

**REPORT OF THE ADMISSION OF
WOMEN TO THE U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
PROJECT ATHENA IV 1980**

Report of the Admission of
Women to the U.S. Military Academy
Project Athena IV

by

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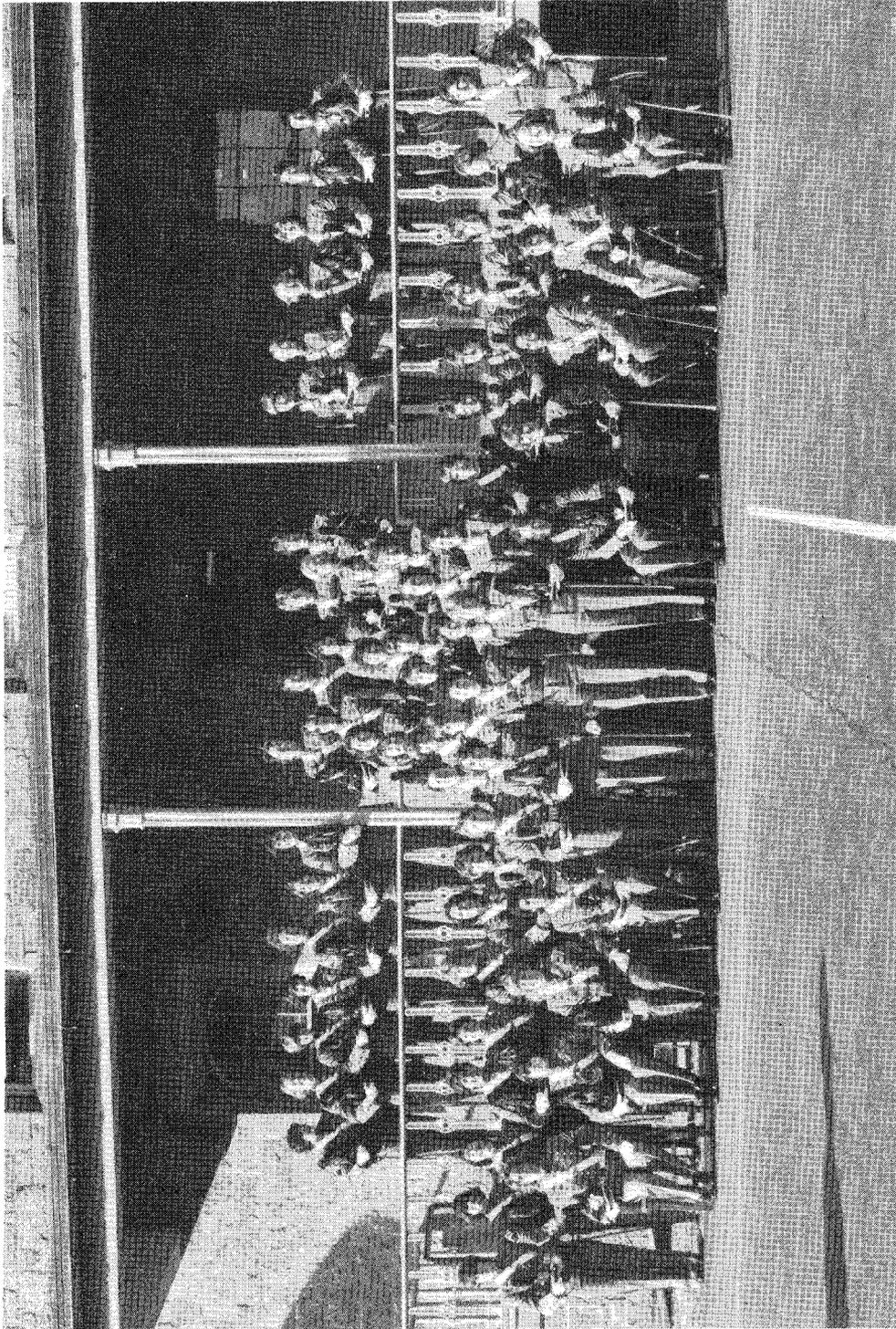
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Abstract

Report on the Admission of Women
to the U.S. Military Academy
Project Athena IV

This report provides a summary on the analysis of coeducation at West Point from June 1979 to June 1980. Included are highlights of individual research projects conducted to understand better the integration process.

The document is organized into six parts. The first four parts relate to a specific concept for cadet development: military, physical, intellectual, and moral. The fifth part deals with cadet social development. The last part describes plans for future research on post-graduation performance and adjustment. The monograph concludes that women have been effectively integrated into the Corps of Cadets and all graduates are being prepared to lead in an Army which requires the integrated services of men and women.

Executive Summary

The purpose of this report is to highlight how well women are being integrated into the Corps of Cadets at West Point. The study, titled Project Athena, has been conducted for the past four years, and it has progressively evolved into a four-phase program:

Preadmission phase to prepare cadets and the military community for the arrival of women, and to document the experiences of women in the Class of 1980 in this first year at West Point (Vitters and Kinzer, 1977).

Integration phase which included a descriptive comparison of men and women during their first two years at West Point (Vitters, 1978).

Assimilation phase which focused on attitudes, values, and performances of cadets in the first three years of coeducation (Adams, 1979).

Graduate Assessment phase which has used the four-year longitudinal data of Athena as a foundation upon which to evaluate how well women are ready to assume and will perform their roles as regular Army officers.

The purpose of Project Athena is to conduct a long-term academic research program which could also address practical concerns of senior decision-makers. Therefore, the project has examined the process of

integration by studying the integration of women in military, physical, intellectual, moral, and social development. The following is a brief summary of the findings.

The military development of women in the Classes of 1980 and 1981 has been studied quite closely. The most recent evidence shows that women in leadership roles were perceived to be just as effective as male leaders. Also, units led by women were considered to be just as effective as units led by men.

The most recent studies of leaders' gender show that successful performance of units led by women in the Class of 1980 was not attributed to external factors such as luck. Rather, followers acknowledged the effective performance of women. In a study of cadet leaders in actual Army units, women were not rated lower than their male peers due to gender.

In branch and specialty choices, men were influenced by role models more than were women. Surprisingly, marriage and family life-style preferences were not important factors which influenced the career specialty choices of men and women in the Class of 1980.

There is consistent evidence which shows that

women's physical performance is related to how well women are accepted by their male peers. There are some male cadets who do not fully understand and support the doctrine of equivalent training. Generally, women have encountered more problems in physical development than in other aspects of cadet development.

In the area of intellectual development, women's overall performance is comparable to the men. Early distinct differences in Military Sciences disappear in the junior and senior classes. The women are on a par with men. For example, the first female cadet Rhodes scholar was Andrea Hollen from the Class of 1980.

In terms of furthering cadet moral development, women appear to have internalized value patterns similar to men who attend West Point. Both male and female cadets appear to have well-developed sets of beliefs about honor and duty. The concept of country seems to be not as well defined.

Support groups have been helpful for women in their social adjustment and development. The Corbin Seminar played a useful support role for some women. Others found support in already established groups with large male memberships. Still other women wanted to avoid activities which might call attention to them as

women. It is not known to what degree the latter group have sacrificed their personal identity as women in favor of the role as cadets.

Continued studies of self-concept reveal that both men and women have tended to attribute to themselves higher levels of agentic or psychologically masculine qualities. There is no evidence to indicate that the four-year experiences at West Point have been psychologically damaging to the self-concept of male and female cadets. The majority of female cadets in the Class of 1980 when interviewed just prior to graduation did not feel that they had become less culturally feminine.

Future research is being planned to follow the female graduates from West Point, comparing their career preparation, early officer experiences, and long-term career outcomes with those of their male peers.

In conclusion, the integration of women into the Corps of Cadets at West Point has been successful. Still, improvements are needed, especially in the areas of physical and social development. Because the primary purpose of the Military Academy is to prepare male and female cadets for a life of national service

as Army officers, the ultimate success of how well women have been integrated will be measured by how ready they are to perform their roles as regular Army officers.



