans who want civil rights for everyone, not just their own friends. Bill Clinton was elected on a platform to ban the discrimination against gays in the military. Bill Clinton won. He won. He's leading our country, the right wing is not leading our country. The joint chiefs of staff were not elected to run our country, Bill Clinton was. I support the president. I support the protection for all Americans and for civil rights for everyone. And we need all of you to help us. Because a few voices from the right are going to try to speak for all Americans. Thank you. REP. NORMAN Y. MINETA (D-California): I'm Norm Mineta from the 15th congressional district in California, and I'm pleased to be able to join everybody in support of President Clinton's decision to eliminate the ban on gays and lesbians in our nation's armed services. Current Pentagon policy is to remove gays and lesbians from the armed services no matter how qualified or capable they might be. That policy is unjust, it is unfair and

ignores the fact that thousands of gays and lesbians already serve with distinction in our military. The president is attempting to end this arbitrary discrimination and harassment, and ensure that all service personnel are judged on their own merits. I served during the Korean War and as a former Army intelligence officer I believe that we can afford to do nothing less. As an American of Japanese ancestry, the arguments in this debate sound very familiar to me. As a ten-year old boy during the second world war I was forced into an internment camp by the United States government with my family and 120,000 other loyal Japanese-Americans. The government believed that we could never be true Americans because our ancestors had emigrated from Japan. Despite that violation of our basic human rights, many Japanese-Americans in those camps volunteered to join the war effort. The military initially refused. They said that Americans of Japanese ancestry were not welcome, and that we could not be trusted. When President Roosevelt finally ordered the formation of a Japanese-American military unit there was a public outcry. The Oregon state senate passed a resolution condemning the policy, and the Idaho state legislature passed a resolution demanding that all Japanese-Americans be discharged from the U.S. armed services. But ultimately the Japanese-American 442nd regimental combat team became the most decorated unit of its size in U.S. military history, and that bigotry was exposed for what it is, for what it was. Today, another group of Americans is seeking the right to serve this great nation in the military openly and proudly. And once again, some Americans want to say no, they cannot be trusted, their presence will be disruptive, or that other service member won't work with them. Those reasons are no more valid today than they were 50 years ago. And so I am proud to have a president who recognizes that and I am proud to give him my full support. (Applause) REP. DON EDWARDS (D-California): I'm Don Edwards, the chairman of the Civil Rights Subcommittee of the House and I'm from California and chairman of the California Democratic delegation. I was here when President Kennedy and President Johnson asked for civil rights for black Americans, and they said it wouldn't work, that it would disrupt the country. Well, I tell you, it did work and President Clinton is right. Discrimination in every sense of the word must be done away with, and we're here to support President Clinton. REP. NYDIA VELAZQUEZ (D-New York): I'm Nydia Velazquez, 12th Congressional District in New York. When the United States armed forces annually excluded over 1,500 soldiers from wearing a military uniform because it disapproves of their private lifestyle, it denies this country the service of scores of patriotic Americans. The military actually tells gay Americans, no matter how talented a soldier you may be, your lifestyle disqualifies you from military service. Such blatant and taxpayer-financed bigotry is unconscionable. The Pentagon claims that the presence of gay members in our armed forces seriously impairs the accomplishments of the military mission. However, the contradiction between the military's rationale for a ban on gays and

the military enforcement of those individuals is best captured in a 1990 memorandum from Navy Vice Admiral Joseph Donald to the officers of more than 200 ships. Donald admitted in his communication that lesbian sailors existed in the Navy, and even characterized them as among the command's top performers. But instead of recognizing that these facts proved the military's policy to be groundless, Donald insisted that all suspected lesbians be aggressively investigated and summarily evicted. Such twisted logic, to dismiss someone on the ground that they cannot perform the military mission, while admitting that they are exemplary soldiers, vividly illustrates the military's backward thinking on this issue. This incident is also proof of the suspicion placed on all women soldiers who are excellent performers. They must be gay, concludes the military. Therefore, give them a hard time or find reasons to purge them. So the Pentagon policy not only impacts thousands of gays and lesbians in the service and those wanting to join the service, but it also jeopardizes the standing of military women and singles them out for harassment. Now we have the top brass of the Pentagon telling the president that he cannot right this wrong. Well, in case the Joint Chiefs of Staff have forgotten, this is a democracy, with a popularly elected civilian head of state who serves as commander in chief. So, Mr. President, all fair-minded Americans want you to do what is just and what is fair--reverse the ban on gays and lesbians in the military. Thank you. REP. GERRY STUDDS (D-Massachusetts): I'm Gerry Studds from the 10th District of Massachusetts. I think all of us were probably somewhat taken aback by the sudden and intense and sustained attention to this issue, and I think therefore just a moment of perspective and thought on all of our part might be order. I think what we're really seeing is the last major chapter in the 200-year-old story of civil rights, which is the history of this country, of this experiment in democracy, and this is the last major unfinished business in that struggle. It is no coincidence that before me at this podium have been representatives in the truest word. We've had members of Congress who are Jewish Americans, members of Congress how are Catholic Americans, if there is such a term, Hispanic Americans, African Americans, Japanese Americans. This struggle would have come as no surprise to John Kennedy from my state, who had to convince this country that a Roman Catholic could run for the presidency of the United States seriously. It would have come as no surprise certainly to Martin Luther King, Jr. It surely would not have surprised Harry Truman, who had to endure the same intensity of outcry, verbatim the same complaints from both his highest ranking military officers and from members of Congress in 1948 when he did what he knew was the right thing to do. And I think if we view it in that perspective, then perhaps the firestorm and the commotion and the media intensity of the moment will make some sense to us. And finally, let me suggest that it is perhaps not altogether inappropriate that it is the Department of Defense that is the focus at the moment. And perhaps the most relevant question we can

all ask ourselves at the moment is what are those many thousands of brave men and women in uniform defending? It is, in fact, not simply a piece of turf called the United States or North America. It is an ideal that is some 200 years in the making, that is still in the making, and it is the Constitution of the United States, which the Joint Chiefs are sworn to uphold and defend and which every member of Congress is sworn to preserve, protect and defend. That is what this struggle is about. I think President Clinton clearly and articulately and eloquently perceives that, and I think men and women of goodwill in every corner of this country owe him our thanks and our support. Thank you. REP. PAT **SCHROEDER** (D-Colorado): Thank you very much. I just want to add one thing, and that is I think this is a very important national security issue. Don't forget that the people in the military handle the top secrets of this country, and it makes absolutely no sense to have people handling secrets that can be so easily blackmailed by this crazy ban that we have in effect. And I think we need to focus on that over and over and over again. So with that, let me be quiet and see what kind of questions we have. Q: (Inaudible.) REP. **SCHROEDER:** There is talk that they will try and attach it. There is no way they can attach it in the House of Representatives, because the House of Representatives has germaneness rules, and you cannot attach the retention of the ban to family leave. My hope is if the Senate is crazy enough to do that, and I would hope there would be enough senators who would stand up to that kind of craziness, but if they do it, then when we go to conference with them we can keep it out. It would really be outrageous to allow that to impede America's families from finally getting family leave, as they've been waiting 10 years to get that bill out of here. Q: How can we get rid of military prostitution (inaudible) do you think that-- REP **SCHROEDER:** Well, I don't know. I think-- Q: --if we get the right people in office, and-- REP **SCHROEDER:** That's a good question. Q: --also get more gays and lesbians, would that solve the problem? REP **SCHROEDER:** I'm not sure that that's--that's a long-term goal we ought to talk about some other time. Does anybody else have any question about this? Yes? Q: Were you surprised by the intensity of the reaction to the president's proposal? I mean it seems as if the White House has been taken off guard by this tremendous opposition. REP **SCHROEDER:** I haven't been too surprised because I felt a lot of that intensity and I've seen some of that intensity in my state. But the good news is when you look at the polls, we saw this morning 53 percent of the people agreed with the president that people should not be asked about their sexual preference when they are enlisting in the military. So there is kind of a silent majority. I think the other side is so noisy that it sometimes gets drummed out. And again, civil rights are not supposed to be something that the majority votes on. That was the great brilliance of our system. That civil rights are things that everybody is protected, and you're protected as to what you are. You're not protected by what you do, but you're protected by what you are. What you do you're

accountable for. What you are, you can't be held for. Let me say Congressman Gunderson has made it here, from Wisconsin, too. Anybody else have any questions? Oh, yes, come on up. We've got another--well, why don't you both come up. We've got two more Congress people here. Lynn, go for it. REP. LYNN SCHENK (D-California): Good morning. I'm Lynn Schenk from San Diego, California, and in my district I am proud to represent some very fine military bases, and I'm also proud to represent a large gay and lesbian community. Many of the gay and lesbian citizens are in the military and this has been a very long relationship. It is absolutely astounding that we stand here in 1993, and argue and debate whether one's sexual orientation is of any relevance to their ability to serve patriotically and to serve well. In San Diego, we have demonstrated for many, many years, that that simply is not a question. The other day, I was looking at an article about Governor Orville Faubus and the way he stood on the steps of Central High in Little Rock in 1957 to ban African American children from entering their high school. When I discussed it with somebody who is 32 years old, for whom that is ancient history, she could not believe that that happened in the United States of America. I look forward to the day when the children born today look back on this with the same kind of astonishment and disbelief, and I am confident that that's going to happen. (Applause.) REP. STEVE GUNDERSON (R-Wisconsin): I don't know who's been here before, but I think those of you who know me that I'm Steve Gunderson and I'm a Republican from Wisconsin. I decided to support the concept of gays serving in the military three years ago when I was at a Republican Lincoln Day dinner and the chairman of that country Republican unit who is a retired general said very bluntly--he said, Steve, we need to deal with this issue. He said there have been, there are, and there always will be gays in the military. The question is whether we make them lie. But I decided to co-sponsor Pat Schroeder's bill last session when I watched the Tailhook incident and recognized that sexual harassment was not unique to orientation, and that the issue in the military ought to be conduct, not someone's orientation. But most importantly, the reason I came over here this morning and the reason I want to be vocal on this issue is because when we watch what is happening, very frankly, in Bosnia, in other parts of the world, how long will it take this country to realize that intolerance and hatred produces itself in small steps? And we in this nation, as a civilized and free society, have got to stand up to the growing intolerance for diversity wherever it shows its ugly face. And unfortunately, the press, not the press reaction, the public reaction that you have seen covered by the press in some cases recently, I think is proof of that. Thank you. (Applause.) OSBORNE: I want to mention that we are leaving at ten, so we have to move along. I want to thank Congressman Dan Hamburg for also showing, but I would like to now introduce Patricia Ireland. VOICE: (Off-mike.) OSBORNE: Well, we can move that to the end, then. I'd like to ask Patricia Ireland, president of the National

Organization for Women, the largest feminist organization in the world to come up and speak now. PATRICIA IRELAND (president, NOW): It may not surprise you that the National Organization for Women encourages President Clinton to go forward with his plan to rescind the ban against lesbians and gays in the military. But it may surprise some of you to find so many other women's rights and women's groups standing with us here today, and you will see an extraordinary diversity from the most traditional of the women's rights organizations, and the women's groups to the other end of the spectrum. Under the policy, the ban on lesbians and gays in the military, it is women who suffer most. Three times more women than men are dismissed from the military because of charges of violating this ban. And in the Marine Corps, the rate of women is eight times more than men. When one thinks of the male-female ratio in the armed services, to have this kind of disparity in the discharge rate is staggering. This policy is used to institutionalize job discrimination. Charges of being a lesbian are often leveled against women who compete with their male colleagues for non- traditional jobs, and such charges are also frequently a part of the retaliation against women who stand up against sexual harassment and abuse in the military. Oh, you don't want me? Then you must not be a real woman. Looking back at the Tailhook scandal and the rape of women soldiers in the Persian Gulf by their male colleagues, the threat from heterosexual men is clearly more of a fierce-some reality than any posed by homosexual troops. The National Organization for Women challenges the Congress to reject the reactionary prejudices that have been expressed, to focus their energies, and to have the Joint Chiefs of Staff focus their energies on a plan to address the abhorrent misconduct such as sexual harassment and rape in the armed forces. Now is the time for the military brass to follow the example of President Clinton, and show true leadership on this issue not to retreat to old stereotypes and bigotry. Thank you. (Applause.) END TRANSCRIPT

FILE
89

From yesterday's question and answer session with the President in Cleveland, OH....

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Cleveland, Ohio)

For Immediate Release May 10, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
DURING QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
WITH THE CLEVELAND CITY CLUB

The Statler Tower Building
Cleveland, Ohio

1:50 P.M. EDT

Q Mr. President, based on the congressional hearings so far, how do you expect to resolve the issue of gays in the military this July?

THE PRESIDENT: I can only tell you what I think should be done and what my guess is will be done. And I'm glad you asked this question.

Let me say one thing by way of background. The difference between my position and that of many people in the military, including most folks in the military, is over a very narrow category of people, actually. That is, in the last few months, the Armed Services have, on their own initiative after meeting with me, stopped asking people when they join up whether they are homosexual or not. That is not being asked anymore. For many years that question was not asked; it only started being asked in the relatively recent past. That will solve most of the problems.

I do not propose any changes in the code of military conduct. None. Zero. I do not believe that anything should be done in terms of behavior that would undermine unit cohesion or morale. Nothing.

Here is what this whole debate is about. It is about whether someone should be able to acknowledge, if asked -- or otherwise, homosexuality -- and do nothing else -- do nothing to violate the code of military conduct and not be kicked out of the service. And my position is yes. Others say no. Others say if you let someone acknowledge it, it amounts to legitimizing a lifestyle or putting it on a par with -- I don't see it as that. I just believe that there ought to be a presumption that people ought to be able to serve their country unless they do something wrong. But you need to know -- that is -- it is not such a big

difference. That is what we're arguing about. We're arguing not about any kind of conduct, but about whether people can acknowledge that. Like that young man who was the sixth Army soldier of the year and who's now about to be mustered out because he acknowledged being homosexual.

It is not about asking the American people to approve a lifestyle, to embrace it, to elevate it -- anything else. The question is if you accept as a fact, as we now know and as the Pentagon has said, there have been many, many thousands of homosexuals serve our country and serve it well with distinction -- should we stop asking? They say yes and I say yes. So we solved most of the issues. (Applause.) They say yes and I say yes. (Applause.)

Should we change the code of conduct? They say no, and I say no. Not at all. Not on the base, not any way. No changes in the code of conduct. So the issue is over this what will happen to this -- in this narrow category of cases, and that is what is still to be resolved. I hope my position will prevail. Frankly, I think most people believe as a practical matter -- most people who have studied it -- that the position I have taken can be worked out and is fairest to the good men and women who serve in the service who have done well. But they are -- I think they're frankly worried about having that position look like they are embracing a lifestyle or legitimizing a lifestyle they don't agree with. And I keep saying -- that's not what I think we're about. What I think we're about is acknowledging people's right to do right and to be judged by what they do. And that's sort of my position. (Applause.)

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END1:50 P.M. EDT

FILE
90

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ARTICLE: THE PURSUIT OF MANHOOD AND THE DESEGREGATION OF THE ARMED FORCES.

Kenneth L. Karst *

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* David G. Price and Dallas P. Price Professor of Law, University of California, Los Angeles. 1st Lt., USAF (JAGD), 1954-56. This Article is an expanded version of the Melville B. Nimmer Memorial Lecture given at the UCLA School of Law on November 15, 1990.

In the five years since we lost Mel Nimmer, much has happened to constitutional law. Students of the first amendment can appreciate what it means to say that we must do without Mel's thought-provoking commentary on developments in that field. But his UCLA law colleagues have suffered other losses, too -- not just the chance to talk with Mel about the whole range of constitutional questions, or about copyright or contract law, but the day-to-day experience of Mel as a colleague. A conversation with him might lead in any of a hundred directions, so wide-ranging were his interests and learning. He and Herb Morris organized the first series of faculty colloquia in our school; what began in their living rooms is now a regular part of our collegial life. Mel had strong opinions, and he expressed them in careful arguments, accented with wit. Even when he was explaining how I had fallen into error, it was fun to talk with him. I miss Mel Nimmer, and I feel honored to be allowed to offer my views in a forum dedicated to his memory.

For their helpful comments on a draft of this Article, I am grateful to Alison Grey Anderson, Julian Eule, William Forbath, Catherine Hancock, Leslie Karst, Sylvia Law, Christine Littleton, Robin McDuff, Carrie Menkel-Meadow, Mary Newcombe, Judith Stiehm, and Jonathan Varat (1st Lt., U.S. Army, Artillery, 1969-72; Vietnam, 1970-71). For their capable research assistance, I am grateful to Judith London and Linda Maisner.

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TEXT:

[*499] The statue of the Minuteman stands at the edge of the Lexington Battle Green as a reminder of the American tradition of the citizen soldier. From the Revolution onward, a great many Americans have believed that a citizen has the responsibility, in time of need, to serve in the armed forces. The same association of ideas also works in the other direction: when we amended the Constitution [*500] to lower the voting age to eighteen, one prominent slogan was, "If they're old enough to fight, they're old enough to vote." In the United States, as in Europe, citizenship and eligibility for military service have gone hand in hand. n1 The good news in the historic linkage of

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citizenship and service eligibility is the American military's advance, over the last four decades, toward racial integration and the inclusion of significant numbers of women. But the story is not entirely a happy one. Not until the Korean War did black Americans begin to take their rightful place in the services. Even today, women are excluded from combat positions, and thus denied the opportunities that are most valuable as they seek promotion to leadership. The services also purport to exclude gay men and lesbians altogether. Both the segregation of women into non-combat positions and the exclusion of gay and lesbian servicemembers are under challenge in the halls of Congress and in federal courts across the land. In this Article I argue that these exclusions are inconsistent with the fourteenth amendment's principle of equal national citizenship. n2 I also identify a theme that links these present-day forms of segregation to the services' former practices of racial discrimination.

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n1 See, e.g., De Grazia, Political Equality and Military Participation, 7 ARMED FORCES & SOC'Y 181, 185 (1981) ("The possessor of equal political rights, . . . the citizen, was in origin a soldier . . . ."); see also Hartsock, Masculinity, Citizenship, and the Making of War, 36 POL. SCI. 198 (1984); Janowitz, Military Institutions and Citizenship in Western Societies, 2 ARMED FORCES & SOC'Y 192 (1976); Segal, Kinzer, and Woelfel, The Concept of Citizenship and Attitudes Toward Women in Combat, 3 SEX ROLES 469 (1977).

n2 That principle "presumptively guarantees to each individual the right to be treated by the organized society as a respected, responsible, and participating member." Karst, The Supreme Court, 1976 Term -- Foreword: Equal Citizenship Under the Fourteenth Amendment, 91 HARV. L. REV. 1, 4 (1977). The values I have labeled respect, responsibility, and full participation can be discussed separately; in nearly all social contexts, however, those values overlap, as they do in the contexts discussed here -- the armed forces' policies of exclusion or segregation on the basis of race, sex, or sexual orientation. Because of those policies, the members of subordinated groups have been stigmatized, and thus denied respect; they have been denied the opportunity to carry some of the most important responsibilities of citizenship; and they have been denied full participation in a major aspect of our public life. For elaboration of the theme of equal citizenship, see K. KARST, BELONGING TO AMERICA: EQUAL CITIZENSHIP AND THE CONSTITUTION (1989).

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That unifying theme is the pursuit of manhood. Manhood, of course, has no existence except as it is expressed and perceived. The pursuit of manhood is an expressive undertaking, a series of dramatic [*501] performances. n3 Masculinity is traditionally defined around the idea of power; the armed forces are the nation's preeminent symbol of power; and, not incidentally, "the Marines are looking for a few good men." The symbolism is not a side effect; it is the main point. From the colonial era to the middle of this century, our armed forces have alternately excluded and segregated blacks in the pursuit of manhood, and today's forms of exclusion and segregation are similarly grounded in the symbolism of masculine power.

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n3 On masculinity as a set of images -- depictions of interests and values -- in the specific context of representations of the Vietnam war, see S. JEFFORDS, THE REMASCULINIZATION OF AMERICA: GENDER AND THE VIETNAM WAR (1989).

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In offering this perspective I do not cast the service leadership in the roles of leading men, let alone villains-in-chief. Now, as always, the services are representing views that are current among significant portions of the wider society. What is special about the forces is their position in American life. When they deny or seriously restrict the eligibility of a group of Americans for service, they do not merely impair opportunities for training or leadership. Much more is at stake, both for the people excluded and for the nation. The individual is denied equal citizenship, and the nation is denied a vital support for democracy.

No one thinks of the armed services as democratic in the sense that the private's opinion carries as much weight as the captain's. But surely there is strong appeal in the idea that the services are broadly inclusive of all Americans. n4 Our popular culture repeatedly confirms our attachment to this democratic, unifying ideal. Consider the typical war movie, in which the soldiers' faces tacitly represent our ethnic diversity, and the roll call reminds us more explicitly that our many cultures add up to one nation: Abrams, Anderson, Arenella, Crenshaw, Dukeminier, Garcia, Graham, Matsuda, Munzer, Warren. The services themselves reinforce the same ideal in those Saturday afternoon television advertisements that are addressed to sports fans. The ads picture the services at work, and they portray the presence of women and a good ethnic mix. The implicit message, not just to potential recruits but to all of us, is that the armed forces are integrated; that America is a nation [*502] of equal citizens; and that those two conclusions reinforce each other. The full promise of this message deserves to be fulfilled. To that end, we need to deploy the resources of our law.

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n4 McGeorge Bundy sums it up: "Military service helps to develop a sense of shared exposure, a sense of affirmative connection among the various parts of our society." Bundy, The National Security Context, in WHO DEFENDS AMERICA? RACE, SEX, AND CLASS IN THE ARMED FORCES 11, 16 (E. Dorn ed. 1989). Recognizing this connection, Congress has facilitated the naturalization of aliens who serve in the armed forces. 8 U.S.C. § 1439 (1988). See generally Jacobs & Hayes, Aliens in the U.S. Armed Forces: A Historicol-Legal Analysis, 7 ARMED FORCES & SOC'Y 187 (1981).

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I. THE PROBLEM OF MANHOOD AND THE IDEOLOGY OF MASCULINITY

The connections between military service and citizenship were well understood during the Civil War. Immediately after the first shots at Fort Sumter, black citizens began to volunteer for service in the Union Army and the militia. At first these efforts were rebuffed. By law Congress had limited membership in the militia to whites, and the Lincoln administration, still wooing the border states, feared that admitting blacks to the Army would send the signal that the Union's aim was not merely the preservation of the Union, but the abolition of

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slavery. n5 Furthermore, some generals "feared that the presence of black soldiers in the army would create disharmony and drive away white volunteers." n6 Working-class whites in Northern cities threatened violence to blacks who were proposing to organize military companies. n7 To men at high and low levels in white society, black manhood suggested a new and disquieting form of rivalry, and so the Union cause had to be "a white man's war." n8

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n5 See M. BINKIN & M. EITELBERG, BLACKS AND THE MILITARY 13 (1982); J. MCPHERSON, THE NEGRO'S CIVIL WAR, ch. 2 (1965).

n6 M. BINKIN & M. EITELBERG, supra note 5, at 13.

n7 J. MCPHERSON, supra note 5, at 22.

n8 Id.

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The issue of full citizenship for black people was never far below the surface of the question of black participation in the Army and the militia. Both slavery and lesser forms of racial discrimination were premised on an assumption, sometimes explicit and sometimes unspoken, that denied manhood -- in the full sense of competence to be citizens -- to black men. Then, as now, a citizen was a respected and responsible participant in society, and especially in society's decisions. n9 "Manhood suffrage," a term commonly used in the era of Andrew Jackson, was not a slogan of universality; it excluded women and tribal Indians, and even in the North it typically excluded black men. Whites sometimes referred to black men as "degraded"; n10 as George Fredrickson has remarked, [*503] the use of this term suggested "that there was some ideal of manhood from which the Negro had fallen or to which he might be raised." n11

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n9 See supra note 2.

n10 One notorious reference to the "degradation" of black people -- free blacks as well as slaves -- appears in Chief Justice Roger B. Taney's opinion for the Supreme Court in Dred Scott v. Sandford, 60 U.S. (19 How.) 393, 409, 416 (1857). In arguing that even free blacks could not be citizens, Taney pointed to Congress's 1792 Act excluding black men from the militia. 60 U.S. at 420. He took for granted that citizenship implied eligibility for military service.

n11 G. FREDRICKSON, THE BLACK IMAGE IN THE WHITE MIND: THE DEBATE ON AFRO-AMERICAN CHARACTER AND DESTINY, 1817-1914, at 5 (1971).

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In fact there was, and still is, an ideal of manhood. Historically the ideal, like the word itself, has embraced at least two meanings: masculinity and eligibility for equal citizenship. n12 For most of our national history these meanings have been intertwined; a competence identified with masculinity has seemed a condition of full citizenship, and active participation in the community's public life has offered men reassurance of their masculinity.

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Because it is an abstract ideal, a construct of the mind, manhood in the sense of masculinity is in some measure unattainable; it can be pursued, but never wholly achieved. Yet, the achievement of manhood is seen by most men as essential to their identities. In combination, these elements are a recipe for anxiety. So, manhood is not just an ideal; it is also a problem. The problem begins early, when a little boy must seek his gender identity by separating himself from his mother and from the softness, domesticity, and nurturing she represents. n13 I use the term "represents" advisedly; gender, unlike sex, is not found in nature, but created and understood through representation, the playing of roles labeled "masculine" or "feminine."

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n12 On Aristotle's equation of mature civic identity and masculine citizenship, see J. ELSHTAIN, WOMEN AND WAR 54-56 (1987).

n13 The extensive modern literature on this subject begins in Nancy Chodorow's Freudian study, The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender (1978). See J. BENJAMIN, THE BONDS OF LOVE: PSYCHOANALYSIS, FEMINISM, AND THE PROBLEM OF DOMINATION (1988); N. CHODOROW, FEMINISM AND PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY 23-44 (1990); D. DINNERSTEIN, THE MERMAID AND THE MINOTAUR: SEXUAL ARRANGEMENTS AND HUMAN MALAISE (1976). Robert Stoller, a psychiatrist, suggests that the creation of masculinity out of the "protofemininity" of symbiosis with the mother leaves behind a permanent residue: "a vigilance, a fear of the pull of the symbiosis. . . . One must maintain one's distance from women or be irreparably infected with femininity". R. STOLLER, PRESENTATIONS OF GENDER 18 (1985).

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Thus, masculinity begins in escape -- the perceived need to separate from a feminine identity. The main demands for positive achievement of masculinity arise outside the home, and those demands reinforce the boy's need to be what his mother is not. In the hierarchical and rigorously competitive society of other boys, one categorical imperative outranks all the others: don't be a girl. Femininity [*504] is a "negative identity," n14 a part of the self that must be repressed. The manhood pursued through male rivalry is more than maturity, more than adulthood; it also includes a set of qualities customarily defined as masculine. Although masculinity is defined against its polar opposite, the identification with competence and power in a male-dominated world has made it seem to be society's norm for being fully human. Femininity is seen, not merely as deviance from the norm, but as a fundamental flaw -- a failure, at the deepest level, to qualify. Pondering this reality, Simone de Beauvoir described the traditional form of femininity as "mutilation." n15

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n14 I have borrowed this term from Erik Erikson. See E. ERIKSON, TOYS AND REASONS: STAGES IN THE RITUALIZATION OF EXPERIENCE 8 (1977).

n15 S. DE BEAUVOIR, THE SECOND SEX 682 (1968). The "traditional" model here evoked is, in the United States, mainly a model for white women. Black women are often seen as strong and active. See generally Crenshaw, Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics, 1989 U.

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We are all consumers of images of manhood. n16 According to these images a man is supposed to be: active; assertive; confident; decisive; ready to lead; strong; courageous; morally capable of violence; independent; competitive; practical; successful in achieving goals; emotionally detached; cool in the face of danger or crisis; blunt in expression; sexually aggressive and yet protective toward women. "Proving yourself" as a man can take many forms, but all of them are expressive, and all are variations on the theme of power.

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n16 See M. GERZON, A CHOICE OF HEROES: THE CHANGING FACES OF AMERICAN MANHOOD 5 (1982).

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When Henry Kissinger said, "Power is the ultimate aphrodisiac," n17 perhaps the wish was father to the thought. Surely his pronouncement on the causal link between power and sex is only part of the story. If power is sexy, sex is also power. When men fear women and seek to dominate them, one reason is that they have learned to identify male sexuality with conquest. n18 In another perspective, however, we can see the subordination of women as part of men's nervous efforts to repress the "feminine" in themselves, to [*505keep] their manhood visible to other men. n19 The deepest fear of all, embedded in a never-ending drama of male rivalry, is the fear of being dominated by other men, humiliated for not measuring up to the manly ideal. n20

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n17 Kraft, The Iron Law of History: "No Longing is Completely Fulfilled": Secretary Henry, N.Y. Times Magazine, Oct. 28, 1973, at 21.

n18 Catharine MacKinnon has expounded the other side of this unbalanced system: how men have defined women's sexuality and used the definition to maintain the gender line and the subordination of women. She is right in saying that "it is sexuality that determines gender, not the other way around." MacKinnon, Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: An Agenda for Theory, in FEMINIST THEORY: A CRITIQUE OF IDEOLOGY 1, 17 (N. Keohane, M. Rosaldo & B. Gelpi eds. 1982).

n19 Men's efforts to make sure that other men appreciate their masculinity are visible in a wide range of social contexts. One common method is the aggressive expression of sexuality. On the peer pressure among members of athletic teams, and its occasional explosion into sexual assaults, see Toufexis, Sex and the Sporting Life, TIME, Aug. 6, 1990, at 76. For a participant -observer's chilling analysis of the "overt images of competitive male sexuality" in modern defense intellectuals' discussion of nuclear weapons and their uses, see Cohn, Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals, 12 SIGNS 687, 694 (1987). Maybe Secretary Kissinger learned about the relation of sex and power when he was one of the leading academics in that world.

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n20 The humiliation takes many forms -- examples are loss of status or class, physical domination, display of fear -- and all of them are varieties of powerlessness. David Leverenz's literary study, MANHOOD AND THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE (1989), is a perceptive essay on this theme in the work of a number of nineteenth century American writers, particularly Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Melville, and Hawthorne.

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Although the problem of manhood begins as a challenge to individual boys and men, it translates directly into a problem for the whole society. The personal is political; the pursuit of manhood reinforces an ideology of masculinity, a formula for ordering power relationships among social groups. n21 The ideology's most obvious effects are felt in the relations between men and women, especially between men as a group and women as a group. To the extent that manhood is equated with the capacity for citizenship, the exclusion of women from full membership is easily rationalized. n22 In ways that are less obvious but equally pernicious, the ideology of masculinity plays a crucial part in the subordination of racial and ethnic minorities and the subordination of lesbians and gay men.

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n21 See, e.g., A. BRITTAN, MASCULINITY AND POWER (1989); M. GERZON, supra note 16.

n22 See generally E. JANEWAY, MAN'S WORLD, WOMAN'S PLACE: A STUDY IN SOCIAL MYTHOLOGY (1971); C. MACKINNON, FEMINISM UNMODIFIED: DISCOURSES ON LIFE AND LAW (1987); J. RICHARDS, THE SCEPTICAL FEMINIST: A PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY (1980); MacKinnon, supra note 18.

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The heart of the ideology of masculinity is the belief that power rightfully belongs to the masculine -- that is, to those who display the traits traditionally called masculine. This belief has two corollaries. The first is that the gender line must be clearly drawn, and the second is that power is rightfully distributed among the masculine in proportion to their masculinity, as determined not merely by their physical statute or aggressiveness, but more generally by their ability to dominate and to avoid being dominated. Both parts of the ideology contribute to the subordination of groups. This function is easy to see in efforts to express the gender line in sharp definition; [*506] the ideology of masculinity will be effective in assigning power only if those who are masculine are clearly identified. The second corollary of the ideology highlights the centrality of male rivalry. By making anxiety into an everyday fact of life, it leads nervous men to seek reassurances of their masculinity through group rituals that express domination over other groups. In combination these two beliefs purport to justify power by tautology, to ground the legitimacy of domination in domination itself.

In our country's history, the male-rivalry strand of the ideology of masculinity is repeatedly visible in the readiness of white men, and especially poor white men, to exclude black men from equal citizenship. During the Civil War the white men in the Northeast who were most visibly offended by the sight of blacks in uniform were recent immigrants from Ireland. Because they

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occupied the bottom of the employment ladder, they had little in the way of traditional masculine achievement to bolster their sense of self-worth. For the same reason they had much to fear from the competition of black laborers. Those fears modulated into opposition to the war when it became clear that the Union was fighting for emancipation, which would greatly increase their rivals' numbers. Anxiety was sparked into violence in 1863 when the immigrants faced the choice of registration for the military draft or deportation. The Draft Riots in New York were in major part race riots, with hundreds of black people killed, dozens of them lynched in public. n23 The Northern whites most bent on denying black men a traditional way of expressing manhood were those most in need of affirming their own.

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n23 See A. COOK, THE ARMIES OF THE STREETS: THE NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS OF 1863 (1974); see also M. BERRY, MILITARY NECESSITY AND CIVIL RIGHTS POLICY: BLACK CITIZENSHIP AND THE CONSTITUTION, 1861-1868, at 58-59 (1977); M. BINKIN & M. EITELBERG, supra note 5, at 14; J. MCPHERSON, supra note 5, at 71-76.

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Since the mid-nineteenth century the main path to manhood for American males has been the competitive pursuit of individual achievement in work and in other sectors of the community's public life. But changes in modes of work -- notably the rise of large-scale industry and increased bureaucratization -- have reduced many men's individual opportunities to exercise independence, take risks, seek to master other men, and otherwise behave in ways traditionally seen as manly. n24 The same changes have also reduced individual [*507] men's sense of control over their own fates. As playwrights and novelists remind us, a man's apprehensions about failure and his anxiety about masculine identity are two perspectives on the same fear. n25

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n24 Jeffrey Hantover sets the success of the Boy Scouts in the context of these changes. Hantover, The Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity, 34 J. SOC. ISSUES 184 (1978).

n25 Anxiety is the human condition, and women have no special immunity. Here, however, I focus on the anxieties of manhood because of their importance to the ideology of masculinity.

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A man who finds the path of individual achievement to be rough going may try to express his power by engaging in private violence such as rape or wife-battering. n26 Alternatively, he may attach himself to a group that pursues power through domination of members of other groups. An ugly example from overseas is instructive. In Germany between the wars, the Nazi movement found its greatest acceptance among men who saw themselves falling out of the middle class and who were searching in desperation for ways to reassert their worth as men and their status as citizens. n27 Today's analogues in thuggery, from British football hooligans to American skinheads, are also searching for symbols of power. As individuals they seek to avoid the sense of humiliation by joining in groups to act out their squalid little dramas of domination.

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n26 By this reference I do not mean to suggest that wife-battering is confined to men who are unsuccessful in the world of work.

n27 See E. FROMM, ESCAPE FROM FREEDOM (1941); T. ADORNO, E. FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK, D. LEVINSON & R. SANFORD, THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY (1950).

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It is easy to scorn the losers who seek to express their manhood by wearing swastikas or boots with metal toes. It is less convenient for us -- and here I mean men who are more fortunate -- to recognize that the losers' fears are our fears in exaggerated form; that their behavior expresses feelings akin to those lurking in the shadows of our minds; that our own behavior, though by more genteel means, often contributes to group subordination. One standard mode of repression of our negative identities is to project them onto other people, and especially onto members of groups that have been subordinated. The process works so well that it becomes second nature to see those people not as persons, but as the abstractions we have projected upon them. Each abstraction is a mask, and it bears a label: blackness, for example, or femininity, or homosexuality. To a great many white heterosexual men these masks of the Other n28 are [*508] frightening; when we police the color line and the gender line in the world around us, we are policing the same line in our own minds, defending our senses of self. n29 The fear of members of subordinated groups is more than a fear of competition, or even retaliation. No spectre is more terrifying than our own negative identity. n30

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n28 I take this use of "the Other" from Simone de Beauvoir, who seems to have derived it from Sartre, who apparently took it from Heidegger. As I use the expression, it refers to a social construct of group difference; so, it is important to keep in mind who is doing the constructing. Given this Article's focus, the references here typically refer to men who see women as the Other; whites (and especially white men) who see blacks (and especially black men) as the Other; and people (especially men) who think of themselves as heterosexual who see lesbians and gay men as the Other. Anyone's perspectives on a topic such as manhood are bound to be infused with a measure of hidden autobiography. For whatever difference it may make to the reader, let me concede that this Article is written from the perspective of a white, heterosexual American male of advanced years, who once did brief service in the Air Force -- service in which the nearest thing to combat was trying cases before courts-martial.

n29 For an exploration of the uses of law in this process, and for references to some of the social science literature, see K. KARST, supra note 2, ch. 2 & passim.

n30 To say that a negative identity must be repressed is not to say that a white man fears becoming female or gay or black; the fear is that he will be perceived as being "effeminate" or gay or socially black. As Joel Williamson says:

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White America, in its stubborn and residual racial egotism, resists the realization of how very deeply and irreversibly black it is, and has been. The struggle against that awareness, the rage against the realization of their blackness and its legitimacy is the struggle of white people in race relations. To recognize and respect the blackness that is already within themselves would be to recognize and respect the blackness that is within the nation, and, to surrender the uses, physical and psychological, that they have learned to make of blacks as a separate people.
J. WILLIAMSON, THE CRUCIBLE OF RACE: BLACK-WHITE RELATIONS IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH SINCE EMANCIPATION 522 (1984). This thoughtful passage would also make good sense if we were to substitute "male" or "heterosexual" for "white," and substitute "feminine" or "gay" for "black."

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The importance of gender as a marker of individual identity and social status creates powerful incentives for keeping the gender line clearly defined -- not just in our individual self-definitions, but in our social interactions. Under the regime of the ideology of masculinity, men must be seen to be traditionally masculine, and women must be seen to be traditionally feminine. Because the social meaning of gender is so strongly associated with sexuality, n31 both men and women must be seen to be entirely heterosexual. n32 And, because the gender line is as unstable as any other social construct, it requires reinforcement by social controls, notably including the law.

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n31 See MacKinnon, supra note 18.

n32 The connections linking the subordination of gay men to the preservation of men's power over women are traced in Carrigan, Connell & Lee, Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity, 14 THEORY & SOC. 551, 591-96 (1985). See also A. BRITTAN, supra note 21, at 127-32, 139-41. David Greenberg links the nineteenth century rise of homosexuality as a medical category -- and especially the categorization of male homosexuals as "effeminate" -- to the effects of market economies in sharpening the gender line. D. GREENBERG, THE CONSTRUCTION OF HOMOSEXUALITY 368-96 (1988).

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[*509] The law's importance in maintaining the gender line lies only secondarily in its material uses -- for example, as an instrument for excluding women or gay men and lesbians from participating in enterprises both public and private. Primarily, the law maintains the gender line by officially expressing it, legitimizing it as a social Great Divide. Law, like all government, is an "omnipresent teacher," n33 even when it teaches the lessons of subordination and exclusion.

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n33 Olmstead v. United States, 277 U.S. 438, 485 (1928) (Brandeis, J., dissenting).

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The material and expressive uses of law feed on each other. The material successes of the women's movement during the last generation have had major expressive effects, blurring the gender line and so weakening the grip of the ideology of masculinity. And this change in the ideological climate, in turn, has relaxed some of the material exclusions traditionally imposed on lesbians and gay men. It is not just coincidence that the Americans most disturbed about the liberalization of society's response to same-sex orientation are also the most concerned to see that women return to "the family" -- by which they mean a life devoted to domesticity. n34 If these Americans have focused their political attention on the law, especially constitutional law, no doubt one reason is that they are aware of the law's expressive function in defining the gender line.

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n34 I have pursued these themes in my article, Boundaries and Reasons: Freedom of Expression and the Subordination of Groups, 1990 ILL. L. REV. 95.

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Nowhere is the law's expressive function more visible than in the statutes and regulations governing citizens' access to the armed forces. The law that once excluded and segregated blacks was an important public symbol of blacks' subordination. Today, too, the law that segregates servicewomen and the law that purports to exclude lesbians and gay men serve similar expressive purposes. But this use of law to express inequality and exclusion is inconsistent with the central ideals of the American civic culture. n35

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n35 See K. KARST, supra note 2, at 28-42.

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It is, in fact, our historic affirmation of the ideals of equality and inclusion that makes it seem necessary to find rationalizations when we impose inequality on the members of a social group. "We construct a stigma-theory, an ideology to explain [their] inferiority and account for the danger [they represent]." n36 The theory that has served to rationalize the armed forces' exclusion and segregation of women and gays is, of course, the ideology of masculinity itself. [*510] There are differences in the theory that once rationalized the services' exclusion and segregation of blacks, but the differences are only superficial. The notion of white superiority has always expressed the anxieties of male rivalry.

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n36 E. GOFFMAN, STIGMA: NOTES ON THE MANAGEMENT OF A SPOILED IDENTITY 5 (1963). See generally K. KARST, supra note 2, at 1-2, 21-27 & passim.

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II. MALE RIVALRY AND THE DOUBLE BATTLE OF BLACK SOLDIERS

Frederick Douglass saw black men in the Civil War as fighting a "double battle": for the Union but also for equality, against the slave power but also

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against racism. n37 Black soldiers -- and sailors and airmen and marines -- have always had to fight the same double battle, in war as in peacetime. Today's Army is rightly called a success story, and yet even there muted forms of racial discrimination persist; the other services have considerably farther to go in eliminating racism's effects. n38 Like every story focused on black Americans as a group, this one begins with slavery. The story's persistent themes, from the earliest beginnings, are the associations linking race and sex and violence. All these associations are grounded in the ideology of masculinity, and many of them have been engraved in law.

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n37 D. BLIGHT, FREDERICK DOUGLASS' CIVIL WAR: KEEPING FAITH IN JUBILEE 163-64 (1989).

n38 Moskos, Success Story: Blacks in the Army, THE ATLANTIC, May 1986, at 64, reprinted in CURRENT, Sept. 1986, at 10.

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A. Race, Sex, and the Roots of White Male Anxiety

In the eyes of Englishmen in the era of colonization, slavery implied something less than humanity, a status akin to that of a beast. n39 This assumption was part of a logic that was circular; to complete the circle of justification, the defenders of black slavery argued that blacks were not fully human. n40 Beneath the surface of [*511] these apologies lay both male rivalry and anxieties about self-definition. African men were thought by Europeans to be especially libidinous; it was easy for white men to project their own desires onto blacks, and to connect the need for control over blacks with the need to control themselves. n41 This association was intensified in the American colonies as many white slaveholders came to exercise sexual privileges over female slaves; if white men's fears of slave revolts came to be associated with fears of black men's supposed sexual aggressiveness, no doubt one reason was the fear of retaliation. n42

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n39 See generally W. JORDAN, WHITE OVER BLACK: AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO, 1550-1812 ch. 1 & passim (1968).

n40 See G. FREDRICKSON, supra note 11, at chs. 1-3. In contrast, George Fitzhugh defended slavery in part by recognizing the slave's humanity and arguing that the master-slave relationship avoided the rivalry that must attend the interactions of free men:

A state of dependence is the only condition in which reciprocal affection can exist among human beings -- the only situation in which the war of competition ceases, and peace, amity and good will arise. A state of independence always begets more or less of jealous rivalry. . . . [A man] ceases to love his wife when she becomes masculine or rebellious; but slaves are always dependent, never the rivals of their master.
G. FITZHUGH, SOCIOLOGY FOR THE SOUTH, OR THE FAILURE OF FREE SOCIETY 246-47 (1854).

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n41 See W. JORDAN, supra note 39, at 32-43 (discussing white guilt and the perceived need for control over "the blackness within").

n42 Id. at 151-54. Women readers, at least, will notice that in this imagined scenario women serve mainly as counters in an assumed rivalry between white and black men.

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Even in the North, the perception of black men as threatening had roots in the fears of violent slave insurrections that had gripped the white South ever since Nat Turner's revolt in 1831. Those southern fears found a military expression. John Hope Franklin has written of "the militant South," an amalgam of martial spirit and gentlemanly chivalry that lives even today. n43 In the slave states the militia was composed of all adult white males. It served as a focal point for local social life in white communities, n44 but its main function was to enforce the rigid discipline of slavery's caste system. n45 Typically it was organized into "the patrol," a nightly sweep of the streets and highways by groups of mounted militiamen. By their actions the patrol showed that whites were whistling in the dark when they assured each other that black men were docile, even cowardly. n46 The patrol routinely searched slaves' houses and persons for weapons or stolen property. They arrested any black person outside his or her plantation without a pass, and dispersed meetings of blacks. They dispensed summary justice, punishing transgressions as they found them, then and there. The patrol's [*512] main mission, of course, was not punishment but intimidation. Being called "Cap'n" and riding the "beat" at night also promoted the riders' masculine self-images, and surely that result was not just a by-product of the enterprise. The patrol publicly symbolized both white male power and the social gulf between citizens and slaves.

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n43 See J. FRANKLIN, THE MILITANT SOUTH, 1800-1861 (1956); see also J. WILLIAMSON, supra note 30, at 18-21, 28-29.

n44 The local militia's volunteer company offered drills, parades, and military balls. Military titles were a fringe benefit; at one point in North Carolina the militia had one officer for every sixteen members. J. FRANKLIN, supra note 43, at 189. The "militant South" found many other expressive outlets. On military schools and colleges, see id. at 138-70. Southern gentlemen prided themselves on being adept with weapons and quick to defend their honor; duelling provided one way to demonstrate both qualities. Id. at 4, 18, 44-62.

n45 Id. at 63-79.

n46 On rebelliousness and docility among slaves, see J. BLASSINGAME, THE SLAVE COMMUNITY: PLANTATION LIFE IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH, chs. 5 & 8 (2d ed. 1979).

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Given this historical example, it was no wonder that the black men who volunteered to serve the Union in 1861 associated manhood and citizenship. Understandably, they believed that military service would allow them to be

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seen as men, as citizens. Once Northern blacks put on the uniform, they believed, it would be hard to deny them the vote. If Southern blacks were freed to serve as Union soldiers, the war would become a war to end slavery. Developments like these were just the recognitions of black manhood that many white men (especially working class whites) feared and that Frederick Douglass and other black leaders hoped for. n47 As it happened, these recognitions came to pass -- but only for a season.

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n47 C. BLIGHT, supra note 37, ch. 7; J. MCPHERSON, supra note 5, ch. 2.

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By the end of 1862 the enlistment of black soldiers could be seen to serve a clear military need, even if President Lincoln and Secretary of War Stanton did insist on placing white officers in command of black regiments, and Congress did peg the pay of black soldiers below that of whites. n48 The Union had suffered some important losses in the field, white enlistments had fallen, and large numbers of slaves had begun to cross the lines seeking freedom. n49 The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 not only provided a legal foundation for a social upheaval already begun, but converted a war to save the Union into a crusade for liberation. n50 By war's end almost 200,000 black men had served in the federal services, including about a quarter of the entire Navy; n51 counting blacks who served in other capacities -- cooks and carpenters, laborers and [*513] laundresses, servants and spies -- one estimate places the total number of blacks who served the Union armed forces at nearly 390,000. n52 At first these troops were used almost entirely in support functions that mainly involved manual labor. Eventually, however, black soldiers were employed in combat, and some 37,000 were killed. n53 In 1863 black regiments showed particular heroism at Port Hudson, at Milliken's Bend, and, as the movie Glory dramatized, at Fort Wagner. n54

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n48 See J. MCPHERSON, supra note 5, at 174 (white officers), and ch. 14 ("the struggle for equal pay").

n49 The Union Army's responses to these events were mixed. Some officers sent the slaves back to their masters, while others put them to work -- or, as the war progressed, used them as fighting troops. Id. at 22-23, 145-59, chs. 11-16 & passim. Congress eventually adopted acts confiscating rebel property, including slaves. It also repealed the limitation that had excluded blacks from the state-controlled militia. Id. at 41, 165.

n50 C. WOODWARD, THE BURDEN OF SOUTHERN HISTORY 73 (1960). For an excellent short account of the politics of race and slavery in the war years, see J. RAWLEY, THE POLITICS OF UNION: NORTHERN POLITICS DURING THE CIVIL WAR 71-88 (1980).

n51 M. BERRY, supra note 23, at 89. "In the last year of the war black troops made up large contingents in almost every successful battle in the Department of the South." Id.

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n52 M. BINKIN & M. EITELBERG, supra note 5, at 14-15; see also R. STILLMAN, INTEGRATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE U.S. ARMED FORCES 10 (1972). Leon Litwack summarizes the story of the "black liberators" in one eloquent chapter. L. LITWACK, BEEN IN THE STORM SO LONG: THE AFTERMATH OF SLAVERY 64-103 (Vintage ed. 1980).

n53 J. MCPHERSON, supra note 5, at 143, 237. Another estimate places the figure at 37,300. J. FONER, BLACKS AND THE MILITARY IN AMERICAN HISTORY 32 (1974). The black death rate was some 35%-40% higher than that of white troops. Compare M. BINKIN & M. EITELBERG, supra note 5, at 15 (40%) with J. FONER, supra, at 32 (35%).

n54 J. MCPHERSON, supra note 5, ch. 13. The 54th Massachusetts Regiment charged Fort Wagner, South Carolina, and suffered terrible losses. The heroism of the troops was widely celebrated in Northern newspapers, and helped to convince General U.S. Grant of the need for increased numbers of black combat soldiers. The charge of the 54th was made on July 18, 1863, just one day after the antiblack rioting ended in New York. J. MCPHERSON, supra note 5, at 188-92.

Glory produced two contrasting interpretations by white men, both closely interwoven with the theme of manhood. To Lance Morrow, the movie contained a message for blacks: "Presumably, black America long since abandoned the delusion (if it ever harbored it) that white America was going to ride to its rescue. The only authentic black fulfillment will be achieved by blacks. . . . The lesson of Glory . . . is that blacks are not powerless in the face of racism or poverty." Morrow, Manhood and the Power of Glory, TIME, Feb. 29, 1990, at 68. To Alan Stone, the movie was addressed to whites, offering them "tears without guilt" and the reassurance that interracial solidarity can come "on our terms," with blacks accepting the legitimacy of white authority. Stone, What Price Glory? 1 RECONSTRUCTION, no. 2, at 90 (1990).

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The moment was ripe for a triumphant ending in which the wartime sacrifices of black men vindicated the claims of black people to full citizenship. Seventy years later, W.E.B. DuBois said it was the fact that the black man "rose and fought and killed" that enabled whites to proclaim him "a man and a brother. . . . Nothing else made Negro citizenship conceivable, but the record of the Negro soldier as a fighter." n55 After the war three constitutional amendments and a package of Reconstruction civil rights acts not only abolished slavery, but promised black Americans equal citizenship, including the equal right to vote. n56 Yet, formal citizenship was one thing, brotherhood quite another. Within a generation the [*514] federal courts had largely nullified the Civil War amendments and the Reconstruction laws, and Congress had done nothing to give them new life. Black war veterans and black people generally learned that formal equality before the law could exist alongside the gravest sort of inequalities in fact. By the end of the century, racial discrimination remained a routine part of black people's experience in the North and West while the South had descended into the systematic racial subordination called Jim Crow.

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n55 W. DUBOIS, BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA 104 (1935).

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n56 The thirteenth amendment (1865), fourteenth amendment (1868), and fifteenth amendment (1870) were complemented by the Civil Rights Acts of 1866, 1870, 1871, and 1875. For capsule summaries of those acts and their modern counterparts, see G. GUNTHER, CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, 857-59 (11th ed. 1985).

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A major motivating factor behind the Jim Crow segregation laws and the myriad social practices they reinforced was the pursuit of manhood among white men. As in the days of slavery, this pursuit translated into a need to deny, to repress, the manhood of black men. For "the militant South" -- that is, for southern white men as a group -- the humiliation of military defeat was compounded during twelve years of occupation by the Union army. By the late 1880s a sharp economic decline threatened the "family provider" function of large numbers of lower class white men, many of whom responded violently, removing black tenants from competition by driving them off desirable farm land. n57 As economic recession deepened into depression, white violence against blacks intensified, taking new and more murderous forms. In the ensuing decades southern white lynch mobs and rioters would take thousands of black lives. n58

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n57 J. WILLIAMSON, supra note 30, at 113-15. In the era of Jim Crow, for a black man to demonstrate his competence by coming up in the world, or even taking a "white man's job," was seen as "aggression." J. DOLLARD, CASTE AND CLASS IN A SOUTHERN TOWN 298-301 (1957).

n58 By the end of World War II these deaths totaled more than 4,000. J. WILLIAMSON, supra note 30, at 180-223.

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The problem of manhood was central in generating this violence. n59 In the South, white men were supposed to be not only the providers for but the protectors of women. Then as now, the fears of losing, of not measuring up to the manly ideal, could turn men toward group action aimed at group domination. The rivalry of black men was seen in terms that were not just economic; it threatened a social status that had previously been awarded for whiteness alone. And if the day-to-day demonstrations of competence by liberated black men posed a problem for white male self-esteem, the abstraction of black manhood was frightening. This objectification originated in fear and grew on fear.

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n59 In this discussion I draw heavily on J. WILLIAMSON, supra note 30, at 306-10.

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[*515] The political and social arrangements during the Reconstruction years and in the succeeding decade also threatened white Southern manhood by subjecting male-female relations to considerable strain. For the upper classes, the old chivalry was in tatters. n60 But Southern white men of all stations in life shared a deeper anxiety about their ability to protect the women around them. At all levels of white society men had long exaggerated the sense that

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they were sexual aggressors. Not uncommonly they had been taught to believe that their sexuality was an animal urge that must be kept under strict control. Such a belief was heightened by the prevailing view of white women as symbols of purity who were anything but sexual beings. In this abstract, dehumanizing construction of womanhood, sex was at once a duty and a violation. For white men these beliefs were the seedbed for tension and guilt; they also translated readily into a nightmare of male rivalry.

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n60 "[C]hivalry, and hence a proper relationship between ladies and gentlemen, depended upon a leisured upper class and that leisure demanded servants. In part the new order in both its white democratic and racial egalitarian dimensions threatened Southern ladyhood," because servants -- real servants -- were hard to find. Id. at 102-03.

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When the anxiety about man-as-provider fused together with anxieties centered on sexuality, the combination was explosive. The abstract image of pure Southern womanhood became identified with a vision of white supremacy. n61 The white woman, as the "perpetuator of [white] superiority's legitimate line," had to be kept remote from any sexual approach of the black man. n62 The abstraction of black manhood was transformed into "the specific image of the black beast rapist." n63 Anxious in the pursuit of manhood, a white man who joined a lynch mob could find three kinds of reassurance. He symbolically repressed the beast in himself; he found a sense of power in a ritual that expressed group domination; and he satisfied himself, in the safety of the crowd, that he was man enough to protect the women. n64 Although only about one-third of all the lynchings of black men grew out of charges of rape, it was black-white [*516] rape that most whites specified as a justification of lynching in general. The explanation is plain: The image of black-white rape symbolized white men's self-doubt at the most primitive level. n65

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n61 On the attitudes of white and black men toward black women, see generally J. DOLLARD, supra note 57, at 134-72.

n62 W. CASH, THE MIND OF THE SOUTH 118 (1969). Whites were concerned lest increases in social equality lead to "sexual equality" and racial intermarriage. J. DOLLARD, supra note 57, at 351-52. On present day attitudes of white men toward black men as sexual rivals, see R. STAPLES, BLACK MASCULINITY: THE BLACK MALE'S ROLE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY 117-31 (1982).

n63 J. WILLIAMSON, supra note 30, at 306.

n64 On the fear of blacks as a source of white aggression, and specifically lynching, see J. DOLLARD, supra note 57, at 315-28. On "the sexual gain" created for the white man by the system of racial caste, see id. at 134-72. Concerning the focus of criminal justice on the rape of white woman by black men and the tendency to deny the rape of black women by white men, see Wriggins, Rape, Racism, and the Law, 6 HARV. WOMEN'S L.J. 103 (1983).

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n65 The relationship between rape and male rivalry is by no means limited to the context of interracial rape. On the modern law of rape, and its sources in male anxieties, see Note, Forcible and Statutory Rape: An Exploration of the Operation and Objectives of the Consent Standard, 62 YALE L.J. 55 (1952).

Nor is the problem of manhood limited to white men. It appears in black literature as early as the slave narratives. See V. SMITH, SELF-DISCOVERY AND AUTHORITY IN AFRO-AMERICAN NARRATIVES 20-28 (1987). The achievement and demonstration of manhood was of particular concern to Frederick Douglass, both in presenting his own life and in describing the struggle of other slaves for freedom. As Richard Yarborough demonstrates, Douglass and other black writers of the 19th century did not question the definition of manhood they had received from white, middle-class culture. Yarborough, Race, Violence, and Manhood: The Masculine Ideal in Frederick Douglass's "The Heroic Slave," in FREDERICK DOUGLASS: NEW LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS 166 (E. Sundquist ed., 1990). Issues concerning black men's pursuit of manhood have recently received attention from a considerable number of black writers. See, e.g., D. BELL, AND WE ARE NOT SAVED 198-214 (rev. ed. 1989) (chapter 8: "The Race-Charged Relationship of Black Men and Black Women"); C. HERNTON, SEX AND RACISM IN AMERICA (1965); C. HERNTON, THE SEXUAL MOUNTAIN AND BLACK WOMEN WRITERS 37-58 (1987); R. STAPLES, supra note 62; M. WALLACE, BLACK MACHO AND THE MYTH OF THE SUPER WOMAN (1978). Here I focus on white male anxieties about manhood as a major source of the impulse to subordinate black men. As Kimberle Crenshaw has forcefully pointed out, there is much to say -- and even more to explore -- about the zone in which the relations between women and men are affected by racial subordination. Crenshaw, supra note 15, at 139.

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B. The Double Battle in the 20th Century

Even before World War I began, black leaders were calling for the Army to establish new black regiments and to train blacks to serve as officers. At the close of the Civil War, Congress for the first time had made four black regiments part of the Regular Army. Although they saw combat in the Indian wars and the Spanish-American War, black soldiers continued to be subjected to discrimination by the civilian populations near their garrisons. n66 When the United States entered the war in 1917, W.E.D. DuBois, like Fred- [*517] erick Douglass before him, argued that blacks should not "bargain with our loyalty," but should close ranks with their fellow citizens, all the while asserting their rightful claims to equal citizenship: the vote; equal educational opportunity; an end to lynchings and segregation. For the cause of racial equality, he argued, "We want victory . . . but it must not be cheap bargaining, it must be clean and glorious, won by our manliness. . . ." n67

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n66 These indignities produced a riot by black soldiers in Brownsville, Texas in 1906. When the participants in the riot could not be identified, President Theodore Roosevelt ordered dishonorable discharges without any trial for three entire companies, 167 men in all, including six who had been awarded the Medal of Honor for bravery. (In 1972 the Army cleared the records of the discharged men.) R. HOPE, RACIAL STRIFE IN THE U.S. MILITARY 14-15 (1979). Black leaders suspected that the episode was being used to discredit black soldiers' fighting ability in order to discredit black people's claims to citizenship. See

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Thornbrough, The Brownsville Episode and the Negro Vote, 44 MISS. VALLEY HIST. REV. 469 (1957). On a similar incident in Houston in 1917, see M. BINKIN & M. EITELBERG, supra note 5, at 16-17.

n67 W. DUBOIS, THE CRISIS WRITINGS 259 (1972). DuBois's writings on World War I are collected in id. at 255-73.

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The experience of black soldiers in Europe fell far short of these high hopes. All of them served in segregated units that quickly became a "dumping ground" for ineffective officers. Most black draftees were assigned to labor units. Once in Europe, most blacks were placed under French command -- perhaps because the officer corps of the United States Army largely shared the racial attitudes of the white South. When some black combat units performed unsatisfactorily, as some white units also had done, a few generals reacted by pronouncing black soldiers unfit for combat -- despite contrary evidence from other black units. n68 When they returned home, black veterans encountered the same old racial discrimination in a new and virulent form. In the South, their very presence, as living symbols of black manhood, challenged the Jim Crow system at its psychic foundations. The result was a new wave of racial violence, including the lynching of black veterans in their Army uniforms. n69

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n68 These attitudes had crystallized even before the black troops took the field. In August 1918 the United States Army headquarters sent the French command a memorandum designed for distribution to all French army officers and civilian officials who might have dealings with black American soldiers. The memorandum explained that in the United States blacks would be a "menace of degeneracy" if it were not for segregation; that familiarity between blacks and whites was "an affront to [American] national policy"; and that the French should not mix with black soldiers or treat them too favorably, lest they create "aspirations which are intolerable to whites." R. DALFIUME, DESEGREGATION OF THE U.S. ARMED FORCES 16 (1969). Some United States Army generals came home from France trumpeting that black soldiers were ignorant, cowardly, and unpatriotic, fit only for menial work. Id. at 15-16.

n69 Terry, From Bunker Hill to Bien Hoa, NEW DIRECTIONS, July 1976, at 4, quoted in R. HOPE, supra note 66, at 17, 34 n.24. The racial violence was not confined to the South. The last half of 1919 saw about 25 race riots in cities both North and South. R. DALFIUME, supra note 68, at 20.

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After the war the Navy stopped enlisting blacks for general service, relegating black enlisted men to work as stewards. The Army explicitly reaffirmed its policy of racial segregation, and kept blacks ineligible for service as airplane pilots or radio signalmen. As another world war approached, black leaders had good reason [*518] for announcing that they would resist efforts to restrict black troops to labor units. n70

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n70 R. DALFIUME, supra note 68, at 22-24, 27-28.

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Anyone who used history as a guide would have predicted that blacks in the armed services in World War II would be humiliated by segregation; limited in opportunities for leadership; mainly given unskilled tasks, but eventually used in combat when the need was great; disparaged in their fighting ability by some white officers; and embittered by their experience. Alas, history does repeat itself.

More than 1,000,000 black men and about 4,000 black women served in the forces during the war. Some 900,000 of the men served in the Army, about three-quarters of them in menial jobs such as "road building, stevedoring,laundry, and fumigating." n71 Even the training of blacks for combat was exceptional; and in 1942, when someone suggested to General George Marshall, the Army Chief of Staff, that black troops be sent to fight in North Africa, he responded that the commanders there would object. As in the Civil War and World War I, blacks had to "fight for the right to fight." n72 On this front, despite a steady drumbeat of criticism from black newspapers and black leaders, the services mostly resisted change.

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n71 R. HOPE, supra note 66, at 24; R. DALFIUME, supra note 68, at 58-63. Now it was blacks who referred, with some bitterness, to a "white man's war." Id. at 112.

n72 M. BINKIN & M. EITELBERG, supra note 5, at 18. At the outset of the war black troops continued to suffer discrimination in the civilian communities adjoining their bases. Both at home and abroad, morale was low in black labor units, and with some frequency, racial violence broke out between white and black soldiers and sailors. R. DALFIUME, supra note 68, at 73-74, 102; R. HOPE, supra note 66, at 24-25. For a detailed history, see U. LEE, THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS (U.S. Army in World War II, Special Studies, 1966).

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Occasionally, however, those who were agitating for a racially inclusive military force could win a small victory. In 1942 the Navy announced that it would no longer limit black enlistees to messmen's duties, but would allow blacks to volunteer for general service -- which, in this case, meant other support duties. By the end of the war, black enlistees constituted about four percent of the Navy and two and a half percent of the Marine Corps. Segregation remained the rule, however; given the problems of separation on shipboard, in 1944 the Navy established two ships with all-black crews. Soon thereafter a new Secretary of the Navy ordered integration of the crews on twenty-five auxiliary ships. n73

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n73 R. HOPE, supra note 66, at 55-56, 101.

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[*519] Around the same time the Army, which had not placed black combat troops in the line, was ordered to do so by a War Department that was reacting to political criticism. n74 In Europe, when infantrymen became scarce, the Army inserted some black platoons into larger combat units. In the Army Air Force the black pilots of the segregated ninety-ninth Pursuit Squadron performed well. n75 Even so, Army officials sought to minimize publicity about the achievements of black soldiers, to avoid blurring the Army's public image. n76

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n74 Id. at 93-97.

n75 R. DALFIUME, supra note 68, at 103; R. HOPE, supra note 66, at 25; L. NICHOLS, BREAKTHROUGH ON THE COLOR FRONT 45-53 (1954). On the 99th Pursuit Squadron, see U. LEE, supra note 72, at 450-67, 517-23. On black replacement infantrymen in Europe, see id. at 688-705.

n76 See G. WARE, WILLIAM HASTIE: GRACE UNDER PRESSURE 99, 106-07, 129, 134, & chs. 9-11 (1984).

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As the Navy's preposterous deployment of separate-but-equal vessels illustrated, the services' segregation policy was costly. New and separate units had to be organized and staffed, and separate training facilities had to be built; given the disparity in educational opportunities for blacks and whites before they entered the service, segregation prevented the most effective training and assignment of black soldiers and sailors. The main costs of segregation, however, lay in another dimension of human experience, one in which the problem of manhood was central. In 1941, before the attack on Pearl Harbor, William H. Hastie, an aide to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson (and later the first black judge of the United States Court of Appeals), had written to his boss, criticizing the segregation of the Army in the strongest terms:

> The traditional mores of the South have been widely accepted and adopted by the Army as the basis of policy and practice affecting the Negro soldier. . . . This philosophy is not working. . . . In tactical units of the Army, the Negro is taught to be a fighting man[,]. . . a soldier. It is impossible to create a dual personality which will be on the one hand a fighting man toward the foreign enemy, and on the other, a craven who will accept treatment as less than a man at home. One hears with increasing frequency from colored soldiers the sentiment that since they have been called to fight they might just as well do their fighting here and now.

General Marshall, asked to respond, had said that segregation was an established American custom, that "the level of intelligence and occupational skill of the Negro population is considerably below that of the white," and that "experiments within the Army in the [*520] solution of social problems are fraught with danger to efficiency, discipline, and morale." n77

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n77 The Hastie and Marshall quotations can be found in R. DALFIUME, supra note 68, at 61, 45-47; R. HOPE, supra note 66, at 26; G. WARE, supra note 76, at 99.

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The connection between this assessment and the historic anxieties of white men about the rivalry of black males is not hard to see. Marshall's unstated assumption was that white soldiers would lack confidence in blacks and be hostile to them, for they defined black men in general as incompetent and cowardly. Furthermore, integrating the Army would eventually result in placing black men in some positions of leadership; white soldiers would not accept this inversion of the historic racial definition of authority. Like all the Army's top leaders, Marshall had served in World War I and remembered the old accusations against black troops. But his assumption about the effect of integration on white attitudes proved mistaken. At the end of the war the Army took a survey of white soldiers who had served in combat alongside black platoons. At first, they said, they were resentful. But three-quarters of them said "their regard for the Negro had risen" as a result of the experience. n78 By doing their jobs well, black soldiers expressed their competence and so, in this limited way, performed functions of education and persuasion.

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n78 R. HOPE, supra note 66, at 25. On the effects of racial integration in diminishing racial prejudice, see SOCIAL RESEARCH AND THE DESEGREGATION OF THE U.S. ARMY 132-34 (L. Bogart ed. 1969) [hereinafter SOCIAL RESEARCH].

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When the newest crop of black veterans came home, they began to hold meetings and marches to claim their rights as citizens. Both in the South and elsewhere, racial violence returned, although on a scale that did not match the violence of 1919. In 1948 President Harry Truman, facing an uphill fight for re-election, issued two executive orders requiring "equality of treatment and opportunity" in the federal civil service and in the armed services. n79

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n79 Exec. Order Nos. 9980 & 9981, 3 C.F.R. 720-22(1948). Although politics undoubtedly played an important role in the timing of these orders, President Truman had compiled a strong civil rights record during his years in the Senate, and as President had already established the committee that eventually became the United States Civil Rights Commission.

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By 1949 the Air Force and the Navy had accepted integration in principle, and had even made modest progress toward actual integration. n80 Much of the postwar Army officer corps, however, was still "traditionally white, Southern, and deeply resistant to [*521] change." n81 The Army dragged its heels until early 1950 when it announced its acceptance of integration in principle. n82 Despite this agreement, actual integration beyond the level of tokenism had to await the Korean War, and even then it came about not through orders from Washington, but unofficially, on the initiative of Army field commanders. Early in the war integrated units had fought well, and segregation was still as inefficient as ever. The local commanders understood, and quietly began integrating black troops into white units. n83 By the end of 1953 the Army was

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ninety-five percent integrated, n84 and so the services have remained ever since.

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n80 See generally M. MACGREGOR, JR., INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES, 1940-1965, at 397-427 (1981). The Marines had only token numbers of blacks in 1949. Id. at 460.

n81 Broder, Military's Unending War on Bias, L.A. Times, Sept. 20, 1989, at A17, col. 1.

n82 The story is told in absorbing detail by R. DALFIUME, supra note 68, chs. 8 & 9.

n83 M. MACGREGOR, supra note 80, at 428-59. The number of blacks in the Marines increased rapidly during the war; as in the case of Army blacks, they were integrated in response to the pressures of battle. Id. at 460-72. The leading figure in the integration was General Matthew Ridgway, who took command of the Eighth Army at the end of 1950, and turned the tide of battle. E. CRAY, GENERAL OF THE ARMY: GEORGE C. MARSHALL, SOLDIER AND STATESMAN 704-05 (1990).

n84 See R. DALFIUME, supra note 68, ch. 10.

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Ending segregation and ending racial discrimination are not the same thing. Racial tensions ran high during the Vietnam War, especially in the Army, which had few black officers and was suffering a general decline in discipline and morale. The discord in the Army reflected similar conflict in America's civilian society in the early years of "white backlash" against the changes of the civil rights era. The Defense Department reacted with serious -- and successful -- efforts to train service personnel in race relations matters. n85 No one today claims the services are free from the effects of racism, but on this score it is hard to find any other institution in American society that has done better. The Army may have been the last of the services to integrate, but today thirty percent of its enlisted personnel and more than ten percent of its officers are black. n86 Reenlistment rates run higher for black soldiers than for others, and so do levels of satisfaction with service life. n87 These data are not entirely a cause for celebration; in part they reflect the relative economic disadvantage of black workers in the civilian world. Besides, in the event of war the same figures mean that black soldiers will be wounded and killed in numbers far beyond the [*522] proportion of blacks in the civilian population. The facts reflect poorly on the nation's treatment of black people generally, but they are a source of satisfaction to those who believe that service careers should be open to all Americans.

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n85 On the creation and operations of the Defense Race Relations Institute, an ambitious training program, see R. HOPE, supra note 66, chs. 3-7.

n86 DEFENSE 89, at 30 (Sept./Oct. 1989).

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n87 See Moskos, supra note 38; Moskos, The All-Volunteer Force and the Marketplace, in WHO DEFENDS AMERICA?, supra note 4, at 75, 80-83.

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The armed forces' historic exclusion and segregation of blacks was not challenged in court. In the services "separate but equal" was just as much a euphemism for inequality as it was in southern public schools, but the phrase accurately summarized the state of constitutional doctrine until after the services' integration was well underway. Furthermore, constitutional challenges to the conduct of the armed forces have always paddled against a strong current. There is little reason to believe the courts would have intervened in 1940 to command the racial integration of the armed services. But imagine, against all likelihood, that the Air Force today should decide to deny flight training to black applicants, or the Marines today should refuse to enlist blacks. It is not plain that the courts should -- and would -- bring the Constitution to bear on those denials of equal citizenship and enjoin the services from implementing them?

We have learned a thing or two since 1940, and one of our most effective teachers has been the experience of the armed forces. The capacity of black servicemembers has been amply demonstrated. General Colin Powell, the first black to chair the Joint Chiefs of Staff, n88 is no token; blacks in the Army's officer corps now equal the proportion of blacks in the nation's population. n89 The racial integration of the services, however, is only part of a much larger story. In 1940 black men and women were systematically denied access to a great many institutions in American public life. The larger story is the way myriad black men and women over the past half century have claimed their places as equal citizens. In this evolution the integration of the services played an early and generative role. Citizenship and eligibility for military service still go hand in hand.

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n88 See Seaman, A "Complete Soldier" Makes It, TIME, Aug. 21, 1989, at 24; Healy, Powell Honors Blacks Who Served, L.A. Times, Aug. 18, 1989, at A4, col. 1.

n89 The other services have not done so well in commissioning black officers. In 1989 blacks comprised 10.5% of the officers in the Army; 5.4% in the Air Force; 4.9% in the Marine Corps; and only 3.6% in the Navy. DEFENSE 89, at 30 (Sept./Oct. 1989). See also Halloran, Women, Blacks, Spouses Transforming the Military, N.Y. Times, Aug. 25, 1986, at A14, col. 2.

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[*523] III. CITIZENSHIP, MANHOOD, AND THE EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM COMBAT

By statute and service regulation, women in the armed forces are excluded from jobs that are labeled as combat positions. n90 Why should any woman care? The right to serve in combat itself -- to be placed in a position in which you are seeking to kill and others are seeking to kill you -- may not seem to be a prize worth fighting for. Women generally are not thirsting for those experiences, and neither are most men. Beyond this obvious reservation, some writers have argued forcefully that women will advance the cause of feminism

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not by participating in "the structures of militarism," but by seeking to demolish those structures. n91 Can there be a feminist argument for full inclusion of women in the central mission of an organization that is bureaucratic, n92 hierarchical, and focused on coercion by violence? n93 My own answer is "Yes," and it is founded on [*524] the connection between the sex-integration of the services and the principle of equal citizenship.

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n90 Congress has barred Air Force women from duty "in aircraft engaged in combat missions," and women in the Navy and Marines from duty "on vessels or in aircraft that are engaged in combat missions." 10 U.S.C. §§ 8549, 6015 (1988). The Army is under no such statutory obligation, but in 1972, by regulation, it excluded women from combat positions. For a review and analysis of changes in the Defense Department's and the services' various definitions of combat, see J. STIEHM, ARMS AND THE ENLISTED WOMAN 54-67, 134-54 (1989); Kornblum, Women Warriors in a Men's World: The Combat Exclusion, 2 LAW & INEQUALITY 351, 357-75 (1984).

n91 Scales, Militarism, Male Dominance and Law: Feminist Jurisprudence As Oxymoron?, 12 HARV. WOMEN'S L.J. 25, 41 (1989). See generally C. ENLOE, DOES KHAKI BECOME YOU? THE MILITARIZATION OF WOMEN'S LIVES (1983); LOADED QUESTIONS: WOMEN IN THE MILITARY (W. Chapkis ed. 1981). On "feminism's war with war," see J. ELSHTAIN, supra note 12, at 231-41.

n92 On the bureaucratization of the military, see M. JANOWITZ, THE NEW MILITARY: CHANGING PATTERNS OF ORGANIZATION (1964); Segal & Lengermann, Professional and Institutional Considerations, in COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS: COHESION, STRESS, AND THE VOLUNTEER MILITARY 154 (S. Sarkesian ed. 1980). The modern classic feminist critique of bureaucracy is K. FERGUSON, THE FEMINIST CASE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY (1984). The point goes beyond concerns about the roles of individuals within organizations. Jessica Benjamin argues that a depersonalized rationality, emphasizing instrumental values, is one of our culture's main expressions of male domination. J. BENJAMIN, supra note 13, at 184-89.

n93 One suggestion is that women should seek full participation in the armed services for the purpose of "pacifying" them. Sarah Ruddick has stated this view sympathetically, but also suggested its weaknesses. Her discussion demonstrates beyond peradventure that there is more than one feminist view on the question of whether women should seek to be admitted as full participants in the armed forces. Ruddick, Pacifying the Forces: Drafting Women in the Interests of Peace, 8 SIGNS 471 (1983).

Feminists disagreed with each other over the question of whether women should challenge the constitutionality of Congress's determination to exclude women from registration for a potential military draft. Wendy Webster Williams has thoughtfully placed this disagreement in the larger context of the conundrum of "protective" legislation. Williams, The Equality Crisis: Some Reflections on Culture, Courts, and Feminism, 7 WOMEN'S RTS. L. REP. 175, 186-87 (1982). Women (or men, for that matter) who think we should dismantle the armed forces surely will not enlist. The women who choose to join may not represent a cross-section of American women's opinions about things military, but in my view the women's movement would lose a great deal if it were to label those women as antifeminist. My argument here is that the women who do join the services are

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entitled as citizens -- constitutionally entitled -- to full participation.

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A. Citizens, Second Class

"In the current debate, 'combat' is a synonym for 'power.'" n94 The power at issue is easily understood within the services, in which the combat exclusion (1) effectively bars women from the command experience they need for advancement to the leadership positions that really matter; n95 (2) drastically limits women's employment opportunities, and thus their access to training; n96 and (3) limits the total number of women who can be admitted to the services, n97 thus [*525] producing the usual harms of tokenism. n98 In addition, (4) women, like blacks in the two world wars, are marginalized in support roles; and (5) their low numbers subject them to increased chances of sexual harassment. n99 The result of this stereotyping and exclusion from "the real action" is a serious risk of demoralization: "Competing in a profession while excluded from the profession's ultimate purpose and most rigorous proving ground invites failure." n100

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n94 H. ROGAN, MIXED COMPANY: WOMEN IN THE MODERN ARMY 296 (1981).

n95 When the services and the Defense Department were resisting the movement in Congress to open the service academies to women, they argued with vehemence that the academies were designed to produce leaders. Leaders were, by definition, combat leaders, and women were excluded from combat. See J. STIEHM, BRING ME MEN AND WOMEN: MANDATED CHANGE AT THE U.S. AIR FORCE ACADEMY 20-32 (1981); Goodman, Women, War, and Equality: An Examination of Sex Discrimination in the Military, 5 WOMEN'S RTS. L. REP. 243, 254 (1979). Although in 1989-90 a woman, Kristin Baker, commanded the corps of cadets at West Point, nothing in the years since the academies were sex-integrated indicates any change in the services' assumption that leading a combat unit is an indispensable prerequisite for advancement to high leadership.

n96 The definition of "combat" positions has changed over the years. For example, during the transition to the administration of President Ronald Reagan, someone in the Army Department thought the time was politically ripe for diminishing the visible presence of women in the Army. On the "womanpause" of 1981-82, see J. HOLM, WOMEN IN THE MILITARY: AN UNFINISHED REVOLUTION 380-88 (1982). In 1982 the Army once again segregated basic training, which had been desegregated in 1978; at the same time it announced a reduction in its projected "accessions" (numerical increases) of women. It also added 23 occupational specialities to the list of "combat" jobs from which women were excluded. No one familiar with American labor history will be surprised to learn that the list of new men-only specialities added the major building trades: carpenters, masons, plumbers, and electricians. The Army later reopened 13 of the occupational specialties to women. See J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 54-67; Kornblum, supra note 90, at 367.

n97 See Korb, The Pentagon's Perspective, in WHO DEFENDS AMERICA? RACE, SEX, AND CLASS IN THE ARMED FORCES, supra note 4, at 19, 26. One reason for this effect is the services' policy of rotating personnel in and out of line operations. The Army defines combat positions by military occupational

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specialty (MOS), and every servicemember in a given MOS must be able to fill such a position in combat situations. Thus, if any tank mechanic can be expected to serve in combat conditions, no woman can be a tank mechanic at any time or any place. J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 147. The Navy rotates its personnel between sea duty and shore duty, with a general goal of three years in each position. An individual's rotation is affected by his or her specialty. If women are ineligible for any positions on combat ships, and yet are to be placed on the same six-year cycle of rotation, necessarily the total number of women in the Navy must be limited. See id., supra at 267-68; Kornblum, supra note 90, at 365.

n98 The work of Rosabeth Moss Kanter is instructive on the general effects of "token women" in an organization. See R. KANTER, MEN AND WOMEN OF THE CORPORATION 206-42 (1977); Kanter, Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women, 82 AM. J. SOC. 965 (1977). On the support role of women in the services, see Kornblum, supra note 90, at 373-78.

n99 See J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 207 (discussing a report to the Department of Defense on sexual harassment of servicewomen and noting the greater incidence of such harassment when United States women were few in number).

n100 Goodman, supra note 95, at 255.

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Outside the services, the exclusion of women from combat serves functions that are chiefly expressive, symbolizing and reinforcing a traditional view of femininity that subordinates women. Achieving full citizenship for women in America is going to require a lot more than ending the exclusion of servicewomen from combat positions, but those two goals are interrelated. As Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. DuBois understood, the long-standing connection between military service and full citizenship has centered not on uniforms but on weapons. Movie fans and second amendment fans both know that carrying a weapon is one way to get a respectful hearing. Access to "society's legitimate, organized, planned, rewarded, technological use of force" n101 is a historically validated road to power in society. "[W]omen who are seldom collectively and legally violent may not realize the politically limiting consequences of their inaction: women have no credibility with regard to the use of force." n102 If eligibility for the warrior class typically has defined the class of people who are seen as qualified to participate fully in the responsibilities of citizenship, surely the explanation rests less on gratitude than on power. n103

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n101 J. STIEHM, supra note 95, at 299.

n102 Id. at 298.

n103 Ann Scales's conclusion, that "the military participation requirement of citizenship is obsolete," Scales, supra note 91, at 45, is founded on her argument that all bets are off in the nuclear age, for one of two reasons. (1) War itself is obsolete. Here the assumption may be that recognition of war's obsolescence will produce a quick enactment of the peace agenda. My guess,

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before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, was that even the extraordinary recent changes in Eastern Europe would not make the armed forces disappear. (2) If war comes, it will be nuclear war. In a global nuclear exchange we need no infantry soldiers to destroy an enemy. Furthermore, nuclear weapons make women unnecessary as cheerleaders, or factory workers, or grieving mothers because everyone is automatically mobilized as a potential victim, there is no time for factories to produce munitions, and no one is left alive to honor the dead. If, however, we make the more likely assumption that the armed services in the future will more typically be put to uses that deploy conventional forces, the dismantling of the services will remain a distant dream, and the argument that relates full citizenship for women to their eligibility for full participation in the services will remain persuasive.

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[*526] This linkage, however, is not only a function of coercive power. Kathleen Jones has shown how the very concept of authority prevalent in Western thought has marginalized women's power and women's voices. n104 Because we have tended to see authority "as a disciplinary, commanding gaze," enforcing rules that flow out of relations of "inequality and control," we have tended to deny authority to the moral voices in which women as a group tend to speak: particularistic; empathetic; conscious of relationships; oriented toward maintaining connections and consensus. n105 Whether you hear this "different voice" as balm for a wounded society or as the accommodating voice of the subordinate, n106 there can be no dispute about two facts of American social life throughout most of our national history. First, until recently women have been largely excluded from positions of authority in public life; second, women have been allowed to speak with authority only in severly limited spheres. Each of these limitations has promoted the other in a vicious circle of second class citizenship.

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n104 Jones, On Authority: Or, Why Women Are Not Allowed to Speak, in NOMOS XXIX: AUTHORITY REVISITED 152 (J. Pennock & J. Chapman eds. 1987).

n105 Id. at 154-55. Jones explicitly draws on the work of Carol Gilligan. See C. GILLIGAN, IN A DIFFERENT VOICE: PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY AND WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT (1982); Gilligan, Remapping the Moral Domain: New Images of the Self in Relationship, in RECONSTRUCTING INDIVIDUALISM: AUTONOMY, INDIVIDUALITY, AND THE SELF IN WESTERN THOUGHT 237 (T. Heller, M. Sosna & D. Wellbery eds. 1986).

n106 Catharine MacKinnon has often expressed the latter view. For one capsule statement, see DuBois, Dunlap, Gilligan, MacKinnon & Menkel-Meadow, Feminist Discourse, Moral Values, and the Law -- A Conversation, 34 BUFFALO L. REV. 11, 27-28 & passim (1985) (remarks of C. MacKinnon).

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In the last two decades American women have cleared away many obstacles to their access to positions of authority. The armed services were opened to substantial numbers of women in the 1970s. That was a period in which the successes of the American women's movement in the public sphere interacted with the technology of birth control to give large numbers of women, for the first time, the sense that they had a fair measure of power over their own lives.

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This enhanced sense of control is particularly evident in the [*527] younger generation, which is the main source of women for the armed forces. In the uniformed services, as in many other arenas, the women's movement has begun to change the old social order. n107 A woman's sergeant speaks with authority; just ask the privates, male and female, who serve under her. n108

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n107 For a good overview of the connection between women's new roles in the services and changes in women's roles in society generally, see Segal & Segal, Social Change and the Participation of Women in the American Military, 5 RES. IN SOC. MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS & CHANGE 235 (1983). For thoughtful views of this social change from inside the services, see D. SCHNEIDER & C. SCHNEIDER, SOUND OFF! AMERICAN MILITARY WOMEN SPEAK OUT (1988).

n108 Many women officers and noncommissioned officers have had male subordinates who have directly or indirectly questioned their authority. The problem has been most serious where the number of women is severely limited, such as in the Marine Corps, and was more prevalent in the early days of increased numbers of women in the services than it is today. As more and more women are placed in positions of authority, their authority seems more "natural." See generally D. SCHNEIDER & C. SCHNEIDER, supra note 107, at 33-79. This progression is a familiar one in civilian employment, too.

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The education provided by the services has enormous implications for American society. The military is well known as "a college for many of the Nation's poor" n109 and a major supplier of technical training and veterans' educational benefits, but more important is the armed forces' capacity to teach by example. When the soldiers experienced racial integration on the battlefields of Korea, who was it that learned new lessons about the social meaning of race? n110 White soldiers, of course; they learned that their black comrades were distributed over a spectrum of talents, and over a spectrum of qualities like courage and determination, that matched the distribution of whites. Black soldiers, too, learned those lessons -- and unlearned some of the demoralizing lessons of the old Jim Crow Army. In fact, Korea offered the whole nation a lesson about learning, a lesson visible in the Supreme Court's opinion on school segregation in Brown v. Board of Education, n111 delivered shortly after the war's end. The armed forces have long been one of [*528] the nation's main institutions for socializing young men. n112 Now they are also socializing young women by the hundreds of thousands. Those women and their male colleagues are learning that women can do the job, that women can be leaders, that women can speak with the voice of authority.

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n109 Equal Rights Amendment: Hearings on S.J. Res. 61 and S.J. 231 Before the Senate Comm. on the Judiciary, 91st Cong., 2d Sess. 320 (1970) (statement of Norman Dorsen), quoted in Goodman, supra note 95, at 244.

n110 The Army in 1951 commissioned Project Clear, a large-scale study of the effective use of black troops. The results were eventually declassified and published under the editorship of Leo Bogart, who directed the study. SOCIAL RESEARCH, supra note 78. The report makes good reading because the

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researchers went beyond survey questionnaires to record individual soldiers' statements. These voices, one by one, tell their own story of the educational power of day-to-day experience.

n111 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

n112 In 1970, when most veterans of World War II were still alive, a presidential commission estimated that 23,709,000 veterans, almost half the employed male population, had served an average of 27 months of active duty in the armed forces. Arkin & Dobrofsky, Military Socialization and Masculinity, 34 J. SOC. ISSUES 151, 151 (1978).

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Except, that is, in matters relating to combat. Every day the services teach their members, women and men, young and old, that women do not speak with authority about the subject that is the center of the services' missions. Enlisted women are introduced to some combat skills in boot camp or basic training, but they know, and their male counterparts know, that the women will soon be shunted off the main track, away from control over firepower. n113 Women officers know they can never reach high positions of command because they are excluded from the opportunities for leadership in line operations that are necessary stepping-stones to those positions. n114

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n113 One major, but limited, exception should be noted. Today a few women serve in missile silos as members of firing teams. B. MITCHELL, WEAK LINK: THE FEMINIZATION OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY 143 (1989).

n114 In another context the Supreme Court has recognized government's "compelling interest in assuring equal access to women [in] the acquisition of leadership skills and business contacts." Board of Directors of Rotary Int'l v. Rotary Club, 481 U.S. 537, 549 (1987).

As a number of writers have remarked, since World War II military service has seemed a de facto qualification for election as President. This qualification may decline in importance as smaller percentages of the adult population will have had military service.

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The debate over women's exclusion from combat threatens to dissolve into a political tautology. In a radio discussion of women in combat shortly after the invasion of Panama, I heard a male retired general say, "I have been there, and I know." The subtext was, "You haven't been there, and you have no right to speak." The point is not that women need access to military leadership because the military is "central to the entire social order." n115 The exclusion from speaking with authority extends beyond servicewomen to women generally. Even today, after a series of successes for the women's movement that no one could have predicted a generation ago, women's voices go largely unheard in discussions of many public issues of life-and-death proportion. On military policy, on the use of military force, on some of the most vital issues of [*529] foreign relations, women -- civilians and servicewomen alike -- are seldom taken seriously. n116

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n115 C. ENLOE, supra note 91, at 17.

n116 See J. ELSHTAIN, supra note 12, at 221 ("Who gets to speak? Who listens? ") (emphasis in original). The point is made well by Ann Scales, supra note 91, at 37-39. In other countries women have served as strong national leaders: Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, and Golda Meir. All of these were initially selected in intraparty parliamentary processes that are not closely comparable to the election of an American president. For a time Jeane Kirkpatrick, a former academic, served as the American ambassador to the United Nations. Did anyone think she was making foreign policy?

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B. Why "Women Can't Fight"

Until the 1970s neither the services nor members of Congress felt any need to offer reasons for excluding women from combat. The necessity for justification arose along with the women's movement. In fact, there is reason to believe that one factor accelerating the addition of women to the services was the mistaken assumption that the Equal Rights Amendment would be ratified. n117 In the intervening years the defenders of the combat exclusion have had time to work up a set of arguments that have become a routine performance. The challengers have a series of responses that have become equally familiar. Here my main objective is to comment on the debate in the light of the ideology of masculinity. I do not explore the arguments in detail, but leave the interested reader to peruse the arguments at greater length in the works of others. n118

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n117 See Segal & Segal, supra note 107, at 250-51.

n118 For defenses of the combat exclusion, see, e.g., B. MITCHELL, supra note 113; Kelly, The Exclusion of Women From Combat: Withstanding the Challenge, 33 JAG J. 77 (1984); Webb, Women Can't Fight, THE WASHINGTONIAN, Nov. 1979, at 144. For criticism of the exclusion, see, e.g., J. STIEHM, supra note 90, passim; J. STIEHM, supra note 95, at 288-301; C. WILLIAMS, GENDER DIFFERENCES AT WORK: WOMEN AND MEN IN NONTRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS, 45-87 (1989); Goodman, supra note 95, passim; Kornblum, supra note 90, passim.

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Before embarking on that summary I want to make clear that ending the bar against women in combat positions does not necessarily imply drafting either women or men for those positions, or compelling servicemembers to fill them against their will. n119 For nearly two decades, without drafting anyone, we have maintained the armed forces at a level of two million members. Both women and men in the services are volunteers, and the era of the all-volunteer force shows no sign of ending. And, as the recruiting officers and television ads keep telling their audiences, a volunteer has a considerable range of choice over the occupational specialty in which he or she will work.

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n119 For the contrary assumption, see Moskos, Army Women, THE ATLANTIC, Aug. 1990, at 71, 78.

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[*530] In contrast to women officers, most enlisted women are not particularly interested in joining the combat arms; unlike the officers, they are less likely to see the service as a career. But enlisted and commissioned women alike recognize that they may be caught up in combat situations, and they are prepared to accept those risks. n120 During World War II the morale of servicewomen was generally higher as they came closer to the front, and lower when they were relegated to rear areas, assigned to stereotyped "women's work," or otherwise made to feel that they were not taken seriously. n121 The same resentment was recently expressed by women Marines who were left behind when their units went to Saudi Arabia. n122 Paradoxically, the career orientation of women officers means that the women most seriously harmed by this type of segregation are the least likely to challenge it in court. One basic lesson, learned early by every career man and career woman in the service, is: Don't make waves.

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n120 See, e.g., H. ROGAN, supra note 94, at 272-302; D. SCHNEIDER & C. SCHNEIDER, supra note 107, at 137-65; C. WILLIAMS, supra note 118, at 83-87; Moskos, supra note 119, at 77-78.

n121 M. TREADWELL, THE WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS 366-67 (U.S. Army in World War II: Special Studies, 1954).

n122 A Mother's Duty, PEOPLE, Sept. 10, 1990, at 42, 48; Reynolds, Female Marines Left Behind in Deployment, L.A. Times, Aug. 23, 1990, at A7, col. 1.

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There is good sense in the services' assumption that women must be prepared to fight. Combat exclusion or no combat exclusion, women will be used in combat in case of need. The Army expresses this idea in the slogan, "Every soldier an emergency rifleman." n123 Neither men nor women in noncombat jobs are free from the risks associated with combat, and today women serve routinely in combat support positions. n124 In 1987 women performed arduous tasks on the destroyer tender Acadia, which brought the U.S.S. Stark to port after it was hit by an Iraqi missile in the Persian Gulf. n125 Women fly in radar planes performing aircraft warning and control functions, planes that are prime targets in any shooting [*531] war. Here at home, women serve in missile silo firing teams. n126 And many readers will remember Captain Linda Bray, who commanded the Military Police unit that engaged in brief combat in Panama in 1989. n127

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n123 Tuten, The Argument Against Female Combatants, in FEMALE SOLDIERS -- COMBATANTS OR NONCOMBATANTS? 237, 249 (N. Goldman ed. 1982).

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n124 Thousands of Army women, although banned from positions bearing the "combat" label, are now serving in positions classified P1, the classification with "the highest probability of involving a solider in direct combat." B. MITCHELL, supra note 118, at 122, 143.

n125 Fritsch, Women Making Waves in Navy, L.A. Times, Apr. 9, 1989, at A3, col. 3. The Acadia's crew included 248 women. Our Women in the Desert, NEWSWEEK, Sept. 10, 1990, at 22, 24.

n126 Halloran, Some Missile Crews to Pair Men and Women, N.Y. Times, Dec. 8, 1987, at A1, col. 4.

n127 Of the 18,400 soldiers who participated in the Panama operation, some 800 were women, and about 150 were close to enemy fire. Moskos, supra note 119, at 72.

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As these examples show, the lists of combat and noncombat positions are not exactly given in Nature; the lists change from time to time because they represent an uneasy compromise that is getting more uneasy every year. Major General Jeanne Holm was right in saying, "If all the women were discharged tomorrow, most of the distinctions [between combat and noncombat jobs] would be abandoned the day after." n128 The Army's decision in 1982 to add twenty-three types of positions to the combat list was not driven by evidence that women were incapable of performing as plumbers or electricians or auto transmission mechanics or even helicopter repairers. Rather it reflected a more general decision to slow the growth of the "feminine" presence in the ranks. n129 This decision makes clear the central symbolic purpose of the combat exclusion, but even if the number of jobs labeled as combat positions were drastically reduced, that symbol would retain much of its power through the mere official declaration that women cannot serve in combat.

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n128 J. HOLM, supra note 96, at 395.

n129 See supra note 96.

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In the 1990s, of course, official defenders of the combat exclusion are not talking this way -- not in public, anyway. Instead, supporters of the exclusion in Congress and elsewhere argue that women in combat positions would interfere with the mission. In other words, they argue that women just cannot do the job. Some politicians invoke the image of a Marine living for months in brutal conditions of jungle mud, plagued by insects and dysentery, carrying a sixty-pound pack on long marches punctuated by bayonet fights against enemy soldiers with the build and disposition of a Lyle Alzado. n130 They ask, "Do you want your daughter doing that?"

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n130 See, e.g., Military Pasture: Hearings on H.R. 10939 and H.R. 7431 Before the House Comm. on Armed Services, 95th Cong., 2d Sess. 1179-88 (1978)

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(statement of W. Graham Claytor, Secretary of the Navy) quoted in Goodman, supra note 95, at 254; Webb, supra note 118, at 144 (opening paragraphs). Lyle Alzado is a recently retired professional football player; if you and he were in a fight, you would want him on your side.

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[*532] For a time, defenders of the combat exclusion founded arguments on the biological reality that women in general are less strong than men in general, particularly in lifting capacity. n131 But the Defense Department has pretty well given up this argument, for the excellent reason that the conditions of modern warfare make this group difference in physical strength irrelevant to most combat jobs. In any case, no one argues against allowing the services to use job-validated tests to determine individual members' physical capacity to perform various tasks. If such a validated test should turn out to exclude a large proportion of women, however, chances are that the test would also exclude many men -- a result that seems not to be palatable to the Army today. n132

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n131 For one rather late expression along these lines, see Tuten, supra note 123, at 247: "Men are substantially larger, heavier, stronger, and faster. Men have greater physical endurance. A larger percentage of their body weight is devoted to muscle and bone mass. They can carry heavier loads longer distances at greater speeds." Id.

n132 The Navy and the Marines do not have strength testing programs; in these two services if you survive the physical demands of boot camp, you're in. In 1981, the season of the "womanpause," the Air Force announced interim strength standards for a number of MOSs, with no effort to validate the tests by reference to actual job performance.

The Army's tortuous efforts to develop strength standards have been driven from the beginning by the "woman question." The problem has been to set standards that will allow small men in the Infantry but still permit a sharp line between the strength ratings of men in general and women in general. Even now the Army has not used strength tests to limit assignments, and uses them only in recruitment counseling. Of the women counseled to take jobs rated for light lifting only, about one-third have been choosing jobs rated for heavy lifting. The Army has not sought to learn whether these women are unable to perform their jobs. Judith Stiehm's analysis of this elaborate game should be required reading for anyone who thinks the physical strength argument justifies a blanket exclusion of women from combat positions. J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 198-205.