INTRODUCTION

The fourth report on the integration of women into the Corps of Cadets at West Point (Project Athena IV) will summarize the major activities which have been implemented at West Point to educate, train, and develop female cadets to become regular Army officers. This monograph will focus especially on the members of the Class of 1980 who have completed just recently their four-year experience at West Point.

Project Athena has been a broad-based longitudinal research program jointly sponsored by the U.S. Military Academy and the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Social and Behavioral Sciences. The overall purpose of Project Athena is to conduct an academic research program which also could address practical concerns of senior policy planners. Thus, there are two program goals. One research goal is to contribute to the scientific understanding of an important organizational process -- coeducation at a military institution. The second program goal is an outgrowth of the first -- to provide knowledge to policy planners of findings which have practical implications for managing the integration process.

However, knowledge is useful in making policy only when it can be linked appropriately to the Academy's mission. In February 1979, the Superintendent approved a document titled, "Basic Concepts for the United States Military Academy." In the beginning of that document, the mission of the United States Military Academy is defined as follows:

to educate, train, and inspire the Corps of Cadets so that each graduate shall have the character, leadership, intellectual foundation, and other attributes essential to progressive and continuing development throughout a career of exemplary service to the nation as an officer on the regular Army.

The young women and men who enter West Point as cadets must be prepared for effective leadership to meet the needs of today's Army. Therefore, inherent objectives of the Military Academy are (a) to provide education and training programs for cadets which support the integrated Army and (b) to graduate officers who can effectively lead in units which require the integrated services of men and women.

The monograph which follows will report the scientific results of the integration of women based upon the Academy's four approved concepts and a fifth proposed concept. The first chapter will discuss the

integration of women in military development. The second chapter will describe research about the integration of women in physical development. The third chapter will consist of a discussion of intellectual development of female and male cadets. In chapter four, male and female moral development will be discussed. The fifth chapter will present research regarding cadet social development. Finally, chapter six will conclude with post graduation issues and research needs about members of the Class of 1980 and their successors.

Background

The evolution of Project Athena as a longitudinal research program has been well documented elsewhere (Vitters and Kinzer, 1977; Adams, 1979). No attempt will be made here to redundantly restate the operational goals of the program.

Project Athena has focused successfully upon the individual female cadet. Men have been included as a meaningful basis of comparison. The study has examined cadets in light of five areas of cadet life: military, physical, intellectual, moral, and social development. The methods for collecting data have been primarily

through the use of questionnaires, personal interviews, direct observation, and objective performance data retrieved from archival record sources. This research approach has been productive, but not without inherent costs. These data collection methods have been cumbersome to the staff and faculty and for the question-weary cadets.

However, it should be noted that most longitudinal research is exploratory in the beginning, and only through this large range approach can subsequent research focus upon specific issues which are helpful to policy makers in managing the integration process.

Some of the specific issues under current investigation are:

1. Military Development:

a. Do male and female cadet leaders use different behaviors to influence their subordinates to complete a task?

b. Is gender still considered an important factor of leadership in the perceptions of followers who have female or male leaders?

c. Are male and female cadet leaders rated differently by Army officers?

d. Are male and female cadets influenced by the same factors in their branch specialty choices?

2. Physical Development:

a. Have women overcome the barriers of non-acceptance based upon physiological performance differences?

b. Do weight/diet control programs contribute to successful physical development of male and female cadets?

c. Do corps squad or intramural sports programs contribute to both female and male cadet development?

d. Has physical performance contributed to the attrition of former female cadets?

3. Intellectual Development:

a. Do women continue to perform as well as men in academic classwork?

b. Are there differences between the number of men and women who require action by the Academic Board based upon poor class grade performance?

c. Are changes in the curriculum at West Point necessary to accommodate the needs of women?

4. Moral Development:

a. What are the perceptions of men and women regarding the moral ethos required to become an Army officer?

b. Are there differences between men and women on value patterns?

c. Is there a greater number of conduct cases reported for men or women in the Corps?

5. Social Development:

a. Is there a need for the Academy to provide for support systems for women?

b. Have male and female self-concepts relating to psychological masculinity and femininity changed over the past four years?

c. Does increasing the contact with members of the opposite sex produce feelings of respect and friendship?

d. How satisfied are male and female cadets with their four-year experiences?

6. Post-graduation Issues:

a. How does the Military Academy evaluate how successful it has been in training and developing women as future Army officers?

b. How can senior Army planners in Washington improve their understanding of officers' early Army experiences as these factors relate to commitment and satisfaction?

The remainder of this document will summarize the results of several research projects conducted since the summer of 1979 in an attempt to provide some answers to many of the questions just raised. Although the information to be presented will be derived from scientific study, only the major findings will be displayed. The more detailed methodological design and elegant analyses will be documented in technical reports and academic publications listed in the reference section for those more concerned with the theoretical constructs. Copies of the technical research papers are available upon request. Thus, the primary audience for this document is the policy planning decision maker.



Chapter 1

MILITARY DEVELOPMENT

The main questions addressed in this chapter on military development are: (1) Do male and female cadet leaders use different behaviors to influence their subordinates to complete a work task? (2) Is gender still considered an important factor of leadership in the perceptions of followers who have female or male leaders? (3) Are male and female cadet leaders rated differently by Army officers? and (4) Are male and female cadets influenced by the same factors in their branch specialty choices?

Cadet Leader Behavior

Within the Academy's basic concept for military development is a requirement for the learning of military skills. The military development concept paper states in part that,

As a directional leader, the graduate must be able to make an estimate of the situation, set meaningful goals, and define paths to meet these goals successfully. The good officer must be a skillful planner with creative but practical ideas. ... Specifically,

he [or she] must set priorities, establish and enforce standards, estimate resource requirements, and control the process.

In order to study female and male cadet leaders' use of different behaviors, a questionnaire was developed to assess the following leader behaviors:

- Valence of Leader Actions
- Bases of Power
- Contingent Rewards and Punishments
- Influence Strategies

The data were collected in the summer of 1979 from male and female leaders in the Classes of 1980 and 1981 who were assigned to leadership chain of command positions at Cadet Basic Training (CBT) or Cadet Field Training (CFT). A more detailed description of the questionnaire design, scale development, reliability and data analyses is reported elsewhere (Adams, Rice, Instone and Prince, 1980).

Valence of Leader Behavior. Vroom (1964) identifies valence as a major variable in his theory of motivation (valence refers to the positive or negative feelings about anticipated satisfaction associated with

a particular outcome). The research issue being examined at West Point is whether men and women leader behaviors cause different positive or negative feelings (valence) in the minds of subordinates. Eight items assessed the cadets subjective evaluation of the valence associated with various actions the unit leader might take. In these questions, the valence concept was operationalized by asking respondents to indicate, on a five-point scale, how good or bad they would feel if particular events were to occur. These items were scored so that a high degree of feeling is associated with a high score (e.g., feeling very bad about a negative event such as a public reprimand, or feeling very good about a positive event, such as a good performance rating). The sum of the eight items represents the degree to which these various leader actions have any affective consequence (valence) in the mind of the respondent. A summary of the analysis for the total score for the valence of leader behavior is provided in Table 1.

In the Cadet Field Training (CFT) setting, subordinates attached greater valence to the actions of the female leaders than to male leaders. The mean scores were higher for female leaders. This indicates

TABLE 1

Valences of Leader Behavior*

Total valence of leader behavior for Class of '80 leaders	Means		P Level**
	Male Leader	Female Leader	
Class of '82 CFT	34.16	35.05	.03
Class of '83 CBT	35.94	34.84	.01

*The detailed analyses used to test the unique effects of each independent variable with the criteria was a multivariate analysis of variance. For purposes of this report, each table lists a unique criteria separately. In actual analysis, the overall multivariate F ratio was tested for all criteria concomitantly.