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Most combat jobs do not require physical strength at a level that will exclude large numbers of women. Even rifles are not what they used to be; the M-16 was taken to Vietnam for use by the men of the South Vietnamese army (ARVN), who tended to be smaller than most of the American soldiers. It was an M-16 that Captain Bray was carrying when she was photographed following that exchange of fire in Panama City. The lighter rifle is only a minor example of a much larger development in combat technology: as time goes on, combat, even putting missiles to one side, relies less and less on muscle power, more and

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more on firepower. n133 Given [*533] that Air Force women are certified to fly fighter planes as instructors, why should they not be allowed to serve in fighter squadrons?

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n133 This reliance on firepower, often applied to the enemy at a considerable distance, saps some forms of combat of their heroic quality. M. GERZON, supra note 15, at 54-55. It also seems to have caused psychological damage to some American soldiers and Marines in Vietnam, most of whom had little opportunity to engage in the hand-to-hand fighting that would let them discharge the sexually charged psychic energies built up in their combat training. This training relied heavily on creating anxiety about manhood, with repeated use of raunchy sexist and homophobic imagery. For one angry veteran's perspective, see Eisenhart, You Can't Hack It Little Girl: A Discussion of the Covert Psychological Agenda of Modern Combat Training, 31 J. SOC. ISSUES 13 (1975). With the increase of women in the services, men's training for combat apparently has somewhat diminished the role of blatantly offensive sexism of the kind reported by Eisenhart. But when men's basic training or boot camp is segregated from women's, as in the Army and Marines, it still makes considerable use of sexist imagery.

Typically, men are socialized into the military in their late teens, when they are most vulnerable to the anxieties of achieving manhood. See J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 226-27; Arkin & Dobrofsky, supra note 112, at 151. The average age of American men killed in Vietnam was 19. J. ELSHTAIN, supra note 12, at 220.

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Before 1982 women in the field artillery were allowed to be specialists in target acquisition (a "noncombat" job), but not in the direction of cannon fire (a "combat" job). That distinction nicely illustrates the governing principle: Women can be in positions in which they will be targets, but cannot deliver violence in line-of-sight firing. n134 This principle is consistent with another male-female difference dear to the hearts of defenders of the combat exclusion: Men as a group are more inclined to be physically aggressive than are women as a group n135 -- or, as one man put it, "Man is more [*534] naturally violent than woman." n136 This statement is a textbook example of "the tyranny of averages" n137 that applies the combat exclusion to "woman" in the abstract, in total disregard of the characteristics of any particular woman. n138 The studies of sex and aggression identify tendencies within groups; in one study, for example, seventy percent of the men and thirty percent of the women were above the group median in choosing physical aggression as a response to hypothetical conflict. n139 In real conflict, "man" as the eager aggressor appears to be the exception and not the norm. Only about fifteen percent of American riflemen in combat in World War II actually fired their weapons at enemy soldiers. n140 In Vietnam, the main victims of fragging -- deliberate "friendly" fire -- were officers seen by their men as too aggressive.

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n134 See Goodman, supra note 95, at 259-60; see also Segal, The Argument for Female Combatants, in FEMALE SOLDIERS-COMBATANTS OR NONCOMBATANTS, supra note 123, at 267.

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n135 The existence of this group difference needs little proof for anyone who observes the day-to-day behavior of boys and girls, or of men and women. Even so, my own unscientific sampling of experience in the mock combat of Southern California highways since World War II suggests a significant increase in aggressive driving by young women. My equally unscientific conclusion: These drivers sense that they have social permission to drive in the way that young men have tended to drive all along.

Some of the group difference in inclination toward aggression appears to be biological, owing to the release of testosterone into male brains, and some of it socially constructed, owing to the ways in which boys and girls are raised to become the men and women society expects them to be. The basic reference for the biological element in the group difference in aggression is E. MACCOBY & C. JACKLIN, THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX DIFFERENCES 227-47, 360-66 (1974). See also Whiting & Edwards, A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sex Differences in the Behavior of Children Aged Three Through Eleven, 91 J. SOC. PSYCHOLOGY 171 (1973). Responding to criticism of this view, Maccoby and Jacklin agree that there is a large element of acculturation in sex-group differences in aggression. Maccoby & Jacklin, Sex Differences in Aggression: A Rejoinder and Reprise, 51 CHILD DEV. 964 (1980) (responding to Tieger, On the Biological Basis of Sex Differences in Aggression, 51 CHILD DEVELOPMENT 943 (1980) (arguing that there is no biological predisposition of human males to aggression and noting that aggression is reliably observable only after children have reached the age of six)). Today part of that acculturation is the combat exclusion itself, which reinforces the view that women should repress any aggressive impulses.

n136 Webb, supra note 118, at 148. James Webb, a Marine officer who fought in Vietnam, later became President Reagan's Secretary of the Navy. In case you were wondering, he explains why it is that Nature has made "man" aggressive: "Man must be more aggressive in order to perpetuate the human race. Women don't rape men, and it has nothing to do, obviously, with socially induced differences." Id. at 147-48.

n137 Treadwell, Biologic Influences on Masculinity, in THE MAKING OF MASCULINITIES 259, 278-81 (H. Brod ed. 1987).

n138 The same thing can be said of the suggestion, frequently made by men who support the combat exclusion, that women lack the capacity for "military leadership," and thus cannot be trusted to be combat leaders.

n139 Reinish & Sanders, A Test of Sex Differences in Aggressive Response to Hypothetical Conflict Situations, 50 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOLOGY 1045, 1048 (1985).

n140 S. MARSHALL, MEN AGAINST FIRE 77-78 (1947).

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What function is served by a rule that makes the thirty percent of men who are less aggressive than the median qualified for combat positions, and the thirty percent of women who are above the median not qualified? General Robert H. Barrow, former Commandant of the Marine Corps, answered with commendable candor:

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War is man's work. Biological convergence on the battlefield would not only be dissatisfying in terms of what women could do, but it would be an enormous psychological distraction for the male who wants to think that he's fighting for that woman somewhere behind, not up there in the same foxhole with him. It tramples the male ego. When you get right down to it, you have to protect the manliness of war. n141

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n141 Wright, The Marine Corps Faces the Future, N.Y. Times, June 20, 1982, § 6 (Magazine), at 16, 74. General Barrow was fond of saying that "while he wanted his men to be men, he wanted his women marines to remain women." J. HOLM, supra note 96, at 273. So it is that the basic training manual for Women Marines -- as they are officially called, to distinguish them from men, who are called Marines -- requires recruits to wear makeup, with lipstick and eye shadow the allowable minimum. The recruits also take classes on makeup, hair care, poise, and etiquette. C. WILLIAMS, supra note 118, at 63.

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[*535] Women evidently are considered aggressive enough to fire long-range missiles when they are ordered to do so. And there seem to be plenty of women pilots who are aggressive enough to want assignment to fighter squadrons. n142 Furthermore, in many combat tasks aggressiveness has little relevance. For example, some of the jobs on the Army list of combat positions are: tank turret mechanic; ground surveillance radar crewman; and remote sensor specialist.

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n142 See, e.g., C. WILLIAMS, supra note 118, at 53; A Mother's Duty, supra note 122, at 46; Our Women in the Desert, NEWSWEEK, Sept. 10, 1990, at 22-23.

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Aggression and courage are not synonyms. At the small Air Force base where I was certified only to fly a desk, the fighter pilots were courageous, but most of them were anything but aggressive, especially the combat veterans. Raw aggression would have been counterproductive in their operations, which even then were highly technified, although wholly oriented to combat. Returning to the ground, we can consider the record of women in the French Resistance during World War II. It was widely agreed that they were more effective than their male counterparts in some sabotage operations. n143

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n143 For one good, short account, see S. SAYWELL, WOMEN IN WAR 37-72 (Penguin ed. 1986). See also Quester, The Problem, in FEMALE SOLDIERS-COMBATANTS OR NONCOMBATANTS?, supra note 123, at 217, 226-29.

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Application of the principle of equal citizenship to the sex-desegregation of the services would not "feminize" the combat arms in the sense of making them less combative. It would remove the blanket exclusion of women that presently limits the discretion of military professionals in selecting service members

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to perform jobs for which they are qualified. If it takes high levels of physical strength and aggression to be, for example, a Ranger, then the Army should not select women or men who lack those qualifications. If physical strength and aggression make no difference to one's ability to be a diver, then the Navy should not use the lack of those qualities to disqualify a woman or a man from being a diver. In either case the qualification should not be sex itself. n144 If this [*536] norm has a familiar look, the reason is that the constitutional guarantee of equal protection forbids government to use sex as a classification for granting or denying a benefit, including employment, unless the government offers "an exceedingly persuasive justification" for arguing that the sex qualification is substantially related to an important governmental interest. n145

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n144 Two related arguments in defense of the combat exclusion are that pregnancy disables women and that women are less able than men to deal with stress. On the latter issue, see infra text accompanying note 170. Under present regulations, pregnant servicewomen are not sent overseas. The time lost from duty by women is approximately the same as the time lost from duty by men. The difference is that women take more time off for medical reasons, while men miss duty more often for reasons of discipline, alcoholism, and the like. "When I point this out, people tend to dismiss it by saying, 'Well, we don't count that because boys will be boys.'" Korb, The Pentagon's Perspective, in WHO DEFENDS AMERICA? RACE, SEX, AND CLASS IN THE ARMED FORCES, supra note 4, at 19, 25. See also J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 210-13. Recently the Marine Corps has taken a sterner view of alcohol abuse, which once was virtually compulsory as proof that you were man enough to be a Marine. See Bailey, The Few, the Proud, the Sober, L.A. Times, Oct. 15, 1989, at A1, col. 1.

n145 Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan, 458 U.S. 718, 724 (1982). The application of this demanding standard of review to the combat exclusion is in tension with some of the Supreme Court's more extreme statements about judicial deference to the judgment of military officials and of Congress in military matters. I address this problem in Part V of this Article, infra text accompanying notes 243-63.

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The recent history of service policy and congressional politics suggests strongly that concerns about women's relative physical strength and passivity have little to do with maintaining the combat exclusion. The real concerns are of two kinds: The first is a special regard for women who must be protected as the symbolic vessel of femininity and motherhood. The idea is that we cannot stand the thought of women being killed or maimed or -- worse? -- captured and subjected to the risk of rape or other sexual assault. A derivative worry is that the anticipated pain of seeing "women coming home in body bags" will weaken "the national resolve," n146 making decisionmakers less willing to deploy troops, once women are among them.

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n146 This was the view of the Senate Armed Services Committee in its report rejecting the registration of women for a military draft. The report is quoted by Wendy Williams, The Equality Crisis: Some Reflections on Culture, Courts,

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and Feminism, supra note 93, at 183, in her perceptive analysis of Rostker v. Goldberg, 453 U.S. 57 (1981).

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The second set of concerns goes more directly to the success of the military mission. It is said that placing women among combat soldiers will (a) cause men to divert their attention from the mission in order to provide more-than-usual protection for their women comrades; (b) distract men from their jobs by creating rivalries for the women's favors; and, partly as a result, (c) undermine the "male bonding" that produces heroism and self-sacrifice.

Both of these clusters of beliefs are so deeply engrained in so many of us -- especially in so many men -- that they may be impervious to argument of any kind. Even so, it is important to recognize that each of these types of concern, in every one of its aspects, grows out of the beliefs that women should be kept "feminine" in [*537] the traditional sense n147 and that "you have to protect the manliness of war." n148 These beliefs are central to the ideology of masculinity. The combat exclusion's main purpose is to express the gender line.

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n147 See supra note 141.

James Webb, in Women Can't Fight, supra note 118, at 282, laments the loss of women's sexual identity when they attend the Naval Academy and go on to make their way "inside a harsh, isolated man's world." Women in the Marine Corps, whose display of femininity is a matter of Marine Corps policy, seem to have retained their sense of femininity even in the rigors of (sex-segregated) boot camp. See C. WILLIAMS, supra note 118, ch. 3. The Marines' instructional program for drill instructors is sex-integrated for both students and instructors. Lady Marine Takes Charge of Few Good Recruits, L.A. Times, Nov. 25, 1989, at A31, col. 1.

n148 General Barrow, quoted in supra text accompanying note 141.

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First, consider the concerns that women will be killed or captured and assaulted. No one seriously argues that young women's lives are worth more than young men's lives. Women are, in fact, likely to be killed along with men in future wars. Nuclear war would kill women and men in about the same proportions. More likely, the military operations of the near future will rely on conventional forces. Some operations will put the forces in the "constabulary" role n149 they have performed several times in recent years. On the street in Panama, at sea in the Persian Gulf, where is the "front"? Any combat operations involving large numbers of men will also put significant numbers of women at risk: the ones in combat support units. Those women are already authorized and trained to use their weapons defensively. If other uses of their weapons are seen as offensive, the main thing offended is the ideology of masculinity, the idea that Man is Woman's protector. The anxieties of manhood are close to the surface here. Judith Stiehm asks,

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Is it possible that the aversion of men to the suffering of women is actually based on their feeling that when a woman suffers it is because men have failed to protect that woman? Is the pain they feel for women, or is it the pain of their own failure? n150

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n149 Segal & Segal, supra note 107, at 236. As the Cold War was winding down, and before the invasion of Kuwait, the armed services were looking around for long-term missions that would justify the retention of their personnel, equipment, and annual budgets. One likely candidate was the "war on drugs," with the services performing in roles strongly resembling police work.

n150 Stiehm, Women and the Combat Exemption, 10 PARAMETERS: J. OF U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE 51, 53 (June 1980). See also J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 224-27; J. STIEHM, supra note 95, at 288-301; and Stiehm, The Protected, The Protector, the Defender, in WOMEN AND MEN'S WARS 367 (J. Stiehm ed. 1983) (reprinting vol. 5, issues 3/4 of WOMEN'S STUDIES INT'L FORUM (1982)).

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The concern that women in combat who are captured will be raped is well founded. Susan Brownmiller begins her study of rape with an eighty-page chapter on rape in war, including some harrowing [*538] reports of the behavior of American troops in the field. n151 The idea of Man as protector of Woman, it turns out, does not extend to protecting women who are seen as other men's women. n152 The men who raise the question of rape in defending the combat exclusion are troubled by the idea that our women -- I emphasize the possessive form -- may be raped by men of the other side.

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n151 S. BROWNMILLER, AGAINST OUR WILL: MEN, WOMEN AND RAPE 31-113 (1975).

n152 The prevalence of wife battering and the retention of the marital rape exception in the laws of a number of states strongly suggest that men's protection of women is regarded, in important part, as a protection of their own possessive interests against rival men's interference.

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This fear reflects a long-standing inclination to regard rape from the standpoint of the anxieties of male rivalry. From the medieval origins of rape as a property crime through the frenzy of the lynch mob to the more recent tendency to put the rape victim on trial, the focus of the criminal justice system has been to do justice to men. In view of this history it is intolerable, in considering the risk of rape in war, that men should take the power of decision away from women who choose to accept the risk. Women pilots who want to be assigned to fighter squadrons know what they may face if they bail out over enemy territory -- and they are prepared to assume that risk. n153

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n153 C. WILLIAMS, supra note 118, at 84. Surely, too, servicewomen and civilian women alike are aware that the risk of rape is considerable here at

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home.

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The uneasiness about the effects of women on male soldiers ignores the recent experience of the sex-integration in other workplaces. When women are tokens, they do, indeed, serve to intensify the importance of the gender line. When women in substantial numbers take their places alongside men, however, they come to be accepted as co-workers, as colleagues, as leaders. n154 Most readers of this Article will have had this experience in law firms, law faculties, and law school student bodies. On the other hand, most career members of the armed forces will have been largely insulated from any such experience because women's numbers are severely limited and women are forbidden to engage in the services' central mission. But experience seems not to be the point; the services have made [*539] elaborate studies of women's lifting ability, n155 but have shown little interest in sex-integrating a sample of combat units in order to test women's abilities to perform satisfactorily. It is hard to avoid the impression that the services fear the worst: that the units' performance would be just fine. Defenders of the combat exclusion say explicitly that they want to avoid having the services be "a test tube for social experimentation" with integration of the sexes. n156

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n154 Studies suggest that the critical mass of women needed to avoid social problems in mixed groups is about one-quarter. See Thomas & Prather, Integration of Females into a Previously All-Male Institution, in PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH SYMPOSIUM ON PSYCHOLOGY IN THE AIR FORCE 100-01 (U.S. Air Force Academy, Dep't of Behavioral Sciences and Leadership, 1976); see also Ruble & Higgins, Effects of Group Sex Composition on Self-Presentation and Sex-Typing, 32 J. SOC. ISSUES 125 (1976); Webber, Perceptions and Behaviors in Mixed Sex Work Teams, 15 INDUS. REL. 121 (1976).

n155 Typically these studies have been used to generate more studies. See J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 134-54.

n156 Webb, supra note 118, at 147; Tuten, supra note 123, at 261 ("testbed"); cf. C. WILLIAMS, supra note 118, at 55, quoting General William Westmoreland, speaking in opposition to the Defense Department's proposal to abolish the combat exclusion: "The political administration is trying to use the military as a vehicle to further social change in our society. . . . No man with gumption wants a woman to fight his battles." Id. (footnote omitted). This sentiment was echoed by the Senate Armed Services Committee that recommended in 1981 against registering women for the draft, quoted in C. WILLIAMS, supra note 118, at 183: Sex-integrated combat units would be "an experiment to be conducted in war with unknown risk."

Compare the Army leadership's attitude toward racial integration at the outset of World War II: "The Army position was that the military should not be a laboratory for social experimentation; integration would hurt unit efficiency and create unnecessary racial friction." M. BINKIN AND M. EITELBERG, supra note 5, at 19. One difference is that defenders of the combat exclusion also oppose integration during peacetime.

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One "experiment" has already been completed, outside the services: the sex-integration of American police forces proceeds apace. At first, women officers were resisted on grounds closely resembling the arguments for excluding servicewomen from combat jobs. n157 Today policewomen routinely face the risks, physical challenges, and cooperative responsibilities of patrol duty, and routinely they perform well. n158 As more and more women take on these duties, [*540] their presence becomes less and less remarkable. Their status in the eyes of male officers has progressed, too -- from ornaments to tokens to valued co-workers. n159

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n157 Thus, many policemen thought women were too small to do the job; insufficiently assertive and physically aggressive; too emotional; less able than men to handle stress; likely to need more protection than would male partners; likely to distract men from the job; and likely to undermine the male bonding that the job requires. S. MARTIN, BREAKING AND ENTERING: POLICEWOMEN ON PATROL 90-101 (1980); C. MILTON, A. ABRAMOVITZ, L. CRITES, M. GATES, E. MINTZ & G. SANDLER, WOMEN IN POLICING: A MANUAL 31-35 (Police Foundation 1974). One male officer summed it up: "It takes his masculinity away when a woman is trying to do a man's job." S. MARTIN, supra, at 93.

n158 See, e.g., P. BLOCH & D. ANDERSON, POLICEWOMEN ON PATROL: FINAL REPORT (1974); P. HORNE, WOMEN IN LAW ENFORCEMENT (1980); H. ROGAN, supra note 94, at 297-98. Even in fire departments, which have been especially recalcitrant in the field of sex discrimination, women are now beginning to reach the levels of command. See, e.g., Fritsch, A Woman Climbs the Fire Department Ladder, L.A. Times, June 19, 1990, at B3, col. 1 (woman fire captain in charge of an otherwise all-male fire fighting crew in south central Los Angeles). Women have served successfully as prison guards, too, but the Supreme Court had no trouble in ignoring that evidence in Dothard v. Rawlinson, 433 U.S. 321 (1977) (upholding state regulation forbidding women to be guards in men's prisons).

n159 See generally S. MARTIN, ON THE MOVE: THE STATES OF WOMEN IN POLICING (1990). These developments are just now coming to produce a real sense of sex-integration in large police departments. The deputy chief who commands the personnel and training division of the Los Angeles police recently said, "We're getting to the point where it really doesn't matter what gender or race you are. We're just all cops." In the last ten years, women have gone from 2.4% to 12.2% of the Los Angeles force; they are projected to go to 20% before the next decade ends. Katz, L.A. Police United in Attitude, Survey Says, L.A. Times, Sept. 2, 1990, at B1, col. 5.

As one would expect, it is the long-term work relationship under conditions in which women are present in more than token numbers that is most likely to produce these changes in men's attitudes toward women co-workers and women supervisors. For validation of this generalization in the military services, see, e.g., D. SCHNEIDER & C. SCHNEIDER, supra note 107, at 42-60; Moskos, supra note 119, at 74.

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The question whether women will distract men from doing their jobs is not exactly new. In the nineteenth century the conventional wisdom was that women must be kept out of public roles, especially roles in making governmental decisions. The idea was that their presence in, for example, the legislative halls would distract men from exercising the reason that should guide their deliberations. n160 Let us, in the 1990s, just draw a veil over that argument, which has equal validity -- better, equal invalidity -- in all arenas of human endeavor. Even so, concerns about sexual harassment cannot be discounted in any organization that employs men in supervisory capacities over women; the armed services are no exception.

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n160 See Okin, Women and the Making of the Sentimental Family, 11 PHIL. AND PUB. AFF. 65, 87 (1982).

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The most serious harassment, in which sexual favors are sought, is not condoned by the services, but it is also not unknown. A more common form of harassment is "testing" -- making a woman prove that she is up to the job. This sort of thing also happens to male newcomers in many a workplace, civilian as well as military. As the woman continues to perform capably, the testing stops; and as more women join the group, there is less inclination to subject women newcomers to a special form of testing. But one persistent type of harassment of servicewomen is a clear expression of the anxieties of manhood: the man who whistles or makes sexually charged remarks to a woman in the presence of other men. Here the woman serves as an abstraction, an object in a communication addressed to his potential male rivals and judges: "I am a real man." As women in all walks of our society know, this sort of thing is most apt to happen when the woman is alone among men. All [*541] these forms of harassment are more likely in conditions of tokenism n161 -- but that is scarcely an argument for limiting women's duties, and thus limiting both women's numbers n162 and women's authority.

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n161 In a two-year Defense Department survey of 20,000 servicewomen, 64% of the women said they had experienced some form of sexual harassment during the previous year. (In civilian employment, in which women represent a far greater proportion of the work force, the comparable figure runs from 30% to 40%.) The most common forms of harassment reported by the servicewomen were teasing or jokes (52%); looks or gestures (44%); and touching or cornering (38%). Fifteen percent reported pressure on them for sexual favors, and 3% reported sexual assault or rape. Most of the women surveyed thought that the services' rules against sexual harassment were underenforced. Schmitt, 2 Out of 3 Women in Military Study Report Sexual Harassment Incidents, N.Y. Times, Sept. 12, 1990, at A12, col. 1.

More recently the role of tokenism in inducing sexual harassment has been reconfirmed by studies of the United States Naval Academy following a widely publicized incident of harassment. See Barringer, 4 Reports Cite Naval Academy, N.Y. Times, Oct. 10, 1990, at A8, col. 1.

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n162 J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 16-19, 150-53, gives an illuminating account of the types of harassment and the services' sometimes-disappointing responses to the problem. For women's responses to sexual harassment, and confirmation that tokenism exacerbates the problem, see D. SCHNEIDER & C. SCHNEIDER, supra note 107, at 42-49.

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The difficulties of token integration are, in fact, central to all the concerns that are expressed about allowing women to serve in combat positions. The more women are integrated into those positions, the more men will see them -- and treat them -- as comrades rather than abstract symbols of womanhood or objects of romantic attraction. n163 Servicewomen will be accepted as leaders when women in leadership positions are no longer remarkable.

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n163 Some romantic attachments are likely to form on military or naval bases, as in many places of civilian employment. However, the closer the working group, the more likely it is that man-woman "buddy" relationships will form. For one social scientist's participation in and observation of a mixed male-female combat support unit in a simulated combat exercise, supporting the findings of earlier studies, see Devilbiss, Gender Integration and Unit Deployment: A Study of GI Jo, 11 ARMED FORCES & SOC'Y 523, 540-44 (1985).

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In 1940, Secretary Stimson, who was unresponsive to Judge Hastie's importunings on the subject of racial integration, wrote in his diary, "[l]eadership is not imbedded in the negro race yet and to try to make commissioned officers to lead men into battle -- colored men -- is only to work disaster to both." n164 In 1942, a board of naval officers wrote to Frank Knox, the Secretary of the Navy, that "the white man will not accept the negro in a position of authority over him." n165 These relics of white men's earlier struggles for manhood [*542] have been exploded forever by the day-to-day experience of service personnel, from the private in basic training who faces a black drill instructor to the Pentagon officers who report to General Powell. Yet these old expressions of prejudice have their counterparts today in discussions of women in the services. The enrollment of women in the Naval Academy, one critic of integration said, was "poisoning" the preparation of men for command. n166 The Academy had been "objectified and neutered to the point that it can no longer develop or measure leadership"; n167 indeed, integration had "sterilized the whole process of combat leadership training," n168 in major part because "woman" is less physically aggressive than "man." n169 Why can't women lead? Because women can't fight. And why can't women fight? Because no woman is man enough.

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n164 R. DALFIUME, supra note 68, at 57.

n165 Id. at 55. Similar sentiments were expressed by white soldiers, both officers and enlisted men, during the Korean War. SOCIAL RESEARCH, supra note 78, at 154-55. But "[a] large proportion of the white soldiers express[ed] a willingness to accept Negroes in positions of authority. . . ." Id. at 155.

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See also id. at 138-39, 155-59 (white attitudes toward black leaders); id. at 159-62 (black attitudes toward white and black leaders).

n166 Webb, supra note 118, at 146.

n167 Id. at 273.

n168 Id. at 146.

n169 Id. at 147. Webb goes on to quote two midshipmen members of the Academy's second sex-integrated graduating class, both former enlisted men in the Marines. "There isn't a woman here who's a military leader." Id. at 278. "The scary thing is that [the promotion of women to high midshipman rank is] creating a presumption that women can command troops. I'm not kidding -- there isn't a woman here who could have handled the platoon I was in when I was enlisted." Id. at 280.

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The "male bonding" issue goes to the heart of the combat exclusion. The first question, whether men can trust women's competence and reliability, is the easiest to answer. As women do their jobs, they prove themselves capable. One common reply to this answer is that we have only the most limited experience of women in combat -- that we cannot really know whether women will hold up under the stresses of combat. This reply draws on the stereotype of the hysterical woman, a stereotype that appears to be self-reinforcing. n170 Those who accept the sterotype are not about to approve a test deployment of women in a live combat situation. But we do [*543] have modern experience of women's effective performance in combat roles. During World War II women fought with the French Resistance; with the Italian and Yugoslav partisans; in the Polish uprising; and in the Soviet Union's Red Army. n171 In the years since then, women have come under enemy fire as Army nurses in Korea and Vietnam, and have fought as soldiers in the Viet Cong and as guerrillas in dozens of protracted and bloody (though small-scale) wars around the globe. n172 The answer to the question of men's trust of women comrades is the same as it was for whites' trust of black soldiers. In Yogi Berra's words, you can observe a lot just by watching.

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n170 Consider the early report from Panama in 1989 that two women truck drivers had dissolved in tears and refused to drive in areas threatened with sniper fire. In fact,

After eight straight hours of driving during the invasion, the two drivers became concerned about whether they could drive their vehicles safely. Tears were shed at some point. Fresh drivers replaced the two women. A subsequent investigation concluded that at no time was anyone derelict in her duty . . . Moskos, supra note 119, at 72. Women as a group do shed tears more readily than do men as a group; boys are taught that crying is unmanly, and so lose much of their ability to release tension in this natural way. Any man who mistakes a woman's tears for weakness is a prisoner of his own indoctrination. See generally Hoover-Dempsey, Plas & Wallston, Tears and Weeping Among Professional Women: In Search of New Understanding, 10 PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN Q. 19 (1986).

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n171 We also have the recorded experience of women, particularly European women, who have not been in the armed services but nonetheless have survived the stresses of war and military occupation. For a good sampler of both of these kinds of experience of women in war, centered on World War II and Vietnam, see S. SAYWELL, supra note 143.

n172 See generally id.

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"Male bonding," however, also carries another meaning that goes well beyond trust in a comrade's capacity and reliability. n173 The term refers to the personal bonds, often of great intensity, formed between comrades during combat -- the sort of tie that produces heroism and self-sacrifice. n174 Similar ties, of less intensity, are to be found in some athletic teams, teams of women as well as teams of men. Much of what has been called "male bonding" surely is not different from the close tie that any group of people will form when they feel a strong sense of mutual responsibility under conditions of extreme stress. Without question nonsexual ties can form between [*544] men and women in these circumstances. n175 In the context of race, researchers have found that personal connections between black and white troops are loosest (and most vulnerable to racial tensions) away from the base, stronger on the base, and strongest of all in field operations such as combat. n176

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n173 For the argument that women in combat will impair male bonding and thus impair combat effectiveness, see, e.g., Gabriel, Women in Combat? Two Views, ARMY, Mar. 1980, at 44; Tuten, supra note 123, at 251-52.

n174 See, e.g., M. GERZON, supra note 16, at 54-57; S.STOUFFER, A LUMSDAINE, M. LUMSDAINE, R. WILLIAMS, M. SMITH, I. JANIS, S. STAR & L. COTTRELL. THE AMERICAN SOLDIER 98-100 (1949). On representations of battlefield male bonding, with both explicit and implicit exclusion of women, as a temporary solution to rivalry among male (racial) groups, see S. JEFFORDS, supra note 3, at 54-62. As the experience of American troops in Vietnam demonstrated, these interracial ties typically loosen once the combat is over.

In modern times military heroism appears to be considered virtually synonymous with self-sacrifice in the interest of others in the group. See J. ELSHTAIN, supra note 12, at 205-10; Anderson, Military Heroism: An Occupational Definition, 12 ARMED FORCES & SOC'Y 591 (1986). Women have long been socialized to just such a self-sacrificing role. Brian Mitchell, in opposing the contaminating influence of women on male bonding, attributes the regular declarations by service officials that servicewomen are a positive influence on men's behavior to women's ability to charm the officials. B. MITCHELL, supra note 113, at 189-92.

n175 See Devilbiss, supra note 163.

n176 On Vietnam, see, e.g., Borus, Reentry: Adjustment Issues Facing the Vietnam Returnee, 28 ARCHIVES OF GENERAL PSYCHIATRY 501 (1973); Fiman, Borus & Stanton, Black-White and American-Vietnamese Relations Among Soldiers in Vietnam, 31 J. SOC. ISSUES 39, 46 (1975). On Korea, see SOCIAL RESEARCH, supra note 78, at 125-46. Commenting on race relations among the American troops in

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Vietnam, Richard Halloran noted the existence of serious tensions and antagonisms. However, he said, "The exception was blacks and whites under fire -- the fight for survival wiped out color lines in the foxholes and rice paddies." R. HALLORAN, TO ARM A NATION: REBUILDING AMERICA'S ENDANGERED DEFENSES 87 (1986).

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Ultimately the argument for preserving "male bonding" by excluding women reduces to an interest in preserving male dominance and in easing the anxieties of male rivalry. A great many men -- probably nearly all of us -- feel that our personal worth, our manhood, is constantly being tested. If we reward individual achievement, one explanation is that the prizes reassure us that the quest for achievement is a way to pass the daily quiz. Many of us also seek reassurance of manhood in groups, engaging in joint quests that call for the traditional manly virtues and so express our power. In these groups we celebrate strength and competitive achievement in ways that simultaneously dampen rivalry inside the group and intensify our inclination to dominate outsiders. "Male bonding" offers temporary relief from the anxieties of male rivalry, the fear of humiliation for not being man enough. Women have been excluded from these quests for individual or group power because the presence of women has been seen as corrupting the function of the quests as means of proving manhood. Considering the prevalence among men of the folklore that sex is conquest, n177 it should be no surprise that a number of Vietnam veterans have commented on the erotic quality of firefights. n178 But if women are powerful, what does it mean to be a man?

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n177 For discussions of this myth, see A. BRITTAN, supra note 21, at 11-14, 164-66; M. FASTEAU, THE MALE MACHINE 20-35 (1975); S. JEFFORDS, supra note 3, passim.

n178 E.g., Broyles, Why Men Love War, ESQUIRE, Nov. 1984, at 55; see S. JEFFORDS, supra note 3, passim.

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This question was thoughtfully posed by a young naval officer who commanded the brigade of midshipmen in 1979, the year the Naval Academy graduated its first sex-integrated class:

[*545] Historically . . . the academies and a few other areas of the military -- Marine Corps boot camp, airborne training -- have provided a ritualistic rite of passage into manhood. It was one small area of our society that was totally male. Women now have a full range of choice, from the totally female -- motherhood -- to what was once the totally male -- the academies, for example. Males in the society feel stripped, symbolically and actually. . . . The real question is this: Where in this country can someone go to find out if he is a man? And where can someone who knows he is a man go to celebrate his masculinity? Is that important on a societal level? I think it is. n179

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n179 Webb, supra note 118, at 280.

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In stark form, these questions put in issue the social value of the ideology of masculinity.

In maintaining their past and present policies of segregation the armed services, reflecting the values of some influential groups in the larger society, have set great store by this ideology. At midcentury the services, and the nation generally, formally recognized how racial segregation was denying the claims of black Americans to equal citizenship. In the last two decades the nation has been moving toward full recognition of the analogous claims of women. Because a central tenet of the ideology of masculinity is domination, specifically the subordination of women, relying on that ideology to justify excluding women from any form of government service is not just an unconvincing argument; it is an argument that is constitutionally illegitimate. n180

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n180 The Supreme Court forcefully made this point in the context of sex-stereotyping in Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan, 458 U.S. 718 (1982). For a short general survey of the modern judicial development of women's constitutional claims to equality, see Ginsburg, Sex Discrimination, 4 ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AM. CONST. 1666-73 (L. Levy, K. Karst & D. Mahoney eds.) (1986). In the last section of this Article, I argue that there is no justification for a "military exception" in cases of constitutional claims to equal access to the services.

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IV. THE GAY WARRIOR IN THE MIRROR OF MARS

"Male bonding" may reassure nervous males that they will not be humiliated for failure to measure up as men, but it also comes close to the edge of homoerotic expression. n181 This proximity threatens the very identity that the ideology of masculinity demands. For those who want to keep the public's gaze fixed on "the manliness of war," the tensions of male bonding demand a clear expression of the services' rejection of homosexuality. This expression is not just a by-product of the policy that purports to exclude [*546] gay men and lesbians from the armed forces; it is the policy's main function. When a gay soldier comes to the Army's official attention, the real threat is not the hindrance of day-to-day operations, but rather the tarnishing of the Army's traditionally masculine image.

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n181 See W. MENNINGER, PSYCHIATRY IN A TROUBLED WORLD 56-68, 269 (1948).

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Here, as in the exclusion of women from jobs bearing the "combat" label, the pursuit of manhood is close to the surface of official policy. Both aspects of the ideology of masculinity n182 are visible. First, the exclusion policy is part of a vigorous effort to keep the gender line clearly marked. Second, the

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policy is an authoritative statement stigmatizing homosexuality. Every discharge of a gay soldier is an official degradation ceremony, an invitation to the troops -- and especially to very young men -- to participate in further acts of group subordination, relieving the anxieties of male rivalry through rituals of group domination. n183 The exclusion policy is, above all, political theater.

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n182 See supra text accompanying note 133.

n183 On sexist and antigay rituals in men's basic training and boot camp, see supra note 133.

A number of studies confirm what common experience suggests: The strong rejection of homosexuality is correlated positively with endorsement of traditional sex-role stereotypes. See, e.g., Dunbar, Brown & Amoroso, Some Correlates of Attitudes Toward Homosexuality, 89 J. SOC. PSYCHOLOGY 271 (1973); Krulewitz & Nash, Effects of Sex Role Attitudes and Similarity on Men's Rejection of Male Homosexuals, 38 J. PERSONALITY AND SOC. PSYCHOLOGY 67 (1980); MacDonald, Huggins, Young & Swanson, Attitudes toward Homosexuality: Preservation of Sex Morality or the Double Standard?, 40 J. CONSULTING AND CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY 161 (1973).

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Given these expressive purposes, the crucial factor in each determination whether to exclude is the individual servicemember's public identity. Before World War II the services made no serious inquiry into questions of homosexual identity. Rather, they treated acts of sodomy as criminal offenses to be punished by imprisonment. With the reinstitution of the military draft in 1940, some prominent psychiatrists persuaded key government officials that psychiatry would be useful in screening out potential draftees who were mentally unfit for service. Among the categories of mental illness they included homosexuality. n184 They saw their proposal as a humanitarian reform; exclusion or discharge from the service was a lighter sanction than imprisonment. Their persuasions produced a new policy that increased the number of men who were declared [*547] ineligible to serve: not only men who engaged in homosexual sex, but any men the doctors characterized as homosexual. More importantly, the policy shifted the focus of official attention from punishing detestable acts to defining detestable persons. n185

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n184 The characterization of homosexuality as disease persisted until the 1970s, when the American Psychiatric Association and other professional organizations formally rejected this view. For a concise summary of these actions, see Law, Homosexuality and the Social Meaning of Gender, 1988 WIS. L. REV. 187, 213-14.

n185 Allan Berube provides an illuminating account of these developments in his recent book, COMING OUT UNDER FIRE: THE HISTORY OF GAY MEN AND WOMEN IN WORLD WAR II, chs. 1 & 5 & passim (1990).

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The problem of definition was, and is, complex. What is it that makes someone "a homosexual"? Although the behavior we now call homosexual appears to be as old as humanity itself, n186 the notion of identifying persons in categories defined by sexual orientation was not widespread in Europe and America until the late nineteenth century. n187 The difficulty in defining this particular kind of personal identity was evident from the beginning of the military services' efforts to do so:

Homosexual personnel were identified [by 1945] as either latent, self-confessed, well-adjusted, habitual, undetected or known, true, confirmed, and male or female. There were homosexual non-offenders who admitted only tendencies or acts; heterosexual malingerers and homosexual reverse malingerers; normal offenders who were casual homosexuals, first-timers, curious, drunk, immature, submissive, or regressive; offenders who still possessed salvage value; the aggressors and willing followers, regardless of their sexuality; the sexual psychopath, moral pervert, and sexual deviate. n188

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n186 Indeed, the behavior is even older than humanity; any observer of domestic animals knows that it is common in the animal world.

n187 See D. GREENBERG, supra note 32, at 368-96; Goldstein, History, Homosexuality, and Political Values: Searching for the Hidden Determinants of Bowers v. Hardwick, 97 YALE L.J. 1073, 1086-89 (1988). See also the many historical sources cited in Developments in the Law -- Sexual Orientation and the Law, 102 HARV. L. REV. 1508, 1514-15 (1989).

n188 A. BERUBE, supra note 185, at 146. The term "reverse malingerer" was actually used by Army and Navy psychiatrists, apparently without embarrassment. It referred to a man who concealed his homosexual orientation in order to serve his country. Id. at 20. I say "man" advisedly; the services did not develop a policy concerning lesbians until the very end of the war. Id. at 28.

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As the doctors were stumbling through this definitional thicket, there was a war to be fought, and the services needed men. Some 16,000,000 people served in the armed forces during the war. The services examined about 18,000,000 men, and rejected between 4,000 and 5,000 of them on the ground of homosexuality; after induction about 10,000, mostly men, were discharged on this ground. n189 The most conservative estimates would place the number of gay servicemembers in the 1940s well up in the hundreds [*548] of thousands. n190 Although the policy of excluding persons who were homosexual failed to exclude, it did introduce the American public to the idea that one's personal identity could be focused on sexual orientation n191 -- and so found a new purpose that was all too attainable.

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n189 Id. at 33, 201.

n190 Such estimates are notoriously hard to validate because they raise the definitional problem that confounds analysis of this whole subject: What determines who is "a homosexual"? A. BERUBE, supra note 185, at 3, uses the

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population percentages suggested by the Kinsey Institute's wartime surveys, and estimates the number of male homosexual servicemembers during World War II to be "at least 650,000 and as many as 1.6 million."

n191 See, e.g., id. at 21, 24.

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Although the Uniform Code of Military Justice makes sodomy -- heterosexual as well as homosexual -- a crime, n192 Congress has never adopted legislation excluding persons of homosexual orientation from the armed services. The Department of Defense (DOD), however, has such a policy of exclusion. That policy currently states: "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service. The presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct, seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission." n193 Despite this announced policy, undoubtedly today's services, like those in World War II, include large numbers of members who are gay. n194 Yet, [*549] somehow, the forces are fulfilling their missions, as they most certainly did in the 1940s.

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n192 10 U.S.C. § 925 (1990).

n193 32 C.F.R. § 41, app. A, pt. 1.H (1989). The quoted sentences are followed by a list of reasons for the policy, discussed in infra text accompanying note 206. The current version of the policy was issued in 1981. Previous regulations allowed commanders to make exceptions to the general rule requiring the discharge of homosexual servicemembers, retaining gay and lesbian members who were of special value to the services. In Matlovich v. Secretary of the Air Force, 591 F.2d 852 (D.C. Cir. 1978), implemented in 23 Fair Empl. Prac. Cas. (BNA) 1251 (D.D.C. 1980), the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals held that the Air Force could not discharge a gay airman unless it clearly articulated standards for applying the exception. The current regulation was the Reagan Defense Department's response. Instead of removing the bar to gay members of the services, the DOD eliminated the commanders' authority to make exceptions. This policy was contemporaneous with the "pause" that cut back opportunities for women in the services. See infra text accompanying note 287. For a comprehensive review of the law concerning the DOD's exclusion policy up to the mid-1980s, see Rivera, Queer Law: Sexual Orientation Law in the Mid-Eighties -- Part II, 11 U. DAYTON L. REV. 275, 287-324 (1986).

n194 This assumption is hard to prove, given the strong incentive for gay and lesbian servicemembers to hide their sexual orientation. See generally Gross, Hiding in Uniform: Homosexuals in the Military; For Gay Soldiers and Sailors Lives of Secrecy and Despair, N.Y. Times, Apr. 10, 1990, at A1, col. 1. A recent report of the Defense Personnel Security Research and Education Center to the Defense Department assumes that gay men and lesbians are present in the services at a rate ranging from 3% to 10% -- which, given some 2,000,000 men and women in uniform, translates to a range of 60,000 to 200,000 persons who are theoretically subject to discharge. T. SARBIN & K. KAROLS, NONCONFORMING SEXUAL ORIENTATIONS AND MILITARY SUITABILITY 22 (Dec. 1988). This study, which the Defense Department did not even acknowledge until it was leaked to members of Congress, also called for a thorough reexamination of the DOD's exclusion

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policy. The Department seems, to put it conservatively, disinclined to embark on any such reconsideration.

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A. Gay Identity and the Image of Manhood

On its face the DOD policy seems straightforward in defining the people who are to be excluded from the armed forces. Yet the regulations reintroduce the problem of definition. n195 The Army, for example, defines "a homosexual" as one "who engages in, desires to engage in, or intends to engage in homosexual acts." Discharge is mandatory for a soldier who (a) engages in a homosexual act, or (b) admits to being a homosexual, or (c) enters into a homosexual marriage ceremony. These grounds for dismissal come equipped with an important exception, designed "to permit retention only of nonhomosexual soldiers." Thus, even a homosexual act is not a ground for discharge if (i) it is a departure from the soldier's usual behavior; (ii) it is unlikely to recur (for example, because the act was the result of "immaturity, intoxication, coercion, or a desire to avoid military service"); (iii) it was not accomplished by the soldier's own use of coercion; (iv) this particular soldier's retention in the Army, under the circumstances, is consistent with the Army's interests in discipline and morale; and (v) the soldier does not desire or intend to engage in further homosexual acts. Even the soldier's statement that he is a homosexual is not an absolute ground for discharge,if the relevant authorities find that he is not a homosexual. Presumably such a finding is to be based on considerations like those explicitly listed in the part of the regulation governing discharge for homosexual acts, with special concern for the possibility for lying one's way out of the Army. n196

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n195 The individual services have their own regulations, which track the DOD policy in all matters relevant here.

n196 Army Regulation 635-200, quoted in Watkins v. United States Army, 875 F.2d 699, 713 n.5 (9th Cir. 1989) (en banc) (Norris, J., concurring), cert. denied, 111 S. Ct. 384 (1990). A similar Navy regulation, adopted in 1978, was involved in Dronenburg v. Zech, 741 F.2d 1388 (D.C. Cir. 1984).

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So, neither a homosexual act nor an avowal of homosexual identity conclusively demands a discharge from the Army. The question is whether the soldier is or is not truly "a homosexual" -- a question to be determined by examining the soldier's past and predicting [*550] his future. One irony among many is that the regulation, through its exceptions, implicitly recognizes an appreciable probability that it will be awkward to give a yes-or-no answer to the question, "Is he or isn't he?" -- and at the same time insists on just such a categorical determination. The process centers on the establishment of a public sexual identity, and it also offers local commanders a considerable opportunity for selective enforcement. When Army authorities have evidence of a soldier's single homosexual act, this regulation, backed up by the threat of discharge and the stigma visited upon the disclosure of homosexuality, is a powerful incentive for the solider to avow publicly that he is not gay. n197 The more effective he is in his job, the more likely it is that his superiors will

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want him to renounce any homosexual leanings and assume a public identity of heterosexuality. If he has conflicting feelings, they will not want to know about them. Indeed, the solider himself may be inclined to suppress any such feelings. Military service has long been regarded as an avenue for proving manhood, and for the man who is sexually ambivalent, it may seem to offer a refuge from anxiety. n198 In any case, the Army generally has not gone in for wholesale purges of gay men from the ranks. It enforces its antigay regulation mainly when a soldier "comes out," publicly expressing his identity as "a homosexual," or when charges of homosexual acts must be confronted.

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n197 See Halley, The Politics of the Closet: Towards Equal Protection for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Identity, 36 UCLA L. REV. 915, 951-53 (1989).

n198 A military psychiatrist recently analyzed the cases of eleven transsexuals in the military -- men who were requesting cross-gender hormones, or sex reassignment surgery, or both. He reported one "striking similarity" in nearly all the cases: "[T]hey joined the service, in their words, 'to become a real man.'" For these men, joining the service was a last-ditch "flight into hypermasculinity" that failed to end their gender-dysphoria. Brown, Transsexuals in the Military: Flight Into Hypermasculinity, 17 ARCHIVES OF SEXUAL BEHAV. 527, 529 (1988).

Richard Abel has called my attention to this statement in a recent pamphlet of South Africa's army, addressed to conscripts:

It is generally said that the Defence Force makes a man of you. Despite loved ones' occasional tears, National Servicemen are nevertheless admired . . . There is also a certain "aura of mystery" surrounding someone who has done National service -- especially regarding members of the opposite sex . . . . SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE, NATIONAL SERVICE AND I (undated).

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For homosexual women in the armed forces, the story has been quite different. During World War II the services displayed little concern about the presence of lesbians. n199 Those concerns came to the fore only after the services abolished their women's auxiliaries [*551] and added significant numbers of women to the regular ranks, and more to the point, after the political climate within the Defense Department changed in 1981. Since the early 1980s the services -- especially the Navy and the Marines -- have conducted a number of purges of lesbians. In this period women have been discharged on grounds of homosexuality at a rate far exceeding the rate for men. n200

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n199 A. BERUBE, supra note 185, at 28.

n200 The statistics are collected in T. SARBIN & K. KAROLS, supra note 194, app. B. See also K. BOURDONNAY, R. JOHNSON, J. SCHUMAN & B. WILSON, FIGHTING BACK: LESBIAN AND GAY DRAFT, MILITARY AND VETERANS ISSUES 5-6 (1985); Benecke & Dodge, Recent Developments -- Military Women in Nontraditional Job Fields: Casualties of the Armed Forces' War on Homosexuals, 13 HARV. WOMEN'S L.J. 215, 222 (1990).

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The dynamics of these cases differ in revealing ways from the dynamics of discharges of gay men; the main things revealed are sexual harassment and other forms of sex discrimination. n201 Given the persistence of the old canard that servicewomen are either sluts or lesbians, n202 a charge of lesbianism may follow a serviceman's rebuffed advance. Not surprisingly, a number of these investigations originate in complaints of rejected male suitors. Some of the most zealous investigations have focused on women in jobs that are not traditionally "women's work," with the investigations driven by officers who have expressed hostility to the idea of women in their specialties. A woman's outstanding performance in these "men's jobs," far from insulating her from such an investigation, makes her a prime target. The syllogism is simple: Women can't do men's work; this person is doing men's work; therefore, she can't be a "real" woman. n203 Ironically, the investigators are especially likely to be called in if the woman is assertive in manner, larger than average, and short-haired -- the very qualities in a man that constitute "military bearing." Dragnet investigations of groups of women, [*552] called "witchhunts" by friend and foe alike, n204 are the rule rather than the exception. Gay men, in contrast, typically are investigated and processed one by one. n205

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n201 Here I have drawn on Michelle Benecke's and Kirstin Dodge's thoughtful analysis of the services' bout of lesbian-bashing in the 1980s, supra note 200. See also J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 128-32.

n202 See M. TREADWELL, supra note 121, at 191-218. On the persistence of the canard, see J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 25-26.

n203 See Benecke & Dodge, supra note 200, at 237-38.