** $p \leq .05$

SOURCE: Project Athena

that the subordinates report that they felt worse following negative leader action (reprimand, blame, poor rating) and felt better following positive leader actions (praise, respect, help) when such behaviors were carried out by a female leader than by a male leader.

However, in Cadet Basic Training (CBT) the reverse was true. Subordinates indicated they felt better following male leader praise and worse with male leader reprimand than with female leaders. Perhaps the difference in valence between CBT and CFT is in the training situation.

In CBT, the subordinates are new plebes who are being socialized into the traditional masculine character of West Point and military training. Plebes in CBT are subjected to the fourth class system. Typical plebe responses are: yes "sir," no "sir," and no excuse "sir." The training demands may simply favor the masculine role. Thus, the higher valence these subordinates attached to male leaders is not too surprising.

In CFT, the situational demands on cadets is less structured. Cadet leaders have more latitude to influence results. Also, the type of performance

training may allow more individualized expression of leader behaviors. That is, cadet leaders would feel more comfortable telling upper class subordinates they did well than to tell plebes who are in the fourth class system.

Indeed there may be other factors which account for the difference in valence between CBT and CFT. More research is needed to examine why these differences do exist.

Bases of Power. In her book, Men and Women of the Corporation, Kanter (1977) discussed the successful use of power by leaders. Women and men in leadership positions used different bases of power. Part of the purpose of this study is to identify the bases of power which male and female cadet leaders use and to note the effectiveness of these bases in encouraging compliance from subordinates.

Six items assessed beliefs regarding reasons for complying with the orders and suggestions of the unit supervisor. These items were selected to match the six bases of social power suggested by French and Raven (1960) and Raven (1974): referent, expert, reward, coercive, legitimate, and information. These six

questions were adapted from those developed by Bachman, et al. (1966).

These questions were presented in a five-point agree- disagree scale. High scores indicate high level of compliance because of a particular base of power. A summary of the results is given in Table 2.

Interestingly, the results did not find that subordinates complied with male leaders more than female leaders because of the leader's personal powers (referent and expert power). In both the CBT and CFT leadership settings, there were no significant differences between responses of subordinates with male and female leaders using these personal bases of power. However, followers in CFT did indicate that they were more likely to comply with a female leader because of the information the leader makes available to the rest of the unit. Female leaders in Cadet Field Training tended to keep their followers better informed than did male leaders.

Contingent rewards and punishments. Four items assessed beliefs concerning the relationship between different levels of performance and receiving different rewards and punishments from the unit leader. These items focused specifically on the degree to which

TABLE 2

Test of Significance for Criteria: Bases of Power

Power Used by Class of '80 Leaders	Class of '82 CFT			Class of '83 CBT		
	Means		P Level*	Means		P Level*
	Male Leader	Female Leader		Male Leader	Female Leader	
Referent Power	3.43	3.52	.43	4.07	4.11	.75
Expert Power	3.09	3.08	.95	4.19	4.17	.92
Reward Power	2.37	2.53	.17	2.45	2.42	.81
Coercive Power	2.51	2.48	.81	3.12	3.00	.38
Legitimate Power	4.01	4.16	.19	4.12	3.92	.14
Information Power	3.32	3.56	.02	3.87	4.00	.26

*p < .05

SOURCE: Project Athena

rewards and punishments were seen as being contingent on a given level of performance. Such beliefs are termed "instrumentalities" in Vroom's (1964) theory of motivation; i.e., the focus is on perceptions that performance is instrumental in attaining positive or negative outcome. Vroom has shown such beliefs to be an important component of motivation.

These questions were presented in a five-point scale format which required respondents to indicate the frequency with which certain performance-outcome relationships occurred. High scores indicate frequent occurrence of such relationships. A summary of the analysis is given in Table 3.

In both the CBT and CFT units, the respondents said that female leaders would follow excellent performance with positive leadership acts more often than would male leaders. However, the differences were not statistically significant. Overall, there were no statistically significant differences in how male and female leaders behaved toward subordinates. Thus, follower motivation to comply with leaders was not influenced by the type of rewards and punishments from their leaders.

TABLE 3

Leader Use of Contingent Rewards and Punishments in CBT/CFT

Type of Contingency Used by '80 Leaders	Class of '82 CFT			Class of '83 CBT		
	Means		P Level*	Means		P Level*
	Male Leader	Female Leader		Male Leader	Female Leader	
Excellent performance/ Leader Reward	3.47	3.66	.12	4.04	4.14	.38
Poor Performance/ Leader Punishment	2.76	2.80	.80	3.11	2.99	.39
Above Average Performance/ Leader Reward	3.04	3.14	.39	3.36	3.40	.98
Below Average Performance/ Leader Punishment	2.99	2.91	.47	3.36	3.40	.77

*p ≤ .05

SOURCE: Project Athena

Influence Strategies. Johnson (1976) found that, in leadership positions, women rely on sources of influence different from men. Specifically, women adopt the use of influence strategies that are indirect and helpless which may undermine their effectiveness as leaders. Part of the study at West Point tests this proposition.

Nine items assessed perceptions concerning the manner by which unit leaders influenced their subordinates. These nine factors represent a synthesis of several different efforts to identify general types of strategies for social influence (e.g., Falbo, 1977). The dimensions reflected in these items include direct versus indirect, rational versus irrational, and position versus personal power.*

Respondents used six-point scales to assess the frequency with which the unit leader made use of each strategy when attempting to influence the subordinates. High scores indicate frequent use of a particular strategy. A summary of the analysis is listed in Table 4.

*Note: Due to the overall limitations imposed on the number of questionnaire items which could be used, not all permutations of these dimensions were asked.

TABLE 4

Leader Use of Various Influence Strategies in CBT/CFT

Influence Strategy Used By '80 Leaders	Class of '82 CFT			Class of '83 CBT		
	Means		P Level*	Means		P Level*
	Male Leader	Female Leader		Male Leader	Female Leader	
Direct Irrational	3.24	3.13	.35	3.20	3.16	.75
Direct Personal	2.19	2.25	.69	2.18	2.15	.75
Direct Rational	3.64	3.78	.20	3.92	3.90	.96
Indirect	2.43	2.42	.86	2.25	2.28	.92
Direct Punishment	2.20	2.20	1.00	2.39	2.54	.42
Ingratiating	2.11	1.92	.16	1.43	1.50	.57
Personal Punishment	2.07	1.93	.30	1.54	1.50	.68
Personal Reward	2.85	2.86	.94	2.05	2.09	.85
Helplessness	3.21	3.29	.61	2.11	1.98	.43

* $p \leq .05$

SOURCE: Project Athena

In both CBT and CFT analyses none of the influence strategies yielded statistically significant differences between male and female leadership behaviors. The failure to find any differences may reflect the overpowering demands of the leadership role. That is, it may be that the leadership roles defined for cadets in summer leadership training at West Point is so dominant that neither males nor females differ substantially in the types of influence strategies that they adopt. In other words, cadets may be acting out what they consider to be appropriate roles as opposed to exercising their individual influence strategies.

Gender as a Factor in Leadership

In the three previous reports on Project Athena, a number of studies were cited which report that the leader's gender had an influence on the followers' perceptions of leader effectiveness and unit performance (Vitters and Kinzer, 1977; Vitters, 1978; Adams, 1979). The Academy's basic concept for military development states that:

The strength of any officer's relationship with his [or her] subordinates and superiors can be measured in terms of mutual respect,

understanding, trust, confidence, and the state of morale which results.