In the services as elsewhere, men as a group tend to be more nervous about homosexuality than are women as a group. See, e.g., Moskos, supra note 119, at 74. Historically, both men and women have been more tolerant of lesbian relationships than of male homosexual relationships. Given this pattern, the focus of Navy and Marine investigators on lesbians might seem odd. But the investigations, usually instigated by men and primarily conducted by men, are understandable as means to keep the gender line from becoming blurred.

n204 The label is soundly grounded in history; the witchhunts of centuries past were often founded on assumptions of deviance from sexual norms. See C. MERCHANT, THE DEATH OF NATURE 127-48.

n205 A departure from this pattern is the recent investigation into a "ring" of eighteen male noncommissioned officers at Carswell Air Force Base in Texas. See Weisberg, Gays in Arms, THE NEW REPUBLIC, Feb. 19, 1990, at 20.

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Lesbian-baiting conveys clear messages to all servicewomen: Stay out of men's jobs; do not be too assertive; be sure to look feminine. In sum, express your identity in ways that keep the gender line clearly marked. For both lesbians and gay men, the exclusion policy's central focus is public expression, and

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its central goal is to keep intact a public image of traditional masculinity for the warrior class.

If further support for these conclusions be needed, consider the flimsiness of the excuses offered by the Defense Department for maintaining its policy of discrimination. The DOD policy statement, after asserting that homosexuality is incompatible with military service, goes on to claim that homosexuals in the service cause several kinds of harm to the military mission:

The presence of such members adversely affects the ability of the Military Services [i] to maintain discipline, good order, and morale; [ii] to foster mutual trust and confidence among servicemembers; [iii] to ensure the integrity of the system of rank and command; [iv] to facilitate assignment and worldwide deployment of servicemembers who frequently must live and work under close conditions affording minimal privacy; [v] to recruit and retain members of the Military Services; [vi] to maintain the public acceptability of military service; and [vii] to prevent breaches of security. n206

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n206 32 C.F.R. § 41, app. A, pt. 1 H (1989).

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Every one of this statement's claims about risk to the military mission is based on the idea that the existence of discrimination justifies government in practicing further discrimination.

The policy does not question the capacity of gay men or lesbians to do their service jobs capably. Indeed, the records in cases of exclusion are replete with praise from commanders and other service associates. To cite just one live example, consider the case of Sergeant Perry Watkins. While the Army Department's lawyers were litigating to throw him out of the Army for being gay, Sergeant Watkins was given extraordinarily high ratings for job performance and professionalism (85 out of 85 possible points), and [*553] was recommended for promotion. His immediate superior officer said, in the course of an extremely laudatory evaluation, "SSG Watkins is without exception, one of the finest Personnel Action Center Supervisors I have encountered. . . . I would gladly welcome another opportunity to serve with him, and firmly believe that he will be an asset to any unit to which he is assigned." n207

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n207 Watkins v. United States Army, 875 F.2d 699, 703-04 (9th Cir., 1989) (en banc), cert. denied, 111 S. Ct. 384 (1990).

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Sergeant Watkins is by no means unique, as a high naval officer recently confirmed in a statement epitomizing much that is silly and sad in the services' exclusion policy. To get the 1990s started with a new spate of witchhunts, the admiral commanding the surface Atlantic fleet issued a message urging his officers to be vigilant in rooting out lesbian women. He went on to point out that these investigations may be "pursued halfheartedly" by local commanders because lesbian sailors are generally "hard-working, career-oriented, willing

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to put in long hours on the job and among the command's top performers." n208 Until I read the admiral's words, I had not realized that the Navy's career training included stand-up comedy.

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n208 Gross, Navy Is Urged to Root Out Lesbians Despite Abilities, N.Y. Times, Sept. 2, 1990, § I, at 9, col. 5; Gross, View on Lesbians, Sacramento Bee, Sept. 2, 1990, at B12, col. 1.

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The claim that gays are security risks is the most obvious example of the circularity of the policy of exclusion. The service regulations exclude only persons who are self-identified as homosexual or who are known to have engaged in homosexual acts. A servicemember who has a gay public identity cannot be blackmailed into a betrayal of trust through the threat of disclosure. Now that more men and women with homosexual orientations are "coming out," the awareness that they have no peculiar vulnerability to blackmail has penetrated even into the consciousness of the Department of Defense, which has rescinded its automatic bar against security clearances for civilians who are openly homosexual. n209 For gay members who are still "in the closet," the best way to make [*554] disclosure an empty threat would be to get rid of the exclusion policy. If the DOD continues to cling to so feeble an excuse for the military services' exclusion policy, no doubt one reason is the shortage of more persuasive arguments.

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n209 The Department does, however, subject gay applicants for security clearances to mandatory "expanded investigations" that are not mandated for other applicants. This discrimination was upheld in High Tech Gays v. Defense Indus. Sec. Clearance Office, 895 F.2d 563 (9th Cir. 1990), and the Ninth Circuit refused to hear the case en banc. Judge William Canby, dissenting from the latter order, argued forcefully for a standard of judicial review more demanding than the panel's extremely deferential "rational basis" review, and demolished the argument that the exclusion of persons who are openly homosexual is founded on their conduct. His remark applies with equal force to the exclusion of lesbians and gay men from the armed forces: "[T]he Department of Defense is discriminating against homosexuals for what they are, not what they do." 909 F.2d 375, 380 (emphasis in original).

The National Security Agency has stopped denying homosexual persons security clearances for access to "sensitive compartmented information," a very high classification. T. SARBIN & K. KAROLS, supra note 194, at 5. On security clearances, see generally Developments in the Law -- Sexual Orientation and the Law, supra note 187, at 1556.

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Apparently the DOD has forbidden its officials to defend the policy statement's assertions about risks to the military mission. n210 The political utility of this "never explain" strategy may be considerable, but it leaves the services' practice of discrimination without any official justification beyond a list of unsupported assertions. Putting the security-risk red herring to one

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side, the policy statement's other claims about risk simply will not hold up. Many other writers have demonstrated the hollowness of the DOD's assertions. n211 Here I offer a capsule summary of those arguments, by way of emphasizing the central function of the exclusion policy: To reinforce the gender line by legitimizing group subordination.

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n210 Weisberg, supra note 205, at 21.

n211 The criticisms are stated succinctly by Richard Mohr in GAYS/JUSTICE: A STUDY OF ETHICS, SOCIETY, AND LAW 194-99 (1988). For more elaborate critiques, see Judge William Norris's opinion for a Ninth Circuit panel that held the Army's regulations unconstitutional, Watkins v. United States Army, 847 F.2d 1329 (9th Cir. 1988), aff'd en banc on other grounds, 875 F.2d 699 (1989), cert. denied, 111 S.Ct. 384 (1990); and his concurring opinion in the en banc proceeding, 875 F.2d at 711. Similar arguments are made in Judge William Canby's opinion, quoted supra note 209 and in K. BOURDONNAY, R. JOHNSON, J. SCHUMAN & B. WILSON, supra note 200, ch. 1; Developments in the Law -- Sexual Orientation and the Law, supra note 187, at 1559-62 (1989); Harris, Permitting Prejudice to Govern: Equal Protection, Military Deference, and the Exclusion of Lesbians and Gay Men from the Military, 17 N.Y.U. REV. L. & SOC. CHANGE 171 (1989-90); Weisberg, supra note 205; Note, Homosexuals in the Military: They Would Rather Fight than Switch, 18 J. MARSHALL L. REV. 937 (1985).

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The DOD's contentions about the effects of gay servicemembers on mutual trust and morale, and on discipline and command, have a familiar ring. The echoes we hear are the voices of the generals and politicians who said in the 1940s that white troops would not accept black soldiers, let alone follow black officers. Racial tensions have not been eliminated in the years since the services were integrated, but they have moderated as blacks and whites alike have learned from their day-to-day experience. The services are not a racial Utopia, but they have made integration work. If the services can teach officers and NCOs to foster a climate [*555] of acceptance for racial and ethnic diversity, n212 they can teach other forms of acceptance as well. Here, too, lessons can be learned from the experience of police departments. Not only are more and more officers openly acknowledging their gay and lesbian identity, but departments from New York to San Diego are engaged in vigorous public campaigns to attract gay and lesbian recruits. California's Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, which certifies police officers, recently reported on a statewide study. One of the Commission's conclusions bears specifically on the question whether gay soldiers are to be trusted in the pressures of combat: "The stiff upper lip macho mentality characteristic of the average police officer collapses under too much stress." n213

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n212 See supra text accompanying note 85.

n213 Serrano, Gay Police Leave the Shadows, L.A. Times, Sept. 3, 1990, at A1, col. 1.

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The worst outrage of the DOD policy statement is not its studied disregard of the services' experience with racial integration, nor even its circularity. What makes the statement unworthy of an American government is that this is one circle that flaunts its viciousness. Public officers are declaring officially that the existence of prejudice against a group justifies the government in imposing its own discrimination on the group. Nor does the circle end there. Through its policy of exclusion, government teaches servicemembers and civilians alike that the prejudice is legitimate, and so extends the circle to new rounds of private gay-bashing -- which in turn provide new evidence of prejudice that can be offered to "justify" the policy of exclusion.

The perception of a threat to discipline and command is not just a belief that straight soldiers will refuse to obey gay officers and NCOs, but also a fear that gay officers and NCOs will use their authority to impose their attentions on subordinates, or otherwise will form attachments that lead to favoritism or other behavior that blurs the lines of authority. The same arguments have been offered as reasons for drastically limiting the number of women in the services. n214 In the context of personal attachments between men and women, the services have sought to deal with the problems of discipline and command by rules against sexual harassment and fraternization. The problems persist, and will continue in the conditions of tokenism because tokenism intensifies the gender line. n215 But this correlation surely does not argue for drawing the gender line ever [*556] more sharply. The assumption that homosexual attachments are more likely than heterosexual attachments to blur lines of authority has no more factual warrant in the armed forces than it does in civilian organizations. For half a century the services have included large numbers of gay members who have done their work well and kept their private lives separate from the workplace; it is ludicrous to suggest that their presence during all these years has undermined the system of command.

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n214 E.g., B. MITCHELL, supra note 113, at 189-92; Webb, supra note 118, at 275.

n215 See supra text accompanying note 154.

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The DOD's expressed fears about privacy deserve much the same response. In the barracks, in the shower room, gay and lesbian servicemembers are already present. If the exclusion rule were dropped, so that they were no longer deterred from making their sexual orientation known, there would be no reason to expect a flood of unwelcome sexual advances. Most people, whatever their sexual orientation, have greater incentives to seek out those who will not object to their advances; Allan Berube recounts how gay GIs in World War II had no difficulty in recognizing each other. n216 The rules forbidding fraternization and harassment, along with the threat of criminal prosecution for "lewd" or "indecent" acts, n217 are one set of disincentives to unwanted homosexual advances. Surely, however, the major deterrents would be the high likelihood of rejection, and the possibility that the rejection might be expressed forcibly, at least among men, who tend to be more nervous about homosexuality than are most women. n218 The main thing that would be lost if the exclusion policy

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were scrapped would be hypocrisy. During World War II, when antigay prejudice was higher than it is today, gay soldiers were able to keep sex out of the work environment, including the barracks, and to win the acceptance, albeit [*557] sometimes "uneasy", of their straight comrades. n219 Once the troops got into combat, that acceptance was not grudging. n220

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n216 A. BERUBE, supra note 185, ch. 4 passim.

n217 Such acts are punishable by imprisonment under Article 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which prohibits "all disorders . . . to the prejudice of good order and discipline" and "all conduct of a nature to bring discredit upon the armed forces. 10 U.S.C. § 934. The military justice system has authoritatively interpreted this language to forbid "lewd and lascivious" acts and "indecent assault."

n218 On the origins of antigay feelings in the repression of one's own negative identity, see M. HOFFMAN, THE GAY WORLD: MALE HOMOSEXUALITY AND THE SOCIAL CREATION OF EVIL 183-84 (1968); Herek, Beyond "Homophobia": A Social Psychological Perspective on Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men, in BASHERS, BAITERS & BIGOTS: HOMOPHOBIA IN AMERICAN SOCIETY (J. DeCecco,ed. 1985). On the murder of gays as a way of "killing" gay tendencies in oneself, see D. ALTMAN, THE HOMOSEXUALIZATION OF AMERICA, THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE HOMOSEXUAL 65 (1982).

n219 A. BERUBE, supra note 185, at 40, 52 passim. The acceptance disappeared, however, when gay soldiers were imprisoned for homosexual acts. Id. at ch. 8. The major difference, obviously, is that a prisoner is seen as an abstraction -- "a homosexual" -- while a co-worker is seen as a whole person.

n220 Id., ch. 7. Arguably, the isolation of men from women (in combat, on some ships) increases sexual tensions, and thus the likelihood of homoerotic expression among men who think of themselves as heterosexual. One obvious response to such a concern would be the sex-integration of those units. But, even in the absence of women, it is not clear whether the presence of openly gay men would heighten such tendencies or diminish them, considering the strong pressures on straight men to repress any sense of homosexual identity. In prisons, where homosexual sex appears to be more an expression of power than of attraction, men often think of their experiences as not homosexual. (Or, at least, so speculate some AIDS researchers.) Conversation with Judith Ross, Office of Medical Ethics, UCLA School of Medicine (Oct. 24, 1990).

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When we get to the DOD's public relations concerns about the effect of openly gay servicemembers on recruitment and the "public acceptability of military service," we reach the heart of the matter. The pursuit of manhood, which once pervaded the services' exclusion and segregation of blacks and today infuses the exclusion and segregation of women, is present here as well. For nervous men who look into the mirror of Mars for reassurance, the gay warrior may reflect an incongruous image. The central purpose of the exclusion of gay men, and of lesbians, too, is to express the ideology of masculinity.

B. Expression and Subordination

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In focusing on the expressive aspects of the services' policy of exclusion, I do not mean to suggest that the policy's consequences are trivial. Here, as in the segregation of racial minorities and women, exclusion performs its historic function of inflicting stigmatic harm on the members of a subordinated group. Expression, especially the government's official expression, is crucial to this process; after all, in pursuing manhood, images are all we have. If "homosexuality" is thought to be inconsistent with "masculinity," the inconsistency lies not in Nature but in the definitions our society, in our time,, has constructed for those two terms. In classical Greece, for example, there was nothing self-contradictory in the idea of a gay warrior. n221 Because manhood is a social construct, all of us "understand at some subliminal level that all gender ascriptions and typification are tentative and fragile" n222 -- and this understanding [*558] can be threatening to any man whose sense of self is strongly dependent on conformance to the traditional images of masculinity.

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n221 See K. DOVER, GREEK HOMOSEXUALITY (1978).

n222 A. BRITTAN, supra note 21, at 172.

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Most of us who call ourselves heterosexual have been raised to view the very word "homosexual" as representing not a flesh-and-blood person but an abstract image of the Other, a negative identity that must be repressed. The real world of sexuality, however, is infinitely more complex than this binary representation suggests. n223 When individuals confront this real-world complexity in the context of the binary ideology of masculinity, it is no wonder that the stigma of homosexuality is bound up with strong feelings. Much of the stigma grows out of the fear of one's own inadequacy, especially the male fear of humiliation. n224 To exclude gay men and lesbians is to seek reassurance that "we," who are not excluded, are worthy. When we police the gender line, we are policing our own selves.

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n223 A huge literature, ranging from novels to empirical studies, deals with what Ann Snitow called the "frightening malleability of gender." Snitow, Retrenchments v. Transformation: The Politics of the Antipornography Movement, in CAUGHT LOOKING: FEMINISM, PORNOGRAPHY & CENSORSHIP 10, 11 (1988). Janet Halley, in her unusually helpful discussion of sexual identities, provides a critical guide to this literature. Halley, supra note 197, at 932-46.

n224 See supra text accompanying notes 26-27.

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The law, in this case the exclusion regulations of the DOD and the various services, achieves this reassurance by standing as an official symbol of group domination, an authoritative statement consigning "a homosexual" to the status of outsider. The denial of membership to persons so labeled reassures other servicemembers that they belong -- and especially reassures males that they are "man enough" to be part of the in-group. Historically the services have

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played on the anxieties of young men about their sexuality, socializing recruits in basic training and boot camp through the routine and repeated use of intense sexist and antigay imagery. These techniques not only give very young men an emotionally powerful reinforcement of their attachment to the traditional model of masculinity, but also inculcate the ugly lessons of group subordination. n225 From World War II to Vietnam this experience was shared by huge numbers of American men. n226 It is no exaggeration to say that the exclusion of gay men and lesbians from the armed forces, having brought the idea of homosexual identity to the American public's attention n227 and having served as a model for other [*559] severe restrictions on persons identified as homosexuals, n228 has been the single most important governmental action in maintaining public attitudes that stigmatize homosexual orientation.

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n225 Arkin & Dobrofsky, supra note 112; Eisenhart, supra note 133.

n226 See supra note 133.

n227 See supra text accompanying note 191.

n228 On the antigay political campaign that produced a 1953 executive order barring homosexuals from the federal civil service, and parallel actions by state governments, see A. BERUBE, supra note 185, at 265-70.

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The government's position, accepted by a panel of the District of Columbia Circuit in a case involving dismissal of an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, n229 is that the discharge of someone who is openly homosexual, even when it is accompanied by disclosure to others of the ground for discharge, implies no stigma. The basis for the court's conclusion was that the person who has "come out" with a public homosexual identity does not regard homosexuality as stigmatizing. The court thus ignored a factor that was glaringly obvious -- the more generalized stigmatizing of all gay Americans implicit in the government's making homosexuality a ground for exclusion. As Janet Halley aptly stated, the court's view "establishes the legal fiction that those harmed by government discrimination have chosen their injury." n230 I invite the reader to imagine a case that is (I hope) unimaginable in today's world: the dismissal of a CIA agent based explicitly on the ground that he is black. The agent has always considered himself black and has publicly referred to himself as black. Would anyone suggest that there is no stigmatic harm in this dismissal?

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n229 Doe v. Casey, 796 F.2d 1508, 1523 (D.C. Cir. 1986), aff'd in part and, rev'd in part on other grounds sub nom., Webster v. Doe, 486 U.S. 592 (1988).

n230 Halley, supra note 197, at 958.

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It should not be surprising that many gay and lesbian servicemembers do not come out, but instead seek to avoid the stigma of a public identity that is homosexual. n231 Since World War II many hundreds of thousands of

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servicemembers have succeeded in concealing their homosexual orientation from examining doctors, work associates, and even the services' professional investigators. It is no easier now than it was in the 1940s "to detect [servicemembers] who [have] successfully hidden their homosexuality from families, friends, teachers, employers, and even their wives." n232 Although the decision to remain "in the closet" is not cost-free, one's public sexual identity is largely a matter of choice. [*560] The effective prohibition of the DOD and service regulations is a ban on "looking gay." n233

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n231 On the costs of coming out, see K. BOURDONNAY, R. JOHNSON, J. SCHUMAN & B. WILSON, supra note 200, at 8-10.

n232 A. BERUBE, supra note 185, at 16 (on World War II). For a series of illustrative stories from today's armed forces, see Gross, For Gay Soldiers, Furtive Lives of Despair, N.Y. Times, Apr. 10, 1990, at A1, col. 2.

n233 Halley, supra note 197, at 947.

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The exclusion policy, then, not only causes stigmatic harm by its own expression, but also imposes severe sanctions on servicemembers' expression of their gay identity. An illuminating example is the case of Reverend Dusty Pruitt. She had served with distinction during five years of active duty with the Army, reaching the rank of Captain; then, after six years in the Army Reserve, she was selected for promotion to Major. After leaving active duty she had become the minister of a church that served a largely gay and lesbian congregation. Two weeks before her promotion was to be effective, Reverend Pruitt was interviewed by a newspaper reporter; she said she was a lesbian and spoke generally of her ministry. When the Los Angeles Times published the story, the Army promptly suspended her promotion and then discharged her from the Reserve, solely on the basis of her statement that she was a lesbian and had taken part in a same-sex marriage ceremony. n234 A federal district court rejected her complaint that her discharge was unconstitutional, and the case is now on appeal in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. n235

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n234 The reader will recall that the Army regulations discussed above make entry into a homosexual marriage a ground for discharge.

n235 Pruitt v. Weinberger, 659 F.Supp. 625 (C.D. Cal. 1987), appeal pending sub nom. Pruitt v. Carlucci, No. 87-5914 (9th Cir.).

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The Pruitt case is unusual only in that the statement acknowledging homosexual orientation appeared in a newspaper. In its main outline the case replicates the experience of many a gay or lesbian member of the service: (1) the member makes the self-defining decision to come out with a public identity expressing his or her homosexual orientation; and (2) on the basis of that statement the service discharges the member. n236 The parties in Pruitt have debated whether the facts raise a first amendment issue. The Army [*561]

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contends that Reverend Pruitt was not discharged for speaking to the press, but rather because her statement and marriage ceremony should be taken to admit past homosexual acts and a desire to engage in homosexual acts in the future. In other words, the Army says this is a case about conduct and not about status or speech. n237 This rather mechanical view of the Army regulation (and, for that matter, of the first amendment) ignores the wisdom of Melville Nimmer's teachings about the "meaning effects" of symbolic conduct. n238 It also ignores the interrelations between expression and the subordination of a social group.

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n236 Two highly publicized and protracted cases of this kind are the cases of Sergeant Miriam benShalom and Sergeant Perry Watkins, both discharged by the Army. Sergeant benShalom prevailed in the United States District Court, but that decision was reversed by the Seventh Circuit -- which all but said there is a "military exception" to the Constitution -- and the Supreme Court declined to review the case. benShalom v. Marsh, 881 F.2d 454 (7th Cir. 1989), cert. denied, 110 S. Ct. 1296 (1990). Sergeant Watkins lost in the district court but prevailed when a panel of the Ninth Circuit held his discharge unconstitutional as a deprivation of equal protection. That opinion was withdrawn when the Ninth Circuit, en banc, ruled in Watkins's favor on a theory of estoppel: That the Army had allowed him to reenlist, knowing that he was openly gay. The Supreme Court declined to review this decision. Watkins v. United States Army, 837 F.2d 1428 (9th Cir. 1988), aff'd on other grounds, 875 F.2d 699 (1989) (en banc), cert. denied, 111 S. Ct. 384 (1990); see also Woodward v. United States, 871 F.2d 1068 (Fed. Cir. 1989), cert. denied, 110 S. Ct. 1295 (1990).

n237 Brief for Appellees at 12-16, and unofficial transcript of oral argument, at 32-36, Pruitt v. Carlucci, CA No. 87-5914 (9th Cir. Aug. 5, 1988). As of this writing the Ninth Circuit panel has not issued its decision in this case.

On the importance of the status-conduct distinction in marking a critical difference between the due process analysis of the Supreme Court in Bowers v. Hardwick, 478 U.S. 186 (1986), and an equal protection analysis of the services' exclusion policy, see Judge William Norris's two opinions in Watkins v. United States Army, 847 F.2d 1329 (9th cir. 1988), aff'd on other grounds, 875 F.2d 699 (1989) (en banc), cert. denied, 59 U.S.L.W. 3344 (1990); Judge Canby's dissent from the denial of en banc review of High Tech Gays v. Defense Indus. Sec. Clearance Office, 909 F.2d 375, 376-82 (9th Cir. 1990); and K. KARST, supra note 2, at 201-10. On the status-conduct distinction more generally, see Sunstein, Sexual Orientation and the Constitution: A Note on the Relationship Between Due Process and Equal Protection, 55 U. CHI. L. REV. 1161 (1988).

n238 See, e.g., M. NIMMER, NIMMER ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH § 3.06[C]-[F] (1984); Nimmer, The Meaning of Symbolic Speech Under the First Amendment, 21 UCLA L. REV. 29 (1973).

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No doubt Captain Pruitt could have continued her successful career in active duty, and certainly she could have become Major Pruitt in the Reserves, so long as she kept quiet about her sense of her own sexual identity. If her experience was typical, even if her immediate superiors suspected that she was gay, they would have preferred that she keep her sexual orientation quiet -- precisely

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because they admired her as an officer. But, like many other gay citizens in the last two decades, she saw silence as a betrayal, not just of her own self, but of her congregation and of gay men and lesbians generally. Especially in the context of the central expressive function of the Army's exclusion regulation, coming out is not just an act of self-definition but an act of political expression. n239

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n239 An early judicial statement of this view can be found in the California Supreme Court's opinion in Gay Law Students Ass'n v. Pacific Tel. & Tel. Co., 24 Cal. 3d 458, 488, 595 P.2d 592, 610-11, 156 Cal. Rptr. 14, 32-33 (1979). Janet Halley's discussion of gay identity as political discourse, supra note 197, at 966-73 & passim, is "must" reading for anyone who would think seriously about this subject.

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[*562] No one is more conscious of the political dimensions of expressions of gay identity than are the DOD officials who maintain the exclusion policy. Not just Captain Pruitt, but scores and scores of thousands of gay servicemembers, are confronted with the question of whether to come out. The Army's relative disinclination to engage in systematic purges n240 suggests a preference for silence on the part of its gay members. That course of behavior allows the retention of large numbers of members who are performing their duties well, and at the same time maintains the public posture that the Army is keeping the gender line clearly marked.

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n240 The Army and the Air Force have been discharging gay and lesbian members at rates well below the rates for the Navy and the Marines. However, the discharge rates for Army women have been running at about four times the rates for Army men. T. SARBIN & K. KAROLS supra note 194, at B2, B3.

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When we consider the uncompromising general statements in the exclusion policy along with the Army's patterns of enforcement and nonenforcement, it becomes plain that the Defense Department recognizes what gay rights advocates have been saying for two decades in a variety of civilian contexts: A public expression of homosexual identity communicates important messages to at least two different audiences. First, when a servicemember comes out, declaring a gay identity, that act can give courage to other members of the services who might want to make similar declarations. But "gay liberation" must also reach the minds of straight Americans, and the second message when a person comes out is addressed to them. When Reverend Pruitt was Captain Pruitt, her straight Army colleagues and superiors knew her as an outstanding officer. Now that she has made her gay identity public, those people are challenged to reconsider their understanding of what it is to be homosexual - to reshape their abstract and threatening idea of "a homosexual" in a way that will make room for this real person whom they know and respect. The likelihood of such a reconsideration, I suggest, is exactly what the political leadership of the Defense Department fears in cases like this one. That fear is the deeper meaning of the references in the DOD statement to public relations, that is, recruiting and the public

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acceptability of military service. Both the Defense Department and Reverend Pruitt understand how her expression of a gay identity illustrates the saying, "The personal is political." n241

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n241 In a 1989 lecture I explored the themes of subordinating and liberating expression in the contexts of racial discrimination, sex discrimination, and antigay discrimination. Karst, Boundaries and Reasons: Freedom of Expression and the Subordination of Groups, 1990 U. ILL. L. REV. 95.

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[*563] The subject of gay identity thus has two expressive aspects: The government's expression that stigmatizes gay identity in order to protect the gender line; and the individual expressions of homosexual identity that are crucial to the gay rights movement. Yet, in a case challenging the discharge of a gay servicemember, the government's lawyer is sure to argue that both kinds of expression are irrelevant. This argument recalls Thomas Reed Powell's famous (although unpublished) aphorism: If you have a mind that can think about something that is inextricably connected with something else, without thinking about the something else, then you have The Legal Mind.

Putting aside Reverend Pruitt's first amendment claim, the government still has before it the task of justifying the stigmatizing effects of her discharge and of the regulation on which it was based. Even the most modest standard of judicial review calls for the invalidation of governmental discrimination that causes serious harm if the government cannot show that the action is rationally related to a legitimate governmental interest. n242 Surely discipline, morale, privacy, and the like are legitimate interests; but the services have never offered evidence that the present existence of scores of thousands -- perhaps hundreds of thousands -- of gay servicemembers has impaired those interests. The one interest that plainly is served by excluding a small proportion of gays is a symbolic, expressive purpose: To promote an image for the services that accords with the ideology of masculinity. Undoubtedly, that purpose is served when the government stigmatizes those who blur the gender line, but the purpose is illegitimate, as would be any governmental purpose to use a system of domination as its own justification.

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n242 At the very least, this context calls for the genuine rationality review used in such cases as City of Cleburne v. Cleburne Living Center, 473 U.S. 432 (1985); Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982); and Reed v. Reed, 404 U.S. 71 (1971). But the argument for a much more demanding standard of judicial scrutiny is convincing. See Judge Norris's two opinions in Watkins v. United States Army, 847 F.2d 1329 (9th Cir. 1988), aff'd on other grounds, 875 F.2d 699 (1989) (en banc), cert. denied, 111 S. Ct. 384 (1990).

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V. THE CONSTITUTION FOLLOWS THE FLAG

The question remains, however, whether the Supreme Court is prepared to subject the constitutionality of the armed forces' policies of segregation and

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exclusion to any serious examination at all. As a panel of the Seventh Circuit made clear in benShalom v. Marsh, n243 the decision upholding the Army's dismissal of a lesbian [*564] sergeant with a superb record, some appellate court judges think the answer is "No":

The Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Army, and the generals have made the determination about homosexuality, at least for the present, and we, as judges, should not undertake to second-guess those with the direct responsibility for our armed forces. If a change of Army policy is to be made, we should leave it to those more familiar with military matters than are judges not selected on the basis of military knowledge. We, as judges, although opponents of prejudice of any kind, should not undertake to order such a risky change with possible consequence we cannot safely evaluate. The Congress, as overseer of the Army and the other military branches, is also better equipped to make such determinations. n244

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n243 881 F.2d 454 (7th Cir. 1989), cert. denied, 110 S. Ct. 1296 (1990). See supra note 236.

n244 Id. at 461.

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Although it is a comfort to know that these judges oppose prejudice, it is less comforting to contemplate their assumption that in cases of discrimination by the military, the judiciary should stand back and let the political branches do whatever they will.

In the last two decades the idea that judges have virtually nothing to say about any issue involving the military has grown like a weed. The seed of this doctrine was planted in the 1950s. A doctor, drafted into the Army, was denied the commission usually given service doctors because he refused to tell whether he was a member of any organization on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Claiming a constitutional privilege to maintain the privacy of his associations, he sought a writ of habeas corpus in a federal court to compel the Army either to discharge him or to award him a commission. The Supreme Court in Orloff v. Willoughby n245 rejected his claim to a commission, and then held that he had no right to judicial review of the Army's order that he serve as a doctor. In discussing the latter point Justice Robert Jackson, writing for the Court, added some remarks that went well beyond the necessities for deciding the case:

[J]udges are not given the task of running the Army. The responsibility for setting up channels through which such grievances can be considered and fairly settled rests upon Congress and upon the President of the United States and his subordinates. The military constitutes a specialized community governed by a separate discipline from that of the civilian. Orderly government requires that the judiciary be as scrupulous not to interfere with [*565] legitimate Army matters as the Army must be scrupulous not to intervene in judicial matters. n246

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n245 345 U.S. 83 (1953).

n246 Id. at 93-94. As James Hirschhorn has commented, this language was unnecessary to the decision, given that an analogous claim by a civilian employee of the government almost certainly would have been rejected in 1953. Hirschhorn, The Separate Community: Military Uniqueness and Servicemen's Constitutional Rights, 62 N.C.L. REV. 177, 186 & n.44 (1984).

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In the context of the decisions that govern day-to-day service operations this view has much to commend it; no one wants the master sergeant going over the duty roster, or the colonel revising a weapons training program, to see on the desk the shadow of a judicial robe. n247 But, in the hands of a judge who favors a broad constitutional immunity for the political departments in matters military, Justice Jackson's Orloff dictum can be taken much more broadly, as a charter for judicial abdication.

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n247 Surely this kind of "judicial surveillance" was in the minds of the Justices who made up the majority in Gilligan v. Morgan, 413 U.S. 1 (1973). The majority, expressing doubts about standing and mootness, went on to say that such military decisions as weaponry and training for the National Guard were political questions within the exclusive province of the President and Congress. The "surveillance" language is in Justice Harry Blackmun's concurring opinion, 413 U.S. at 13.

The prospect that judges would intrude into day-to-day military operations was a central concern behind the Supreme Court's decision, in Chappell v. Wallace, 462 U.S. 296 (1983), that the employment discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII) did not apply to a claim of racial discrimination in duty assignments in the Navy. Recent proposals to extend Title VII to the armed forces have sought to minimize the supervisory role of civilian judges, but any such proposal necessarily involves a considerable amount of second-guessing of operational decisions by persons outside the chain of command. See Comment, A Proposal for Combatting Sexual Discrimination in the Military: Amendment of Title VII, 78 CALIF. L. REV. 165 (1990) (authored by Robin Rogers); Note, Making the Army Safe for Diversity: A Title VII Remedy for Discrimination in the Military, 96 YALE L.J. 2082 (1987) (authored by Mary Griffin). A decision holding the combat exclusion unconstitutional would not entail any such close supervision of military operational decisions.

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One of Justice Jackson's clerks that year was William H. Rehnquist. In a series of decisions beginning in the mid-1970s the Chief Justice has been the leading proponent of the claim that the "separate community" idea justifies an extreme form of judicial deference to military authorities and to Congress in military matters. This new version of the doctrine of deference turns upside down the old maxim that the Constitution follows the flag; it comes close to creating a "military exception" to the Bill of Rights.

Parker v. Levy n248 offered Justice Rehnquist his first opportunity to shape the new doctrine. The case involved another drafted doctor, a bitter opponent

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of the Vietnam War who counseled enlisted men to refuse to go to Vietnam. He was convicted by a court-martial [*566] of "conduct unbecoming an officer" and conduct prejudicial "to good order and discipline," in violation of the the catch-all "general articles" of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. n249 Levy's own speech plainly was of a kind the Army could constitutionally forbid by explicit regulation; the question was whether he was entitled to raise the issue of vagueness, in effect protecting the speech rights of other officers not in court against the "chilling effects" of the UCMJ's vague language. Justice Rehnquist, writing for the Court, concluded that in the military context the usual first amendment standard of vagueness gave way to the looser standard for criminal laws regulating business. In discussing the vagueness issue, he cited Orloff and wrote at length on the need for judicial deference to the special needs of the military as a "separate community."

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n248 417 U.S. 733 (1974).

n249 Articles 133 and 134, 10 U.S.C. §§ 933, 934 (1982).

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Seven years later, in a very different context, Justice Rehnquist was able to carry the principle of deference to new heights. Rostker v. Goldberg n250 upheld Congress's decision to limit registration for a potential military draft to men, exempting women. Here, too, Justice Rehnquist wrote for the Court, announcing an extreme form of judicial deference -- not to the judgment of the military leadership or the President, both of whom had favored registering women as well as men, but to the judgment of Congress. Speaking of military affairs, he said, "Perhaps in no other area has the Court accorded Congress greater deference." n251 Furthermore, he said, courts have little competence in this area: "The complex, subtle, and professional decisions as to the composition, training, equipping, and control of a military force are essentially professional military judgments, subject always to civilian control of the Legislative and Executive Branches." n252 The rest followed easily for Justice Rehnquist: a future draft would be designed to produce combat troops; women were ineligible for combat positions; therefore, women and men were "not similarly situated" and need not be treated equally.

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n250 453 U.S. 57 (1981).

n251 Id. at 64-65. This statement takes on quite a lot of freight when we consider the Court's deference to Congress in determining, for example, whether local transactions affect interstate commerce. See, e.g., Perez v. United States, 402 U.S. 146 (1971).

n252 453 U.S. at 65-66 (quoting Gilligan v. Morgan, 413 U.S. 1, 10 (1973)) (emphasis in original).

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The latest opinion in this series is Goldman v. Weinberger. n253 An Air Force officer who was an Orthodox Jew had been wearing a yarmulke in violation of a

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regulation that headgear should not be [*567] worn with the uniform indoors. His superiors had perceived no interference with the Air Force mission until he testified as a character witness for another servicemember who was facing a court-martial. Then Goldman was disciplined for his uniform violation. Writing for the Court, Justice Rehnquist again quoted the words of Justice Jackson (or his clerk) in Orloff v. Willoughby: "The essence of military service 'is the subordination of the desires and interests of the individual to the needs of the service.'" For good measure he quoted from his opinions in Parker v. Levy and Rostker v. Goldberg. Perhaps in order to hold some Justice's vote in a 5-4 case, Justice Rehnquist added a brief acknowledgement that the first amendment retained some force even in the context of military service. But the courts "must give great deference to the professional judgment of military authorities concerning the relative importance of a particular military interest," including the judgment embodied in the uniform regulation.

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n253 475 U.S. 503 (1986).

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Just as policies of discrimination developed in the military services can be the prototypes for discrimination elsewhere, n254 these decisions of the Supreme Court have had influence beyond their immediate concerns. For example, Parker v. Levy was cited in support of the Court's holding that the streets of Fort Dix, although open to the public, could constitutionally be closed to a speaker who was running for President n255 -- and that decision in turn became a major [*568] precedent for the narrowing of first amendment protections in all manner of "public forum" cases. n256 And Goldman v. Weinberger was one step on the Court's doctrinal ladder as it descended to its recent decision doing away with much of the protection offered by the free exercise clause. n257 The "military exception" idea has a considerable capacity for mischief in contexts that have nothing whatever to do with the armed forces.

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n254 A notable example is the way the World War II policy purporting to exclude gay and lesbian Americans from the services was extended by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953 to the whole federal civil service. See A. BERUBE, supra note 185, at 265-70. The civil service's ban was ended in the mid-1970s. See T. SARBIN & K. KAROLS, supra note 194, at 5.

A current example of the spread of the DOD policy beyond the confines of the "separate community" is the way in which that policy has infected university campuses with the virus of group subordination. The Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) is conducted by university departments (Military Science, Aerospace Studies, etc.) and staffed by service personnel. ROTC offers instruction leading toward the commissioning of students in the services when they are graduated. Lesbians and gay men are allowed to take ROTC courses, but are barred from serving as cadets or being commissioned. These policies flatly contradict the rules of many universities forbidding discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation, and are the subject of hot controversy on many campuses. By maintaining the exclusion policy, the United States government is teaching all the students at these universities an ugly lesson: The legitimacy of group subordination. See Gross, R.O.T.C. Under Siege for Ousting

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Homosexuals, N.Y. Times, May 6, 1990, § 1, at 12, col. 1 (nat'l ed.); Kosova, ROTC Ya Later, THE NEW REPUBLIC, Feb. 19, 1990, at 24.

n255 Greer v. Spock, 424 U.S. 828 (1976). The decision to bar Dr. Benjamin Spock, the presidential candidate, from speaking was not merely the result of a content-neutral determination to keep "politics" off the base. Speakers on the base had regularly offered the soldiers messages aimed at promoting the prosecution of the Vietnam War. Dr. Spock was opposed to the war.

n256 Spock was prominently cited in Perry Educ. Ass'n v. Perry Local Educators' Ass'n, 460 U.S. 37 (1983), which is the leading decision standing for the current ungenerous view of public forum doctrine.

n257 Employment Div., Dep't of Human Resources v. Smith, 110 S. Ct. 1595 (1990).

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The various arguments for judicial meekness in cases involving military affairs cluster around three main themes: deference in an emergency; deference based on the special needs of a "separate community;" and deference based on the judiciary's relative incompetence to understand military matters. The latter two arguments deserve separate treatment, but the argument founded on emergency can be dispatched summarily.

In giving the emergency argument short shrift I do not mean to suggest that the existence of emergency conditions is irrelevant. Everyone understands that wartime calls for sacrifice, and that some of our freedom may be part of the sacrifice. n258 Yet, two cautions are in order. First, we need to be careful to keep the claim of emergency temporally confined, to reject the argument that because Armageddon may come out of the blue, some constitutional guarantees should be indefinitely suspended. This point might seem self-evident, but I am old enough to remember the 1950s well. Second, before accepting a claim of emergency power, we should insist on a demonstration by the government that the power being exercised is attuned to a demonstrated need. The best argument for this caution is a reference to Korematsu v. United States, n259 the Supreme Court's 1944 decision upholding the program that uprooted 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry from their homes and "relocated" them in camps behind barbed wire. Eugene Rostow -- who is nobody's dove -- rightly called Korematsu a constitutional disaster. n260

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n258 See generally C. ROSSITER, CONSTITUTIONAL DICTATORSHIP: CRISIS GOVERNMENT IN THE MODERN DEMOCRACIES (1963); Lofgren, War Powers, in 4 ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN CONSTITUTION 2013 (L. Levy, K. Karst & D. Mahoney eds. 1986).

n259 323 U.S. 214 (1944).

n260 Rostow, The Japanese American Cases -- A Disaster, 54 YALE L.J. 489 (1945).

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[*569] Korematsu ought to teach us several lessons. First, our fears of the socially-constructed Other can warp our sense of the nature and degree of an emergency. In the 1940s Japanese Americans, especially in California, had long been represented by the dominant white culture as particularly alien. n261 Most fears are fears of the unknown. A rhetorical question will illustrate the point: Why were not Americans of German and Italian descent interned in camps in 1942? Second, even the "professional judgment" of military officials can be influenced by attitudes toward the Other. The professional judgment of General John DeWitt, who ran the "relocation" program, was summed up in this appalling bit of military sociology: "The Japanese race is an enemy race." n262 Third, control over the military by civilian politicians, far from assuring fair treatment for subordinated groups, is apt to heighten the mistreatment of those groups in times of stress. There were no more avid proponents of removing Japanese Americans from their homes than the members of California's congressional delegation. n263 The Supreme Court's majority, of course, accepted the "military" judgment of the President, the War Department, and the Congress without subjecting the claims of emergency to any scrutiny at all.

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n261 See generally R. DANIELS, THE POLITICS OF PREJUDICE: THE ANTI-JAPANESE MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR JAPANESE EXCLUSION (1962).

n262 J. TENBROEK, E. BARNHART & F. MATSON, PREJUDICE, WAR AND THE CONSTITUTION: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE EVACUATIONS OF THE JAPANESE AMERICANS IN WORLD WAR II 110 (1970).

n263 On the subjects of this paragraph see F. BIDDLE, IN BRIEF AUTHORITY 217 (1962); M. GRODZINS, AMERICANS BETRAYED: POLITICS AND THE JAPANESE EVACUATION (1949); P. IRONS, JUSTICE AT WAR: THE STORY OF THE JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT CASES (1983); J. TENBROEK, E. BARNHART & F. MATSON, supra note 262.

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A. Behind the Metaphor of the Separate Community

The Constitution explicitly recognizes the existence of a separate system for military justice. n264 And no one suggests that a corporal has a first amendment right to urge other soldiers to refuse a lieutenant's command to move forward under fire. Undoubtedly the requirements of military discipline and the military mission demand significant attenuations of constitutional rights that would be protected in analogous civilian contexts. The assertion that the military [*570] is a separate community, however, often is designed to stake out much broader ground, virtually excluding the judiciary from any serious inquiry into justifications for the decisions of military officials or Congress on military matters. n265 Curiously, the opinions promoting this view offer minimal explanation for it, as if the metaphor of the separate community were explanation enough. n266

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n264 Article I, section 8 authorizes Congress to "make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces," and the fifth amendment implicitly recognizes a separate military justice system by excepting "cases arising in the land and naval forces" from the requirement of indictment by

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grand jury for infamous federal crimes.

n265 I take this to be Chief Justice Rehnquist's preferred view, despite the backhanded concession in his Goldman opinion, supra text accompanying note 253, that servicemembers retain some First Amendment rights.

James Hirschhorn, in his thoughtful analysis supporting the "separate community" doctrine, is careful not to fall into this trap. He does not see the doctrine as a "military exception" to the Constitution, but as a deferential standard of review applicable to some, but not all, decisions of the political branches. Hirschhorn, supra note 246.

n266 Hirschhorn makes this point effectively, concluding that the Supreme Court's majority has consistently treated descriptions of military practices as justifications of their constitutionality. Id. at 186-204. He similarly criticizes the dissenters in these cases for failing to recognize the distinctive needs of military discipline. Id. at 204-08. The central portion of his article draws on the literature of war and military sociology to ground a principle of judicial deference on the needs of military discipline. As his title suggests, the focus of the analysis is the question of "servicemen's rights," particularly rights of defendants in the criminal process and rights of free expression. He refers only incidentally to the issues of segregation and exclusion explored here.

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The power of a metaphor is that it draws a picture and imprints it on the mind. The metaphor of the separate community draws pictures of isolation: a military enclosure behind barbed wire, a platoon in a jungle, a ship at sea. Members of the armed forces often are physically separated from the larger community they defend. The metaphor also draws power from a widely accepted normative conclusion: entry into the armed forces implies some separation from the norms of the larger community, including some yielding of individual freedoms to the discipline and group loyalty that make a fighting force effective. However, as Mel Nimmer wishes he had said, we should not let a metaphor steamroller us into throwing the baby out with the bathwater. n267 It is the power of metaphor that makes it dangerous.

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n267 This is a note for those who did not know Melville Nimmer. If there had been a World Cup for punning and word-gaming, at the very least he would have made the semi-finals.

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Today, unlike the days before World War II, the military services are not isolated. We have a large standing force, some two million Americans in uniform. Mostly, this is a peacetime force. Even when the combat arms are deployed, as in Panama and Saudi Arabia, the great majority of servicemembers are performing support tasks comparable to civilian jobs. n268 The services keep alive the notion [*571] that a file clerk in a supply warehouse in Kansas must have the discipline of combat readiness, but the clerk, like nearly everyone else, understands that the notion is a myth. n269 Since the end of the draft in 1973, the forces have had to attract volunteers, and the inducements

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for recruitment and reenlistment include such things as a considerable range of choice of assignment, technical education that can be transferred to civilian jobs, educational benefits for service veterans, increased opportunities for off-base housing, and opportunities to take families along on many overseas assignments. Some observers worry that military service is losing its distinctiveness as a civic duty and is increasingly seen as "just another job." n270

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n268 This point has been made by Justices in dissenting opinions and by a number of writers on the military. See, e.g., Brown v. Glines, 444 U.S. 348, 370 (Brennan, J., dissenting); D. SEGAL, RECRUITING FOR UNCLE SAM: CITIZENSHIP AND MILITARY MANPOWER POLICY 67-74 (1989); Segal & Segal, supra note 107, at 238-40; Zillman & Imwinkelried, Constitutional Rights and Military Necessity: Reflections on the Society Apart, 51 NOTRE DAME LAW. 396, 403-04 (1976).

n269 On the relation of the "myth of interchangeability" to the exclusion of women from combat, see J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 230-32.

The same myth also excludes physically disabled persons from the service. A few years ago I heard a Marine recruiting officer explain to a group at the UCLA Law School that he was not allowed to recruit disabled lawyers, even to serve in the continental United States, because every Marine had to be ready to go into combat. When I asked whether the Corps had ever sent a JAG officer into combat, he answered, "Not to my knowledge."

n270 See, e.g., Moskos, The All-Volunteer Force and the Marketplace, in WHO DEFENDS AMERICA? RACE, SEX, AND CLASS IN THE ARMED FORCES, supra note 4, at 75; Segal, Measuring the Institutional/Occupational Change Thesis, 12 ARMED FORCES & SOC'Y 351, 354 (1986) (86% of soldiers responding to a 1978 Army survey agreed with the statement, "[m]ost soldiers today think of their Army service primarily as a job.").

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The armed forces, as I have argued, teach lessons to the whole society. There is a continuous flow of personnel into and out of the forces, with the services drawing their members from a broad range of American society, and with veterans taking their service training and experience back into civilian life. n271 In addition, the services are continuously in the public eye -- not just when the troops go abroad, but in more tranquil times as well. In sum, the metaphor of the separate community ought not to obscure the fact that today's armed forces are tightly interwoven with American civilian life.

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n271 See, e.g., D. SEGAL, supra note 268, chs. 2 & 3 (1989).

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I do not argue that judges should ignore the claims of military discipline and the military mission. But neither should the doctrine produce a knee-jerk reaction to the presence of an issue involving the military. Rather the strength of the claim to judicial deference is greater in some constitutional

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contexts and less persuasive in others. It is one thing to say that judges should defer when a servicemember facing a court-martial claims a right to trial by jury; [*572] another thing to say that judges should defer when an officer claims a first amendment right to circulate a petition on the base in violation of a regulation requiring the base commander's permission; and a markedly different thing to say that judges should be deferential when Congress disregards both the President and the military leadership to limit draft registration to men. The first type of deference is grounded both in the constitutional text and in the needs of military discipline. Although the second type of deference is debatable, it is at least arguably defensible in view of the claims of a system of command. n272 The third type of deference, however, is deeply offensive to a constitutional regime founded on the principle of equal citizenship.

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n272 See Hirschhorn, supra note 246, at 247 n.384.