Earlier research with Project Sentinel and research examining correlates of leadership ratings found evidence to suggest that women were perceived differently in large measure because of their gender (Rice, Bender and Vitters, 1980; Rice, Yoder, Adams, Priest and Prince, 1979). In order to increase our understanding of the effect of gender on leadership, a study was conducted at West Point during the summer of 1979. That study included all male and female leaders in the Class of 1980 and 1981 serving in the chain of command for CBT and CFT. All followers were members of the Classes of 1982 and 1983 who were undergoing training at CFT and CBT, respectively. At the end of the summer, the Classes of 1982 and 1983 completed a questionnaire concerning leadership in their units. A more detailed report of the design and methodology used to examine gender is reported elsewhere (Adams, Rice and Instone, 1980). This study goes beyond a simple comparison of female and male leaders. That is, we also knew the gender of the followers; therefore, we could assess the relationship of leader gender and follower gender. For example, male leader-male

follower dyads may respond to each other quite differently from male leader-female follower, female leader-male follower, or female leader-female follower dyads. As most experience has involved males in both leader and follower positions, it is important to understand how gender composition affects the following outcomes:

- Leader Effectiveness
- Unit Effectiveness
- Satisfaction with Leader
- Attributions of Performance

Leader Effectiveness. The perceived effectiveness of the unit leader was assessed by asking followers in CBT and CFT to answer the following questions: (1) How effective was your unit leader in carrying out the duties of his/her leadership role? (2) Relative to what you would expect from a USMA cadet in his/her class, how would you rate your unit leader in terms of leadership performance? and (3) Overall, how much respect do you have for the leadership abilities of your unit leader? A total composite score was computed based on the responses given. A summary of the

analysis is given in Table 5.

The results of the analysis indicate that the gender of the leader in the Classes of 1980 and 1981 had no statistically significant relationship with the followers' responses on leader effectiveness. This finding is different from two previous studies which show that male cadets are perceived as more effective leaders than are female cadets. One explanation of this result could be that the present measure of effectiveness does not require judgments regarding global leadership ability as did the studies reported earlier (Rice, Bender and Vitters, 1980; Rice, Yoder, Adams, Priest and Prince, 1979). Instead, the present followers judged the performance of their unit leader for only one specific leadership assignment. An alternative explanation for the lack of significance of gender could be that male and female cadets perform equally well in leadership roles at West Point.

Unit Effectiveness. The perceived effectiveness of unit performance was assessed with two items: (1) How effective was your unit in performing the tasks assigned to it? and (2) Relative to other units performing similar tasks, how would you rate your unit in terms of task accomplishment? A summary of the

TABLE 5

Gender Differences in Leader Effectiveness

Total Leader Effectiveness	Means		P Level*
	Male Leader	Female Leader	
Class of '82 CFT	.16	.25	.78
Class of '83 CBT	.04	.12	.79

* $p \leq .05$

SOURCE: Project Athena

analysis is provided in Table 6.

The results of the analysis show that there were no statistically significant differences between men and women with follower responses to unit effectiveness.

This outcome is similar to the follower responses to leader effectiveness. That is, followers did not discern any significant differences in the effectiveness of male and female leaders nor did they differentiate between the effectiveness of units led by these leaders.

Satisfaction with Leader. Satisfaction with the cadet's unit leader was assessed with four items. The analysis summary is given in Table 7.

The results of the analysis show that there were no statistically significant differences between men and women with follower responses to satisfaction with the leader. This is in keeping with the Project Sentinel study of West Point cadets which showed no overall effect of leader gender on follower morale (satisfaction). Only when follower attitudes toward women were also considered did gender differences emerge in the Sentinel study.

Attributions of Performance. Six items assessed beliefs concerning the causes of unit performance. The

TABLE 6

Gender Differences in Total Unit Effectiveness

Total Unit Effectiveness	Means		P Level*
	Male Leader	Female Leader	
Class of '82 CFT	.03	-.20	.31
Class of '83 CBT	.04	-.22	.18

* $p \leq .05$

SOURCE: Project Athena

TABLE 7

Gender Differences in Satisfaction with Leader

Satisfaction with Leader	Means		P Level*
	Male Leader	Female Leader	
Class of '82 CFT	16.87	16.48	.43
Class of '83 CBT	18.25	18.44	.64

* $p \leq .05$

SOURCE: Project Athena

cadets rated the extent to which each of these factors contributed to the performance of their unit during summer training. The factors to be rated included causes internal to the unit leader (skill and effort), causes internal to the unit subordinates (skill and effort), and factors external to both (good and bad luck). The concepts of internal and external attributions have played a crucial role in much prior research concerned with attribution theory as have the distinctions between ability, effort, and luck.

These questions were presented with a four-point scale indicating the degree to which each factor contributed to unit performance. High scores indicate that a particular factor was not perceived to be an important contributor to unit performance. A summary of the analysis is given in Table 8.

The results of the analyses did not find any statistically significant relationship between leader gender and the six attribution items. This finding is quite surprising. Deaux (1977) has suggested that females are generally expected to perform less effectively than males. Subsequently, success by women is more unexpected and leads to external attributions such as luck or ease of the task. Deaux's proposition

TABLE 8

Gender Differences: Attributions of Performance

Factor	Class of '82 CFT			Class of '83 CBT		
	Means		P Level*	Means		P Level*
	Male Leader	Female Leader		Male Leader	Female Leader	
Skill of Leader	2.31	2.15	.13	1.68	1.62	.49
Skill of Follower	1.79	1.65	.16	1.83	1.73	.33
Leader's Hard Work	2.09	1.99	.36	1.70	1.69	.95
Follower's Hard Work	1.56	1.49	.49	1.62	1.54	.38
Good Luck	2.92	2.87	.62	2.95	2.95	.96
Back Luck	2.95	3.04	.48	3.11	3.03	.55

*p ≤ .05

SOURCE: Project Athena

was supported by the results of a laboratory study done at West Point in 1977 called Project Sentinel where the success of women leaders in the Class of 1980 was attributed to external factors such as luck and skill of followers. According to the results of the present study, such biases may have been in operation at one time but do not appear to be operating now.

Officer Rating Bias

Much of the success of an officer's career is determined by the military performance and potential appraisal system, the Officer Evaluation Rating (OER). A persistent problem noted throughout the military development of women in the Class of 1980 has been a systematic bias in ratings of women. A study of Rice, Richer and Vitters (1977) concludes that:

Sex bias can be seen in attributions regarding women in the leadership context. Male followers holding traditional attitudes toward women attributed performance of female-led groups to negative factors (luck) and attributed the performance of male-led groups to positive factors (ability, motivation).

In a later study of women in the Class of 1980, Rice, Yoder, Adams, Priest and Prince concluded that:

...these results paint a picture of leadership ratings at West Point that is related to what is stereotypically masculine -- physical prowess, positive attitude about physical activity, and a masculine self image. In a traditionally male oriented subsystem, leadership for members of the Class of 1980 seems to be related to masculinity for men and for newly admitted women cadets.

The fact that women were evaluated less favorably than men on global ratings of leadership ability may not indicate that women are less effective as leaders. The most recent evidence discussed earlier in this chapter suggests that in specific tasks women are perceived to be as effective as men in leadership positions.

In order to understand better the effects of rater attitudes on female and male leaders' ratings, a study was conducted in the summer of 1979 (Adams, Rice, Priest and Prince, 1979).

In addition to the suspicion that rater attitudes might bias male and female evaluations, the authors assumed that the raters' perceptions of psychological masculinity and femininity might impact on evaluations of cadet performance. That is, if Army officers viewed the leadership positions more stereotypically as masculine sex-typed tasks, and these officers had conservative or traditional attitudes toward women's

roles, then the researchers would expect to find differential evaluations between male and female ratings of performance by these Army raters.

In May and June 1979, a survey was mailed out to several battalion level units which would be supporting the Cadet Troop Leader Training (CTLT) program for the summer. The officers in the battalion were asked to complete the survey which was comprised of two scales. The first scale was an Attitude Toward Women in the Military (ARIWS) scale developed by the Army Research Institute (Savell and Collins, 1975). The second scale included in the questionnaire was a measure of psychological masculinity and femininity: The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) (Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1974).

The officers were merely informed that the survey contributes to a longitudinal program to study the training and development of cadets at West Point. Since the survey was given prior to the arrival of the male and female cadets, no conscious attempt was made to sensitize these Army officers to their later follow-up responses to the questionnaire relating to the CTLT program. At the end of the pre-test survey of officer attitudes, the responses were mailed back to

West Point.

Following this procedure, male and female cadets were assigned to military units for summer training. The instructions the sponsoring unit received were simply to give the cadets as much troop leading experience as possible. Following the CTLT training of the cadets, a leadership evaluation was given to the same officers who completed the attitudinal pre-test scales. The data were analyzed examining the influence of Army rater attitudes, Army rater attributes, and cadet leader sex with a measure of overall cadet leader effectiveness. The summary of the analyses is given in Table 9.

The results show that there is a statistically significant relationship between Army officer attitudes, Army officer attributes, and ratings of cadet effectiveness. However, the pattern of results given in Table 10 is counter to earlier studies done at West Point.

Specifically, officers who described themselves with equalitarian (liberal) attitudes towards women's roles tended to rate all cadets lower than did officers with more traditional attitudes toward women. Perhaps the officers with more equalitarian scores were less

TABLE 9

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE^a
 Army Rater Attitudes, Attributes, and
 Cadet Leader Effectiveness

Source	Mean Square	F	Significance
Officer Rater Attitude (ARIWS)	6.67	3.38	.07
Cadet Leader Gender	1.08	0.55	.46
Officer Rater Attributes (PAQ)	5.82	2.95	.04*

^aHierarchical approach (option 10) invokes the stepdown procedure. The sum of squares associated with the main effect of the first variable is not adjusted for any other variables. The sum of squares for the main effect for the second variable considered is adjusted only for the first variable and so on with each additional variable considered (see Nie, et.al. 1970)

* $p \leq .05$

SOURCE: Project Athena

TABLE 10

Multiple Classification Analysis: Leader Effectiveness
By Rater Attitude - By Rater Attribute

Variable and Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'n. ETA	Adjusted for Independent Variables
Rater Attitude			
Traditional	39	-0.30	-0.29
Equalitarian	32	0.37*	0.35
		0.22	0.21
Rater Attribute			
Androgenous	23	0.03	-0.05
Masculine	38	-0.35**	-0.29
Feminine	2	0.34	0.61
Undifferentiated	8	.46	.35
		0.37	0.34

*Scaling of questionnaire is such that negative score is interpreted as higher leader effectiveness. Thus, the table summary shows that Army raters with traditional attitudes toward women's roles as a group rated all cadets higher than did Army raters with less traditional attitudes.

**Army raters who describe themselves as stereotypically agentic (assertive, aggressive, competitive, etc.) also as a group rate cadet performance higher than other Army officers.

SOURCE: Project Athena

predisposed to rate with any inflated bias and tended to evaluate cadets as realistically as possible. Nevertheless, there were no statistically significant differences in leadership scores due merely to gender of the cadet leader. That is, women were not rated lower than their male peers merely due to their gender. Thus, the concern about attitudinal bias influencing women's ratings by Army officers is not substantiated in this study.

Branch Specialty Choice

In an attempt to understand better whether female and male cadets are influenced by the same factors in their choice of branch specialties, a field study was conducted using members of the Class of 1980 (Dalton and Calhoun, 1980). In January 1980, a locally developed survey was administered to 101 men and 49 women in the Class of 1980 who had just chosen their military branch specialties. The purpose of the study was to investigate some factors that may influence why men and women select the specialties they do. The data gathering methods examined the influence of sets of factors with career specialty choice.

Three sets of variables were included. The first

set was personal characteristics (e.g., sex, life style preference, and other demographic information). Life style preference was operationalized by a series of questions relating to individual values of marriage, career, and family. Other demographic information included sex, age, and prior service. The second set of variables included environmental experiences during cadet development (e.g., summer training, role models, and Academy sponsored career specialty education). The third set of factors included expected satisfaction (e.g., satisfaction with profession and satisfaction with first assignment).

The criteria assessed were the actual branch/specialty choice desired (e.g., Combat Arms, Combat Support, and Combat Service Support). Table 11 provides a listing of the branch specialties which were available to members of the Class of 1980. Table 12 provides a listing of the actual specialty results chosen by the Class of 1980.

In their discussion of the results of the study, Dalton and Calhoun found that role models (e.g., tacital officer, academic professors, sponsors, and service member in family) were the most important elements influencing men's choices of career specialty.

TABLE 11

Branch Specialties Available to the Class of 1980

	<u>Career Branch</u>	<u>Specialty Code</u>
COMBAT ARMS	Infantry	11*
	Armor	12*
	Field Artillery	13
	Air Defense	14
	Aviation	15
	Engineer	21
COMBAT SUPPORT	Signal Corps	25
	Military Police	31
	Military Intelligence	35
	Military Intelligence	37
	Military Intelligence	15M
	Chemical	74
COMBAT SERVICE SUPPORT	Transportation	71
	Transportation	87
	Transportation	88
	Ordnance	73
	Ordnance	75
	Ordnance	91
	Quartermaster	81
	Quartermaster	92

*Based upon Army policy, the first two specialties in Combat Arms are not open to women.

SOURCE: Department of Military Instruction, USMA

TABLE 12

Actual Specialty Selection Results for the Class of 1980

<u>Career Branch</u>	<u>Specialty Code</u>	<u># of Males</u>	<u># of Females</u>
COMBAT ARMS			
Infantry	11	206	0
Armor	12	106	0
Field Artillery	13	159	7
Air Defense	14	65	11
Aviation	15*	89	3
Engineer	21	102	6
COMBAT SUPPORT			
Signal Corps	25	41	10
Military Police	31	12	3
Military Intelligence	35	16	5
Military Intelligence	37	8	2
Chemical	74	1	0
COMBAT SERVICE SUPPORT			
Transportation	71	5	0
Transportation	87	4	0
Transportation	88	2	3
Ordnance	73	3	0
Ordnance	75	10	0
Ordnance	91	10	2
Quartermaster	81	3	0
Quartermaster	92	10	10

*This branch also includes cadet selections for 15M (Military Intelligence). No females selected the 15M career branch.
 SOURCE: Department of Military Instruction, USMA

For women, the overall influence of role models was less influential. This suggests that men seek to emulate the role models with whom they identify. Women however, may not seek to emulate the role models either because they are aware of Army policy restrictions to some combat role specialties or women may be influenced by other factors besides role models in their career choices.

Overall, personality factors including life style preference (e.g., marriage, career, and family) were not statistically significant in selecting career specialties. This author thought that engaged couples would choose career specialties which were more compatible with dual assignment opportunities. The results of the study do not support that assumption.*

*It should be noted that although cadets were asked to respond to questions based on career specialties they chose rather than were assigned, branch choice was primarily determined by a cadet's relative class standing. More than 80% of the men and women said they received their first choice. However, it is unclear how much of the cadets' responses were rationalizations of what branch specialties they actually had been assigned.

Although the only statistically significant environmental factor was role models, 31% of the male cadets and 38% of the female cadets report that Cadet Troop Leader Training had a positive effect on their career specialty choices. To a lesser extent, 11% of the men and 18% of the women also thought that the Cadet Basic Training and Cadet Field Training experiences at West Point also had a favorable influence on their career specialty choices. Finally, 9% of the men and 2% of the women reported that Cadet Military Specialty training (e.g., airborne, air assault, ranger, jungle school, etc.,) had a favorable influence on their specialty choices.

The third set of factors measuring expected satisfaction with assignment and with the profession were not strongly related to cadet career specialty choices. Undoubtedly, it may be necessary to examine actual satisfaction after graduation. Cadets were asked one final question "estimating the probability of remaining in the Army after the five year obligation." Of those sampled, 22% of the men and 30% of the women indicated that they would probably remain. There were 41% of the men and 33% of the women who said that they were undecided.