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The one area in which it is least justifiable to speak of the armed forces as separate from the rest of the national community is the area of citizens' access to the services -- the very area that encompasses today's versions of segregation. When the national government excludes servicewomen from combat positions, and purports to exclude gay and lesbian Americans altogether, those exclusions work grievous material and stigmatic harm to servicemembers numbering in the hundreds of thousands. The same exclusions are well advertised in the larger society, and so extend their stigmatic harm to women and to homosexuals generally, thus providing painful evidence of the ways in which military and civilian life are interlaced. These forms of segregation are not the product of considerations peculiar to the military; they grow out of the same cultural and political origins that produce discrimination in civilian society. A doctrine that immunizes harmful governmental discrimination from serious judicial inquiry deserves more justification than a figure of speech. Yet, the only justification we ever hear is bare, unsupported assertion, followed by the recital that judges are incompetent to second-guess the expert judgment of military authorities or the better-informed judgment of Congress in military matters.

That sort of assertion, and that sort of judicial response, suggest a thought experiment. Keeping in mind the Seventh Circuit's recent opinion in the benShalom case, deferring to military experts on the subject of homosexuality, let us imagine an opinion of the Supreme Court in 1940 responding to constitutional challenges to the Marines' total exclusion of blacks and the Army's segregation of blacks. In outline, such an opinion might have looked like this:

[*573] 1. Even if we assume that a constitutional guarantee of equal protection limits the federal government, n273 all the Constitution requires is compliance with the "separate but equal" principle of Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). n274 The Army's policy of keeping the races in separate units does not, of itself, violate the Constitution.

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n273 The Court so assumed as early as Hirabayashi v. United States, 320 U.S. 81 (1943), and Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944). I have traced the development of this doctrine in my article, The Fifth Amendment's Guarantee of Equal Protection, 55 N.C.L. REV. 541 (1977).

n274 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

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2. If Negro soldiers' opportunities are limited -- for example, if they are not admitted to flight training in the Air Corps -- the constitutionally relevant question is whether that disqualification is unreasonable. The Army's leaders have made a professional military judgment that Negro soldiers as a group have inferior qualifications for such positions. The Commander-in-Chief, the War Department, and the generals have made the determination about Negro soldiers, at least for the present, and we, as judges, should not undertake to second-guess those with the direct responsibility for our armed forces. If a change of Army policy is to be made, we should leave it to those more familiar with military matters than are judges not selected on the basis of military knowledge.

3. The Navy Department has determined that admitting Negroes to the Marine Corps would be harmful to command and discipline, to morale, to mutual trust among Marines, and to the process of "male bonding" that is necessary if the Corps is to perform its mission successfully. Although these expectations may be founded on assumptions about interracial hostility, the Department has no alternative but to take society as it is. As we said in Plessy, "In determining the question of reasonableness [the government] is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs and traditions of the people." n275

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n275 Id. at 550.

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4. Both the Army and the Marine Corps have determined that racial integration would impair recruiting. This anticipated harm may also have its origins in historic patterns of racial discrimination. However, the services have concluded that they should not be expected to remedy society's ills -- much less to conduct a sociological experiment -- at the risk of their military mission. We, as judges, although opponents of prejudice of any kind, should not undertake to order such a risky change with possible consequences we cannot safely evaluate. The Congress, as overseer of the military services, is also better equipped to make such determination. Therefore, these constitutional challenges lack merit.

Surely, today, this imaginary opinion seems misconceived and wrong, just as the Plessy opinion now seems wrong in saying that [*574] the "customs" of social inequality justified the state in separating the races. But the opinion's assertions about risk to the military mission closely resemble General Marshall's response to Judge Hastie's memorandum in 1941. n276 Marshall drew on the same conventional wisdom about race relations that had informed the Supreme Court's decision in the Plessy case. He assumed the "social inferiority" of black people as a fact of life, and used the assumption to justify the

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separation of the races. In the 1940s the military leadership's assumptions about competence, about command and discipline, about trust and morale, all were founded on a set of beliefs, widely shared among whites, that refused to accept the manhood of black men. All these assumptions were variations on the theme of group domination; they were rooted in the same male rivalries and anxieties that had produced the New York draft riots in 1863. Marshall's statement vividly illustrates the way in which the ideology of masculinity permits group subordination to serve as its own justification -- a conclusion the Supreme Court has decisively rejected in modern cases of official racial discrimination. n277

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n276 See supra text accompanying note 77.

n277 E.g., Palmore v. Sidoti, 466 U.S. 429 (1984) (existence of bias against interracial marriage cannot justify a state court's denial of child custody to a parent who has entered such a marriage); Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. 1 (1967) (maintenance of white supremacy is an illegitimate governmental purpose).

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The War Department's sociological assertions in 1940 about the effects of black soldiers bear a marked resemblance to the Defense Department's assertions today about gay servicemembers. In view of this parallel, the saddest parts of this imaginary opinion are the parts that are not imagined. Much of it is taken, word for word, from the Seventh Circuit's 1989 opinion in the benShalom case, quoted earlier. n278 While those judges' words opposing prejudice are still fresh in our memory, let us turn to their refusal to look at the face of discrimination behind the assertions of "those more familiar with military matters." Several questions need to be asked. Who are the relevant experts on military matters? What forms their professional knowledge and judgment on the capacities of women and the influence of homosexual servicemembers? What part does politics play in shaping the armed forces' policies of exclusion? If judges in these cases were to perform their usual role in reviewing explicit and deliberate governmental discrimination, would they exceed their capacity to understand the interests at stake and the issues before them?

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n278 Supra text accompanying notes 243-244.

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[*575] B. Professional Judgment and the Anxieties of Manhood

The Seventh Circuit included "the generals" in its list of authority figures deserving deference. Remember: The issue presented to the court concerned the effects on the Army's mission of persons known to be homosexual. The service regulations' recitations about risks to the military mission are a series of gross sociological and psychological generalizations; in any other context judges would call these "stereotypes." n279 Here, on parade as "military knowledge," they recall not only General Marshall's knowledge about the capacities of black soldiers, but General DeWitt's knowledge about the Japanese race. These recollections of the 1940s suggest a closer look at the kinds of

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knowledge and professional judgment that are being invoked as the basis for judicial deference.

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n279 See, e.g., Mississippi Univ. for Women v. Hogan, 458 U.S. 718, 725 (1982) ("Care must be taken in ascertaining whether the statutory objective itself reflects archaic and stereotypic notions.").

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For the moment let us assume that some generals and admirals actually deliberated on excluding gay and lesbian servicemembers and barring women from combat positions. How did these officers become experts on "the manliness of war," or on the effects of women or gay men on the military mission? The highest generals and admirals, with few exceptions, are graduates of the service academies, entered the officer corps as second lieutenants or ensigns, and have been consistently selected for promotion, usually in the minimum time at each grade. Typically they combine quickness of intellect with exceptional interpersonal skills, including political aptitude, strong personality, and an ability to judge people. If you wonder what I mean by a "strong" personality -- and what the services reward in selecting officers for promotion -- just recall the list of qualities that are the traditional indicia of masculinity. n280

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n280 Supra text accompanying note 16.

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It should be no surprise that officers who have an important part in selecting other officers for promotion tend to respond warmly to people who look like themselves. The same thing is true of lawyers who select associates and promote them to partnership, law teachers who select junior colleagues and promote them to tenure -- and fire chiefs and bank executives and mafia dons. In drawing a mental picture that defines the qualifications for their own jobs, most of the people I know tend to look in the mirror. So, if you are a young officer who wants to get ahead, how will you behave? Of course.

[*576] The announcement that the armed forces socialize their members to institutional norms will not come as news to anyone, but the point does bear on the question of expert military judgment concerning such things as the relation of manhood and "male bonding" to morale, discipline, and mutual trust. Imagine yourself as an Army general who attended West Point before women were admitted to the Academy. In those days one of the standard techniques by which the academies introduced cadets to the officer corps was to play on young men's anxieties about masculinity in ways resembling the rites of passage administered to enlistees during basic training or boot camp. n281 From graduation to the present, you have been socialized to the norms of the service. Those norms promote the ideology of masculinity at every turn, n282 and most obviously by excluding women from the Army's central mission and by purporting to exclude lesbians and gay men altogether. By the time some judge certified you as an expert on military morale and discipline, you had spent your whole professional life immersed in a belief system that entirely excluded competing points of view on manhood and the Army's mission. The general who said "I have been there"

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has never "been there" in a helicopter gunship with a woman pilot, or a tank crew that included a woman.

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n281 For critical comments on the ways in which these academy rites have been softened, "feminized," see B. MITCHELL, supra note 113, chs. 4 & 5; Webb, supra note 118, at 148, 273-82.

n282 For a capsule exposition of the normative system that equates competence in combat with "aggressive masculinity" in the traditional mode, see Hirschhorn, supra note 246, at 222.

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There is reason for skepticism when any man is called an expert on manhood. The traditional idea of manhood is imbued with the values of a system of dominance and subordination. From early childhood we males are put through the fire, regularly tested in ways that play on the anxieties of male rivalry. In the process of self-definition we define the Other -- the feminine, the homosexual -- for the purpose of repressing the Other in ourselves. So, the ideology of masculinity is not merely a system of belief embedded in individual men's emotions, but also a self-perpetuating social force. It translates the anxieties of manhood into a set of norms that justify male dominance, and those norms in turn make the stakes higher in the pursuit of manhood.

For many men who have invested their lives in a career that places so high a value on that pursuit, suggestions that seem to undermine the ideology of masculinity are deeply threatening. There [*577] is nothing new about any of this; the emotional reaction of some men to assertive women or to men who are openly gay is not unlike the reaction of many whites to the blacks who challenged Jim Crow forty years ago. When people we have subordinated and defined as the Other make a serious bid for equal treatment, they not only threaten to displace us from a power position, but threaten our very sense of self. No man, surely, has the right to be scornful of the men who feel threatened today by claims of equality for women and gay Americans, and no man has the right to cast the stone of blame. But let us not be too impressed with the idea of experts on manhood.

Until now we have been assuming that "the generals" are the ones who have clothed pop psychology and pop sociology in the uniform of "professional military judgment." Although it is surely true that high officers in all the services are imbued with the ideology of masculinity, the generals and admirals are not the ones mainly responsible for today's discriminations against women and gay Americans. By the 1970s both of those forms of segregation were crumbling. In the 1980s they were fortified anew, and the principal architects were politicians in the White House and the Department of Defense. n283

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n283 Members of Congress have played a supporting role in the political resurgence of the ideology of masculinity. See infra notes 285 & 290.

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Once the principle of the all-volunteer force became national policy in 1973, the services began active recruitment of women. By the end of the decade the services were projecting an accelerated accession of women that would reach a total of a quarter of a million by 1985. Weapons training for women had become routine, and the Army had desegregated basic training. n284 In 1979 the Defense Department asked Congress to repeal the laws excluding women from combat duty in the Navy and Air Force, on the ground that the combat exclusion prevented the effective use of personnel, limited opportunities for women, and limited the total number of women who could serve in the armed forces. n285 Similarly, in the 1970s, during the administrations of both President Gerald R. Ford and President Jimmy Carter, the Navy and the Air Force took the [*578] position that the discharge of a homosexual service member was not mandatory, but a matter for the local commander's decision. n286

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n284 See J. HOLM, supra note 96, at 258-59, 273-74, and chs. 18 & 19 generally.

n285 It was the leadership of the relevant congressional committees that scuttled DOD's proposal to repeal the laws barring women from combat positions -- albeit with considerable assistance from some generals and admirals who differed with their immediate civilian superiors. See id. at 337-45; see also C. WILLIAMS, supra note 118, at 54-55.

n286 It was this position that the District of Columbia Circuit held unconstitutional in Matlovich v. Secretary of the Air Force, 591 F.2d 852 (D.C. Cir. 1978).

"Michael McIntyre who interviewed officers for a 1980 thesis at the Naval Post-graduate School in Monterey found that 92 percent of those he talked to did not think homosexuality should be grounds for discharge so long as it did not interfere with job performance." Weisberg, supra note 205, at 25.

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Then came the Reagan administration. Rapidly, the DOD reversed its position on women in combat; expanded the number of Army jobs called "combat" jobs; reinstituted separate basic training for Army women and men; instituted the "womanpause," revising downward the projected accession of women; n287 and adopted the current policy purporting to require the exclusion of gay Americans from the services. Soon the witchhunts were under way, increasing the number of discharges of gay and lesbian servicemembers throughout the 1980s. n288 All these changes are variations on the theme of the pursuit of manhood. All of them were closely attuned to the "social issues" agenda of the new administration. n289 The Supreme Court's 1981 decision upholding the men-only draft registration law was in harmony with the new political line. n290

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n287 See J. HOLM, supra note 96, at 380-88; J. STIEHM, supra note 90, at 47-67. See supra note 96.

n288 See supra text accompanying note 201.

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n289 See generally Eisenstein, The Sexual Politics of the New Right: Understanding the "Crisis of Liberalism" for the 1980s, in FEMINIST THEORY: A CRITIQUE OF IDEOLOGY 77 (N. Keohane, M. Rosaldo & B. Gelpi eds. 1982).

n290 For another revealing example of the role of politicians in policing the gender line in the services, see Wendy Williams's discussion of Congress's 1981 decision to limit draft registration to men, supra note 93,at 183-85 passim. The issue reached the Supreme Court in Rostker v. Goldberg, 453 U.S. 57 (1981). Justice Rehnquist, a dissenter from the Supreme Court's earlier decisions subjecting sex discrimination to heightened judicial scrutiny, used the "military" connection as a justification for judicial deference, but also wrote an opinion that could serve as a basis for overruling those earlier decisions. Reversing the typical burden of proof in sex discrimination cases, he asked not whether the exclusion of women was justified by some important governmental purpose, but whether including women had been demonstrated to be necessary to that purpose. There was no need to draft women, he concluded. By the same reasoning, there would have been no need to draft Catholics or persons of Asian ancestry.

Because both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff had proposed registering women as well, a principle of judicial deference to military authorities would not serve Justice Rehnquist's larger purpose concerning sex discrimination doctrine. So, falling back to a more defensible line, he announced a broad rule of judicial deference to Congress in military matters. But the congressional committees had offered no serious military considerations demanding the law's sex discrimination; rather, they had heard from constituents who were upset about the possibility that women might enter this "man's world." If Justice Rehnquist saw Rostker as a step toward abandonment of exacting judicial review in sex discrimination cases, he found that path blocked the next year when the newly appointed Justice Sandra Day O'Connor led the Court in reaffirming the earlier sex discrimination precedents. See Mississippi Univ. for Women v. Hogan, 458 U.S. 718 (1982).

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[*579] Political motivations -- and specifically the political premises of the ideology of masculinity -- have always driven the military's policies of segregation. Two indicators deserve our attention. First, when a public policy is maintained even though it obviously does not achieve its stated goals, we have a right to wonder whether the stated goals are the real ones. The exclusion of women from combat positions does not keep women out of harm's way; it keeps women in their place. The policy purporting to exclude gay Americans does not keep gays out of the service; it keeps them quiet. On the other hand, both forms of exclusion do serve to maintain the gender line, and thus to maintain for the services a traditionally masculine image: power and weapons in the hands of "real men."

The other indicator of the centrality of politics is that the exclusion policies have been set aside so often in times of perceived need. In the Civil War and in World War II, black soldiers were first barred from combat and then put into the line when they were needed. During the Korean War, when racial segregation was impairing combat effectiveness, field commanders integrated their units. In the 1970s, when the end of the military draft left a shortage of recruits, women were actively sought, trained with weapons, and even proposed by the DOD for combat eligibility. In World War II, when massive numbers were needed, induction examiners and unit commanders deliberately ignored the

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presence of gay men. Even today, with the witchhunts going strong, commanders tend to overlook gay and lesbian doctors; after all, service doctors are hard to retain. n291

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n291 Gross, supra note 194, at A10.

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Judicial deference to the judgment of "those more familiar with military matters" thus turns out to be deference to a political policy to maintain the traditional gender line, and the systems of dominance expressed by that line: men over women, straights over gays. n292 But if the principle of equal citizenship means anything, it [*580] is that the existence of group subordination never can justify governmental action to intensify that subordination. The one case most urgently calling for exacting judicial scrutiny is the use of governmental power to preserve a dominant group's position of dominance. When the national government explicitly and deliberately discriminates against historically subordinated groups, the suggestion that judges are incompetent to understand that discrimination betrays a fundamental conception of judicial review that has prevailed for half a century. n293

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n292 Some military officers who carry out that policy may find it more congenial than the policies of inclusion of the 1970s, but one thing we know about military men and women is that they are good at following directives from above. The services have made racial integration work; even a servicemember who retains feelings of prejudice understands that his or her evaluations will suffer if those feelings are translated into behavior. One of the attractions for many who choose military service is that the forces provide their members with well-defined expectations. When the expectations communicated by the Department of Defense include tolerance and inclusion, even the overt expression of prejudice diminishes.

n293 See, e.g., United States v. Carolene Products Co., 304 U.S. 144, 152-53 n.4 (1938). The literature on this theme is voluminous and familiar; for any reader who has thus far escaped all this reading, a good starting point would be J. ELY, DEMOCRACY AND DISTRUST (1980).

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To say that our courts should undertake a serious review of the military's modern forms of segregation is not to ask the judges to take on the whole question of gender in American society, or to revise the meanings of manhood. It is merely to say that judges should bring familiar legal tools to bear on discrimination in this context. Undoubtedly, validation of the claims to equality now being made by women and by gay Americans will require some adjustment in the armed forces. But institutional adjustments are the common result when equal citizenship comes to embrace new groups. In the last four decades the claims of racial equality have required many American institutions, including the military, to engage in self-reflection, to ask whether yesterday's forms of discrimination can be justified in today's world.

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Earlier I mentioned the television advertisements promoting enlistment in the armed forces. Some months ago, right after one of those ads inviting you to "be all that you can be," an ad for men's cologne came on the screen. I can't remember the name of the product, but I have since done a little drug store research, and some of the names are revealing: Stetson, Brut, Savage, Hero, Iron. Anyway, the ad that I saw ended with a woman's voice saying, "It smells like a man." If the ideology of masculinity can survive when men are wearing perfume, surely it is bigger than any government program. Ending the military's policies of exclusion will not make the anxieties of manhood disappear. But if it is too much to hope that we can rid ourselves of our fears, at least we can be on the lookout for them when they come to us dressed up as justifications for segregation and exclusion.

What law and government can contribute is not an end to insecurity but the sense of an inclusive national community. I applaud [*581] the television ads that portray the armed services as the democratizing, unifying institutions they are. But the services also teach by example, and over the years their policies of segregation have taught the lessons of subordination. Our courts, too, teach by their behavior. Simply by applying conventional constitutional law to discrimination in the armed forces, our judges can teach their fellow Americans the vital lesson that we are one nation, indivisible.

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FILE
91

CIRCULAR No. 3

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON 25, D. C., 3 January 1944.

HOMOSEXUALS

1. Memorandum No. W615–4–43, 10 January 1943, subject, Sodomists, and all existing directives and instructions inconsistent with the provisions of this circular are rescinded.

2. Homosexuality is included in the criminal denunciation of Article of War 93. However, it is a matter of War Department policy whether the maintenance of discipline and the interests of the Military Establishment are best served by trial by court martial or by prompt elimination of the offender from the service. The policy of the War Department in dealing with homosexual offenses and attempted offenses is as follows:

a. The true or confirmed homosexual not deemed reclaimable and whose misconduct is not aggrarated by independent offenses will—

(1) If an officer, be offered the opportunity and permitted to resign for the good of the service.

(2) ~~If an enlisted man, be discharged under the provisions of section VIII, AR 615-360, 26 November 1942, and given a blue discharge.~~ AR 615-368, 1 March 45 — IW 10, Cir. 385 (1945)

(3) If he demands trial by court martial or resists separation from the service as prescribed in (1) and (2) above, be tried by court martial.

b. The offender who is deemed reclaimable and whose misconduct is not aggravated by independent offenses will be hospitalized, and, depending upon the results of treatment, either restored to duty, or separated from the service or tried by court martial as prescribed in *a* above. The category of offenders deemed reclaimable will ordinarily include first offenders, those who have acted as a result of intoxication or the influence of drugs or from immaturity or curiosity, or those who have acted under undue influence, especially when such influence was exercised by a person of greater years or superior grade; but the foregoing is not intended to be exclusive of any other offenders whose cases reasonably indicate the possibility of reclamation. The commanding officer of the hospital at which such individual was hospitalized will transmit to The Adjutant General, and also to the theater headquarters if the hospitalization occurs in Alaska or overseas, a full report of the diagnosis, treatment, results of treatment, and recommendation as to disposition, to be kept in the file regarding such individual.

c. If the homosexual offense or attempted offense is aggravated by independent additional offenses, as, for example, use of force or violence, or commission of the act with a minor, the offender will be tried by court martial.

3. *a.* The disposition of any particular case is left to the discretion of the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction thereover. He will ascertain in each such case whether there is a record of any prior similar offense or attempted offense in the military service by the individual concerned (see par. 2*b*). He will also consider the report and recommendation of the psychiatrist in making dispositions under paragraph 2*b*, and, if available, in all other cases.

b. An individual restored to duty under the provisions of paragraph 2*b* will not be returned to his former organization. He will be reported to the Commanding General, Army Ground Forces, Army Air Forces, or Army Service Forces, or to the theater commander, depending upon which of them has assignment jurisdiction over the individual, for reassignment within his command.

4. *a.* This policy is effective immediately and will be applied in all pending and future cases. It will not be applied to offenders already serving a sentence of confinement.

b. The declaration of policy in this circular will not preclude bringing any case of homosexuality to trial before a court martial if the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction over the offender considers that exceptional circumstances make such action essential in the interests of the Military Establishment.

[A. G. 250.1 (25 Oct 43).]

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

G. C. MARSHALL,
Chief of Staff.

OFFICIAL:
J. A. ULIO,
Major General,
The Adjutant General.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

CIRCULAR
No. 4

WAR DEPART

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Supersedes 615-368 27 Dec 44 & 31 Jan 47 615 1947 Ltr

*AR 615–368
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ARMY REGULATIONS
No. 615–368

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C., 14 May 1947

ENLISTED MEN

DISCHARGE

UNFITNESS (UNDESIRABLE HABITS OR TRAITS OF CHARACTER)

(For general revisions see AR 615–360)

Effective 1 July 1947

Procedure	Paragraph
Basic War Department policy to be observed	1
By whom final action taken and discharge ordered	2
Term to be used as cause of discharge	3
Form of discharge certificate to be given	4
Reentry into the Army	5
	6

1. Procedure.—*a. Report required; when and by whom made.*

(1) When an individual gives evidence of habits or traits of character (except when discharge for physical or mental conditions is indicated as provided in sec. I, AR 615–361), including psychopathic personality types, manifested by antisocial or amoral trends, criminalism, chronic alcoholism, drug addiction, pathological lying, or sexual misconduct in the service (see par. 2*b*) which serve to render his retention in the service undesirable, and his rehabilitation is considered impossible after repeated attempts to accomplish same have failed (except where attempts at rehabilitation are impracticable as in confirmed drug addiction, confirmed homosexuals, etc.), his commanding officer will report the facts (see (2) below) to the next higher commander and recommend that the individual concerned be required to appear before a board of officers convened under the authority contained herein or that he be transferred to another organization as provided in this regulation.

(2) The commanding officer's report will include—

(*a*) Name, grade, serial number, age, date of enlistment or induction, length of term for which enlisted (if applicable), and prior service.

(*b*) Reasons for the action recommended.

(*c*) AGCT score, and MOS.

(*d*) Statement as to the attempts made within the organization to make a satisfactory soldier out of the individual and indicating whether or not the individual's assignments and duties have been varied to include service under different officers and noncommissioned officers in a different organization or unit.

(*e*) Character and efficiency rating.

(*f*) Individual's record of trials by court martial.

(*g*) Record of other disciplinary action taken against the individual, including company punishment.

*This pamphlet supersedes AR 615–368, 7 March 1945, and so much of section III, WD Circular 277, 1945, as pertains to AR 615–368.

AGO 2363B—May 716130°—47

(*h*) Abstract of WD AGO Form 5 (Daily Sick Report).
(*i*) Report of psychiatric examiner or medical officer, if any.
(*j*) Any other information pertinent in this case. (If case is appropriate to par. 5, AR 615–360, enter pertinent remarks here.)

(3) If other disposition of the case is not considered warranted by intervening commanders, including transfer of individual to another organization, the report will be forwarded to the commander exercising general court-martial jurisdiction who will, if he considers such action desirable, convene a board of officers to determine whether or not the individual concerned should be discharged prior to the expiration of his term of service. When an intervening commander or the commander exercising general court-martial jurisdiction decides to transfer the individual to another organization, the commanding officer's report required by (2) above will be forwarded to his new organization commander for information and any future action necessary.

b. *Board convened by commander exercising general court-martial jurisdiction.*—Boards of officers convened under this authority will consist of three officers, one of whom shall be a medical officer. Care will be exercised in the selection of officers designated to serve on boards convened under this regulation to insure that—

(1) The board is composed of experienced officers of mature judgment, at least one of whom is of field grade.
(2) The board is composed of unbiased officers fully cognizant of applicable regulations and policies pertaining to cases of this nature.
(3) The officer making the report required by *a* above, or any intervening officer who has direct knowledge of the case is not a member of the board.
(4) In the case of an enlisted member of the Women's Army Corps, the nonmedical members of the board will include an officer of the Women's Army Corps.
(5) In cases involving psychiatric considerations, the medical member of the board will be a qualified psychiatrist, if practicable.
(6) The board is provided a competent reporter (or stenographer).

c. *Board procedure.*
(1) Rules of procedure and evidence, see AR 420–5.
(2) Witnesses sworn, see AR 420–5.
(3) An individual appearing before a board of officers convened under this regulation is entitled to counsel of his own selection if reasonably available. If counsel of the individual's own choosing is not available, competent counsel will be furnished by the convening authority. See AR 420–5.
(4) Proceedings of Board will be set forth on WD AGO Form 37 (Report of Proceedings of Board of Officers).

d. *Authorized recommendations.*—The board will recommend that the individual be—
(1) Given a WD AGO Form 53–59 (Undesirable Discharge), or
(2) Given a WD AGO Form 53–58 (General Discharge), or
(3) Given a WD AGO Form 55 (Honorable Discharge), or
(4) Retained in the service.

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An honorable discharge may be recommended in exceptionally meritorious cases only.

A general discharge may be recommended if mitigating circumstances and the character of service rendered so warrant. Such circumstances would apply where the misconduct evidencing the undesirable habit or trait of character has been minor relative to the length of any efficient service or where there has been a reasonable effort at self-control.

e. Action by convening authority.

(1) The board proceedings will be closely examined by the convening authority and a determination made as to the propriety of action recommended.

(2) The convening authority will approve the action recommended by the board or direct other appropriate disposition of the case.

(3) The convening authority will not direct execution of an undesirable discharge when the board of officers has recommended that a general discharge or honorable discharge be given; nor will the convening authority direct execution of an undesirable discharge, or of a general discharge when the board of officers has recommended that the individual be given an honorable discharge or be retained in the service.

(4) The convening authority, when he disagrees with the recommendation of a board of officers that the individual be retained in the service or that an honorable discharge or general discharge be given, is authorized to set aside the findings and recommendations of the board and appoint a new board of officers to hear and consider the case. When a new board of officers is appointed the proceedings of the first board will be forwarded to the new board for information and consideration. No more than one new board of officers will be appointed under this authority unless the proceedings of the new board are found to be illegal.

f. Disposition of proceedings.

(1) *When discharge is not recommended by board.*—The board proceedings will be forwarded to the convening authority who will take such action on the board's recommendation as he may deem necessary. Subsequent to final action, the proceedings will be filed at the headquarters convening the board and the commander initiating the report will be notified of the final action in the case. Whenever practicable, the convening authority will direct that the individual be transferred to a different organization.

(2) *When discharge is recommended by board.*—The board proceedings, if approved by the convening authority, will be sent to the appropriate commander who executes the discharge, and will constitute authority for the discharge. If the board proceedings are disapproved, action will be taken as prescribed in (1) above.

(3) *Approved board proceedings to be furnished individual to be discharged.*—Upon request by an individual who is to be discharged under these regulations or upon request of his counsel, a copy of the board proceedings upon which discharge action was based will be furnished, *except* that such medical testimony and records which would prove injurious to the physical or mental health of the individual will not be furnished.

(*a*) The medical testimony and records falling within the exception indicated above will be withdrawn by the convening authority prior to the return of the proceedings to the officer who will accomplish the discharge.

(*b*) The copy of the proceedings as indicated in (*a*) above, will be marked: "Copy for (*Name and ASN of individual*)" and furnished the individual or his counsel by the officer who accomplishes the discharge. A signed receipt will be obtained from the individual or his counsel to whom the copy is furnished, and forwarded with service records and allied papers for file to The Adjutant General.

(*c*) If the individual or his counsel does not desire a copy of the board proceedings, a notation to that effect will be placed on the individual's copy which will be sent with the original to The Adjutant General. Thereafter, only the individual discharged will be authorized to obtain the copy from The Adjutant General.

(4) After the discharge has been effected, the original copy of the board proceedings will be sent with the service record and allied papers to The Adjutant General.

2. Basic War Department policy to be observed.—*a. General.*—An individual will not be discharged from the service under these regulations until it is definitely established that for any of the causes mentioned in paragraph 1*a*(1) he cannot be rehabilitated to the extent where he may be expected to become a satisfactory soldier. Action will not be taken under these regulations in lieu of disciplinary action.

b. Homosexuals.

(1) Homosexual offenses are included in the criminal denunciation of Article of War 93. However, it is a concern of the War Department whether the maintenance of discipline and the interests of the Military Establishment are best served by trial by court martial or by prompt elimination of the offender from the service under these regulations.

(2) The policy of the War Department in dealing with active homosexual offenses and attempted offenses is as follows:

(*a*) The true or confirmed homosexual who commits a homosexual offense or attempts an offense and whose misconduct does not involve additional aggravated factors will be discharged under these regulations unless he demands trial by court martial or resists separation from the service under these regulations in which case he will be tried by court martial.

(*b*) If the homosexual offense or attempted offense is aggravated by other offenses, as for example, use of force or violence or commission of the act with a minor, the offender will be tried by court martial.

(3) The policy of the War Department in dealing with homosexuals or personnel who it is determined have homosexual tendencies but who have not committed active homosexual offenses or attempted offenses while in the service is as follows:

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(*a*) Enlisted personnel who are to be discharged because of homosexual tendencies, but who have not committed a homosexual offense or attempted offense while in the service, will normally be discharged as undesirable unless the individual has been on active duty over a considerable period of time and during such entire period has performed his duty in an honest and faithful manner without having committed any offense of a nature related to his homosexuality. Where these conditions exist, a general discharge may as a matter of discretion be given, or an honorable discharge in cases in which the man's military record is especially meritorious.

(*b*) This policy should by no means be interpreted as implying that all confessed homosexuals should be discharged merely on the basis of a confession of homosexuality. There should be adequate evidence of an existing psychological maladjustment resulting from homosexual tendencies which render the individual inadaptable for military service. In those relatively rare instances where homosexual tendencies constitute symptoms of a psychiatric disorder such as psychoneurosis and psychosis, disposition should be based upon the underlying psychiatric disorder.

(4) The disposition of any particular case is left to the discretion of the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction thereover except as indicated in paragraph 1*c*(3) above. Nothing in these regulations will preclude bringing any homosexual to trial before a court martial if the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction considers that circumstances make such action essential in the interests of the Military Establishment.

3. By whom final action taken and discharge ordered.—Commanding officers exercising general court-martial jurisdiction will take final action and order discharge as provided in paragraph 7*a*(2), AR 615–360.

4. Term to be used as cause for discharge.—*a. On Enlisted Record and Report of Separation.*—The term to be entered as the reason for discharge will be merely "AR 615–368; not eligible for reentry into the Army unless authorization is obtained from The Adjutant General, Washington, D. C." See TM 12–235.

b. In WD AGO Form 8–24 (Medical Report Card).—In those cases required to be reported on WD AGO Form 8–24 (AR 40–1025, particularly par. 8*d* as changed), the term to be entered will indicate the specific medical condition present (e. g. chronic alcoholism), in accordance with approved medical terminology (par. 78, AR 40–1025, and par. 21, TB MED 203). Terms such as habits and traits of character . . . are not acceptable for use on WD AGO Form 8–24.

5. Form of discharge certificate to be given.—All persons discharged under the provisions of these regulations will be furnished WD AGO Form 53–59 (Undesirable Discharge) or WD AGO Form 53–58 (General Discharge), or WD AGO Form 55 (Honorable Discharge).

6. Reentry into the Army.—Reentry into the Army of a man discharged for any of the causes enumerated in paragraph 1*a* is not warranted unless the cause

of discharge is subsequently removed and reentry is authorized by The Adjutant General, Washington, D. C.
[AG 220.8 (1 Apr 47)]

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
Chief of Staff

OFFICIAL:
EDWARD F. WITSELL
Major General
The Adjutant General

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OFFICIAL:
J. A. ULIO
Major General
The Adjutant

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Superseded by
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1 Sept 1947

ENLISTED MEN

DISCHARGE

UNDESIRABLE HABITS OR TRAITS OF CHARACTER

(For general provisions see AR 615–360)

CHANGES No. 1

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C., 10 April 1945

AR 615–368, 7 March 1945, is changed as follows:

2. Basic War Department policy to be observed.

* * * * * * * * *

b. The policy of the War Department in dealing with homosexual offenses and attempted offenses is as follows:

* * * * * * * * *

(2½) The mere confession by an individual to a psychiatrist that he possesses homosexual tendencies will not in itself constitute sufficient cause for discharge under these regulations. In such cases the individual concerned will, upon the recommendation of the psychiatrist, be hospitalized and, depending upon the results of the observation and treatment, will be either restored to duty or separated from the service.

* * * * * * * * *

[AG 220.8 (13 Mar 45)]

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

G. C. MARSHALL
Chief of Staff

OFFICIAL:
J. A. ULIO
Major General
The Adjutant General

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AGO 194B—Apr. 637402°—45

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1945

*AR 615–368

ARMY REGULATIONS
No. 615–368

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C., 7 March 1945

ENLISTED MEN

DISCHARGE

UNDESIRABLE HABITS OR TRAITS OF CHARACTER

(For general provisions see AR 615–360)

	Paragraph
Procedure	1
Basic War Department policy to be observed	2
By whom final action taken and discharge ordered	3
Term to be used as cause of discharge	4
Form of discharge certificate to be given	5
Reenlistment, induction, or reinduction; effect upon	6

1. Procedure.—*a. Report required; when and by whom made.*—When an enlisted man gives evidence of—

(1) Habits or traits of character (except when discharge for physical or mental conditions is indicated as provided in sec. 1, AR 615–361) which serve to render his retention in the service undesirable, and his rehabilitation is considered impossible after repeated attempts to accomplish same have failed, or

(2) A psychopathic personality manifested by antisocial or amoral trends, criminalism, chronic alcoholism, drug addiction, pathological lying, or sexual misconduct in the service (see par. 2*b*) and cannot be rehabilitated to render useful service,

his company or detachment commander will report the facts to the commanding officer. The report may be prepared in a simple form, particularly in special training units. Brevity is desired.

b. When company or detachment commander is also commanding officer.—If the company or detachment commander is also the commanding officer, the report required by *a* above will be made to the next higher commander, who will take the action required by *c* below.

c. Board convened by commanding officer.—Upon receiving the report required by *a* above, the commanding officer, or the next higher commander as the case may be, will convene a board of officers, three if practicable, one of whom will be a medical officer, to determine whether or not the enlisted man should be discharged prior to the expiration of his term of service. In the case of an enlisted member of the Women's Army Corps the nonmedical members of the board will include an officer of the Women's Army Corps. The officer making the report required by *a* above will not be detailed as a member of this board. When available, a trained psychiatric examiner, or officer possessing such experience, will be called as a witness in the case and present his testimony to the board.

d. Proceedings of board.—Will be set forth on WD AGO Form 37 (Report of Proceedings of Board of Officers).

(1) *Rules of procedure and evidence.*—See AR 420–5.

(2) *Witnesses sworn.*—See AR 420–5.

*This pamphlet supersedes AR 615–368, 20 July 1944, and so much of Circular No. 3, War Department, 1944, as pertains to enlisted personnel.

AGO 143B—Mar. 622802°—45

(1) When an enlisted man is a confirmed homosexual who is not deemed reclaimable and whose misconduct does not involve additional acts such as the use of force or violence or the commission of the act with a minor, he will be discharged under the provisions of these regulations. If he demands trial by court martial or resists separation from the service under the provisions of these regulations, he will be tried by court martial.

(2) The offender who is deemed reclaimable and whose misconduct does not involve additional acts punishable by court martial will be hospitalized, and, depending upon the results of treatment, will be either restored to duty, separated from the service, or tried by court martial. The category of offenders deemed reclaimable will ordinarily include first offenders, those who have acted as a result of intoxication or under the influence of drugs, from immaturity, or curiosity, and those who have acted under undue influence, especially when such influence was exercised by a person of greater years or superior grade.

(3) The commanding officer of the hospital at which such individual was hospitalized will, if the man is deemed reclaimable, transmit to The Adjutant General, and also to the theater headquarters if the hospitalization occurs in Alaska or overseas, a full report of the diagnosis, treatment, results of treatment, and recommendation as to disposition, to be kept in the file regarding such individual. Such report will not be made if the man is not deemed reclaimable and discharge is recommended.

(4) An individual restored to duty under (2) above will not be returned to his former organization. He will be reported to the Commanding General, Army Ground Forces, Army Air Forces, or Army Service Forces, or the theater commander, depending upon which of them has assignment jurisdiction over the individual, for reassignment within his command.

(5) If the homosexual offense is complicated by additional offenses, the offender will be tried by court martial.

(6) The disposition of any particular case is left to the discretion of the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction thereover.

3. By whom final action taken and discharge ordered.—*a.* Commanding officers having general court-martial jurisdiction will take final action and order discharge as provided in paragraph 1*f*.

b. Commanding officers exercising discharge authority will maintain close contact with the local United States Employment Service representative and comply with paragraph 6*f*, AR 615-360. Every effort will be made to cause enlisted men scheduled for discharge to accept employment in war industry or agriculture.

4. Term to be used as cause of discharge.—*a. In certificate of discharge.*—The term to be entered in the certificate of discharge as the reason for discharge will be merely "AR 615-368; not eligible for reenlistment, induction, or reinduction."

b. In all papers other than certificate of discharge.—In stating the cause of discharge, a brief description of the actual cause thereof in the case in question will be given, followed by a parenthetical reference to these regulations, for

example, habits (or traits of character) rendering retention in service undesirable (AR 615–368). When more than one cause is found to exist, all will be stated.

5. Form of discharge certificate to be given.—*a.* All persons discharged under the provisions of these regulations, including cases specified in paragraph 5*b*, AR 615–369, will be furnished WD AGO Form 53–56 (Discharge from the Army of the United States (blue)).

b. If the reviewing authority prescribed in paragraph 1*f* above determines that an honorable discharge certificate is to be furnished, discharge will be effective under the provisions of AR 615–369.

6. Reenlistment, induction, or reinduction; effect upon.—The reenlistment, induction, or reinduction of a man discharged for any of the causes enumerated in paragraph 1*a* is not warranted unless the cause of discharge is subsequently removed.

[AG 220.8 (18 Oct 44)]

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

G. C. MARSHALL
Chief of Staff

OFFICIAL:
J. A. ULIO
Major General
The Adjutant General

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1945

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ARMY REGULATIONS
No. 615–368

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON 25, D. C., 20 July 1944

UNDESIRABLE HABITS OR TRAITS OF CHARACTER

(For general provisions see AR 615–360)

ENLISTED MEN

DISCHARGE

Paragraph

Procedure 1
Basic War Department policy to be observed 2
By whom final action taken and discharge ordered 3
Term to be used as cause of discharge 4
Form of discharge certificate to be given 5
Reenlistment, induction, or reinduction; effect upon 6

1. Procedure.—*a. Report required; when and by whom made.*—When an enlisted man—

(1) Gives evidence of habits or traits of character (except when discharge for physical or mental conditions is indicated as provided in sec. I, AR 615–361) which serve to render his retention in the service undesirable, and his rehabilitation is considered impossible after repeated attempts to accomplish same have failed, or

(2) Is disqualified for service, physically or in character, through his own misconduct, and cannot be rehabilitated to render useful service before the expiration of his term of service without detriment to the morale and efficiency of his organization,

his company or detachment commander will report the facts to the commanding officer. The report may be prepared in a simple form, particularly in special training units. Brevity is desired.

b. When company or detachment commander is also commanding officer.—If the company or detachment commander is also the commanding officer, the report required by *a* above will be made to the next higher commander, who will take the action required by *c* below.

c. Board convened by commanding officer.—Upon receiving the report required by *a* above, the commanding officer, or the next higher commander as the case may be, will convene a board of officers, three if practicable, one of whom will be a medical officer, to determine whether or not the enlisted man should be discharged prior to the expiration of his term of service. In the case of an enlisted member of the Women's Army Corps the nonmedical members of the board will include an officer of the Women's Army Corps. The officer making the report required by *a* above will not be detailed as a member of this board. When available, a trained psychiatric examiner, or officer possessing such experience, will be called as a witness in the case and present his testimony to the board.

d. Proceedings of board.—Will be set forth on W. D., A. G. O. Form No. 87 (Report of Proceedings of Board of Officers).

(1) *Rules of procedure and evidence.*—See AR 420–5.

(2) *Witnesses sworn.*—See AR 420–5.

* This pamphlet, together with AR 615–369, 20 July 1944, supersedes section VIII, AR 615–360, 25 May 1944.

AGO 415B 595302°—44

(3) *Authorized recommendations.*—The board will recommend that the enlisted man be either discharged or retained in service. A recommendation to discharge will be made when it has been shown that he is unfit to associate with enlisted men.

e. Action by convening authority.

(1) *When discharge recommended.*—If discharge is recommended by the board, the convening authority will indorse on the proceedings his approval or disapproval of the findings and recommendations and forward the proceedings to the commander having general court-martial jurisdiction, for review. If the convening authority has general court-martial jurisdiction, he will take the action prescribed in *f* below.

(2) *When discharge not recommended.*—When discharge is not recommended the proceedings will be disposed of as prescribed in *g*(1) below.

f. Action by reviewing authority.

(1) Proceedings of AR 615-368 boards forwarded for review will be examined, and a determination made as to the propriety of action recommended.

(2) The reviewing authority will indorse on the proceedings his approval of the action recommended or his determination as to the type of discharge certificate to be furnished, direct the discharge of the enlisted man concerned, and forward the proceedings to the officer who will execute the discharge. If it is determined that an honorable discharge certificate is to be furnished, discharge will be effected under the provisions of AR 615-369. If the reviewing authority disagrees with the recommendation of the board that the enlisted man be discharged, he will return the proceedings to the convening authority and direct that the enlisted man be retained in service.

g. Disposition of proceedings.

(1) *When discharge is not recommended by board.*—The proceedings will be returned to the convening authority for such action on the board's recommendations as he may deem necessary. Subsequent to final action, the proceedings will be filed at the headquarters convening the board and the officer making the report will be notified of the final action taken in the case, if that officer is not the same as the convening authority.

(2) *When discharge is recommended by board.*—Proceedings forwarded as required by *f* above will in every case be returned through the convening authority to the officer making the report required by *a* above, by indorsement showing the final action taken, and will then by him be disposed of as prescribed in (3) below.

(3) *When discharge is ordered.*—The proceedings will be sent to the officer who executes the discharge, as authority therefor, and after the discharge has been effected, they will be sent to The Adjutant General, with the service record and allied papers, for file.

2. Basic War Department policy to be observed.—Any enlisted man will be discharged from the service when it is shown that for any of the causes mentioned in paragraph 1*a* he cannot be rehabilitated to the extent where he may be expected to become a satisfactory soldier.

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3. By whom final action taken and discharge ordered.—*a.* Commanding officers having general court-martial jurisdiction will take final action and order discharge as provided in paragraph 1*f*.

b. Commanding officers exercising discharge authority will maintain close contact with the local United States Employment Service representative and comply with paragraph 6*f*, AR 615-360. Every effort will be made to cause enlisted men scheduled for discharge to accept employment in war industry or agriculture.

4. Term to be used as cause of discharge.—*a. In certificate of discharge.*—The term to be entered in the certificate of discharge as the reason for discharge will be merely "AR 615-368; not eligible for reenlistment, induction, or reinduction."

b. In all papers other than certificate of discharge.—In stating the cause of discharge, a brief description of the actual cause thereof in the case in question will be given, followed by a parenthetical reference to these regulations, for example—

Habits (or traits of character) rendering retention in service undesirable (AR 615-368).

(Physically) disqualified (in character) for service, through his own misconduct (AR 615-368).

When more than one cause is found to exist, all will be stated.

5. Form of discharge certificate to be given.—*a.* All persons discharged under the provisions of these regulations, including cases specified in paragraph 5*b*, AR 615-369, will be furnished W. D., A. G. O. Form No. 56 (Discharge from the Army of the United States (blue)).

b. If the reviewing authority prescribed in paragraph 1*f* above determines that an honorable discharge certificate is to be furnished, discharge will be effected under the provisions of AR 615-369.

6. Reenlistment, induction, or reinduction; effect upon.—The reenlistment, induction, or reinduction of a man discharged for any of the causes enumerated in paragraph 1*a* is not warranted unless the cause of discharge is subsequently removed.

[A. G. 220.8 (6 May 44).]

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

G. C. MARSHALL,
Chief of Staff.

OFFICIAL:

J. A. ULIO,
Major General,
The Adjutant General.

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FILE
93

The DoD Homosexual Exclusion Policy: Illegal Discrimination or Legitimate Personnel Policy?

William A. Woodruff[1]

I. Introduction

The American armed forces are unique. In a government based upon the consent of the governed, the military is autocratic. In a society that treasures individual freedom, the soldier must conform and sacrifice self for mission accomplishment. In a country where the right to speak one's mind is paramount, the soldier is called upon to defend that right while not enjoying its full extent. To some, it is paradoxical that the defenders of freedom must forfeit their own freedom. Consider the mission of the military, however, and the paradox vanishes. The mission of the United States Armed Forces is to fight and win our nation's wars. It takes an army to do that, not a debating society. For this reason, the Supreme Court has long-recognized that "the differences between the military and civilian communities result from the fact that 'it is the business of armies and navies to fight or be ready to fight wars.'"[2]

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[1]Colonel (retired), U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's Corps; Associate Professor of Law, Campbell University School of Law. The views and opinions expressed in this article are the author's and should not be taken as setting forth official Department of Defense or Department of the Army policy.

[2]*Parker v. Levy*, 417 U.S. 733, 743 (1974) *quoting Toth v. Quarles*, 350 U.S. 11, 17 (1955). *See also In re Grimley*, 137 U.S. 147, 153 (1890) ("An army is not a deliberative body, It is the executive arm. Its law is that of obedience. No question can be left open as to the right to command in the officer, or the duty of

To accomplish this unique, important, difficult, and dangerous mission, the military forces have many requirements that have no parallel in civilian society. Thus, soldiers are not free to "call in sick" if they do not feel like working. They are not permitted to vote on whether to take the objective by frontal assault or a flanking movement. They are not given the option of wearing button-down collars or the latest fashion trend. Theirs is the duty of obedience to the lawful orders of their superiors. This is but one aspect of the discipline and teamwork necessary to train, maintain, and employ an effective fighting force. In the final analysis, all military rules, regulations, policies, traditions, and customs are related to, and in some manner support, the ultimate goal of combat effectiveness. The homosexual exclusion policy, like other personnel policies, is a component of the force management equation that seeks to build a military force that is trained, disciplined, ready, and able to defend this nation's national interests whenever and wherever called. The debate raging today over the homosexual exclusion policy centers on the question of whether the combat effectiveness of the military forces will be enhanced by the elimination of the homosexual exclusion policy. In other words, if the policy were repealed and homosexual conduct and practices were permitted in the military environment, would our armed forces be more or less capable of performing its mission?[3]

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obedience in the soldier.")

[3]The ultimate issue is not whether individual homosexuals can or cannot perform jobs within the military. As noted *infra*, the DoD policy assumes that one who claims to be a homosexual within

Against this backdrop of the unique and unparalleled mission of the Armed Forces it is appropriate to consider first the development and operation of the policy, then the arguments of those who seek to eliminate the homosexual exclusion policy, and finally the justification advanced to support the policy.

II. Background of the DoD Policy

The military's policy, like the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the state codes of the states that criminalize sodomy, derives from a long history of general condemnation of homosexual conduct. Though not a crime under early English common law, sodomy was first punished by the secular courts under a statute of Henry VIII.[4] Sodomy was held in such opprobrium that Blackstone referred to the mere mention of it as a "disgrace to human nature."[5] Because sodomy was an offense over which the civilian courts had jurisdiction, it was not specifically included in the military codes until the 18th century when it became punishable under the Laws Relating to the Government of His Majesty's Ships, Vessels, and Forces by Sea.[6] Similarly, is was not included in the early

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the meaning of the DoD Directive will engage in the conduct that defines the class. Thus, the real question deals with the impact that homosexual conduct and practices occurring within the military environment will have upon combat effectiveness.

[4]25 Hen. 8, c. 6 (1533).

[5]3 W. Blackstone, Commentaries 215-216 (W. Lewis 1922).

[6]Art. 29, 22 Geo. 2 (1749).

American military codes because it was punishable by the civilian courts under the common law adopted from England. During World War I, however, the Army prosecuted sodomy under the "General Article" (art. 96) of the Articles of War of 1916.

Early enlistment and discharge regulations did not mention homosexuality or sodomy. Indeed, they were all very general and offered enlistment to "[n]one but men of good character, sound in body and mind, of good appearance, and well formed and fit, in every particular. . . ."[7] After World War I, Army regulations provided for the discharge of soldiers who evidenced "habits or traits of character which serve to render retention in service undesirable," or who were "disqualified for service, physically or in character, through [their] own misconduct."[8] During World War II, the Army discharged homosexuals administratively. In January 1944, the War Department issued Circular No. 3, which specifically provided for the disposition of homosexuals. It reminded commanders that homosexual conduct was punishable under the Articles of War, but that administrative separation often served the military's best interests. By 1950, Army Regulation 600-443 provided for separation of "[t]rue, confirmed, or habitual homosexual personnel, irrespective of sex. . . ." Over the next two decades, personnel policies generally required separation of homosexuals, but attempted to classify those whom the regulations

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[7]Gen. Regs. for the Army, 1841, art. 49, para. 679 (emphasis in original).

[8]Dep't of Army Reg. No. 615-360, para. 49 (March 1, 1926).

considered "reclaimable" and permitted them to serve. In 1970, Army regulations were amended to separate for "unfitness" soldiers who committed homosexual acts. Soldiers who merely had homosexual "tendencies" were separated for "unsuitability."

The current DoD homosexual exclusion policy was promulgated in 1981 and was designed to eliminate vagaries in previous policy directives and to implement a uniform policy for all the services. Accordingly, it eliminated the "unsuitability" discharge for "homosexual tendencies." The policy defined "homosexual" as one who engages in, intends to engage in, or desires to engage in homosexual acts," and defined "homosexual acts" as "bodily conduct, actively undertaken or passively permitted, between persons of the same sex for sexual satisfaction." To insure consistent application among the services, the policy clarified that separation was mandatory for individuals who were homosexuals within the meaning of the DoD Directive.

III. Operation of the Current Policy

A soldier finds him or herself facing discharge for homosexuality when one or more of the following criteria are met: (1) the soldier has engaged in, attempted to engage in, or solicited another to engage in homosexual acts; (2) the soldier has admitted that he or she is a homosexual; (3) the soldier has married or attempted to marry a person known to be of the same sex. When presented with credible evidence of any of the above

conditions, commanders must initiate separation proceedings. Service regulations provide the soldier with certain rights in the elimination proceedings, including the right to notice of the proceedings, a right to legal counsel, the right to cross-examine witnesses, the right to present evidence and witnesses, and the right to either remain silent or testify in his own behalf. The separation boards must recommend discharge if they find that the individual is a homosexual within the meaning of the DoD Directive.

If the basis for the separation proceeding is that the soldier has engaged in, attempted to engage in, or solicited another to engage in homosexual acts, the separation board may recommend retention if they find that the conduct in question was a departure from the soldier's usual behavior, that it is unlikely to recur, that it was not accompanied by force or coercion, that under the circumstances the retention of the soldier is consistent with good order, morale, and discipline, and that the soldier does not desire or intend to engage in homosexual acts in the future. In other words, if these additional factors are present, the soldier is not a homosexual within the meaning of the DoD Directive and discharge is not required. Similarly, where the basis of separation is marriage or attempted marriage to another person of the same sex, or admissions of homosexuality, the regulation permits retention if the board determines that the individual is not a homosexual within the meaning of the DoD Directive.

No one has seriously challenged the military's interests in discharging those who engage in homosexual acts or who marry or

attempt to marry a person of the same sex.' The real controversy surrounding the DoD policy arises over the discharge of those whose homosexuality is revealed solely through their own admissions and statements absent any evidence of homosexual acts. The DoD policy requires separation of those who admit they are homosexual, unless the separation board finds that they are not homosexuals within the meaning of the DoD Directive. As a practical matter, this requires the soldier facing discharge for admissions of homosexuality to either deny making such an admission or to convince the separation board that if he was a homosexual at one time he is one no longer. Because the definition of homosexual in the DoD Directive is tied to sexual conduct rather than to amorphous concepts of sexual tendencies, orientation, or preference, the policy presumes that one who admits to being a homosexual will engage in the conduct that defines the class. Thus, discharging soldiers based solely upon their admission of homosexuality without additional evidence of homosexual conduct avoids the necessity for intrusive investigations and inquiries into the soldiers' sexual practices. Furthermore, because it is reasonable to believe that homosexuals will engage in the conduct that defines the class, discharging those who admit their homosexuality serves the laudable goal of

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'Bills introduced in the 102d Congress that would prohibit discrimination "on the basis of sexual orientation" specifically preserved the right of the military to punish "sexual misconduct" so long as the rules and regulations applicable to "sexual misconduct" are applied in a manner that does not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation. H.R. 5208 (May 19, 1992); S. 3084 (July 28, 1992). The bills were referred to the respective Armed Services Committees.

preventing the disruption and adverse impact upon unit readiness, morale, and discipline that homosexual conduct within the military environment causes.

IV. Analysis of Arguments Against the Policy

Opponents of the policy have claimed that discharging soldiers based solely on their admissions of homosexuality without evidence of homosexual conduct violates soldiers' free speech rights. They have also claimed that the policy subjects homosexuals to the same sort of discrimination suffered by racial minorities and it should be declared unconstitutional because it denies them equal protection of the law. In this regard, they have claimed that homosexuals should, like racial or ethnic groups, be given special protection and that the policy should be examined under the strict scrutiny standard normally reserved for policies that impact adversely on racial minorities and other suspect classes. These arguments have been markedly unsuccessful. While gathering some sympathy from individual judges, the final decisions of every United States Court of Appeals to address the issue has rejected both free speech claims and suspect class status for homosexuals.[10]

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[10] *See, e.g., Pruitt v. Cheney*, 963 F.2d 1160 (9th Cir. 1992) (rejecting first amendment claim and remanding case to district court for consideration of equal protection claim under rational basis test); *BenShalom v. Marsh*, 881 F.2d 454, 462-464 (7th Cir. 1989) (finding "absolutely no First Amendment violation," and holding that homosexuals do not constitute a suspect class and that strict scrutiny of the policy is not justified), *cert. denied*, 110 S. Ct. 1296 (1990).

In addition to the strict scrutiny and free speech arguments, opponents of the policy make two principal charges: 1) the policy caters to private bias and stereotypes of homosexuals; and 2) the justification of the policy, i.e. maintain combat effectiveness, was the same argument that some improperly used to justify racial segregation prior to 1948. Neither of these arguments has been fully tested in the courts.[11] In fact, the courts are not the forum in which this issue will ultimately be resolved. The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that "judges are not given the task of running the Army."[12] Thus, the efficacy of these arguments against the policy, and ultimately the appropriateness of the policy itself, must be judged by public opinion reflected through the actions of elected representatives in Congress.

A. Private Bias

The "private bias" argument claims that the policy gives official sanction to unfair, unfounded, and unreasonable stereotypes of homosexuals held by homophobic bigots. Gay rights activists argue that rather than giving sanction to such stereotypes, military officials should teach those who hold such

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[11]The 9th Circuit in *Pruitt v. Cheney*, 963 F.2d 1160 (9th Cir. 1992), *petition for cert. filed*, __ U.S.L.W. __ (U.S. Sept. 1, 1992) (No. 92-389), indicated that arguments that the policy was justified because of the prejudice of others against homosexuals themselves, as opposed to disapproval of homosexual conduct, would be insufficient to sustain the policy. As noted in this article, the policy and its justification is grounded on the conduct or practices in which homosexuals typically engage, not upon a benign, non-behavioral characteristic.

[12]*Orloff v. Willoughby*, 354 U.S. 83, 93 (1953). *See also Goldman v. Weinberger*, 475 U.S. 503, 507 (1986); *Rostker v. Goldberg*, 453 U.S. 57, 64-68 (1981).

views that homosexuals are just as capable and competent as any other group to serve their country. Reversing the policy and allowing homosexuals to serve, they claim, would be consistent with the military's efforts to eradicate racial prejudice within its ranks. Adherents to the "private bias" argument claim that the policy discriminates against individuals because of their "sexual preference" or "sexual orientation."

The fallacy of this approach is that it misperceives the basis of the policy and ignores society's long-held opprobrium of homosexual practices. The DoD policy does not address "sexual orientation" or "sexual preference." Under the policy, only homosexuals within the meaning of the DoD Directive are discharged or denied enlistment. The directive defines "homosexual" by reference to homosexual acts or practices. Thus, rather than concerning itself with stereotypes of homosexuals or dealing with "sexual orientation," the policy furthers important military interests by excluding from service a category of people who are identified by their conduct. When an individual proclaims that he or she is a homosexual, the policy presumes that the individual will engage in the conduct that defines the class. It is this conduct that can disrupt the cohesion, unity, esprit, and teamwork so necessary to field a military force capable of fighting and winning our nation's wars. Furthermore, while the Uniform Code of Military Justice does not proscribe homosexuality, it does, like many state criminal codes, criminalize sodomy. Thus, the policy excludes from service those who, by definition, are likely to

engage in conduct that constitutes a criminal offense.[13] This, in turn, reduces the time, effort, and resources a commander must devote to disciplinary and administrative proceedings that result from allegations of illegal sexual conduct.

The fact that the policy excludes those who are most likely to engage in sexual misconduct does not mean that the policy improperly caters to private bias. By imposing criminal sanctions under the Uniform Code of Military Justice for sodomy,[14] Congress determined that the so called "private bias" against such conduct was sound public policy. Indeed, our entire system of criminal law is based upon notions of what is "good" and "bad" for society at large. If the DoD homosexual policy improperly caters to "private bias," then our entire criminal code is equally suspect.

It is true, of course, that society's values can change over time and what is "bad" at one point may become accepted by society at a later point. That, however, is not relevant. What may change in ten, twenty, or one hundred years is speculation and we must deal with reality as we find it today. The fact remains that the principle activity by which homosexuals gratify their sexual desires, sodomy,[15] is punishable under the governing criminal code.

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[13]Sodomy is the primary means through which homosexuals obtain sexual satisfaction. A. Bell & M. Weinberg, *Homosexualities*, 106-11, 327-30 (1978).

[14]"Any person subject to this chapter who engages in unnatural carnal copulation with another person of the same or opposite sex or with an animal is guilty of sodomy." Art. 125, UCMJ; 10 U.S.C. § 925.

[15]Bell & Weinberg, *supra* at note 13.

Furthermore, the Supreme Court has held that "[p]roscriptions against [sodomy] have ancient roots. . . ." and that basing criminal law on prevailing moral values does not necessarily offend the Constitution.[16]

In the final analysis, proponents of the private bias argument are not really trying to get the military in step with the prevailing values of society. They do not seriously believe that the military still clings to outmoded concepts of "right and wrong" long abandoned by American society. What they are really trying to do is get the military to lead the charge to change the prevailing values of society. If American societal values are to change, they should change by the collective will and opinion of the people. A number of states have repealed sodomy laws. Some jurisdictions are beginning to afford homosexual partnerships benefits previously available only to married heterosexuals.[17] In other places, proponents of traditional views are speaking up and placing their views before their representatives and the public[18]. The underlying issue is far from settled. Until it is settled and we have reached a national consensus that supports affirmative action

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[16]*Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U.S. 186 (1986) (Due process clause of Constitution does not prohibit states from prosecuting consensual homosexual sodomy committed in private home).

[17]*See, e.g., Braschi v. Stahl Associates*, 74 N.Y.2d 201; 543 N.E.2d 49 (N.Y. 1989) (homosexual partnership recognized as "family" under New York rent control regulations).

[18]*See, e.g.,* Oregon Ballot Measure No. 9, a proposal on the Oregon state ballot that would specifically allow the state to support traditional notions about homosexual practices and prevent government from endorsing or providing special rights, privileges, or protection to homosexuals.

by Congress to repeal article 125 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice and affirm homosexuality as an acceptable lifestyle, the military should not be used as the engine of social change.

While the mission of the military is to fight and win wars, the battle over societal views toward homosexual practices is an ideological conflict. It is a war over basic concepts of right and wrong; it is a war between moral viewpoints. The traditional view, as recognized by the Supreme Court, has "ancient roots" and is based upon a "millennia of moral teaching."[19] Proponents of change argue that the moral teachings of the past really amount to prejudice masking as morality and should be rejected as the product of ignorance and bigotry.[20] These are arguments that seriously divide the American people. Until the American people have clearly decided to reject the *status quo* and replace it with a new morality, the military policy should remain unchanged.[21]

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[19]*Id.* at 192, 197 (Burger, Chief Justice, concurring).

[20]*See, e.g., Watkins v. U.S. Army*, 875 F.2d 699, 730 (9th Cir. 1989) (Norris, Circuit Judge, concurring).

[21]A recent "phone-in" poll conducted by *USA Weekend* found that 67% of the respondents favored the present policy excluding homosexuals, while only 33% favored repeal of the ban. How You Voted: Keep Gays Out of the Military, Readers Say, *USA Weekend*, September 4-6, 1992, page 9. Earlier polls by the Gallup organization and a poll commissioned by the Human Rights Campaign Fund, a gay-rights organization, revealed increasing support for elimination of the ban. *See*, General Accounting Office/National Security and International Affairs Division Report 92-98: DOD's Policy on Homosexuality, June 1992, at page 39-40. Of course, the difficulty with all public opinion polls on the specific issue of the DoD policy is that, generally speaking, members of the public do not understand or appreciate the unique requirements of military service and are not in a position to accurately determine the impact of their position on the ability of the unit to accomplish the military mission.

Accordingly, this war is not one in which the U.S. military should become embroiled.

B. Comparison with Racial Segregation Policy

Critics of the DoD policy also charge that the exclusion of homosexuals is similar to the policy of official racial segregation that existed in the military prior to 1948. They point out that racial segregation was justified by claims of reduced combat effectiveness if whites were forced to live and work with black soldiers. They claim that the success of racial integration in the Armed Forces demonstrates that the justification advanced to support the homosexual policy is as meritless as that offered to support racial segregation.

The homosexual exclusion policy is not a civil rights issue. Equating the homosexual policy to racial discrimination trivializes racial minority groups' struggles for civil rights and ignores the fundamental difference between racial discrimination and the homosexual policy. The racial segregation that existed in the military, and the rest of society, prior to 1948 wrongly judged the value of a human being by the color of his skin. Racial discrimination stereotypes minorities by assigning certain conduct and characteristics to them based upon the benign factor of skin color. In other words, racial discrimination goes from skin color to unwarranted and bigoted conclusions about conduct and to the effect of that conduct on the group or society at issue. Excluding homosexuals from the military, however, is not based upon a benign, non-behavioral factor such as skin color. The policy is based upon

conduct. By definition, a homosexual, for purposes of the DoD policy, is one who engages in, desires to engage in, or intends to engage in conduct that is a criminal offense in the military and much of civilian society. Thus, the policy is conduct based. There is not the quantum leap from benign factor to unsupported and bigoted conclusions about character and conduct. With homosexuals, conduct defines the class. It is the height of bigotry to assume that individuals will engage in certain conduct merely because they are members of a particular racial group. The same cannot be said about homosexuals, however. As the court in *BenShalom v. Marsh*, 881 F.2d 454, 464 (7th Cir. 1989) observed:

> [The trial judge] . . . found no reason to believe that plaintiff was likely to commit homosexual acts. We see it differently. Plaintiff's lesbian acknowledgement, if not an admission of its practice, at least can rationally and reasonably be viewed as reliable evidence of a desire and propensity to engage in homosexual conduct. Such an assumption cannot be said to be without individual exceptions, but it is compelling evidence that plaintiff has in the past and is likely to again engage in such conduct. . . . [T]he regulation does not classify plaintiff based merely upon her status as a lesbian, but upon reasonable inferences about her probable conduct in the past and in the future. The Army need not shut its eyes to the practical realities of this situation, nor be compelled to engage in the sleuthing of soldiers' personal relationships for evidence of homosexual conduct in order to enforce its ban on homosexual acts, a ban not challenged here.

General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, probably said it best in responding to Rep. Patricia Schroeder's letter chiding him for supporting the DoD policy in testimony before Congress:

> I am well aware of the attempts to draw parallels between this position and positions used years ago to

deny opportunities to African-Americans. I know you are a history major, but I can assure you I need no reminders concerning the history of African-Americans in the defense of their Nation and the tribulations they faced. I am a part of that history.

> Skin color is a benign, non-behavioral characteristic. Sexual orientation is perhaps the most profound of human behavioral characteristics. Comparison of the two is a convenient but invalid argument. I believe the privacy rights of all Americans in uniform have to be considered, especially since those rights are often infringed upon by the conditions of military service.[22]

The "homosexual-discrimination-is-the-same-as-racial-discrimination" argument claims that there is no rational link between excluding homosexuals and enhancing or maintaining combat effectiveness. All would agree, of course, that maintaining the combat effectiveness of the Armed Forces is a compelling national interest. Thus, the argument centers not on the legitimacy or importance of the goal, but on the method used to achieve it. A brief examination of the policy rationale clearly demonstrates that it does have a direct impact upon the important goal of combat effectiveness.

Ultimately, the homosexual policy is based upon the considered professional judgment of military commanders who are responsible for raising, maintaining, training, and employing a military

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[22]Letter from Gen Colin Powell to Rep. Patricia Schroeder, May 8, 1992, *reprinted in Crisis*, July/August 1992, at page 46.

force.[23] Their professional judgment, as embodied in DoD Directive 1332.14, is that:

> the presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct, seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission. The presence of such members adversely affects the ability of the military services [1] to maintain discipline, good order, and morale; [2] to foster mutual trust and confidence among servicemembers; [3] to insure the integrity of the system of rank and command; [4] to facilitate assignment and worldwide deployment of servicemembers who frequently must live and work under close conditions affording minimal privacy; [5] to recruit and retain members of the military services; [6] to maintain public acceptability of military service; and [7] to prevent breaches of security.

These seven specific reasons have been among those set forth in the DoD Directive since the current policy was adopted in 1981. The following paragraphs illustrate the specific application of the factors noted above:

Discipline, good order, and morale: Sodomy committed by soldiers, on or off post, with civilians or military members, is

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[23]Opponents of the policy are quick to point out that no empirical study has ever demonstrated that combat effectiveness would suffer if homosexuals were allowed to serve. They claim that "professional military judgment" is merely a euphemism for stereotypical attitudes towards homosexuals. The fallacy of this view is that "combat effectiveness" is not something that one can determine through surveys, opinion polls, or controlled experiments. The only way to really put the issue to test is to repeal the ban and then engage in actual combat operations. Obviously, no one in his right mind would seriously propose such a test. Thus, it is reasonable to rely upon those who have the experience in leading combat forces to use their best judgment to develop personnel policies that will, in their professional opinion, contribute to combat effectiveness. As between the proponents of social change and combat leaders like General Colin Powell, the American people will no doubt accept the judgment of the latter as to what policies best enhance combat effectiveness. *See also* David Hackworth, The Case for a Military Gay Ban, *The Washington Post*, June 28, 1992, at C-5.

subject to criminal sanction under the UCMJ. Exclusion of homosexuals from military service is a means of precluding military service by a group of individuals who, by definition, commit or intend to commit criminal acts. Precluding their service frees them to act according to their personal inclinations without risking punishment under the UCMJ and also reduces the number of disciplinary cases and separations, which detracts from mission accomplishment and the operational efficiency of the military.

Homosexuals in military service have a direct, adverse impact on the morale of other soldiers. Instances of homosexual conduct within units destroy morale and esprit required to perform the difficult and dangerous task of fighting the nation's wars. The current policy avoids the disruption and damage to combat effectiveness before it occurs, rather than dealing with the consequences after the fact when it may be too late.[24]

Mutual trust and confidence: Critical to the effectiveness of military units is the existence of supportive interpersonal relationships and small group cohesion. Homosexuals in the military have an adverse impact on the ability of military leaders to sustain these relationships and instill camaraderie. Homosexuals in the military tend to polarize units by increasing

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[24]Colonel (retired) David Hackworth, the most decorated living American veteran, provides, from the perspective of a combat leader, a succinct and compelling account of the disruption of discipline and the destruction of morale that homosexual activity causes in combat units in his article, The Case for a Military Gay Ban, *The Washington Post*, June 28, 1992, page C-5.

the opportunities for and incidence of destructive emotional relationships among troops.

Soldiers bond together based upon shared values and goals, and they do not trust or respect those who threaten their values and goals. Placing homosexuals into the involuntary associations that characterize military life acts as a threat to the fundamental value system of the vast majority of soldiers and hinders the team building process that is the heart of combat readiness. A policy that permits service by admitted, but purportedly celibate, homosexuals while excluding those caught engaging in homosexual acts is simply unworkable. Such a policy would create an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion that would severely disrupt the unity required for successful military operations.

Assimilation of known homosexuals into the Armed Forces would also raise an array of divisive collateral issues, e.g., recognition of homosexual relationships and marriages within the Department of Defense, joint duty assignments, eligibility for on-base family housing, and changes to policies pertaining to survivor and dependency benefits. Moreover, the debate over such derivative issues would complicate any assimilation of homosexuals into the force. Requiring the Armed Forces to engage in the social experimentation that assimilation of homosexuals in the military requires would significantly detract from the primary mission of combat readiness.

Integrity of rank and command: A military leader, whether an officer or a noncommissioned officer, known as a homosexual is

unable to effectively command or lead his troops because of a loss of respect and trust by his subordinates. For example, the members of a military unit look to their commanders and leaders to enforce laws and regulations applicable to all on a fair and equitable basis. Since the sexual activity in which homosexuals typically engage is, in most instances, punishable under the UCMJ, a homosexual commander would be faced with the Hobson's choice of covering up his own misconduct, reporting his sexual activity to superior authority, or abstaining from sexual activity altogether. If the commander reported his own misconduct, disciplinary action must follow and the commander's ability to lead would be destroyed. Likewise, because it is unrealistic to believe that one who claims to be a homosexual would not engage in the conduct that defines the class, few would believe that the commander was celibate. Most would suspect him of engaging in sexual activity proscribed by the applicable criminal laws and, as a result, question his commitment to adhere to and apply other laws and regulations on a fair and equitable basis. Clearly, the ability of the commander to hold the trust and confidence of his subordinates would be severely compromised. He or she would lack the moral authority to command and, as a result, the unit's ability to perform its part of the military mission would be seriously hindered.

The presence of known or admitted homosexuals in the military would make it significantly more difficult to prevent personal relationships which contravene the customary bounds of acceptable senior-subordinate relationships. Junior personnel, particularly

recruits, are vulnerable to abuse, including unwanted sexual advances by those in positions of military authority who may be disposed to engage in such misconduct. A recent study by the 1990 Navy Women's Study Group concluded that "[j]unior women feel intimidated when homosexuality is suspected or present in their command and there are indications that some have been victimized by lesbian harassment." The study observed that junior women lack the experience, maturity, and confidence needed to combat the problem effectively. They expressed fear of retaliation from what is perceived as an alliance of lesbians. This fear inhibits their reporting harassment and cooperating with investigations.[25]

Assignment and worldwide deployment: To provide a modicum of privacy, society has traditionally segregated bathing and sleeping facilities by gender. The presumption underlying societal gender segregation is that men and women are sexually attracted to the

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[25]In recent testimony before the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Service (DACOWITS), some have argued that the homosexual exclusion policy actually contributes to the sexual harassment of women. They claim that men will report as lesbians those women who deny them sexual favors. Placing a woman in the position of either fighting unfounded allegations of lesbianism or providing sexual favors is outrageous and must not be tolerated. Elimination of the homosexual exclusion policy, however, will not eradicate sexual harassment. Men who use the threat of unfounded charges of lesbianism in order to procure sexual favors are reprobates who will stoop to any level to satisfy their perverted desires. They must be reported and disciplined. If some men, however, used false charges of drug use, larceny, or violation of any number of military rules and regulations in an effort to coerce sexual favors from female soldiers, no one would seriously argue that the law or rule in question should be repealed to remove the possibility of its misuse. Similarly, eliminating a personnel policy that serves important national interests because some men misuse it is not the answer. Those guilty of sexual harassment must be dealt with directly.

opposite sex. Gender segregation, therefore, allows individuals to chose where and when to expose their bodies to members of the opposite sex. Thus, most people view being forced to sleep, shower, and use toilet facilities with members of the opposite sex as an infringement of their privacy. When the underlying presumption is not valid, e.g., when individuals find members of the same gender sexually attractive, the same invasion of privacy occurs in gender segregated facilities. Furthermore, in the military environment where soldiers are given little or no choice of where or with whom to live, placing homosexuals into the barracks removes the minimal amount of privacy that gender segregated facilities normally provide. This infringement would be aggravated in the conditions which prevail in combat or simulated combat operations.

Public acceptability of military service: Allowing homosexuals to serve could severely damage the image and reputation of the military in the eyes of the American people. Most Americans would view a change in the policy as at least tacit approval of homosexual conduct. Because of the general societal aversion to homosexual practices,[26] the American people would no longer consider the military an appropriate career option for young men and women. When viewed in the context of the close living quarters and communal facilities typically found in military barracks, even the appearance of tolerating homosexual activities would irreparably damage the reputation and status of the military.

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[26]*Cf. Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U.S. 186, 194-196 (1986).

Repealing the homosexual policy also creates a host of logistical problems that would detract commanders from their primary mission of preparing for combat. For example, allowing homosexuals to serve presents the problem of maintaining some semblance of privacy for individuals while, at the same time, maintaining efficiency and unit integrity. Providing separate living facilities for heterosexual males, homosexual males, heterosexual females, and homosexual females would protect privacy interests. On the other hand, such living arrangements would not only require duplicate facilities at considerable financial cost, but would facilitate homosexual relationships among soldiers. In fact, military homosexual barracks would become very attractive gathering places for those seeking homosexual relationships. Obviously, the cost of such accommodations in terms of money, reduced efficiency, and the reputation of the military would be enormous.

Recruitment and retention: The adverse impact on the Army's public image would also endanger recruitment and retention. Privacy is a rare commodity in a military unit. Unlike civilian society, a soldier living in the barracks does not have a choice of living arrangements or roommates. Faced with the possibility of living in close quarters under conditions of minimal privacy with practicing homosexuals, potential soldiers will hesitate to enlist and parents of potential soldiers will not recommend or approve the enlistment of their sons and daughters.

Security: In recent months, Department of Defense officials have stated that concerns over security do not support the policy. In fact, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney called the argument that homosexuals are more likely than heterosexuals to divulge defense secrets "a bit of an old chestnut." As a general proposition, it may be true that homosexuals, as individuals, are no greater security risks than heterosexuals. Security concerns, however, go much further that the trustworthiness of individual members of the military. Furthermore, security concerns have never been the sole basis for the policy. Security is but of one of several legitimate interests that the policy seeks to serve.

Though the world has changed and the scenario of "spy v. spy" that existed at the height of the cold war is no longer accurate, homosexuality still raises some security issues. While the potential for blackmail, or other forms of coercion, based on sexual information is an important security concern, it is only one factor in the complex threats presented by hostile intelligence activity. While homosexuality in and of itself may not present an increased security risk, some hostile intelligence agencies view homosexuality as an indicator of other exploitable traits. The fact that homosexuality may not really be an accurate indicator of such traits is not the issue. We cannot control what foreign intelligence agencies think is important or exploitable. Thus, disclosure of one's homosexuality does not immunize an individual from hostile intelligence targeting. Indeed, it might even facilitate targeting. Even open homosexuals remain vulnerable to

coercion based on loyalty to, or pressure by, partners who do not want their own homosexuality exposed. They are in the same position as any other individual with something to hide. Moreover, if viewed by hostile intelligence agencies as an exploitable trait, the presence of homosexuals in a military unit may cause increased hostile intelligence activity directed toward the unit. It is immaterial whether homosexuals are more likely than heterosexuals to compromise security. The security risk lies in the fact that the effect of increased intelligence activity might be increased adverse results.

Conclusion

By excluding categories of personnel whose presence detracts from the ability to accomplish the mission, commanders are freed to concentrate on preparing to fight tomorrow's war. All personnel policies support this ultimate goal. Thus, the homosexual policy is a personnel <u>policy</u>, not an individualized personnel <u>decision</u>. In other words, the force is too large and the mission too important to require individualized personnel decisions on every individual who desires to serve. Managing by categories eliminates groups that military experience and judgment reveals do not contribute to the discipline and readiness needed to fight and win wars. For example, some overweight individuals, or some people with physical or mental handicaps might be able to perform certain needed jobs within the military. Personnel policies, however, are directed toward developing and maintaining an efficient and

effective fighting force and exclude these categories rather than accommodating individual desires. These policies are not "anti-fat people" or "anti-handicapped;" they are "pro-combat ready force." Personnel policies are not judgments on the personal worth of individuals; they merely seek to enhance the military's ability to efficiently and effectively accomplish its mission.

The military exists as an institution to fight and win our nation's wars. It does not exist to provide career opportunities for everyone who desires to serve. Nor is the military a laboratory for social experiments. The debate over gay rights in this country is far from settled. Some see the refusal to accept and affirm homosexual conduct as denying individuals the freedom to be and express their uniqueness. Others sincerely believe that homosexuality is aberrant behavior and to acknowledge homosexuality as a legitimate lifestyle violates eternal principles that serve as the foundation of human society. It is not the mission or function of the military to lead the charge to abandon the traditional views of American society regarding homosexuality. The military is this nation's arm of force; it is a unique institution with unique requirements. Policies regarding force composition must be dictated by the mission, national defense, not by notions of political expediency or furthering social agendas.

At some point in the future, homosexual practices may be as controversial as pierced ears. If the American people accept homosexuality as a legitimate lifestyle choice, the adverse impact on unit readiness of homosexual conduct may become insignificant.

But that is not the situation that exists today. The reasoned, professional judgment of military leaders still concludes that homosexual conduct within the military environment will impair the effectiveness of our combat forces. Accordingly, a policy that excludes homosexuals from military service because they engage in or are likely to engage in conduct that is generally inimical to readiness is not only legal and reasonable, but necessary. To do otherwise gambles with our nation's security.

FILE
94

HOMOSEXUALITY:

Statements from Various Faith Group

and Related Documents

For:

CAPT W. C. McCamy, USN
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(ext: 4-4436/ 4720)

8 April 1993

Statements from Various Faith Groups.

[WISC 1986 Report] "Religious Rationale for the Protection of Civil Rights for Gays and Lesbians."

A WISC Report summarizes policy statements of many religious groups and some theological arguments for protection of gay/lesbian civil rights.

Baptist:

American Baptist Church 14 Oct 1992 news release.

This document summarizes the American Baptist General Board's resolution which stated homosexual behavior is incompatible with Christian teaching.

Southern Baptist Convention 10 Feb 1993 letter (from Director of the Chaplaincy Division, Mr. Hugh Perry) to President Clinton.

"No position" on the ban, but a reminder that chaplains must stand for and speak their convictions while providing ministry to all people.

Brethren:

Brethren/Mennonite Council for Lesbian and Gay Concerns Jun 1992 Dialogue magazine articles.

This document gives pro-gay/lesbian positions.

Buddhist:

Buddhist Churches of America "Understanding Gay Life-Style" article by Rev. Hogen Fujimoto from Mar 1977 Wheel of Dharma Monthly Publication.

This article summarizes a Jan 1977 gay symposium in San Francisco. Author states homosexuality is an aberration for Buddhism which says gays should not be isolated as forsaken. A national headquarters spokesman says this view expresses Buddhists' feelings on this issue.

Church of Christ:

United Church of Christ 25 Nov 1993 letter (being co-signed by leaders of United Methodist Church, Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) from Paul H. Sherry to UCC Military Chaplains.

Cover-letter to chaplains forwarding them a copy of Mr. Paul H. Sherry's letter to the President, in favor of lifting the ban.

United Church of Christ position paper Mar 1993 (from Office for Church in Society) "Military Ban on Gays and Lesbians" prepared by Jay Linter.

Summary of the issue, background and legislation plus suggestions of support for lifting the ban.

United Church of Christ 12 Mar 1993 talking paper "Military Ban on Gays and Lesbians" by Jay Linter.

One-page Argumentation for lifting the ban, citing similar DOD discrimination segregating Blacks 45 years ago.

Christian Church (Disciples of Christ):

(cited in United Church of Christ 25 Nov 1992 letter).

Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints

Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints 1992 article "Understanding and Helping Those Who have Homosexual Problems: Suggestions for Ecclesiastical Leaders."

This booklet is a LDS leaders guide for ministry to homosexuals, seeing that sexual behavior as unbiblical and improper but that pastoral care should be ministered.

Disciples of Christ:

(cited in United Church of Christ 25 Nov 1992 letter).

Full Gospel Churches Chaplaincy letter 29 Jan 1993 (Endorsing Executive Chaplain (COL) E.H. Jim Ammerman) sent to President Clinton.

This endorsing agency letter states opposition to lifting the ban on homosexuals serving in the U.S. military.

Islam:

Council of Imams 6 Feb 1993 letter (from Representative Imam Ghayth Nur Kashif) sent to the U.S. Army Chief of Chaplains, with copies to the other Chiefs of Chaplains.

This letter indicates Muslims reject homosexual life style and all immorality, and voices concern about military chaplains be allowed to following their faith group's doctrines about homosexuality.

Jewish:

Central Conference of American Rabbis 25 Jun 1990 report from the Ad Hoc Committee on Homosexuality.

> While supporting concern for homosexuals and their civil and religious rights, this report (from a Reformed Judaism group) states the majority of the committee affirms heterosexuality is the only appropriate (Reformed) Jewish choice for sexuality.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reformed Judaism)

(cited in United Church of Christ 25 Nov 1992 letter).

Lutheran:

Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod 4 Jan 1993 letter (from Ministry to the Armed Forces, Board for Mission Services) to Chaplain (MG) Matthew Zimmerman, Chairman of Armed Forces Chaplains Board on the church's position on ministry to homosexuals.

> This church group opposes homosexual life style and behavior, though expresses concern and compassion for homosexuals as with any/all sinners.

Mennonite:

(see Brethren/Mennonite Council for Lesbian and Gay Concerns Jun 1992 Dialogue magazine article).

> This document gives pro-gay/lesbian positions.

Methodist:

United Methodist Church 15 Feb 1993 letter (from Division of Chaplains and Related Ministries) to all Active Duty Chaplains on "Integration of Homosexual Persons into the Armed Forces".

> "...question is a non-issue. As Commander-in-Chief...directed persons of homosexual orientation be integrated into the armed forces....now the responsibility of the armed forces is...implement the President's order..."

Mormon:

(see Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints)

National Association of Evangelicals 9 Mar 1993 resolution on "Homosexuals in the Military".

This resolution requests President Clinton withdraw his initiative to lift the current DOD ban on homosexuals in the military, reaffirming their NAE 1985 position that Scripture opposes homosexuality as well as adulterous relationships.

National Council of Churches 6 Mar 1975 resolution on "Civil Rights without Discrimination as to Affectional or Sexual Preference".

This resolution says all persons are entitled to full civil rights and equal protection and also to pastoral concern of the church, but does not address issue of homosexuals in the military [written 1975].

Presbyterian:

Korean-American Presbyterian Church
Orthodox Presbyterian Church (OPC)
Presbyterian Church in America (PCA)
Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (RPCNA)

Presbyterian Church in America, Orthodox Presbyterian Church, Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, and Korean-American Presbyterian Church 15 Mar 1993 letter (from Presbyterian & Reformed Joint Commission on Chaplains and Military Personnel) to all chaplains from Executive Director William B. Leonard.

This endorsing agency letter states that its Commission opposes homosexuals in the military and the practice of homosexual behavior while supporting care to persons regardless of sexual preference/behavior.

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA)

PCUSA 1991 "Social Policy Compilation on Homosexuality"

This document summarizes PCUSA's statements on homosexuality between 1976-1982.

PCUSA 1978 Minutes of the 190th General Assembly Part I Journal on "The Church and Homosexuality" Study.

The study affirms concern for/rights of homosexuals but concludes homosexuality is not God's wish or pattern for humanity.

Roman Catholic:

(...not held at this time...)

Related Documents.

Chief of Chaplains' 26 Feb 1993 and 5 Mar 1993 letters to Navy Chaplains and faith group Endorsing Agents respectfully.

The former letter, passed to Endorsing Agents by the latter cover letter, is U.S. Navy Chief of Chaplains balanced guidance concerning ministering to Sea Service personnel amid debates about moral and homosexual behaviors.

Clinton's Presidential Memo for SecDef of 15 Jan 1993.

This memo directed SecDef to draft Executive Order -- in consultation with JCS and the military services -- ending discrimination on basis of sexual orientation in the Armed Forces.

CRS Report for Congress 14 Jan 1993 "Homosexuals and U.S. Military Personnel Policy.

This Congressional Research Service (CRS) study is a thorough study and summary on the question of homosexuals serving in the military.

"DoD Homosexual Exclusion Policy: Illegal Discrimination or Legitimate Personnel Policy" by William A. Woodruff.

A through review of DoD Exclusion Policy development by a retired Colonel, USA Judge Advocate General's Corps.

Navy msg NAVNEWS 009/93 (CHINFO WASHDC msg 292300Z Jan 93) summarizes the policy statement from President Clinton after the 23 Jan 1993 agreement with Congressional leaders.

This message summarizes changes to sexual orientation questions, policy on court cases and guidance for COs until 15 Jul 1993 final decision(s).

"One Issue's Power to Divide" 3 Apr 1993 Washington Post article.

This article summarizes how different religious faith groups split over the issued of homosexuals in the military.

"On the Nature and Politics of Homosexuality" by Daniel Heimback.

A paper discussing the question of whether homosexuality is a learned behavior or an inherent trait biologically predetermined at birth.

"Position Paper on the DOD Policy on Homosexuality" by CDR E.T. Gomulka [winter 1992-93].

This paper, by the Deputy Chaplain of the Marine Corps, discusses homosexual behavior and consequently opposes lifting the DOD ban.

"U.S. Navy Chaplain Testifies before Congressional Committee" article (copy) from the Arlington Catholic Herald, 1 Apr 1993.

Article on Navy Chaplain CDR Gene Gomulka's testimony 24 Mar 1993 before Congressional Research Committee chaired by Rep. Cliff Stearns (R-CA)

1986

RELIGIOUS RATIONALE FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS FOR GAYS AND LESBIANS

This report to WISC is a summary of the formal policy statements of religious organizations and the main theological arguments supporting the protection of the civil rights of gay and lesbian persons. Because of the increasing public policy debate on these issues, and the high visibility of the religious community in the debate, the Civil and Religious Liberties Taskforce is offering this special briefing to equip our members to respond to inquiries about the positions of religious organizations.

Because this is a particularly sensitive issue, the subject of continuing debate in the religious community, we are proceeding very painstakingly. I have assembled the formal statements found here, and hope in the future to complete a memo on the legal situation of gay and lesbian people that may be of general use. We hope that this process will support a careful study of these issues in the WISC community.

STATEMENTS BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

- Governing Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ, 1975
The Governing Board reiterates the Christian conviction that all persons are entitled to full civil rights and equal protection and to the pastoral concern of the church. The Governing Board urges its member churches and their constituencies to work to ensure the enactment of legislation at the national, state, and local levels that would guarantee the civil rights of all persons without regard to their affectional or sexual preferences.

- General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) 1977
While neither approving of nor condemning homosexuality, urges the passage of legislation on local, state and national levels which will end the denial of civil rights and the violation of civil liberties for reasons of sexual orientation or preference, and calls upon its members to advocate and support the passage and maintenance of such legislation.

- General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, 1970
1. Urges all people immediately to bring an end to all discrimination against homosexuals, homosexuality, bisexuals and bisexuality, with specific immediate attention to the following issues:
   a) *Private consensual behavior between persons over the age of consent shall be the business of those persons and not subject to legal restrictions.*
   b) *A person's sexual orientation or practice shall not be a factor in the granting or renewing of Federal security clearance, visas, and the granting of citizenship or employment.*

- General Synod of the United Church of Christ, 1975
Further, the Tenth General Synod declares its support for the enactment of legislation at the federal, state, and local levels of government that would guarantee the liberties of all persons without discrimination related to affectional or sexual preference.

- General Synod of the American Lutheran Church, 1981
Christians need to be more understanding and more sensitive to life as experienced by those who are homosexual. They need to take leadership roles in changing public opinion, civil laws, and prevailing practices that deny justice and opportunity to any persons, homosexual or heterosexual.

- General Convention of the Lutheran Church in America, 1970
In relation to this area of concern, the sexual behavior of freely consenting adults in private is not an appropriate subject for legislation or police actoin. It is essential to see such persons as entitled to understanding and justice in church and community.

- General Conference of the United Methodist Church, 1984
Further, we insist that all persons are entitled to have their human and civil rights ensured, though we do not condone the practice of homosexuality and consider this practice incompatible with Christian teaching.

- General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., 1977
That the 117th General Assembly express love and pastoral concern for homosexual persons and the need for the Church to stand for just treatment of homosexual persons in our society with regard to their civil liberties, equal rights, and protection under the law from social and economic discrimination, which is due all citizens.

- General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1978
Reaffirms the need...to work for the decriminalization of private homosexual acts between consenting adults, and calls for an end to the discriminatory enforcement of other criminal laws against homosexual persons. Calls upon United Presbyterians to work for the passage of laws that prohibit discrimination in the areas of employment, housing, and public accomodations based on the sexual orientation of a person.

- National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1976
Homosexuals, like everyone else, should not suffer from prejudice against their basic human rights. They have a right to respect, friendship, and justice.

- Friends Committee on National Legislation
Although not in unity on issues of sexual orientation, we do recognize the divine aspect of every person. We are therefore united in supporting the civil rights and liberties of such persons. Congress should improve and strengthen the laws which prohibit such discrimination.

- Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren, 1983
There are special ways in which the church can extend Christ-like comfort and grace to homosexual and bisexual persons. These include...advocating the rights of homosexuals to jobs, housing, and legal justice.

- Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1977
We oppose discrimination against homosexuals in areas of opportunity, including employment and housing.

Other groups have issued study statements by committees or commissions, without formally taking a position on these issues.

- Statement for Study, General Synod of the Reformed Church in America, 1978
Approval of the homosexual orientation of acts is not a prerequisite to firm support of basic civil rights for homosexual persons. While we cannot affirm homosexual behavior, at the same time we are convinced that the denial of human and civil rights to homosexuals is inconsistent with the Biblical witness and Reformed theology.

This brief review of the official positions of some of the members of WISC reveals a solid support for the protection of civil rights for gays and lesbians. Even this summary report, however, reveals that a significant debate is still underway within the religious traditions regarding homosexuality - its nature, meaning, and morality. We will now review briefly the theological arguments which are behind some of the official statements.

THEOLOGICAL ARGUMENTS ON HOMOSEXUALITY

The theological debate within the religious community mirrors the debate which is occuring generally in society. This is not surprising: the new psychological information about homosexuality affects both the theological viewpoints as well as the general public's understanding. Perhaps even more fundamentally, the general social perceptions of homosexuality - that it is immoral or unnatural - are the results of religious teaching. Finally, the question of the legality of homosexuality is intimately connected to religion because the intent of the law was to regulate moral behavior and there has been great pressure from the religious community to maintain such legislation. The following is a very brief sketch of the basic principles which are now emerging in theological discussions.

Nature vs. Choice

A significant dividing point in theological arguments occurs between those who regard homosexuality as a matter of personal choice and those who regard it as an inherent condition. Those who assume that homosexuals choose their sexual orientation or engage in homosexual activity despite their heterosexual orientation see homosexuality as a sin - people choosing to disobey God's law. Those who regard homosexuality as an orientation over which the individual has no choice generally hold that homosexuality per se cannot be a sin since there is no ability to choose. There are some who oppose homosexuality who concede that there may be some people who do not choose to be attracted to members of their own sex, who nonetheless hold that any homosexual activity is inherently sinful. In general, however, those who regard homosexuality as unacceptable regard it as a matter of choice, while those who believe that sexual orientation is not a matter of choice do not regard it as sinful.

One of the clearest articulations of the view that homosexual orientation is not sinful because it is not chosen is found in Helmut Thielecke's The Ethics of Sex, in which he refers to "constitutional homosexuals," which he defines

as persons constituted as homosexuals in their nature. He argues that in the absence of choice a person cannot be held morally responsible.

In a sense this view affirms the goodness of creation, and God as creator, by accepting persons as they have been created. The opposite view holds that homosexuality is sinful, at least in part, precisely because it rejects the order of creation. This, the theological argument has strong ties to the fundamental affirmation of Jewish and Christians that the world is God's creation.

Biblical Interpretation

Those who disapprove of homosexuality generally cite as their basis the various passages of Scripture which forbid homosexual activity or condemn homosexual persons. The advocates of homosexual rights are more likely to cite injunctions to care for the neighbor, to treat others as we would be treated. Underlying these radically different approachings are differing assumptions about the interpretation of the Bible in support of arguments about ethics. The arguments within the Christian community bear a strong resemblance to those over the morality of slavery.

Those who condemn homosexaulity approach the Scriptures with a concept - in this case homosexuality - and search for passages which seem to refer to the concept. Once they have found a relevant passage, their search is completed, with no questioning of how this passage stands in relation to others. In the case of slavery, every direct Biblical reference supported slavery, and none condemned it. The first weakness here is that modern concepts of slavery or homosexuality may have been unknown to the Biblical authors. Race-based slavery and constitutional homosexuality are concepts foreign to the Biblical authors, whose primary concerns in the case of homosexuality were pagan temple prostitutes. For traditional Christian theology, the failure to test Biblical teachings against the meaning of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus is also a serious flaw.

Role of Modern Science

Perhaps one of the most crucial differences between the proponents and opponents of homosexuality is the view of the role of science in forming theology. Opponents argue that the Bible alone is the source of theology. Proponents of acceptance argue that discoveries of the sciences are properly considered in forming ethical views.

Freedom of Conscience

It is evident from the official statements already cited that not all those who favor protection of civil rights necessarily approve of homosexuality. But there is a strong tradition which affirms freedom of conscience. Viewing homosexuality as a religious and moral issue, many people oppose discrimination against lesbians and gays because they are opposed to the use of force in personal moral choices. "No force in matters of religion" is a major tenet of many of the religious groups represented in WISC.

AMERICAN BAPTIST NEWS

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October 14, 1992

RESOLUTION DECLARING HOMOSEXUAL PRACTICE 'INCOMPATIBLE WITH CHRISTIAN TEACHING' PASSED BY AMERICAN BAPTIST GENERAL BOARD

VALLEY FORGE, Pa. (ABNS)--Members of the American Baptist Churches' General Board have affirmed, through a majority vote by mail, a resolution declaring that homosexual practice is incompatible with Christian teaching.

The complete text of the resolution, presented to the Board by the Executive Board of the West Virginia Baptist Convention, states: "We affirm that the practice of homosexuality is incompatible with Christian teaching."

As of a vote count conducted here yesterday, 179 ballots postmarked by Oct. 10 included 110 yes, 64 no and 5 abstentions. A majority vote of the 204-member General Board (or 103) was necessary to constitute passage of the resolution. Any additional ballots postmarked by Oct. 10 will be added to the totals.

Two General Board members, Gary Sharp of Chadds Ford, Pa., and Dolores McCabe of St. Davids, Pa., served as tellers for the count of ballots received as of Oct. 13. The General Board, composed of election district and at-large representatives, is the foremost policy-making body within the American Baptist Churches.

In accordance with procedures outlined in the denomination's standing rules, members of the General Board voted by written ballot to affirm or reject the regional resolution as a General Board resolution. The West Virginia Baptist Convention, one of 35 regional organizations within the denomination, had initiated a referendum on the issue of homosexuality. The majority vote by the General Board thereby makes such a referendum unnecessary.

The General Board, at its semiannual sessions last June, narrowly failed to approve a resolution that condemned homosexual lifestyle as "outside the will of God." The vote on that resolution, also presented by the West Virginia Baptist Convention, was 88 yes, 91 no and 2 abstentions.

#

92ABN151

February 10, 1993

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is my privilege to serve as the Director of the Chaplaincy Division for the Southern Baptist Convention. We are the largest Protestant denomination endorsing qualified ministers to serve as chaplains in specialized settings.

One of the challenges of those who serve as chaplains in pluralistic settings is to balance delivery of ministry to all persons regardless of faith affiliation or preference and, at the same time, remain true to their own conscience and church's teachings.