Summary

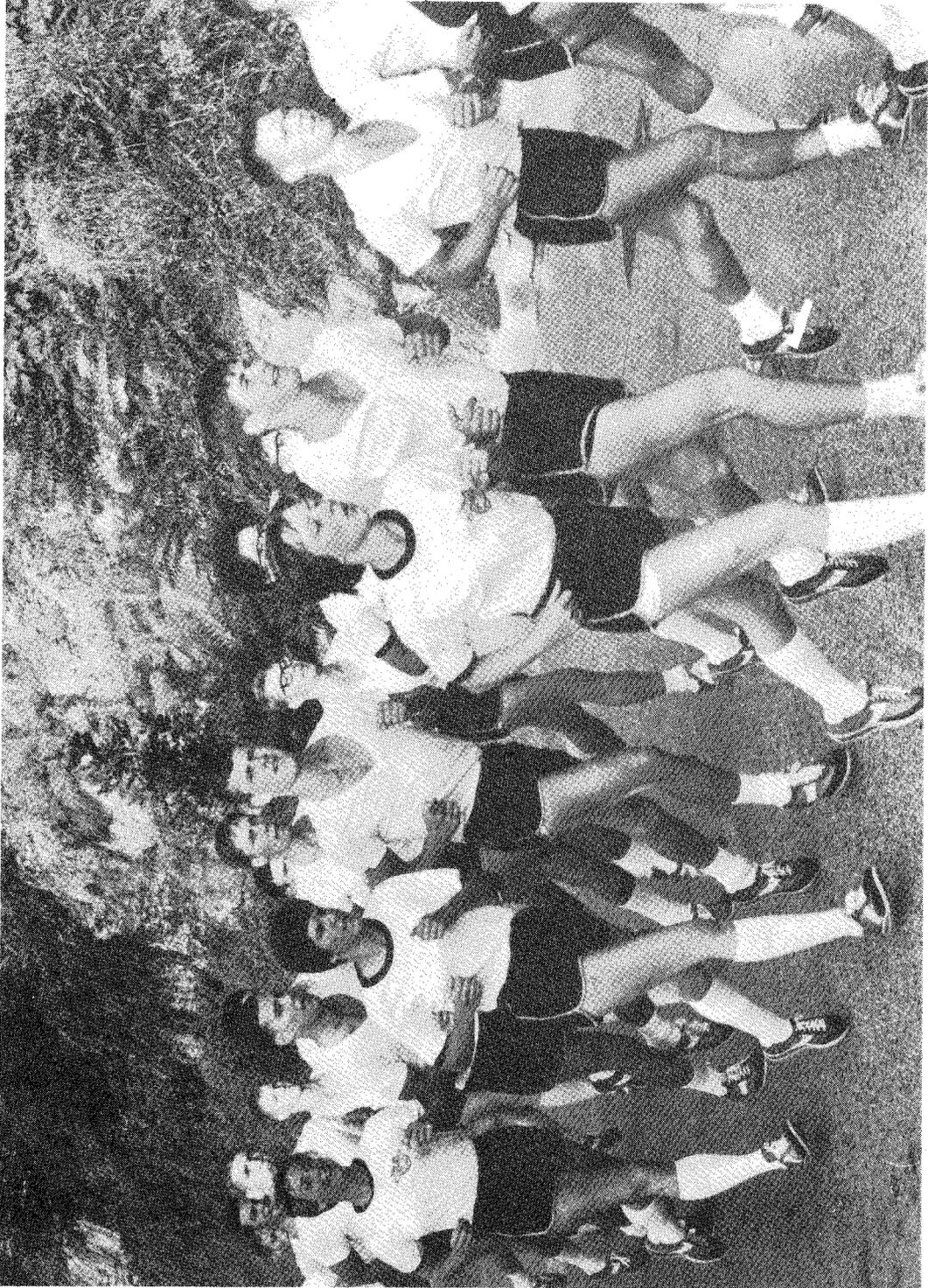
The leadership behaviors of women do cause different positive and negative feelings in the minds of the subordinates. Subordinates in Cadet Field Training indicated that they felt worse following negative leader behavior (reprimand) and better following positive leader behavior (praise), when such behaviors were done by a female leader than by a male leader. In Cadet Basic Training the reverse was true. Plebes felt worse following negative reprimands from male leaders and better receiving praise from male leaders than they did from female leaders. There were no differences in response of followers to male and female leader behaviors use of personal (e.g., referent, expert) power. There was no statistically significant difference between how male and female leaders reacted to good and poor performance by their subordinates.

The most recent studies of gender of the leader in the Class of 1980 show that there is no statistical relationship with the follower responses to leader effectiveness and unit effectiveness. Cadets also report no overall effect of leader gender on follower morale (satisfaction). Perhaps most surprising,

successful performance of female leaders in the Class of 1980 was not attributed to external factors such as luck.

In a study of cadets in Army units, Cadet Troop Leader Training, women were not rated lower than their male peers merely due to their gender. That is, the concern about attitudinal bias of traditional attitudes regarding women's roles influencing women's ratings was not found.

Men are influenced by role models (e.g., tactical officer, academic professors, etc.) in making their branch specialty choices. Life-style preferences (marriage, family, career) were not important factors influencing the choices of career specialties by men and women in the Class of 1980.



Chapter 2

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

The main questions addressed in this chapter on physical development are: (1) Have women overcome the barriers of non-acceptance based upon physiological performance differences? (2) Do weight-diet control programs contribute to successful physical development of male and female cadets? (3) Do corps squad and intramural sports programs contribute to both female and male cadet development? and (4) Has physical performance contributed to the attrition of former female cadets?

Barriers of Non-acceptance

The Academy's requirement for physical development is explained in the concept paper for physical development as follows:

The requirement for the physical development of the cadet is based upon the physical fitness demands placed upon Army officers. These include a requirement for physical fitness and the technical knowledge to set and maintain standards of physical excellence for soldiers.

Within the four-year Academy experience, the physical performance arena has shown more differences between male and female cadets than any other area. Earlier studies have reported to senior academy officials differences between men and women (Stauffer, 1976; Peterson and Kowal, 1976; Stauffer, 1977; White, Willis, Kuspa, and Adams, 1977). In 1979, the Superintendent approved the "Study of the Integrated Services of Men and Women within the Corps of Cadets," which stipulated that equivalent training can be considered when:

A significant number of women cannot perform an activity due to physiological differences and it is obvious that repeated failure of the unaltered event will psychologically damage the motivated women...

AND

Mastery of the full scale version of the activity is not considered essential to prepare female cadets for their expected duties as a commissioned officer...

AND

The equivalent version provides essentially the same type of training experience as the unaltered version...

AND

The equivalent version is considered by the trainers and by both men and women cadets as an acceptable modification.

The last stipulation of the doctrine has not been adequately satisfied. That is, not all men and women cadets have accepted some of the modifications in training. It is this author's opinion that some male faculty and staff and some male cadets either do not accept or fully understand the doctrine. Therefore, physiological differences between male and female physical training has remained as a barrier of non-acceptance for women. A comprehensive study of leadership ratings of members of the Class of 1980 reported in Project Athena III, found that the most important factor used by male cadets to evaluate leadership performance of women was their physical performance activities (Adams, 1979).

While physical performance could have a positive influence on a follower's initial perception of a leader, an overemphasis on physical performance can cause a halo effect (tendency to judge a person based only on one trait). In a study of psychological reactions to stress during Cadet Field Training (Prince and McCord, 1980), women reported that they entered the training with a higher level of psychological response to stress than did men. This finding is supportive of research (Adams, Rice and Justone, 1980) which found

that women expressed a greater concern over the expected physical demands of CFT than did men.

A good example of the Academy's attempt to normalize physical requirements based upon the physical fitness demands expected of female Army officers is the elimination of the Enduro Run at Cadet Field Training. Evidence from studying male and female performance of several classes suggests that the arduous run-walk, timed exercise provided men a distinct physiological advantage since 90% of the men could run within the time and fewer than 50% of the women could accomplish the same time standards. Also, mastery of the full scale version of the activity is not considered essential to prepare female cadets for their future roles as officers. As this author has observed, when female cadets go on Cadet Troop Leader Training in actual Army units, they have no trouble leading their units in physical exercise activities.