This office not only provides endorsement to Southern Baptist chaplains, who number 2,293, but supports the chaplains and their families in a variety of ways. One of the ways in which we support them is through guidance and counsel as they walk through turbulent times and situations.

The 961 Southern Baptist active duty, reserve and National Guard chaplains are currently concerned about the issue of homosexuality and the military. A host of them have called for counsel, guidance and support. My hope is that you will prayerfully seek God's leadership, proceed with careful deliberation and be open to counsel from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Department of Defense, and congressional leaders.

We strongly support our chaplains as they seek God's guidance and stand for their convictions. We are opposed to any restrictions being placed on them to impede their proclaiming what they understand to be "truth in all matters." Yet, they are counselled to proclaim truth with an attitude and spirit which keeps the door open to provide ministry to all people - regardless.

You are in my prayers.

Sincerely,

Huey D. Perry

HDP:bbr

Dialogue

Vol. 14, No. 1 June 1992

Biblical Interpretation and Homosexuality

Biblical interpretation, can be, literally, deadly business for lesbian, gay, and bisexual people. This is because, over the centuries, biblical interpretations that have been very condemning of homosexuality have contributed to a society in which dozens of people are killed each year in gay bashings on the streets and where lesbian and gay youth are three times more likely than other youth to attempt suicide. We need to remember that how we interpret the Bible can very dramatically affect people's lives, and thus we need to approach that task with care and a recognition of the weight of our actions.

When Mennonites and Brethren read the Bible, they come out with many different views on homosexuality. This is partly because people approach the Bible in differing ways, as Russ Schmidt points out in his article in this issue. Schmidt calls for a recognition that all of us interpret the Bible and that our interpretations are shaped by a dynamic relationship among the Bible, tradition, personal experiences, and knowledge from other disciplines. This issue of Dialogue *does not address biblical passages which mention homosexuality specifically. Past issues of* Dialogue *and other resources which address those passages are listed in this issue.*

Biblical interpretation related to homosexuality is essential, but it cannot be a mere intellectual exercise divorced from the experiences of lesbian and gay people. Hearing the faith journeys of gay and lesbian people and experiencing their ministry will affect how we interpret the Bible. Let us hope that there will be many more opportunities in the future for people to share their stories related to homosexuality and talk about how this affects their reading of the Bible. May we approach this task with a true willingness to listen to all involved.

Homosexuality and Theological Methodology: Can We Learn to Listen?

During recent years many of the Mennonite and Brethren conferences have addressed the issue of homosexuality. There have been commissioned studies for our congregations, workshops at our conferences, and articles and letters in our church publications. While there have been moments of true dialogue, I am concerned that most of our words to each other are not creating any new understanding. The debate has most often consisted of quoting Bible verses at each other. This may be a good strategy if that is one of the "rules of the game." What has become obvious to me, however, is that not everyone agrees that finding just the right Bible verse will resolve the question. Theologically speaking, we are playing different ball games. It is futile to argue about the rules until everyone is playing the same game.

What we have here is a conflict in our theological methodologies. Theology literally means "God-talk," or "talking about God." It includes questions of how we know God, how we know ourselves, and how we understand our relationships with God and the world around us. Theological methodology is the process of *how* we develop our understanding and speaking of God.

It is obvious that we do not all understand God in the same way. However, if we can learn *why* others believe what they believe, or what their theological methodologies are, perhaps our churches can learn to celebrate our differences and lesbians and gay men will find the acceptance they are seeking.

Elements of a Theology

Four basic elements go into the development of a theology. These are: (1) the Bible, (2) tradition (both written and oral), (3) personal experience, and (4) knowledge gained from the study of other disciplines, such as history, sciences, and the arts. The diagram on the next page helps explain how these elements interact with each other. It shows that each element affects and is affected by the others. You can start at any point and it will always be interpreted by and used to interpret the other elements. I must emphasize that these four elements of theology play a role in *everyone's* theology.

Playing Different Ball Games

While we all would agree that the Bible is central for our discussions about sexuality and Christian theology, our churches seem to disagree on the role of the other three elements. Thus, we end up arguing about accepting

Brethren/Mennonite Council for Lesbian and Gay Concerns
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How can we move ahead with the current debate? First, we must agree that every person's theology is shaped by a dynamic relationship among the Bible, tradition, personal experience, and knowledge from history, sciences, and the arts. No one can say that he or she does not *interpret* the Bible—that is all any of us mere mortals can do. We cannot escape the fact that our own limited experience and knowledge will be part of that interpretation. None of us can claim to know the mind of God. We can only *interpret* what we believe God is saying through the Bible. That is why we come together as the Church.

If we can accept that people's personal experience affects their theology, then perhaps we can have sufficient humility not to think that *one specific* human experience is normative or authoritative. Reinhold Niebuhr, the famous theologian, said in *The Meaning of Revelation*, "Resistance to new knowledge about our earthly home and the journey of life is never an indication of faith in the revealed God but almost always an indication that our sense of life's worth rests on the uncertain foundations of confidence in our humanity, our society, or some other evanescent idol." Listening to each other does not threaten to hide God's truth, but can only serve to reveal it.

If we can understand what influences our theologies, perhaps we can move beyond quoting Bible verses at each other and can truly listen to each other.

Listening a Little More

My hope is that those who oppose acceptance of lesbian and gay people will know someone who is gay or lesbian and will listen to their stories of faith and their experiences of joy and pain. My hope for gay and lesbian people is that we will have the courage and strength to tell our stories to those who want to reject us and share with them the love with which God has loved us. I truly believe that only the experience of knowing someone who is gay or lesbian will change the minds of those who would condemn us. My plea for all of us is to let the Gospel story itself serve as a model for us: God could have merely condemned humanity for its sins. Instead, God took on human form to experience humanity's side of the story. The result of God's hearing our cries and living among us with our pain was that Christ died for us.

If we can understand what influences our theologies, perhaps we can move beyond quoting Bible verses at each other and can truly listen to each other. And if we allow ourselves the humility to listen a little more to each other, I believe we can move forward with constructive dialogue on the issue of homosexuality.

—Russell Schmidt

Russell Schmidt received his M.A. in Systematic Theology from Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California, in 1986. He is a graduate of Bethel College and a member of the First Mennonite Church of San Francisco. He is currently administrator for Genesis, a psychotherapy practice working with Adult Children of Alcoholics.

A Word about Interpreting the Bible

Editor's Note: *The following is an excerpt from a presentation entitled "Biblical Perspectives on Contemporary Issues of Homosexuality" by Edward Stoltzfus at the Mennonite General Assembly in Eugene, Oregon, in July 1991. Stoltzfus is a professor at Eastern Mennonite Seminary in Harrisonburg, Virginia, a former moderator of the Mennonite Church, and co-chair of the General Conference/Mennonite Church Listening Committee for Homosexual Concerns. Copies of his complete presentation are available from BMC, P.O. Box 65724, Washington, D.C. 20035, U.S.A.*

1. The Bible tells the story of God's dealing with creation, the nations, Israel, Jesus, and the church. It is a story of how God creates all things, how evil distorts all things, how Israel responds to the invitation to be God's people, how Jesus of Nazareth brings salvation and wholeness to all things, and how the church begins to live in the power, Spirit, and character of that salvation. It is a story which comes to us in history.

2. The Word of God is the creating and redeeming activity of God. This Word is God's grace and God comes to this world in many and varied ways.

3. The Bible tells the story of God's Word in this world with human words. We need to hear and interpret the words of the Bible so that we can hear God's Word and be guided by its truth. Many Biblical truths are the same in every age and culture—God is the creator of all things, he calls all things into his purposes by his grace and power, evil is a reality, and he calls humans to live in covenant with him in the spirit and character of Jesus. But the human response to his grace is shaped by and reported to us in the Bible through the thought patterns of ancient Near Eastern cultures which existed over 2000 years ago. The writers of the Bible wrote in the language and thought forms of the peoples of their cultures. We are people of a different age and culture. Therefore we try to understand the historical context in which the Bible is written so that, after seeing God at work in that context, we may translate and interpret it in ours.

4. The light of God's Word and grace is seen most clearly in Jesus of Nazareth. The four Gospels in the New Testament tell the story of this Jesus. "...the Word (who) became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." Christians read, interpret, and apply both the Old Testament and the New in the light of their experience of the gift of faith in him mediated by his Spirit at work in the church and world.

5. We are inquiring into the Bible's teaching about homosexuality. This subject is rooted in the Bible's teaching on human sexuality. But as we look at this subject we soon observe we are looking at cultures with very different sexual understandings and practices from each other and from ours.

For example, we see several different models of gender relationships reported and blessed by God in the Old Testament materials. **Polygamy**—one husband with

This story of the Gerasene Demoniac is about a person so tormented by his struggle within, so damaged by the evil forces outside of himself that he chooses to leave his community, to live among the tombs with the dead. His actions are self-destructive, for "Night and day... he was always howling and bruising himself with stones." We are also told in the story that unclean spirits possess the man and that they are the cause of his pain. But how should these "unclean spirits," these demons, be understood?

In the first century when the Book of Mark was written, evil was most powerfully described by using images of the supernatural, of demons and unclean spirits. Though today we rarely speak of demons, for Mark this was an expression of profound evil. Taking a closer look at the political and social context of this scripture perhaps helps to clarify in more concrete terms what this evil may have been.

The response of society and that of Jesus to this man also sheds light on our communities today and the action our communities must take if we are to be agents of healing in a world of much suffering and evil.

One common experience of evil during this time was political and social domination by oppressive foreign powers. This foreign domination did not just mean foreign governance; it also meant the imposition of foreign gods. Not only was the land "possessed" but the people were "possessed" spiritually.

This political and spiritual oppression is hinted at in Mark's story. When Jesus asks the Gerasene man his name, the man replies, "My name is Legion, for we are many." This name certainly points to the sheer numbers of evils or demons which possess the man. However, the use of the word "legion" (which meant armies) in Mark's time also infuses the story with political commentary, suggesting that the destructive power of Roman occupation possesses both the land and this man. He is a victim of the demons of his society; demons which deny self-determination and self-possession. The Gerasene man internalizes the ills and evils of his day. They possess him and are the cause of his self-destructive action.

Given the political and social context of the tormented Gerasene man, this scripture holds great insight and meaning for those who share the story of the woman on the bridge. The response of society and that of Jesus to this man also sheds light on our communities today and the action our communities must take if we are to be agents of healing in a world of much suffering and evil.

Society's response to this man possessed by the evils of his day is to try to subdue him, using "shackles and chains." The Gerasene's community does not respond to that which oppresses him. Instead they try to restrain him, pacify him within his pain, his possession. But Jesus approaches the man very differently. He asks the man *to name his own demons*, and then Jesus deals directly with that which denies the man self-possession. Jesus works to change the oppression which causes the pain and self-destructive behavior.

Many people among us stand on the bridge and among the tombs, people who have been denied self-possession by the demons of our society. Oppression of persons because of their race, sex, class, or sexual orientation are the foreign powers that possess our communities politically and spiritually. All around us people are howling and bruising themselves struggling to fight the evils which have overcome them. How often is our response to use socially acceptable "shackles and chains" to restrain those who suffer because of our unclean spirits?

Jesus demonstrates a way to respond to the demons of our times. Jesus does not try to pacify the Gerasene man in all of his rage and pain, but confronts the evils which cause that pain. If we choose to be agents of healing and wholeness within our world, as Jesus is to this man, we must do more than give lip service to the pain of the woman standing on the bridge. We must have the courage to take concrete action to exorcise our communities of the demons we possess. And when we meet the woman standing on the bridge, in ourselves or in our communities, let us ask her name. Let us listen with compassion, courage and willingness to respond as she says "My oppression's name is _____, for we are many."

—Bettina Harmon

Bettina Harmon is a licensed minister in the La Verne (California) Church of the Brethren and a second year Master of Divinity student at the Iliff School of Theology in Denver, Colorado.

Studying Homosexuality in the Congregation

Addressing Biblical Interpretation

How does one address biblical interpretation around the issue of homosexuality in the congregation? One approach that many congregations have found helpful is to place the biblical study in the context of a larger study on human sexuality or homosexuality. Such a study series could include sessions on exploring participants' thoughts and feelings about lesbian and gay persons, and in exploring biblical texts related to homosexuality, the sociological, psychological, and medical aspects of sexuality, homophobia, etc. It would be important to have at least one session at which a gay, lesbian, or bisexual person shares his or her experience in church or society.

The biblical study will need to include the recognition that not everyone will agree on interpretations of the texts and, thus, the recognition of the need to listen to one another under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, many congregations have found that after reading the biblical texts and the views of scholars they can find no simple answers regarding the biblical view on homosexuality. As the articles on interpretation in this issue of *Dialogue* indicate, any biblical study on homosexuality needs to include a study of the cultural background of the texts. For instance, it is important to recognize that during biblical times there was no understanding of the fact that some persons are oriented toward people of the same sex.

Other Resources

The following *Dialogue* issues and extra copies of this issue of *Dialogue* are available from: BMC Literature Division, P.O. Box 15440, Washington, D.C. 20003 ($.25 U.S. each for *Dialogue*, plus shipping):

"Slavery and Homosexuality: Order and Love in Biblical Interpretation": *Dialogue*, December 1984. Explores issues of Biblical interpretation by examining how the Bible has been used to reject and uphold slavery and homosexuality.

"Understanding the Apostle Paul and Homosexual Behaviour": *Dialogue*, Summer 1983. Explores Paul's views on Homosexuality, especially Romans 1:26-27.

"Sexual Ethics: A Dynamic Approach": *Dialogue*, Spring 1983. A reexamination of Christian ethics based on principles such as love, accountability to Christ, and the accountability of the church and individual.

"Seminarians Consider Homosexuality and the Church": *Dialogue*, June 1982. A report on a forum on homosexuality held at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries.

"Integrating Faith and Sexuality": *Dialogue*, July 1989. Three personal reflections by same-sex oriented persons on integration of faith and sexuality.

News Events

New Board President and Members

The BMC board met on January 11, 1992 at Arlington (Virginia) Church of the Brethren. The day began with a devotional by our new president Rob Gascho (Waterloo, Ontario) and also included a time of affirmation for new board members Priscilla Reimer (Winnipeg, Manitoba), Kim Hill Smith (Minneapolis, Minnesota), and JR Stockberger (Arlington, Virginia).

The Finance Committee continues to expand its focus and has been renamed Stewardship Committee to reflect the growing sense of the depth of resources, both monetary and nonmonetary, within BMC. The Church Relations Committee continues to look at ways to facilitate dialogue in the Mennonite churches and the Church of the Brethren. The board accepted, with reluctance, the resignation of *Dialogue* editor, Greg Lichti (effective December 31, 1992) and appointed a search committee to seek a new editor. The Social Outreach Committee spent much of its time discussing and reviewing plans for the convention in Denver. Work continues on a BMC Memory Quilt and HIV support efforts.

—Ruth Wenger, Vice President
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BMC at Church Conferences

BMC will have a *Dialogue* room at this year's **COB Annual Conference**, June 30–July 5, in Richmond, Virginia. BMC's plans include support group meetings for parents of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people and meetings for gay, lesbian, and bisexual church workers. The **General Conference Mennonite Church Triennial Session** will be held at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, July 22–26, 1992. BMCers Doug Basinger and Ruth Wenger along with other members of the Mennonite Church/General Conference Listening Committee for Homosexuality Concerns are organizing two seminars on homosexuality, one on biblical interpretation and the other on supportive congregations. Anyone wanting to connect with BMC at either event may contact BMC Coordinator, Jim Sauder, P.O. Box 65724, Washington, D.C. 20035 beforehand or connect on site.

COB Pre-Conference Gathering

BMCers, Womaen's Caucus supporters, and others concerned about the future of the Church of the Brethren, especially with regard to the policies and atmosphere that exclude many from active participation within the church, are invited to join in an early-evening meal on Tuesday, June 30. This initial gathering will allow us to become better acquainted with many who feel that changes are not only necessary but long overdue.

Conveners are hoping that some persons present on Tuesday will be available to form a steering committee for a more "formal" meeting to be held later during Conference week.

The Dutch-treat meal will be held at the Bus Stop restaurant, 1210-1/2 East Carey, at 4:30 p.m. So that reservations may be made in advance, please call Everett Fisher (703-527-3837) or JR Stockberger (703-522-2920) by Tuesday June 23.

Women's Anthology

The BMC Women's Anthology project has a new project team and seeks contributors for a Brethren/Mennonite women's anthology regarding lesbian, gay, and bisexual issues. The group encourages submissions from parents, lovers, relatives, spouses, as well as lesbians and bisexual women. Submissions could include poetry, personal stories (interviews can be arranged for those who prefer not to write their stories), significant letters, journal entries, art work, and articles. Anonymity will be respected if requested. The project has changed hands, so people who have contributed previously are asked to contact the current team to ensure that their submission is on file. Send materials or further inquiries to Betsy Zook, P.O. Box 86, Cheraw, Colo. 81030-0086, or to P.O. Box 268, Station P, Toronto, Ont. M5S 2S8, Attn: Women's Anthology.

PHONE: (415) 776-5600

JODO SHINSHU HONGWANJI-HA

BUDDHIST CHURCHES OF AMERICA

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

1710 OCTAVIA STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109

Date: March 3, 1993	# of Pages (including cover page): 1
To: Chap. Bill Weimer	From: Seigen Yamaoka
Department: Navy Chief of Chap	Department:
Company:	Buddhist Churches of America
Fax # (703) 693-5408	Fax # (415) 771 - 6293
Telephone # (703) 614-4436 Ex 4720	Subject:

Message: A new book recently came out titled "Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender" by Jose Ignacio Cabezón, ed. State University of New York Press. I hope this will give insight to the issue you questioned.

Special Instructions:

Signature: Seigen Yamaoka

PHONE: (415) 776-5600

JODO SHINSHU HONGWANJI-HA

BUDDHIST CHURCHES OF AMERICA

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

1710 OCTAVIA STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109

Date: March 4, 1993	# of Pages (including cover page): 4
To: Chaplain Bill Weimer	From: Seigen Yamaoka
Department: Navy Chief of Chaplains	Department:
Company:	Buddhist Churches of America
Fax # (703) 693-5408	Fax # (415) 771 - 6293
Telephone # (703) 614-4436 EX 4720	Subject:

Message: The article written by the late Rev. Hogen Fujimoto was published in our Wheel of Dharma. It expresses our basic understanding.

The concluding statement made by Rev. Fujimoto is our feelings.

Special Instructions: If you have any questions feel free to call.

The book I recommend can be purchased at our BCA Bookstore. Ph. (415) 776-7877

[illegible]

Article from the March 1977 Wheel of Dharma Monthly Publication
By Reverend Hogen Fujimoto

UNDERSTANDING GAY LIFE-STYLE

I am a straight person. My interest in attending the symposium on "Understanding Gay Life Style" held at the University of San Francisco and sponsored by the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, Inc. on January 19, 1977 was purely academic. My purpose was to understand the problems confronting the gays and to acquire information as to how other religious groups and the community were meeting these problems.

The smallness of the crowd in attendance surprised me. Outside of the homosexuals themselves who were striving for public understanding, there were only a few straight religious and lay community leaders in attendance. It left me with the impression that gays are still far from achieving their goal of public understanding.

Through the symposium, I learned that there is vast ignorance, fear, misunderstanding and even hate, directed at "gay" or homosexual people. Some of these negative mental and emotional attitudes directed towards gay people are found in the religious circles and among professionals. The symposium attempted to broaden human understanding by educating parts of the religious community, and parts of the whole community, concerning homosexuality as a natural phenomenon, and gay lifestyle, as one alternative among the ways in which human beings live.

The gays have gone to the extent of organizing their own religious body known as the Metropolitan Community Church because of religious discrimination they have encountered at the hands of other religious bodies. Today the Metropolitan Community Church has grown in membership and has established branches in many metropolitan areas.

According to the "Gay Manifesto" distributed at the symposium, "San Francisco is a refugee camp for homosexuals. We have fled from every part of the nation, and like refugees elsewhere, we came not because it is so great here, but because it was so bad there. By the tens of thousands, we fled small towns where to be ourselves would endanger our jobs and any hope of a decent life; we have fled from blackmailing cops, from families who disowned or 'tolerated' us; we have been drummed out of the armed services, thrown out of schools, fired from jobs, beaten by punks and policemen.

"And we have formed a ghetto, out of self-protection. It is a ghetto rather than a free territory because it is still theirs. Straight cops patrol us, straight legislators govern us, straight employers keep us in line, straight money exploits us, etc. We have pretended everything is OK because we haven't been able to change it - we've been afraid.

"In the past year, there has been an awakening of gay liberation ideas and energy. How it began we don't know; we were inspired by black people and their freedom movement; we learned how to stop pretending from the hip revolution. We want to make ourselves clear; our first job is to free ourselves; that means clearing our heads of the garbage that's been pounded into them."

The problem of the gays is universal and not limited to any one particular racial or religious group. Personally I feel that homosexuality is an aberration. Religiously, our religion, Buddhism, does not isolate them as the forsaken. Amida's compassion embraces all. Buddhism recognizes all types of existences each differing according to his karmic causality. The objective of Buddhism is Enlightenment. There is no one set formula towards achieving that end.

United Church of Christ

Office of the President
216-736-2101
Office of the Secretary
216-736-2110
Office of the Treasurer
216-736-2114
700 Prospect Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

DATE: November 25, 1992

TO: United Church of Christ Military Chaplains

FROM: Paul H. Sherry

Because of the important ministry you perform in the military services on behalf of the United Church of Christ, I want you to be informed of an open letter to President-elect Bill Clinton that will be made public on December 1 regarding his pledge to rescind the order that bars homosexuals from service in the armed forces. This letter is also being signed by Bishop Melvin Talbert of the United Methodist Church, Rabbi Alexander Schindler of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and Dr. William Nichols of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). It is an attempt to express our view regarding an issue of justice while, at the same time, being sensitive to the diversity of understandings on homosexuality within the religious bodies represented.

I recognize that the change in policy we are urging will present significant challenges to you in your ministry. I am grateful to you for the faithfulness and commitment you bring to your leadership, and I am certain that you will provide a critical pastoral presence in the coming months.

May God be with you and with those you serve.

Paul H. Sherry
November 30, 1992

"An Open Letter to President-Elect Bill Clinton"

Dear Mr. Clinton:

Your commitment to end discrimination against openly gay and lesbian members of the armed services was greeted by many in the country, as well as by many in the religious community, as a welcome sign of your desire to extend full civil rights and equal protection of the law to all in our society. Refusal to induct a person into the military, or the discharge of a person, solely on the basis of sexual orientation, is intolerable. Such government sanctioned action by military leaders has only served to legitimate and encourage other acts of discrimination against gay and lesbian persons in our society which, at times, have led to harassment, violence, even death. Protection of the rights of gay and lesbian persons in the military becomes, therefore, an important act of justice in its own right, as well as a symbolic statement of our nation's commitment to liberty and justice for all.

People of faith and conscience are not of one mind about the nature of homosexuality or the moral character of gay and lesbian lifestyles. These questions divide the religious community just as they divide the larger society. However, regardless of one's position on these questions, there is a growing consensus that homosexuality should not be cause for discrimination, and that attitudes or behavior that encourage violence are to be condemned.

We commend you for your courageous commitment to end injustice in the military with regard to gay and lesbian persons. While we recognize that the implementation of this executive order will require careful planning and consultation, we encourage you to fulfill your pledge as quickly and as clearly as possible following your inauguration.

As you encounter fear, misunderstanding, or resistance to this action, please be assured of our continued support and our constant prayers. Thank you.

MILITARY BAN ON GAYS AND LESBIANS

ISSUE

The nation's single largest employer, the military, excludes all gay men, lesbians and bisexuals from serving in the armed forces. It is hard to imagine serious progress being made in ending employment discrimination against gay men and lesbians without a change in this national policy. Under the Reagan Administration, not only homosexual conduct but a service member's mere identification as being gay, lesbian or bisexual became grounds for dismissal. When President Clinton pledged during his campaign to end this discrimination, a vital step was taken in securing equality in civil rights for lesbians and gays. It is now up to the Congress to support the President. However, right-wing religious pressure is making such support doubtful.

BACKGROUND

Department of Defense Directive 1332.14 states: "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service." The directive also states: "The presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct, seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission."

Recent studies done by the Pentagon make clear that this policy is not based on the argument that gay people do not make good fighting soldiers. In fact the military openly acknowledges that thousands of gay men, lesbians and bisexuals currently serve in the military with valor and merit.

The policy is based, instead, on historical discrimination. Without presenting any verified justification, the exclusion policy merely asserts that the following elements in the military will inevitably be undermined by the presence of openly gay and lesbian personnel: discipline, good order and morale; mutual trust and confidence; unit cohesion; the system of rank and command; assignment; deployment, recruitment and retention.

The policy is based on unproven fear. The fear is that straight service members will have such adverse reactions to openly gay service members that the military mission will be compromised. The fear is that there is no way to reduce these adverse reactions through strong military leadership so that adverse effects do not occur.

All this sounds very similar to those reasons given by the military for not integrating African-Americans in the military. The fact that fear and prejudice exists among some people has never been a valid reason to cater to that prejudice and affirm it. Rather, responsible leadership, in and out of the government, should take active steps to counter such prejudice and homophobia.

Immediately following Clinton's election on November 5, a UCC chaplain in the Pentagon invited the Office for Church in Society to the Pentagon to hear the concerns of chaplains who suddenly discovered themselves in a fire storm. At that meeting, it became apparent that chaplains desperately needed to hear the voice of their denomination on this issue. President Paul Sherry soon took leadership in sending a letter to President Clinton and General Colin Powell, Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The letter commended the President for his leadership, urged that discrimination against gay men and lesbians in the military be ended, and pledged support. It was signed by President Sherry along with General Minister and President William Nichols of the Disciples, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Bishop Melvin Talbert of the United Methodist Church and Stated Clerk James Andrews of the Presbyterian Church. Presiding Bishop Browning of the Episcopal Church and Bishop Chilstrom of the Evangelical Lutheran Church later sent their own letters.

President Clinton, in the first days of his administration, attempted to implement the ban. However, extreme pressure from around the country, from the religious right and from Congress forced the President to compromise. President Clinton has now asked Secretary of Defense Aspin to conduct a study of the effects and implications of issuing the order, addressing the reality of the assertions made in paragraph four above. Congress will also have time to conduct its own study. Rather than have a showdown on this emotional issue in the first weeks of his administration, President Clinton set July 15 as a deadline for study before issuing a new executive order.

Under the compromise, the military's policy is essentially the same as before. The only two changes are: 1) applicants are no longer asked if they are gay; and 2) service members who say they are gay continue to be processed through the discharge system, but may ultimately have that discharge suspended and be placed on "standby reserve." Service members who acknowledge that they have engaged in gay conduct are still subject to full discharge.

LEGISLATION

The Republicans attempted to attach an amendment maintaining the military ban on gay men and lesbians to the first bill to pass Congress, the Family and Medical Leave Act. Although the Senate voted 62-to-37 to reject the Dole (R-KS) amendment to the Family and Medical Leave Act, that vote only postponed the real debate. Vote counts by the Office for Church in Society and other offices showed roughly one third of the senators supporting President Clinton, one third opposed and one third undecided, with similar figures in the House.

A new attempt to overturn the ban can be expected when the President issues his directive, presumably in July. Preparing for this fight, Senator Nunn (D-GA), chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee and Representative Dellums (D-CA), chair of the House Armed Services Committee are both holding hearings on the subject in March and April, with later hearings possible.

If the President issues a directive lifting the ban on gay men and lesbians in the military, and the Congress votes to overturn the lifting of the ban, the President can most likely be expected to veto the reimposition of the ban. Hence, to sustain the President's veto, only one third of either the House or the Senate are needed. However, if further progress is to be made on achieving equality in civil rights for gay men and lesbians, it is essential to show greater strength than narrowly sustaining a veto.

Because this vote will speed up or slow down the drive toward equality in civil rights for gay men and lesbians, both sides are gearing up for this critical defining of the national will.

Prepared by Jay Lintner
March 1993

Office for Church in Society
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

MILITARY BAN ON GAYS AND LESBIANS

TALKING POINTS
FOR INTERFAITH IMPACT MEMBERS VISITING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

1. While the press has painted the religious community as the center of the opposition, actually large parts of the religious community support lifting the ban. Statements have now been made by, among others, the top official of the United Methodist Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Presbyterian Church USA, United Church of Christ, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and Unitarian Universalists. We want to add our voices as members of our religious community.

2. The religious community draws a big distinction between sexual orientation and sexual behavior. The moral issue in the religious community centers on how one lives out one's sexuality. Sexual misconduct, not sexual orientation, should be the issue. The military should hold all personnel to the same standards of sexual conduct, regardless of sexual orientation. The Tailhook scandal underlines that all personnel who engage in behaviors such as sexual harassment, fraternization, or sexual assault should be disciplined and/or discharged.

3. Before the integration of Blacks into the armed services in 1948 many argued that the presence of African-Americans would disrupt morale, discipline, unit cohesion. Instead, the military offered important moral leadership to the nation by its action. A similar argument was made to exclude women, and was again proven false by experience.

4. Strong leadership is necessary to maintain a work environment which is comfortable for all personnel. The command needs to set a tone for the troops to follow. Commanding officers can be responsible for insuring that sexism, racism and homophobia are not supported or condoned in their units.

5. The military's argument is based on simple discrimination. Several major Pentagon studies between 1957 and 1991 have undercut the Pentagon's own rationale. The DoD rationale is NOT based on an argument that gay people are not good fighting soldiers. The military openly acknowledges that there are thousands of gays and lesbians currently serving with valor and merit.

6. The ban against gays and lesbians in the military runs counter to the basic principles of our nation: liberty and justice for all. To have the nation's biggest employer discriminate is morally intolerable. The way to deal with fears and stereotypes is to insist that prejudice will not be tolerated, rather than affirm the prejudice through official discrimination.

- Jay Lintner 3/12/93
United Church of Christ

CHAPLAINCY
FULL GOSPEL CHURCHES

A Faith Ministry of Helps
2721 WHITEWOOD DRIVE -:- DALLAS, TEXAS 75233-2713
PHONE & FAX 214-331-4373

Rev. Jim Ammerman, Th.D., D.D., US Army, Re
President and Director
Rev. Charlene Ammerman, D.D.
Deputy Director
Chaplain David B. Plummer, US Army Reserve
Associate Director
Rev. Bob Elliott, COL., US Air Force, Ret.
Field Director

January 29, 1993

COPY

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

As the Endorser for clergy of Full Gospel Churches (a Faith Group of over 4.6 million American adult church-members) to become Chaplains, I submit the following for your most serious, objective, unbiased consideration:

> Homosexuals in the US Military would do more than just undermine discipline and morale, although they would do that as well.
>
> Homosexuals are notoriously promiscuous. Most have dozens of partners, with many boasting of over 300 in a lifetime. They are also perverted, as we find repeatedly announced in the news, going for the young -- pedophiles. They are aggressive recruiters for their sexual lifestyle, especially the young.
>
> Sodomy, by its very nature, invades the immune system, thus creating a health threat to the military, which has a most demanding physical environment.
>
> Respectfully sir, as you have never served in the military, you may indeed have trouble understanding that there is a notable difference between civilian and military life.

Leaders in the military exercise a far greater degree of control over their subordinates than do civilians. "The expressed desire" of a military leader is tantamount to an order. (I trust you are becoming aware of this in your new role as Commander-in-Chief.) What would a homosexual leader do to his/her followers? In civilian life, one may work with a homosexual, then return to the home for one's own preferred lifestyle. Not so for the soldier who often must eat, work, sleep, and shower with others. They live with little privacy, especially in the field or aboard ship. Should they be required to so do with someone lusting after them?

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Directorate Staff plus: Chaplain Curry N. Vaughan, *US Army, Ret.*, Rev. Bob Wright, *US Navy, Ret.*, OTHER COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Mrs. Beth Bartholf, Mrs. Charlene Curry, MSGT Ron Syrcle, *US Air Force, Ret.*, Chaplain Joseph Tumpkin, *US Army Reserve, Ret.*

SENIOR MILITARY ADVISORS: Gen Ralph E. Haines, Jr., *US Army, Ret.*, Major Gen. James L. Gardner, *US Air Force, Ret.*, Brig. Gen. Charles M. Duke, US Air *Force, Ret.*, CDR David Dunning, *CHC, US Navy Reserve, Ret.*

The military is oriented toward ultimate combat, if need be. They are required to give first aid to injured comrades, whose body fluids may be spilling out, without benefit of latex gloves or other prophylactics. The military life places innocent soldiers in jeopardy of life and health enough already, without adding the heightened prospect of HIV via serving with homosexuals.

I know you have made a campaign promise to homosexuals. You have probably received considerable funds from them. They are not 10% of USA population, as Dr. Kinsey stated 30 years ago! He took his statistics from inmates of prisons. A much more valid and reliable study conducted in 1992 by Yale University declares their numbers are only 1.5 % of men; less than .5 % of women!

Mr. President, you are a member of a honorable, Bible-believing denomination. What does the Bible say about homosexuality? From the Torah, within the context of Mosaic prohibition of unlawful sexual contact one reads "You shall not lie with a male as with a woman; it is an abomination" (Leviticus 18:22, RSV as are all other Biblical citations unless otherwise stated) and "If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination; they shall be put to death, their blood is upon them" (Leviticus 20:13).

The New Testament is equally as decisive on the question. Within the context of Pagans who have rejected God and His revelation, Paul writes under inspiration of God:

> Therefore God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts to impurity, to the dishonoring of their bodies among themselves, because they exchanged the truth about God for a lie and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever! Amen. For this reason God gave them up to dishonorable passions. Their women exchanged natural relations for unnatural, and the men likewise gave up natural relations with women and were consumed with passion for one another, men committing shameless acts with men and receiving in their own persons the due penalty for their error. Though they know God's decree that those who do such things deserve to die, they not only do them but approve those who practice them. (Romans 1:24-27, 32)

Similarly Paul writes to the Corinthians:

> Do you not know that the wicked will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived; Neither the sexually immoral nor idolaters nor adulterers nor male prostitutes nor homosexual offenders nor thieves nor the greedy nor drunkards nor slanderers nor swindlers will inherit the kingdom of God. (I Corinthians 6:9, 10; NIV)

Again, this statement is echoed in Paul's first epistle to Timothy:

> . . . understanding this, that the law is not laid down for the just but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and sinners, for the unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, immoral persons, sodomites, kidnappers, liars, perjurers, and whatever else is contrary to sound doctrine. . . . (1:9, 10)

Finally, Paul was not the only inspired New Testament author to warn of the evil of homosexuality. Within the setting of a discussion of those currently in torment in hell, Jude writes, "In a similar way, Sodom and Gomorrah and the surrounding towns gave themselves up to sexual immorality and perversion. They serve as an example of those who suffer the punishment of eternal fire" (v. 7).

Let us not be deceived, sir, the homosexual goal is not equal rights under law, but preemptive privileges over heterosexuals.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I truly believe that if you force the lifting of the correct, time-honored ban on homosexuals in the military, that the Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs and the Chiefs should do what every officer is obliged to do under certain circumstances -- Resign! To not resign will require them to abide by the legal response unquestionably -- be blind! Which would render them totally unworthy of your trust or our nations! Homosexuality is indeed, from a scriptural, traditional and practical standpoint, deviant behavior.

Respectfully submitted,

E. H. Jim Ammerman

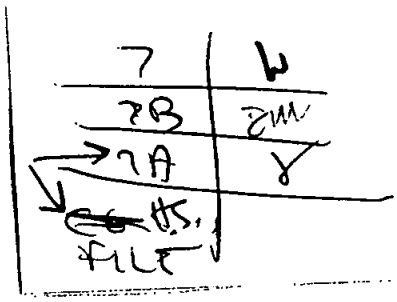
E. H. Jim Ammerman
Chaplain (COL) US Army, Retired
Endorsing Executive, Full Gospel Churches

PS -- Copies of this letter are going to the Chairman of the JCS; the JCS; Senator Phil Gramm, Congressman Martin Frost, The Chiefs of Chaplains Army, Navy, and Air Force; National Conference For Ministry to the Armed Forces; and to more than 5,000 of the leaders of our Faith Group. I do this on behalf of our 118 clergy persons who are military chaplains, plus more than 70 others who serve in VA Hospitals, State and Federal prisons, plus our gallant uniformed service people.

Council of Imams
Of Washington D.C.

**

5913 Georgia Ave. N.W
(POB # 64, Brentwood, MD 20722)
(301) 699-1864 / (202) 723-3744



Chaplain Major General M. Zimmerman
Chief of Chaplains
1E416 Pentagon
Washington, DC

February 6, 1993

Dear Chaplain Zimmerman:

A recent article in the Washington Post (Feb. 6, pg A12), alleged that Rep. Gerry E. Studds influenced the decision of Coast Guard commandant Adm J. William Kime to cancel an upcoming prayer breakfast because of scheduled speaker, Gary L. Bauer's purported opposition to lifting the ban on homosexuals in the Military.

The implications of this is of great concern to many of us whose faith requires our rejection of the homosexual life style and our preaching against all kinds of immorality in society.

Please obtain for us from the Secretary of Defense, or the Clinton Administraton, if possible, some assurances that Muslim chaplains, lay leaders and member of the faith, will not be censored from enjoining soldiers to follows the moral life style of their scriptures, nor purged, nor barred from speaking, or participating in high-profiled events such as the interfaith breakfast mentioned above.

We understand that NCMAF has recommended that Chaplains in the military be allowed to follow (preach) their own faith's doctrines with respect to their position on homosexuality. Have they been given assurances of this?

If censorship (as in the Kime case) , in violation of the constitutional rights to religion and freedom of speech, is to be upheld or condoned in the military, Muslims leaders may have little choise but to reconsider the whole concept of military service as a career for their members. We are somewhat certain that these concerns are also being echoed in the Jewish and Christian communities .

We look forward to hearing from you as soon as possible.
May Allah (God) grant you courage and wisdom in these affairs.

Imam Ghayth Nur Kashif
Representative

CC: Chaplain H. Keizer
Chaplain D, White, Navy
Chaplain D, Harlin, USAF
Chaplain J. Thurman, USAF
NCMAF

REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON HOMOSEXUALITY AND THE RABBINATE ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS JUNE 25, 1990

COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE

Chair: Selig Salkowitz, Norman J. Cohen, A. Stanley Dreyfus (RPC), Joseph B. Glaser (CCAR), Walter Jacob, Yoel H. Kahn, Samuel E. Karff, Peter S. Knobel, Joseph Levine, Jack Stern, Richard S. Sternberger (UAHC), Ronald B. Sobel (RPC), Elliot L. Stevens (CCAR), Harvey M. Tattelbaum, Albert Vorspan (UAHC), Margaret M. Wenig, Gary Zola (HUC-JIR)

ORIGIN OF THE COMMITTEE

The committee was formed in response to a resolution proposed by Margaret Holub (then student Rabbi) and Margaret Wenig for the June, 1986, convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in Snowmass, Colorado. The proposed resolution dealt with the admissions policies of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion and of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and with the placement policy of the Rabbinical Placement Commission. The matter was referred for further study.

Given the seriousness of the issues and the broad implications for the Reform rabbinate and for the entire Movement, President Jack Stern appointed a broadly representative ad hoc committee and named Selig Salkowitz as its chair. The committee's first meeting took place in the Fall of 1986. Following that meeting, in order to insure adequate institutional participation, the committee invited the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion and the Rabbinical Placement Commission to appoint official representatives. The committee has met regularly during the past four years. Through extensive study and discussion, the committee has sought to arrive at a unified position on homosexuality and the rabbinate. From the outset, the committee was keenly aware of both the controversial nature and the complexity of the issues. The committee's deliberations have been characterized by vigorous debate carried on in a spirit of warm collegiality. All members found themselves profoundly moved. However, the committee did not achieve consensus on every issue, and recognized that there are legitimate differences of opinion. The committee calls upon members of the Conference to be sensitive to and accepting of those whose positions differ from their own.

The committee undertook a comprehensive investigation of the subject. Its members read studies on the origin and nature of sexual identity, and of homosexuality specifically, and reviewed some of the contemporary legal literature, and studied documents prepared by Christian groups grappling with the status of homosexuals and homosexuality within their own denominations with a specific focus on the question of ordination. Yoel H. Kahn prepared an extensive anthology of articles on Judaism and homosexuality which cut across denominational lines. The committee

commissioned Eugene B. Borowitz, Yoel H. Kahn, Robert S. Kirschner and Peter S. Knobel to prepare working papers.[1] Consultations were held with leaders of other Jewish streams. The committee solicited and received anonymous personal testimony from gay and lesbian rabbis and rabbinic students. It reviewed the admissions policies of the College-Institute and the Central Conference of American Rabbis as well as the placement policy of the Rabbinical Placement Commission. It read previous resolutions of the UAHC Biennial Conventions and the CCAR conventions, and related Reform Responsa. The work of previous committees was also reviewed. It convened a late night information session at the Tarpon Springs Convention of 1987; submitted a draft resolution to the CCAR Executive Board in 1988 (which was sent back to the committee for further consideration); sponsored a plenary session at the Centennial Convention in Cincinnati in 1989 at which Leonard S. Kravitz and Yoel H. Kahn presented papers[2] followed by workshops; held consultations at each of the regional CCAR Kallot and with MaRaM; requested that the UAHC sponsor workshops at upcoming regional biennials.

This document is meant to summarize the results of our deliberations, to indicate areas of agreement and disagreement and to encourage further discussion and understanding. It represents four years of struggle and growth. We hope that it will serve as a model for those who take up these matters upon which we have diligently and painstakingly deliberated.

CONCERN FOR GAY AND LESBIAN COLLEAGUES

The committee is acutely aware that the inability of most gay and lesbian rabbis to live openly as homosexuals is deeply painful. Therefore, the committee wishes to avoid any action which will cause greater distress to our colleagues. As a result, The committee has determined that a comprehensive report is in the best interest of our Conference and the Reform Movement as a whole.

Publicly acknowledging one's homosexuality is a personal

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[1] Homosexuality, the Rabbinate, and Liberal Judaism: Papers prepared for the Ad-Hoc Committee on Homosexuality and the Rabbinate, Selig Salkowitz, Chair. Halakhah and Homosexuality: A Reappraisal by Robert Kirschner. On Homosexuality and the Rabbinate, a Covenantal Response by Eugene B. Borowitz, Judaism and Homosexuality by Yoel H. Kahn. Homosexuality: A Liberal Jewish Theological and Ethical Reflection by Peter S. Knobel. Copies of these were distributed to the entire Central Conference of American Rabbis prior to the June, 1989 convention in Cincinnati. These papers should be consulted for a description of the range of positions considered by the Committee.

[2] Homosexuality and the Rabbinate, Yoel H. Kahn, The Kedusha of Homosexual Relationships and Leonard S. Kravitz, Address. The papers were distributed to the members of the Conference through the regional presidents as material for discussion at the regional kallot. They should be consulted for an understanding of the two different approaches to the subject of the religious status of homosexual relationships.

decision which can have grave professional consequences. Therefore, in the light of the limited ability of the Placement Commission or the Central Conference of American Rabbis to guarantee the tenure of the gay or lesbian rabbis who "come out of the closet," the committee does not want to encourage colleagues to put their careers at risk. Regrettably, a decision to declare oneself publicly can have potentially negative effects on a person's ability to serve a given community effectively. In addition, the committee is anxious to avoid a situation in which pulpit selection committees will request information on the sexual orientation of candidates. The Committee urges that all rabbis, regardless of sexual orientation, be accorded the opportunity to fulfill the sacred vocation which they have chosen.

CIVIL RIGHTS FOR GAYS AND LESBIANS

All human beings are created betselem elohim ("in the divine image"). Their personhood must therefore be accorded full dignity. Sexual orientation is irrelevant to the human worth of a person. Therefore, the Reform Movement has supported vigorously all efforts to eliminate discrimination in housing and employment[3]. The Committee unequivocally condemns verbal and physical abuse against gay men and lesbian women or those perceived to be gay or lesbian. We reject any implication that AIDS can be understood as God's punishment of homosexuals. We applaud the fine work of the gay and lesbian outreach synagogues, and we, along with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, call upon rabbis and congregations to treat with respect and to integrate fully all Jews into the life of the community regardless of sexual orientation.

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF SEXUAL IDENTITY

The committee's task was made particularly difficult because the specific origin of sexual identity and its etiology are still imperfectly understood.

> Scholars are not likely to come to an agreement anytime soon about the causes of sexual orientation, or its nature. Various disciplines look at sexuality in different ways and rarely confront each other's ideas....Short of definitive evidence, which no theory has thus far received, the disagreement is likely to continue. Cognitive and normative pluralism will persist for the indefinite future.[4]

The lack of unanimity in the scientific community and the unanimous condemnation of homosexual behavior by Jewish tradition added to the complexity. It is clear, however, that for many people sexual orientation is not a matter of conscious choice but constitutional and therefore not subject to change. It is also true that for some, sexual orientation may be a matter of conscious

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[3] CCAR resolution 1977. UAHC resolutions 1975, 1985,1987,1989

[4] David Greenberg, The Construction of Homosexuality (Chicago, 1988) pp.480-481.

choice. The committee devoted considerable time in its discussion to the significance of conscious choice as a criterion for formulating a position on the religious status of homosexuality. The majority of the committee believes that the issue of choice is crucial. For some on the committee the issue of choice is not significant.

In Jewish tradition heterosexual, monogamous, procreative marriage is the ideal human relationship for the perpetuation of species, covenantal fulfillment and the preservation of the Jewish people. While acknowledging that there are other human relationships which possess ethical and spiritual value and that there are some people for whom heterosexual, monogamous, procreative marriage is not a viable option or possibility,[5] the majority of the committee reaffirms unequivocally the centrality of this ideal and its special status as kiddushin. To the extent that sexual orientation is a matter of choice, the majority of the committee affirms that heterosexuality is the only appropriate Jewish choice for fulfilling one's covenental obligations.

A minority of the committee dissents, affirming the equal possibility of covenantal fulfillment in homosexual and heterosexual relationships. The relationship, not the gender, should determine its Jewish value - kiddushin.

The committee strongly endorses the view that all Jews are religiously equal regardless of their sexual orientation. We are aware of loving and committed relationships between people of the same sex. Issues such as the religious status of these relationships as well as the creation of special ceremonies are matters of continuing discussion and differences of opinion.

SEXUAL MORALITY AND THE RABBI

The general subject of sexual morality is important. The committee, in various stages of its deliberations, sought to discuss homosexuality within that larger framework. However, it concluded that while a comprehensive statement on sexuality and sexual morality was a desideratum, it was beyond the mandate of the committee.

Nevertheless, rabbis are both role models and exemplars. Therefore, the Committee calls upon all rabbis -- without regard to sexual orientation -- to conduct their private lives with discretion and with full regard for the mores and sensibilities of their communities, and in consonance with the preamble to the Central Conference of American Rabbis' Code of Ethics:

> As teachers of Judaism, rabbis are expected to abide by the highest moral values of our religion: the virtues of family life, integrity and honorable social relationships. In their personal lives they are called upon to set an example of the ideals

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[5] Cf. Gates of Mitzvah, p. 11, note at bottom of page.

they proclaim.

OUR RELATIONSHIP TO KELAL YISRAEL AND THE NON-JEWISH COMMUNITY

The committee devoted considerable discussion to the effect of any statement on our relationship to Kelal Yisrael. The committee expressed deep concern about the reactions of the other Jewish movements and strongly urges that the dialogue continue with them on this issue. Nevertheless, it concluded that our decision should be governed by the principles and practices of Reform Judaism. Similarly the committee considered and discussed with the members of MaRaM the possible effects of a statement on Reform Judaism in Israel. Again, it concluded that while sensitivity was in order, the committee could only address the North American situation. In addition, the committee attempted to assess how various stands would affect our relationship with non-Jewish groups. Again, the committee was concerned but felt that it had to make its decision independent of that consideration.

CONGREGATIONAL ISSUES

The acceptance by our congregations of gay and lesbian Jews as rabbis was a topic of discussion. We know that the majority of Reform Jews strongly support civil rights for gays and lesbians, but the unique position of the rabbi as spiritual leader and Judaic role model make the acceptance of gay or lesbian rabbis an intensely emotional and potentially divisive issue. While we acknowledge that there are gay and lesbian rabbis who are serving their communities effectively, with dignity, compassion and integrity, we believe that there is a great need for education and dialogue in our congregations.

ADMISSIONS POLICY OF THE COLLEGE-INSTITUTE

One of the original issues which brought the committee into existence was a concern about the admissions policy of the College-Institute. President Alfred Gottschalk has recently set forth the admissions policy of HUC-JIR. The written guidelines state that the College-Institute considers sexual orientation of an applicant only within the context of a candidate's overall suitability for the rabbinate, his or her qualifications to serve the Jewish community effectively, and his or her capacity to find personal fulfillment within the rabbinate. The Committee agrees with this admissions policy of our College- Institute.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

The Central Conference of American Rabbis has always accepted into membership upon application all rabbinic graduates of the College-Institute.