The most recent study of non-acceptance of women is based upon the results of the first class questionnaire administered to members of the Class of 1980 two months prior to graduation (Priest, 1980). Two questions were asked to measure the degree to which cadets felt accepted by their peers, both as persons

and in their roles as cadets. Table 13 shows the results of the answers to the two questions. For male cadets, the average score for acceptance as a person was 4.48 which is well within the range "more accepted than not." The average response for women to the same item was 3.71. The response of men to the question "accepted in your role as a cadet" was 4.37 for the men and 3.26 for the women. The level of acceptance scores for men as persons and as cadets was statistically greater than the scores for women on both questions. It is also interesting to note that women felt that they were more accepted by their classmates as persons than in their roles as cadets.

In a study on contact, Priest (1980) concludes that "those cadets with the least contact with women had the strongest belief that in the planning for the admission of women, too many allowances have been made for physiological differences between men and women. Those cadets with the most contact were least likely to agree with the statement." The first class questionnaire results and the conclusion in Priest's paper are consistent with anecdotal comments which male cadets have made -- such as "when I first came here I did not believe that women should be allowed to come to

TABLE 13

Acceptance by Classmates Class of 1980

"To what extent do you feel accepted by your classmates"	Men		Women		Difference
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
As a person	4.48	.70	3.71	1.02 ^a	.90*
In your role as a cadet	4.37	.82	3.26	1.17 ^a	1.12*
	N (395)		(35)		

^aThe variance for females is significantly greater than for males, by an F test $p \leq .001$.

*The mean for males is significantly greater, t test, $p \leq .001$.

The response scale: 5 = totally accepted
 4 = more accepted than not
 3 = borderline
 2 = more not accepted than accepted
 1 = clearly not accepted

SOURCE: Office of Institutional Research, USMA

West Point, but you take her (female cadet), she is OK."

To continue to combat the difficulties that arise from attitudinal bias and from a poor understanding of the policy of equivalent training, formal communication might be used to supplement the chain of command network. For example, it would not seem impractical to increase such information in all physical education core courses and to increase such information as a part of cadre preparation and training programs. Women themselves, might be better able to adjust to their roles as cadets if they were explicitly and formally informed that their physical performance was a major determinant of their acceptance as cadets.

Weight-Diet Control

Within the concept for physical development, the following Academy objective has been defined:

The organic improvement of the components of strength, flexibility, and endurance combined with an appreciation of the importance of proper nutrition.

Researchers at West Point have studied anthropometric measures (Stauffer, 1976; Stauffer, 1977a; Stauffer, 1977b) and cardio-vascular development (Peterson and

Kowal, 1976). More recently, the Department of Physical Education at West Point has identified a problem of obesity developing in cadets during their cadetship. As a result of this concern, a study entitled, "Evaluation of Body Composition, Energy Expenditure, and Their Relationships to Work Performance of U.S. Military Academy Cadets" is being conducted at the request of the Commandant of Cadets by the Division of Nutrition Technology, Letterman Army Institute of Research. The objectives of the research are (1) to determine the average daily dietary intakes, activities, and energy balance of male and female cadets during their academic year, and (2) to determine how food intake behavior patterns of cadets affect their dietary intakes.

The questions raised concerning the cadets' nutrition include:

Does the food served in the cadet mess meet or exceed the energy demands of the cadets?

Is the average cadet diet, as consumed, nutritionally adequate?

Is the food consumed by cadets excessive (e.g., cholesterol, fat, etc.) or deficient in any way that could lead to long-term health problems?

What is the contribution to the cadet diet of the food consumed outside of the cadet mess?

Although the study involving 150 male and female cadets began in the Academic Year 1979-80, the long-term energy balance, as measured by weight change over time, is still being evaluated. The Department of Physical Education plans to have the study completed sometime in Academic Year 1980-81.

Sports Programs

The sports programs for male and female cadets support the following objective of the Academy's concept of physical development:

The development by means of participation in athletic programs of the attributes of aggressiveness, self-confidence, perseverance, courage, determination, the will to win, and the ability to think and to act purposefully under physical stress.

The U.S. Military Academy sponsors eight intercollegiate sports for women. A listing of the teams for women and their win/loss summary is provided in Table 14.

Each women's sports team plays a full varsity season schedule and competes against major colleges and universities within the Eastern Region. As a member of the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women, USMA teams are eligible to compete in

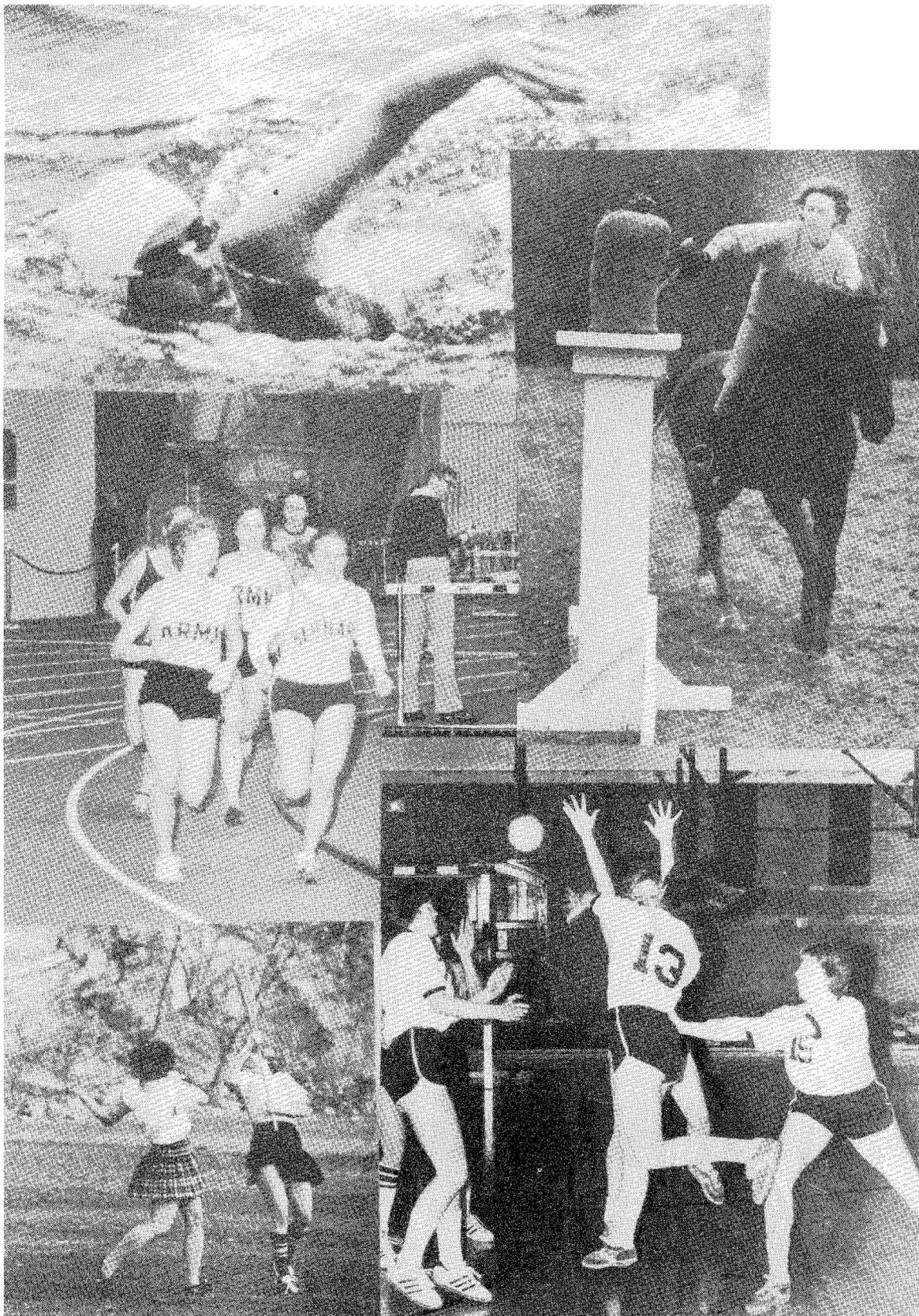
TABLE 14

Women's Intercollegiate Teams 1979-1980

		Win	Loss
FALL	Cross Country	8	0
	Volleyball	16	11
	Tennis*	7	1
WINTER	Basketball	17	13
	Swimming	6	3
	Indoor Track	10	3
SPRING	Softball	10	7
	Tennis*	6	2
	Track	4	1

*Women's Tennis has two competitive seasons - Fall and Spring - the overall record was 13-3 (7&1 + 6&2 = 13&3).