The committee re-affirms this policy to admit upon application rabbinic graduates of the College - Institute.

PLACEMENT

Since its inception, the Rabbinical Placement Commission has

provided placement services to all members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in good standing, in accordance with its rules.

The committee agrees with this policy of the Rabbinical Placement Commission which provides placement services to all members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in good standing, in accordance with the Commission's established rules.

Respectfully submitted,

Chair: Selig Salkowitz, Norman J. Cohen, A. Stanley Dreyfus (RPC), Joseph B. Glaser (CCAR), Walter Jacob, Yoel H. Kahn, Samuel E. Karff, Peter S. Knobel, Joseph Levine, Jack Stern, Richard S. Sternberger (UAHC), Ronald B. Sobel (RPC), Elliot L. Stevens (CCAR), Harvey M. Tattelbaum, Albert Vorspan (UAHC), Margaret M. Wenig, Gary Zola (HUC-JIR).

COMMITTEE ENDORSEMENT

The committee expresses its sincere appreciation to the many members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis who communicated with it in writing and orally. We urge all rabbis to study and reflect on these critical issues in order to lead their congregations and other members of the Jewish community toward greater awareness and sensitivity through education and dialogue. The committee unanimously endorses this report as a fair reflection of four years of deliberation and urges its adoption.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH–MISSOURI SYNOD
4 January 1993

Ministry to the Armed Forces
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Chaplain (MG) Matthew Zimmerman
Chairman
Armed Forces Chaplains Board
OASD (FM&P) Room 4C-759
Washington, D.C. 20310-4000

Dear Matt:

This is in reference to Chaplain Keizer's request for the theological stance of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod on homosexuality. I also comment on the Department of Defense policy which bars homosexuals from entering the armed forces.

The official position of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod concerning ministry to homosexuals is stated in Resolution 3-12A, passed at the July 1992 church body convention. It Follows:

TO DEVELOP PLAN FOR MINISTRY TO HOMOSEXUALS AND THEIR FAMILIES (RESOLUTION 3-12A)

Whereas, Many voices in our society as well as in various church bodies are expressing the view today that homophile behavior is an acceptable alternative lifestyle; and

Whereas, The Word of God clearly condemns homophile behavior in Lev.18:22, Rom. 1: 26-27, and 1 Cor. 6:9, and

Whereas, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in convention in 1973 stated: "That Synod recognize homophile behavior as intrinsically sinful"; and

Whereas, The Commission on Theology and Church Relations document on *Human Sexuality. A Theological Perspective*, states, "Whatever the causes of such a condition may be, . . .homosexual orientation is profoundly 'unnatural' without implying that such a person's sexual orientation is a matter of conscious, deliberate choice. However, this fact cannot be used by the homosexual as an excuse to justify homosexual behavior. As a sinful human being, the homosexual is accountable to God for homosexual thoughts, words, and deeds" (*Human Sexuality, A Theological Perspective*, p.35); and

Whereas, the redeeming love of Christ, which rescues humanity from sin, death, and the power of Satan, is offered to all through repentance and faith in Christ, regardless of the nature of their sinfulness; and

Whereas, The need exists to make available a carefully developed Law/Gospel ministry plan to congregations and other institutions in order to minister to those who are troubled by their homosexuality; and

Whereas, it is necessary for the church to expose and resist the sexual idolatry of our society; therefore be it

Resolved, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, in convention, reaffirm the position it stated in 1973, "That the Synod recognize homophile behavior as intrinsically sinful"; and be it further

Resolved, That the President of the Synod direct the appropriate boards and commissions to develop a plan for ministry usable by congregations, campus ministries, institutions, and agencies in the Synod, for the purpose of providing biblical and Gospel-oriented ministry to persons troubled by being homophile in their sexual orientations and to their families; an be it finally

Resolved, That the goals to be pursued by such a plan for ministry be

1. to offer to our world biblically alternative models of sexual celibacy outside of a committed, permanent heterosexual marriage and same-gender social, but not genitally sexual, deep friendships;
2. to confront the individual with his/her sinfulness, and call him/her to repentance;
3. to help the individual recognize that God can rescue individuals from homosexual orientation and practice;
4. to assure him/her of forgiveness in Christ, contingent upon sincere repentance and faith in Christ, and to assure him/her of the love and acceptance of the church;
5. to assist the individual to rely on Christ's love and strength to abstain from homophile behavior;
6. to help the individual to bear his/her burden without fear of recrimination and rejection by his/her sisters and brothers in Christ;
7. to find ways of ministering to families which include persons of homophile orientation;
8. to do all this patiently, persistently, and compassionately in the love and Spirit of Christ, who says, "Neither do I condemn you; go and sin no more."

BOARD OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND MINISTRY
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DIVISION OF CHAPLAINS AND RELATED MINISTRIES

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Director of Retreats and Recruitment

To: All Active Duty Chaplains

MEMORANDUM

From: The Division of Chaplains and Related Ministries
Subject: Integration of Homosexual Persons into the Armed Forces
Date: 15 February 1993

In recent weeks, numerous inquiries have been received concerning the position of The United Methodist Church on the integration of persons of homosexual orientation into the armed forces.

This office considers the question a non-issue. As Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, the President has directed that persons of homosexual orientation be integrated into the armed forces. That action is fully within his authority. It is now the responsibility of the armed forces to determine how to best implement the president's order with a minimum of disruption within the armed forces, while insuring full protection for the rights and person of individuals of homosexual orientation affected by the directive.

In reference to the taking of an official stand on this or any issue, that responsibility rests totally with the General Conference. The General Conference, and only the General Conference, speaks for the denomination. For its direction, please refer to The Book of Discipline, 1992, paragraph 71.F) and 71.G).

Of particular importance are these words from paragraph 71.F): "We insist that all persons, regardless of gender, marital status, or sexual orientation, are entitled to have their human and civil rights ensured...Homosexual persons no less than heterosexual persons are individuals of sacred worth...Although we do not condone the practice of homosexuality and consider this practice incompatible with Christian teaching, we affirm that God's grace is available to all. We commit ourselves to be in ministry for and with all persons."

In paragraph 71.G) these words echo that charter, while speaking in a more limited way to certain examples of civil rights: "Certain human rights and civil liberties are due all persons. We are committed to support those rights and liberties for homosexual persons."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

Orlando, Florida
March 9, 1993

HOMOSEXUALS IN THE MILITARY

The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) respectfully requests President Clinton to withdraw his initiative to lift the current ban on homosexuals in the armed forces and we urge Congress to confirm by law the current ban. We further urge our members to contact the President and their Senators and Representatives to express firm opposition to this threatened change in military policy.

In 1985, NAE affirmed that "the sexual relationship between man and woman within the bounds of marriage is viewed as something natural and beautiful. Homosexual activity, like adulterous relationships, is clearly condemned in the Scriptures." (Genesis 2:24; Leviticus 18:22; Romans 1:26-32; I Corinthians 6:9-10; I Thessalonians 4:3-8). In addition, the Bible records God's historic judgment on societies characterized by this deviant behavior (Genesis 18:16-19:29; II Peter 2:6; Jude 7).

Because of our strong commitment to biblical truth, we state our unequivocal opposition to lifting the current ban. We believe that such presidential action would defy the moral law of God and the standard of natural law, subvert military law, and also undermine the integrity of the armed forces of the United States of America. The following are compelling concerns:

Military Law. The Constitution grants to Congress the power to make laws for military personnel. Article 125 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice outlaws sodomy. Barring homosexuals from military service thus becomes a means of excluding individuals disposed to deviant criminal behavior.

Military Discipline. With the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we regard this policy as essential to maintain "discipline, good order, and morale," to foster "trust and confidence among service members," and to maintain "public acceptability of military service." To admit persons who avowedly engage in a practice which violates the law and is biblically abhorrent may preclude many young adults from volunteering for military service.

A RESOLUTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION AS TO AFFECTIONAL OR SEXUAL PREFERENCE

Adopted by the Governing Board
March 6, 1975

The National Council of the Churches of Christ has always held that, as a child of God, every person is endowed with worth and dignity that human judgment cannot set aside. Therefore every person is entitled to equal treatment under the law.

For this reason the National Council of the Churches of Christ has endeavored to insure for all persons regardless of race, class, sex, creed, or place of national origin their full civil rights.* To this list the Governing Board now adds affectional or sexual preference. Discrimination based on any of those criteria is morally wrong.

Many persons, including some of the members and pastors of some of our churches, have been and are being deprived of their civil rights and full and equal protection of the law because of their effectional or sexual preference.

THEREFORE:

1. The Governing Board reiterates the Christian conviction that all persons are entitled to full civil rights and equal protection and to the pastoral concern of the church.

2. The Governing Board urges its member churches and their constituencies to work to ensure the enactment of legislation at the national, state and local levels that would guarantee the civil rights of all persons without regard to their affectional or sexual preferences.

3. The Governing Board asks the General Secretary to request the appropriate units of the Council to gather for the Board's information work already done or in process in the communions on this subject and to explore the most effective ways of relating the theological insights of the churches on the effects of discrimination and prejudice to the lives of homosexual persons in the community and the churches.

*See the policy statement on HUMAN RIGHTS adopted by the Council's General Assembly, December 6, 1963.

The following Denominations requested that it be recorded that they cast a vote in opposition to the Resolution:

Orthodox Church in America, Constantine H. Kallaur
Armenian Church in America (Diocese of Rev. Mampre Kouzouian)
Antiochian Orthodox Church of North America (Frank Maria)

presbyterian & reformed joint commission
on chaplains & military personnel

William B. Leonard, Jr.
Executive Director

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Endorsing Agency for:
- *The Presbyterian Church in America*
- *The Orthodox Presbyterian Church*
- *The Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America*
- *The Korean-American Presbyterian Church*

15 March 1993

TO ALL CHAPLAINS

Chaplains endorsed by this Commission hereby reaffirm their strong commitment to provide compassionate and caring ministry to all service members and their families regardless of sexual preference and behavior or the diseases with which they may be afflicted.

We also affirm and defend the right of chaplains, within the context of DoD directives, to publicly discuss the position of their faith community concerning the integration of homosexual persons into the armed forces.

We agree with the position of our Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), with the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and with the service chiefs, that "homosexual behavior is inconsistent with maintaining good order and discipline. We oppose lifting this ban. Military service is not a right for all, but a privilege for some who can meet stringent entrance criteria.

We agree with the biblical condemnation of homosexual behavior in both testament and take hope in its promise of the free grace of God in Christ to change such behavior through the power of the good news of the gospel. We take warning from history which records the destruction of Sodom, the fall of the military city-state of Sparta where homosexual behavior prevailed, and current history when homosexuals have been admitted into ordained leadership positions in the church, upon the promise of celibacy, only later to bring great discredit upon the church.

On 23 February 1993 your Commission adopted the following resolution:

> "The Bible, which is our infallible rule of faith and practice, commands us to express redemptive love and compassion to all persons. It further commands us to condemn homosexual behavior as sinful and dangerous. The chaplains of the Presbyterian Church in America will continue to provide compassionate and caring ministry to all military service members and their families regardless of sexual preference and behavior or the diseases with which they may be afflicted. At the same time, we will never condone the destructive behavior of homosexuals. Therefore, Presbyterian Church in America chaplains endorsed by the Presbyterian and Reformed Joint Commission on Chaplains and Military Personnel will continue to preach the whole counsel of God. They are not required by the Presbyterian Church in America to conduct divine Worship with individuals who are in clear violation of Biblical standards of behavior, nor are they permitted to perform same-sex marriages."

Whatever the outcome of the current debate we encourage you to continue your faithful facilitating and caring ministry to everyone in our military family, and to do so as long as we continue to live under the constitutional guarantee of the free exercise of our religion. No society has survived without a strong moral code built upon a solid religious foundation.

Faithfully yours,

William B. Leonard, Jr.
Director

WBL:b

MINUTES

OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PCUSA

PART I

Journal

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OFFICE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
1201 Interchurch Center
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November, 1978

Policy Statement and Recommendations

Introduction

The General Assembly was asked by the Presbyteries of New York City and of the Palisades to give "definitive guidance" concerning the eligibility for ordination to the professional ministry of persons who openly acknowledge homosexual orientation and practice. One thing has become very clear in consideration of this request. The church must respond to this issue. Numbers of persons both within the church and outside it experience homosexuality, either as a transient part of their growth as persons or as a continuing force in their own lives or in the lives of family members and friends. New data in psychology and the social sciences have appeared that challenge the church's traditional posture on this matter. The time has come for the church to confront this issue, to reexamine and refresh its theological understanding of homosexuality in the light of God's revelation to us in Jesus Christ, and to renew its practical approach to mission and ministry among homosexual persons.

The issue submitted to this General Assembly is a call for guidance to individual Christian persons, congregations, and presbyteries concerning the status of self-affirming, practicing homosexual persons within the church. Specifically, the presbyteries seek guidance on the matter of ordination to the ministry of Word and Sacrament. Difficult questions are involved in this request. Should the General Assembly foster the creation of a new situation in the church, in which practicing homosexual persons would be free to affirm their lifestyle publicly and to obtain the church's blessing upon this through ordination? Or should the church reaffirm its historic opposition to homosexual behavior? These questions must be dealt with in the context of the whole life and mission of the church. To answer them, we must examine the nature of homosexuality according to current scientific understandings, interpreted within the context of our theological understandings of God's purpose for human life. To this purpose, in all its rich variety, the Scripture attests. Church membership, ordination, pluralism and unity in the church, and the Christian response in ministry and mission must then, in turn, be examined.

Homosexuality Within a Theological Context

New data and hypotheses in psychology, sociology, endocrinology, and the other secular disciplines cannot in themselves determine a shift in the church's posture on this issue. Very frequently these disciplines shed new light upon our understanding of homosexuality and how the church should respond to it. Frequently the results of scientific inquiry are tentative and inconclusive, neutral in their theological and ethical implications, or even weighted with unspoken values and assumptions that are misleading against the background of biblical faith. Therefore, we must address the task of theologically interpreting these extrabiblical data, while at the same time renewing our understanding of Scripture and tradition in the light of those data in the sciences.

Medical and psychological theories concerning homosexuality and its causes are complex and often contradictory. Among the multitude of hypotheses and conclusions currently being entertained, a small but significant body of facts emerges that enlarges our understanding of what homosexuality is and how we should respond to it. It seems clear that homosexuality is primarily a matter of affectional attraction that cannot be defined simply in terms of genital acts, although the homosexual orientation may be so expressed.

Most human beings experience occasional homosexual attraction, although not always consciously. It is reasonably certain that somewhere between 5 and 10 percent of the human population is exclusively or predominantly homosexual in orientation. Exclusively homosexual persons appear to be remarkably resistant to reorientation through most psychiatric methods. Most exclusively homosexual persons believe that their condition is irreversible. Some secular therapists working with those motivated to change report some success in reversal, and counselors employing both the resources of Christian faith and psychotherapeutic techniques report a higher rate of success. It appears that two critical variables are involved. First, do therapist and client believe that change is possible? Second, how convinced is the client that change is desirable?

The causes of homosexuality now appear to be remarkably numerous and diverse. There is no one explanation for homosexual affectional preference, and thus neither the persons involved nor their parents can be singled out as responsible for the homosexual orientation. Most authorities now assume that both heterosexuality and homosexuality result primarily from psychological and social factors affecting human beings during their growth toward maturity, with some possible influence from biological factors. Most homosexual persons do not consciously choose their affectional preference, although they do face the choice of whether to accept it or to seek change, and of whether to express it in genital acts or to remain celibate. However, although homosexual affectional preference is not always the result of conscious choice, it may be interpreted as part of the involuntary and often unconscious drive away from God's purposes that characterizes fallen human nature, falling short of God's intended patterns for human sexuality.

Human sexuality has a dynamic quality. Within the constraints of nature, nurture serves to transform both sexual identity and intersexual preference. Our sexuality is vulnerable to shaping influences from many directions.

As the embryo develops, the single root organism unfolds and differentiates, sometimes making a boy, sometimes a girl, sometimes a sexually ambiguous being. Following an initial gender assignment, we believe and nurture ourselves and one another into authentic or inauthentic sexual beings.

We find here a parallel to the Genesis account of the creation of humankind, which speaks of the precious and precarious balance of male and female life together that perpetually needs both our affirmation and God's upholding grace. Genesis offers polemic against deviations from the wise separation of humankind into man and woman. It is this separation that makes union possible. In creation, God separates woman from man so that they are constituted with yearning for each other. Becoming one flesh they portray the glory of his image in the earth.

To say that God created humankind male and female, called man and woman to join in partnership as one flesh, and commanded them to multiply (Genesis 1:27-28; 2:24)

is to describe how God intended loving companionship between a man and a woman to be a fundamental pattern of human relationship and the appropriate context for male-female genital sexual expression. However, to say that God created humankind male and female, called man and woman to join in partnership as one flesh, and commanded them to multiply is not to state that God intended to limit the possibility for meaningful life to heterosexual marriage. Jesus' own celibate lifestyle and his commitment to his own ministry rather than to the biological family (Matthew 12:46–50; Mark 3:31–35; Luke 8:19–21) demonstrates the blessing of God upon life lived outside the covenant of marriage.

This biological and theological argument has implications for homosexuality. It appears that one explanation of the process in which persons develop homosexual preferences and behavior is that men and women fall away from their intended being because of distorted or insufficent belief in who they are. They are not adequately upheld in being male and female, in being heterosexual, by self-belief and the belief of a supporting community.

Therefore, it appears that what is really important is not what homosexuality is but what we believe about it. Our understanding of its nature and causes is inconclusive, medically and psychologically. Our beliefs about homosexuality thus become paramount in importance. Do we value it, disvalue it, or find it morally neutral? Do we shape an environment that encourages movement toward homosexuality or one that nurtures heterosexual becoming?

We conclude that homosexuality is not God's wish for humanity. This we affirm, despite the fact that some of its forms may be deeply rooted in an individual's personality structure. Some persons are exclusively homosexual in orientation. In many cases homosexuality is more a sign of the brokenness of God's world than of willful rebellion. In other cases homosexual behavior is freely chosen or learned in environments where normal development is thwarted. Even where the homosexual orientation has not been consciously sought or chosen, it is neither a gift from God nor a state nor a condition like race; it is a result of our living in a fallen world.

How are we to find the light and freedom promised to us by our Lord through the Holy Spirit in such a world? Where do we find norms for authentic life, which in truth transcend the conditioning of history and culture, and the power to live by them?

We dare begin no other place than with the living Word, Jesus Christ, who in risen power transcends time and space and the limitations of our values, norms, and assumptions to confront, judge, and redeem us. It is here that all theological confession and affirmation must begin—in the light of God as revealed to us in the incarnate and living Word, Jesus Christ. It is his exposure of our sin, his obedient sacrificial love, and his being raised in power to continue his activity of redemption of this world (1 Cor. 15:20–28) that brings us new light. This same God in Jesus Christ comes to make us whole, to redeem creation, and to restore it to the goodness proclaimed at creation. Yet the prelude to this redemption is divine judgment.

To look at the Christ is to see at once the brokenness of the world in which we live and the brokenness of our own lives. This comes as the supreme crisis in our life.

Yet, in the moment of this crisis, the Spirit of God brings the confirmation of divine forgiveness, moves us to respond in faith, repentance, and obedience, and initiates the new life in Christ.

Jesus Christ calls us out of the alienation and isolation of our fallen state into the freedom of new life. This new life redeems us as sexual beings but is impossible without repentance. To claim that God's love for us removes divine judgment of us is to eliminate the essence of divine love and to exchange grace for romantic sentimentality. There is a necessary judgment in God's love—else it cannot redeem. It was this Christ who said to the woman in adultery, "Go and sin no more" (John 8:1–12), and to the rich young ruler: "One thing you still lack. Sell all that you have and distribute to the poor . . . and come, follow me." (Luke 18:22 and parallels.)

Jesus Christ calls us out of the alienation, brokenness, and isolation of our fallen state into the freedom of new life in Christ. We deny that this new life liberates us to license and affirm that it frees and empowers us for lives of obedience whereby all of life becomes subject to his Lordship.

Scripture and Homosexuality

We have already indicated that we must examine scientific data but must move beyond them in order to understand what our sexuality means and how it should be expressed. We anchor our understanding of homosexuality in the revelation in Scripture of God's intention for human sexuality.

In order to comprehend the biblical view of homosexuality, we cannot simply limit ourselves to those texts that directly address this issue. We must first understand something of what the Scriptures teach about human sexuality in general. As we examine the whole framework of teaching bearing upon our sexuality from Genesis onward, we find that homosexuality is a contradiction of God's wise and beautiful pattern for human sexual relationships revealed in Scripture and affirmed in God's ongoing will for our life in the Spirit of Christ. It is a confusion of sexual roles that mirrors the tragic inversion in which men and women worship the creature instead of the Creator. God created us male and female to display in clear diversityand balance the range of qualities in God's own nature. The opening chapters of Genesis show that sexual union as "one flesh" is established within the context of companionship and the formation of the family. Nature confirms revelation in the functional compatibility of male and female genitalia and the natural process of procreation and family continuity.

Human sin has deeply affected the processes by which sexual orientation is formed, with the result that none of us, heterosexual or homosexual, fulfill perfectly God's plan for our sexuality. This makes it all the more imperative for revelation to make clear for us how our sexual relationships are to be conducted so as to please God and challenge us to seek God's will instead of following our own. Though none of us will ever achieve perfect fulfillment of God's will, all Christians are responsible to view their sins as God views them and to strive against them. To evade this responsibility is to permit the church to model for the world forms of sexual behavior that may seriously injure individuals, families, and the whole fabric of human

society. Homosexual persons who will strive toward God's revealed will in this area of their lives, and make use of all the resources of grace, can receive God's power to transform their desires or arrest their active expression.

Within the context of general biblical teaching on human sexuality, a number of passages dealing specifically with homosexuality are significant for our response to this issue. These are, of course, complementary to the wider biblical themes of creation, fall, and redemption.

Three Scriptures specifically address the issue of homosexual behavior between consenting males: Leviticus 18:22, Leviticus 20:13, and Romans 1:26–27. Romans 1:26–27 also addresses the issue of homosexual behavior between consenting females. These three passages stand in an integral and complementary relationship. Leviticus 20:13 regards homosexual behavior as an "abomination."

In the Reformed tradition, the Leviticus passages are considered part of the moral law and thus are different in kind from Levitical proscriptions against certain foods, for instance, which belong to the ritual law. Jesus declared "all foods clean" (Mark 7:19)—one declaration among many that the ritual law of the Old Testament is transcended and fulfilled in him. Moral law in the New Testament is not the means of salvation, for that is Christ alone. Rather, obedience to the moral law is a fruit of grace and salvation.

Genesis 19:1–29 and Judges 19:16–26 show that homosexual rape is a violation of God's justice. II Peter 2:6–10 and Jude 7 suggest a wider context of homosexual practice in Sodom, implying that such rape was but one expression of prior homosexual practice in the population.

Romans 1:26–27 speaks to the problem of homosexual passion, describing it as "dishonorable," as well as to homosexual behavior, which is described as "unnatural." By "unnatural" the Scripture does not mean contrary to custom, nor contrary to the preference of a particular person, but rather contrary to that order of universal human sexual nature that God intended in Genesis 1 and 2.

We emphasize that Paul here includes homosexual behavior in a larger catalog of sins, which includes pride, greed, jealousy, disobedience to parents, and deceit. Homosexual behavior is no greater a sin and no less a sin than these.

Two other texts, I Corinthians 6:9–10 and I Timothy 1:9–10, show further New Testament opposition to homosexual behavior. I Corinthians probably distinguishes between the more passive partners or catamites (*malakoi*) and the more active partners (*arsenokoitai*). Homosexual relationships in the Hellenistic world were widespread. We may safely assume that some were characterized by tenderness, commitment, and altruism. Yet the New Testament declares that all homosexual practice is incompatible with Christian faith and life. No Scriptures speak of homosexuality as granted by God. No Scriptures permit or condone any of the forms of homosexuality. In Matthew 19:1–12, Jesus reaffirms God's intention for sexual intercourse, enduring marriage between husband and wife, and affirms godly celibacy for those not entering the marriage covenant.

The biblical revelation to Israel, reaffirmed in the teaching of Jesus and Paul, portrayed in the *theology and human creation*, specifically reflected in the ethical teaching in both the Old and New Testaments, and confirmed in nature, clearly indicates that genital sexual expression is meant to occur within the covenant of heterosexual marriage. Behavior that is pleasing to God cannot simply be defined as that which pleases others or expresses our own strong needs and identity; it must flow out of faithful and loving obedience to God. Sin cannot simply be defined as behavior that is selfish or lustful. Many unselfish deeds ignore God's expressed intentions for our lives. Homosexual Christians who fail to recognize God's revealed intent for sexual behavior and who move outside God's will in this area of their lives may show many gifts and graces. They may evidence more grace than heterosexual believers who so readily stand in judgment over them. This does not mean that God approves their behavior in the area in which they are failing to be obedient.

To conclude that the Spirit contradicts in our experience what the Spirit clearly said in Scripture is to set Spirit against Spirit and to cut ourselves loose from any objective test to confirm that we are following God and not the spirits in our culture or our own fallible reason. The church that destroys the balance between Word and Spirit, so carefully constructed by the Reformers to insure that we follow none other than Jesus Christ who is the Word, will soon lose its Christian substance and become indistinguishable from the world. We have been charged to seek "new light from God's Word," not "new light" contrary to God's Word.

Church Membership

Persons who manifest homosexual behavior must be treated with the profound respect and pastoral tenderness due all people of God. There can be no place within the Christian faith for the response to homosexual persons of mingled contempt, hatred, and fear that is called homophobia.

Homosexual persons are encompassed by the searching love of Christ. The church must turn from its fear and hatred to move toward the homosexual community in love and to welcome homosexual inquirers to its congregations. It should free them to be candid about their identity and convictions, and it should also share honestly and humbly with them in seeking the vision of God's intention for the sexual dimensions of their lives.

As persons repent and believe, they become members of Christ's body. The church is not a citadel of the morally perfect; it is a hospital for sinners. It is the fellowship where contrite, needy people rest their hope for salvation on Christ and his righteousness. Here in community they seek and receive forgiveness and new life. The church must become the nurturing community so that all whose lives come short of the glory of God are converted, reoriented, and built up into Christian maturity. It may be only in the context of loving community, appreciation, pastoral care, forgiveness, and nurture that homosexual persons can come to a clear understanding of God's pattern for their sexual expression.

There is room in the church for all who give honest affirmation to the vows required for membership in the church. Homosexual persons who sincerely affirm "Jesus Christ is my Lord and Savior" and "I intend to be his disciple, to obey his word, and to show his love" should not be excluded from membership.

Ordination

To be an ordained officer is to be a human instrument, touched by divine powers but still an earthen vessel. As portrayed in Scripture, the officers set before the church and community an example of piety, love, service, and moral integrity. Officers are not free from repeated expressions of sin. Neither are members and officers free to adopt a lifestyle of conscious, continuing, and unresisted sin in any area of their lives. For the church to ordain a self-affirming, practicing homosexual person to ministry would be to act in contradiction to its charter and calling in Scripture, setting in motion both within the church and society serious contradictions to the will of Christ.

The repentant homosexual person who finds the power of Christ redirecting his or her sexual desires toward a married heterosexual commitment, or finds God's power to control his or her desires and to adopt a celibate lifestyle, can certainly be ordained, all other qualifications being met. Indeed, such candidates must be welcomed and be free to share their full identity. Their experience of hatred and rejection may have given them a unique capacity for love and sensitivity as wounded healers among heterosexual Christians, and they may be incomparably equipped to extend the church's outreach to the homosexual community.

We believe that Jesus Christ intends the ordination of officers to be a sign of hope to the church and the world. Therefore our present understanding of God's will precludes the ordination of persons who do not repent of homosexual practice.

Pluralism and Unity in the Church

We of the 190th General Assembly (1978) realize that not all United Presbyterians can in conscience agree with our conclusions. Some are persuaded that there are forms of homosexual behavior that are not sinful and that persons who practice these forms can legitimately be ordained.

This is wholly in keeping with the diversity of theological viewpoint and the pluralism of opinion that characterize the United Presbyterian Church. We are concerned not to stifle these diverging opinions and to encourage those who hold them to remain within the church. As Paul clearly teaches in Eph. 4:1–16, as members of Christ's body we desperately need one another. None of us is perfect. No opinion or decision is irreformable. Nor do we mean to close further study of homosexuality among the presbyteries and congregations. Quite the contrary, the action we recommend to the judicatories includes a firm direction to study this matter further, so that fear and hatred of homosexual persons may be healed and mission and ministry to homosexual persons strengthened and increased. The pluralism that can bring paralyzing weakness to the church when groups pursue their vision in isolation from one another can bring health and vigor when they practice pluralism-in-dialogue.

We want this dialogue to continue. Nevertheless, we judge that it cannot effectively be pursued in the uncertainty and insecurity that would be generated by the Assembly's silence on this matter at this time. On the basis of our understanding that the practice of homosexuality is sin, we are concerned that homosexual believers and the observing world should not be left in doubt about the church's mind on this issue during any further period of study. Even some who see some forms of homosexual behavior as moral are concerned that persons inside and outside the church will stumble in their faith and understanding if this matter is unresolved.

Ministry and Mission

In ministry the church seeks to express and portray the grace and mercy of Christ in worship, nurture, evangelism, and service to those within the covenant community. In mission the church proclaims to all the good news of redemption and reconciliation, calls persons and nations to repentant faith in Christ, and promotes and demonstrates the advance of his rule in history through healing works of mercy and prophetic witness that aim at justice and liberation.

In its ministry and mission the church must offer both to homosexual persons and to those who fear and hate them God's gracious provision of redemption and forgiveness. It must call both to repentant faith in Christ, urging both toward loving obedience to God's will.

The church's grappling with the issue of homosexuality has already energized its membership in a remarkable awakening of prayer and theological study. Our study should continue with the aim of reaching harmony in our diverging positions on homosexuality and other crucial issues. Our prayer should now be concentrated upon this process of internal reconciliation and also upon the creation of ministry with homosexual persons. Great love and care must be exercised toward homosexual persons already within our church, both those who have affirmed their sexual identity and practice and those who have in conscience chosen not to do so. We urge candidates committees, ministerial relations committees, personnel committees, nominating committees, and judicatories to conduct their examination of candidates for ordained office with discretion and sensitivity, recognizing that it would be a hindrance to God's grace to make a specific inquiry into the sexual orientation or practice of candidates for ordained office or ordained officers where the person involved has not taken the initiative in declaring his or her sexual orientation.

The Christian community can neither condone nor participate in the widespread contempt for homosexual persons that prevails in our general culture. Indeed, beyond this, it must do everything in its power to prevent society from continuing to hate, harass, and oppress them. The failure of the church to demonstrate grace in its life has contributed to the forcing of homosexual persons into isolated communities. This failure has served to reinforce the homosexual way of life and to heighten alienation from both church and society. The church should be a spiritual and moral vanguard leading society in response to homosexual persons.

Through direct challenge and support the church should encourage the public media—television, film, the arts, and literature—to portray in a wholesome manner robust, fully human life expressing the finer qualities of the human spirit. It should call upon its members and agencies to work to eliminate prejudicial and stereotypical images of homosexual persons in the public media.

Decriminalization and Civil Rights

There is no legal, social, or moral justification for denying homosexual persons access to the basic requirements of human social existence. Society does have a legitimate role in regulating some sexual conduct, for criminal law properly functions to preserve public order and decency and to protect citizens from public offense, personal injury, and exploitation. Thus, criminal law properly prohibits homosexual and heterosexual acts that involve rape, coercion, corruption of minors, mercenary exploitation, or public display. However, homosexual and heterosexual acts in private between consenting adults involve none of these legitimate interests of society. Sexual conduct in private between consenting adults is a matter of private morality to be instructed by religious precept or ethical example and persuasion, rather than by legal coercion.

Vigilance must be exercised to oppose federal, state, and local legislation that discriminates against persons on the basis of sexual orientation and to initiate and support federal, state, or local legislation that prohibits discrimination against persons on the basis of sexual orientation in employment, housing, and public accommodations. This provision would not affect the church's employment policies.

Conclusions

I. *Response to Overture 9 (1976)*

The Presbytery of New York City and the Presbytery of the Palisades have asked the General Assembly to give "definitive guidance" in regard to the ordination of persons who may be otherwise well qualified but who affirm their own homosexual identity and practice.

The phrase "homosexual persons" does not occur in the Book of Order of the United Presbyterian Church. No phrase within the Book of Order explicitly prohibits the ordination of self-affirming, practicing homosexual persons to office within the church. However, no phrase within the Book of Order can be construed as an explicit mandate to disregard sexual practice when evaluating candidates for ordination. In short, the Book of Order does not give explicit direction to presbyteries, elders, and congregations as to whether or not self-affirming, practicing homosexual persons are eligible or ineligible for ordination to office.

Therefore, the 190th General Assembly (1978) of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America offers the presbyteries the following definitive guidance:

That unrepentant homosexual practice does not accord with the requirements for ordination set forth in Form of Government, Chapter VII, Section 3 (37.03): . . ."It is indispensable that, besides possessing the necessary gifts and abilities, natural and acquired, everyone undertaking a particular ministry should have a sense of inner persuasion, be sound in the faith, live according to godliness, have the approval of God's people and the concurring judgment of a lawful judicatory of the Church."

In relation to candidates for the ordained ministry, committees should be informed by the above guidance.

II. *Recommendations*

Consistent with this policy statement and conclusions, the 190th General Assembly (1978):

1. Adopts this policy statement and directs the Office of the General Assembly to send a copy of the policy statement to all congregations, presbyteries, and synods and to provide it for widespread distribution.

2. Receives the background paper of the Task Force to Study Homosexuality as a study document, and directs the Office of the General Assembly to provide copies to all congregations, presbyteries, and synods and to make such copies available to others upon request.

3. Urges judicatories, agencies, and local churches to undertake a variety of educational activities, using both formal and informal church structures and organizations.

a. Since homosexuality is one issue that helps clarify our general responsibility to God in the world and focuses many dimensions of belief and action, such educational activities should probe such basic issues as (1) the strengthening of family life; (2) ministry to single persons and affirmation of their full participation in the Christian community; (3) nurturing lifestyles in our families, congregations, and communities that celebrate the values of friendship with peers of one's own sex and the opposite sex, committed choice of life-mates, joyous and loving fidelity within marriage, the establishment of homes where love and care can nurture strong children able to give loving service to others, and the fashioning of an atmosphere of justice, truth, and kindness that signals Christ's presence; (4) understanding how to extend ministries of deep concern and challenge to those who through choice or circumstance are sexually active, homosexually or heterosexually, outside the covenant of marriage; (5) helping those whose ability to show loving concern is destroyed by homophobia—the irrational fear of and contempt for homosexual persons.

b. Workshops in synods and presbyteries should be conducted both to explore ways to help homosexual persons participate in the life of the church and to discover new ways of reaching out to homosexual persons outside the church.

c. Courses on sexuality should be initiated by seminaries, colleges, and churches to provide officers and members with a systematic understanding of the dynamics of human sexuality as understood within the context of Christian ethics.

d. Contact and dialogue should be encouraged among groups and persons of all persuasions on the issue of homosexuality.

4. Urges presbyteries and congregations to develop outreach programs to communities of homosexual persons beyond the church to allow higher levels of rapport to emerge.

5. Urges agencies of the General Assembly, as appropriate, to develop responses to the following needs:

a. Support for outreach programs by presbyteries and congregations to homosexual persons beyond the church to allow higher levels of rapport to emerge.

b. Encouragement of contact and dialogue among groups and persons who disagree on whether or not homosexuality is sinful per se and whether or not homosexual persons may be ordained as church officers.

c. Development of structures to counsel and support homosexual persons concerned about their sexuality and their Christian faith.

d. Development of pastoral counseling programs for those affected or offended by the decision of this General Assembly.

6. Urges candidates committees, personnel committees, nominating committees, and judicatories to conduct their examination of candidates for ordained office with discretion and sensitivity, recognizing that it would be a hindrance to God's grace to make a specific inquiry into the sexual orientation or practice of candidates for ordained office or ordained officers where the person involved has not taken the initiative in declaring his or her sexual orientation.

7. Calls upon the media to continue to work to end the use of harmful stereotypes of homosexual persons; and encourages agencies of the General Assembly, presbyteries, and congregations to develop strategies to insure the end of such abuse.

8. Calls on United Presbyterians to reject in their own lives, and challenge in others, the sin of homophobia, which drives homosexual persons away from Christ and his church.

9. Encourages persons working in the human sciences and therapies to pursue research that will seek to learn more about the nature and causes of homosexuality.

10. Encourages the development of support communities of homosexual Christians seeking sexual reorientation or meaningful, joyous, and productive celibate lifestyles and the dissemination throughout the church of information about such communities.

11. Encourages seminaries to apply the same standards for homosexual and heterosexual persons applying for admission.

12. Reaffirms the need, as expressed by the 182nd General Assembly (1970) for United Presbyterians to work for the decriminalization of private homosexual acts between consenting adults, and calls for an end to the discriminatory enforcement of other criminal laws against homosexual persons.

13. Calls upon United Presbyterians to work for the passage of laws that prohibit discrimination in the areas of employment, housing, and public accommodations based on the sexual orientation of a person.

14. Declares that these actions shall not be used to affect negatively the ordination rights of any United Presbyterian deacon, elder, or minister who has been ordained prior to this date.

Further the 190th General Assembly (1978) calls upon those who in conscience have difficulty accepting the decisions of this General Assembly bearing on homosexuality to express that conscience by continued dialogue within the church.

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Homosexuality

The Presbyterian General Assemblies have addressed the issue of homosexuality in three different ways. The Assemblies have addressed homosexuality per se, asking, as in the 1978 UPCUSA Assembly, is homosexuality -- as opposed to heterosexuality -- "God's wish for humanity?" (UPCUSA, 1978, p. 262) The PCUS addressed the same issue in 1980 when its Assembly declared that the church "should be open to more light on what goes into the shaping one's sexual preference and reexamine its life and teaching in relation to people who are seeking acceptance and who are apparently not free to change their orientation." (PCUS, 1980, p. 213)

The Assemblies have also addressed the issue in terms of the relationship between the church and homosexual persons. The Assemblies have concluded "that every persons, without limitation, is the object of God's gracious love in Jesus Christ, (UPCUSA, 1976, p. 111) that "there can be no place within the Christian Faith for the response to homosexual persons of mingled contempt, hatred, and fear that is called homophobia," (UPCUSA, 1978, p. 263; PCUS, 1979, p. 202), but that "for the church to ordain a self-affirming, practicing homosexual person to ministry would be to act in contradiction to its charter and calling in scripture." (UPCUSA, 1978, p. 264; PCUS, 1979, p. 202)

The Assemblies have also addressed the issue of homosexuality in the context of the rights of gay and lesbian persons. The 1977 PCUS Assembly called for the protection of homosexual persons under the law from social and economic discrimination which is due all citizens and continued to reaffirm that call in subsequent years. (PCUS, 1977, p. 174; PCUS, 1978, p. 190; PCUS, 1979, p. 208) The 1978 UPCUSA declared that "there is no legal, social, or moral justification for denying homosexual persons access to the basic requirements of human social existence." (UPCUSA, 1978, p. 265) In response to the AIDS crisis in the gay community, the 1983 Assembly of the PCUSA voted to "become an advocate of God's justice by expressing the concern of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) at the immensity and complexity of this escalating epidemic." (PC(USA), 1983, p. 96) In 1986 the Assembly adopted a resolution on AIDS which contained strong anti-discrimination provisions. (PC(USA), 1986, p. 495) In 1987, the General Assembly called "for the elimination ... of laws governing the private sexual behavior between consenting adults [and for the passage] of laws forbidding discrimination based on sexual orientation in employment, housing, and public accommodation." (PC(USA), 1987, p. 776)

1976

I. The All-Encompassing Grace of God

We affirm once again that every person, without limitation, is the object of God's gracious love in Jesus Christ. Only by approaching the subject of homosexuality with love, compassion, prayer and honesty, can our church continue in its great Reformed tradition.

II. God Continues to Reveal His Will

Because God continues to reveal more of himself and his will in each succeeding age, we do not believe that a position taken in any one period sets forth the final understanding of his Word to the church. We know that there is always more light to break forth from the Bible through the work of Holy Spirit. Jesus said, "I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now. When the Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you into all the truth. (John 16:12-13)

III. We Must Declare Our Present Understanding

Nevertheless, in the life of the church today it is necessary, as in past ages, to declare a present understanding of God's will for the guidance of his people in the real issues they face.

Therefore the 188th General Assembly (1976) calls to the attention of our triumph that, according to our most recent statement, we "reaffirm our adherence to the moral law of God...that...the practice of homosexuality is sin....Also we affirm that any self-righteous attitude of others who would condemn persons who have so sinned is also sin." (Minutes, 1970, Part I, page 469.) The 188th General Assembly (1976) declares again its commitment to this statement. Therefore, on broad Scriptural and confessional grounds, it appears that it would at the present time be injudicious, if not improper, for a presbytery to ordain to the professional ministry of the gospel to a person who is an avowed practicing homosexual. (UPCUSA, 1976, p. 111)

1977

The General Assembly called for just treatment of homosexual persons in our society in regard to their civil liberties, equal rights, and protection under the law from social and economic discrimination which is due all citizens. (PCUS, 1977, p. 174)

1978

We conclude that homosexuality is not God's wish for humanity. This we affirm, despite the fact that some of its forms may be deeply rooted in an individual's personality structure. Some persons are exclusively homosexual in orientation. In many cases homosexuality is more a sign of the brokenness of God's world than of willful rebellion. In other cases homosexual behavior is freely chosen or learned in environments where normal development is thwarted. Even where the homosexual orientation has not been consciously sought or chosen, it is neither a gift from God nor a state nor a condition like race; it is a result of our living in a fallen world. (UPCUSA, 1978, p. 262)

We believe that Jesus Christ intends the ordination of officers to be a sign of hope to the church and the world. Therefore our present understanding of God's will precludes the ordination of persons who do not repent of homosexual practice.

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from repeated expressions of sin. Neither are members and officers free to adopt a lifestyle of conscious, continuing, and unresisted sin in any area of their lives. For the church to ordain a self-affirming, practicing homosexual person to ministry would be to act in contradiction to its character and calling in Scripture, setting in motion both within the church and society serious contradictions to the will of Christ.

Decriminalization and Civil Rights

There is no legal, social, or moral justification for denying homosexual persons access to the basic requirements of human social existence. Society does have a legitimate role in regulating some sexual conduct, for criminal law properly functions to preserve public order and decency and to protect citizens from public offense, personal injury, and exploitation. Thus, criminal law properly prohibits homosexual and heterosexual acts that involve rape, coercion, corruption of minors, mercenary exploitation, or public display. However, homosexual and heterosexual acts in private between consenting adults involve none of these legitimate interests of society. Sexual conduct in private between consenting adults is a matter of private morality to be instructed by religious precept or ethical example and persuasion, rather than by legal coercion.

Vigilance must be exercised to oppose federal, state, and local legislation that discriminates against persons on the basis of sexual orientation and to initiate and support federal, state, or local legislation that prohibits discrimination against persons on the basis of sexual orientation in employment, housing, and public accommodations. This provision would not affect the church's employment policies.

Persons who manifest homosexual behavior must be treated with the profound respect and pastoral tenderness due all people of God. There can be no place within the Christian faith for the response to homosexual persons of mingled contempt, hatred, and fear that is called homophobia.

Homosexual persons are encompassed by the searching love of Christ. The church must turn from its fear and hatred to move toward the homosexual community in love and to welcome homosexual inquirers to its congregations. It should free them to be candid about their identity and convictions, and it should also share honestly and humbly with them in seeking the vision of God's intention for the sexual dimensions of their lives.

The Christian community can neither condone nor participate in the widespread contempt for homosexual persons that prevails in our general culture. Indeed, beyond this, it must do everything in its power to prevent society from continuing to hate, harass, and oppress them. The failure of the church to demonstrate grace in its life has contributed to the forcing of homosexual persons into isolated communities. This failure has served to reinforce the homosexual way of life and to heighten alienation from both church and society. The church should be a spiritual and moral vanguard leading society in response to homosexual persons. (UPCUSA, 1978, p. 262)

1979

The General Assembly adopted as its position on the ordination of homosexual persons the policy passed by the United Presbyterian Church a year earlier, reworked to fit the particularities of PCUS polity. (PCUS, 1979, p. 202)

The General Assembly also reaffirmed its 1977 and 1977 position on justice for homosexual

persons, and added: "concern for the civil rights of all those who reject the practice of homosexuality as an acceptable style of life." (PCUS, 1979, p. 208)

1980

Homosexuality presents a particular problem for the church. It seems to be contrary to the teaching of scripture. It seems to repudiate the heterosexual process which gave us life. Further, many believe that such an orientation can be changed simply by personal decision or by the creation of healthy environments for the young. The church though should be aware of the partial nature of our knowledge of homosexuality. For instance, whether or not sexual orientation is something unchosen and unchangeable for most people is a matter of crucial significance which continues to be unsettled among scientists or ethicists. The church should be sensitive to the difficulty of rejecting a persons's orientation without rejecting the persons. It should be open to more light on what goes into shaping one's sexual preferences and reexamine its life and teaching in relation to people who are seeking affirmation and needing acceptance and who are apparently not free to change their orientation. (PCUS, 1980, p. 213)

1982

The General Assembly reaffirmed its position on the ordination of homosexual persons to the pastoral ministry. (UPCUSA, 1982, p. 111)

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON, DC 20350-2000

IN REPLY REFER TO
5370
Ser 097/0186
5 Mar 93

Dear Endorsing Agent:

The proposed lifting of the ban on homosexuals in the military is among a number of topics concerning the future of our armed services. Commanders faced with downsizing of personnel and resources, and the difficult task of maintaining unit cohesion, will surely call upon chaplains to assist.

The attached letter has been sent to all chaplains. I encourage you to discuss the letter with the chaplains whom you endorse. I invite your own response to me, and ask for your support and prayers.

Sincerely,

David E. White

DAVID E. WHITE
Rear Admiral, CHC, U.S. Navy

Encl:
(1) My 26 Feb 93 letter to Navy Chaplains

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON, DC 20350-2000

IN REPLY REFER TO
1730/3
Ser 097/0104

FEB 26 1993

Dear Chaplain,

Great challenges confront us today as the world, our nation and the sea services experience rapid change. Uncertainty and anxiety affect us and our shipmates. Tailhook and its potential aftermath, funding and personnel decrements, violence, sexism, racism, issues of abortion and discussion of lifting the ban on homosexuals in the Services bring apprehension and fear to many.

As chaplains we regularly find ourselves in the midst of conflicting points of view. We firmly hold fast to our religious beliefs and proclaim them while ministering to persons of our own faith group. Yet we also minister within an institution composed of a pluralistic community where diversity abounds. While we can not always agree theologically with colleagues or shipmates, we can listen respectfully to others' opinions and care for all who share our common life.

The discussion of lifting the ban on homosexuals in the military presents a special challenge. Regardless of our theological perspective, we must help raise this issue above emotion to a higher level. We must identify the theological, ethical and human concerns involved, and then focus a ministry which remains God-centered and pastorally caring for all.

At this critical moment, I would invite you to reconsider some of the cardinal tenets of institutional ministry by which our Corps has served throughout its history:

1) <u>We provide for personnel of our own faith group, facilitate for others and care for all</u>. This truth distinguishes our ministry within the institution of the naval service and lies at the heart of our calling as chaplains.

2) <u>We teach that there are right and wrong behaviors</u>. Right behavior acts out of the heart of God and seeks the wholeness of another. Wrong behavior uses, exploits, manipulates and abuses people. As chaplains we are expected always to teach and model behavior which flows from our faith group foundations.

3) <u>We affirm human dignity and individual worth</u>. All people are children of God and do not deserve discrimination in any form. Hate is always wrong; so are bigotry, bias and religious intolerance.

Encl (1)

4) In love, we always speak God's word with the hearers in mind. We tear down walls and build bridges, not the other way around. It also means that we use tact and discretion as we speak what we regard to be the truth in our role as chaplains, as well as in our role as denominational clergy.

5) We support the faith group and military systems within which we minister. Both systems have rules to guide and maintain their respective communities and to achieve their missions. If we cannot support these rules, we must in conscience seek change, or resign. While the latter choice will be respected and supported, it is not what I hope will happen.

In the coming months I encourage you to engage in honest dialogue and prayer over the special challenges before us. I am confident that your ministry will continue to exemplify the sensitivity and compassion which Navy chaplains have demonstrated throughout history.

D. E. White

DAVID E. WHITE