SOURCE: Office of Intercollegiate Athletics, USMA



post-season championships if selected. During Academic Year 1978-79 our women's swimming team won the Division III State Championship; the basketball team took second place in the Division I State Championship, and a woman track member finished 8th in the AIAW National Track Championship. During Academic Year 79-80 the Women's Cross Country team placed third in the FIAIW Division III Regional Championship and competed in the AIAW National Championship. The women's swimming team moved up a competitive division to compete in the State and National Division II Championships. The team placed third in the NYSIAIW Division II Championship and seventeenth in the AIAW National Championships.

Beginning Academic Year 1980-81, five classes of women will have entered the Academies. All USMA women's varsity teams have demonstrated the ability to successfully compete on the intercollegiate level. USMA and USNA have agreed that the first competitions between Army-Navy women's teams will not be before the Academic Year 1981-82 season.

As members of the varsity sports teams, women are eligible to receive varsity awards, (Army 'A', JV 'A', Monogram and Class Numeral), if criteria for award of the letters are met. During Academic Year 1978-79, 26

women demonstrated excellence in athletic achievement and were awarded the Army 'A'. During the Academic Year 1979-80 there were 66 women who earned the Army 'A'.

In addition to women's teams which have successfully competed at the intercollegiate level, there are intramural coed teams which host inter-unit competition. The intramural athletic programs are intended to contribute to the Academy's concept of physical development. However, some women who participate at the company intramural level are not as innately gifted as the female intercollegiate athletes who are absent from intramural competition while their sport is in season. For example, almost three-fourths of the women in the Corps participate in some intercollegiate sports program during the academic year. The remaining one-fourth are involved in company level competition. By comparison, only about one-fourth of the men in the Corps participate in intercollegiate sports. The remaining three-fourths participate in company level competition. Thus, physical performance of women in sports is often generalized by male cadets through their contact with women in intramural activities. The result of this

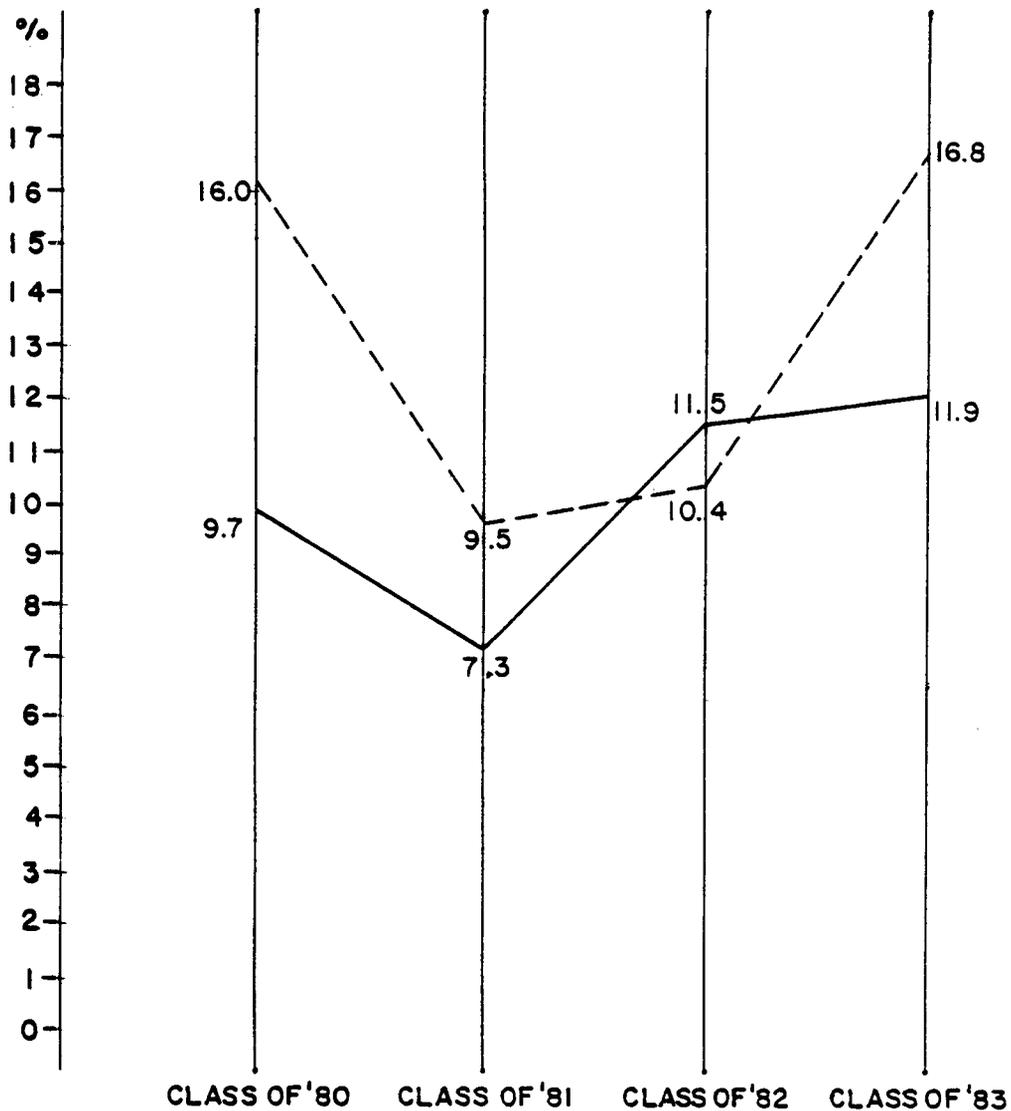
association may have two outcomes. On one hand, the camaraderie of coed teams serves as a vehicle to foster unit esprit, personal acceptance, and promote integration because male and female cadets work collaboratively toward a mutually shared goal -- team victory. On the other hand, some women on intramural teams are not as athletically talented as their male teammates. Despite their best efforts, team losses can be distorted and attributions of team losses will often be generalized to individuals, in this case, women. There is a difficult, but necessary task of cultivating within the male cadets both a sense of pride and esprit which evolves from team accomplishment and the acceptance of individual female members who are performing at the highest level of competition commensurate with their physiological abilities.

Attrition

Understanding the reasons why men and women resign from West Point is an exceedingly difficult task. Patterns of attrition over time are not easy to interpret. For example, Table 15 illustrates the attrition for men and women at the end of Cadet Basic Training for the past four years. As the table shows,

TABLE 15

CBT ATTRITION FOR THE CLASSES OF '80, '81, '82 AND '83



—— MEN (10.1% AVERAGE ATTRITION RATE FOR PAST FOUR YEARS)

----- WOMEN (13.2% AVERAGE ATTRITION RATE FOR PAST FOUR YEARS)

SOURCE: OFFICE OF THE DEAN, U.S.M.A.
(U.S.C.C. STATUS REPORT - 16 SEP 79)

the most marked differences between men and women exist for the Class of 1980 (9.7% for men versus 16% for women) and the Class of 1983 (11.9% for men and 16.8% for women).

A graphic picture of the cumulative attrition rate for men and women for each year at West Point is given in Table 16.

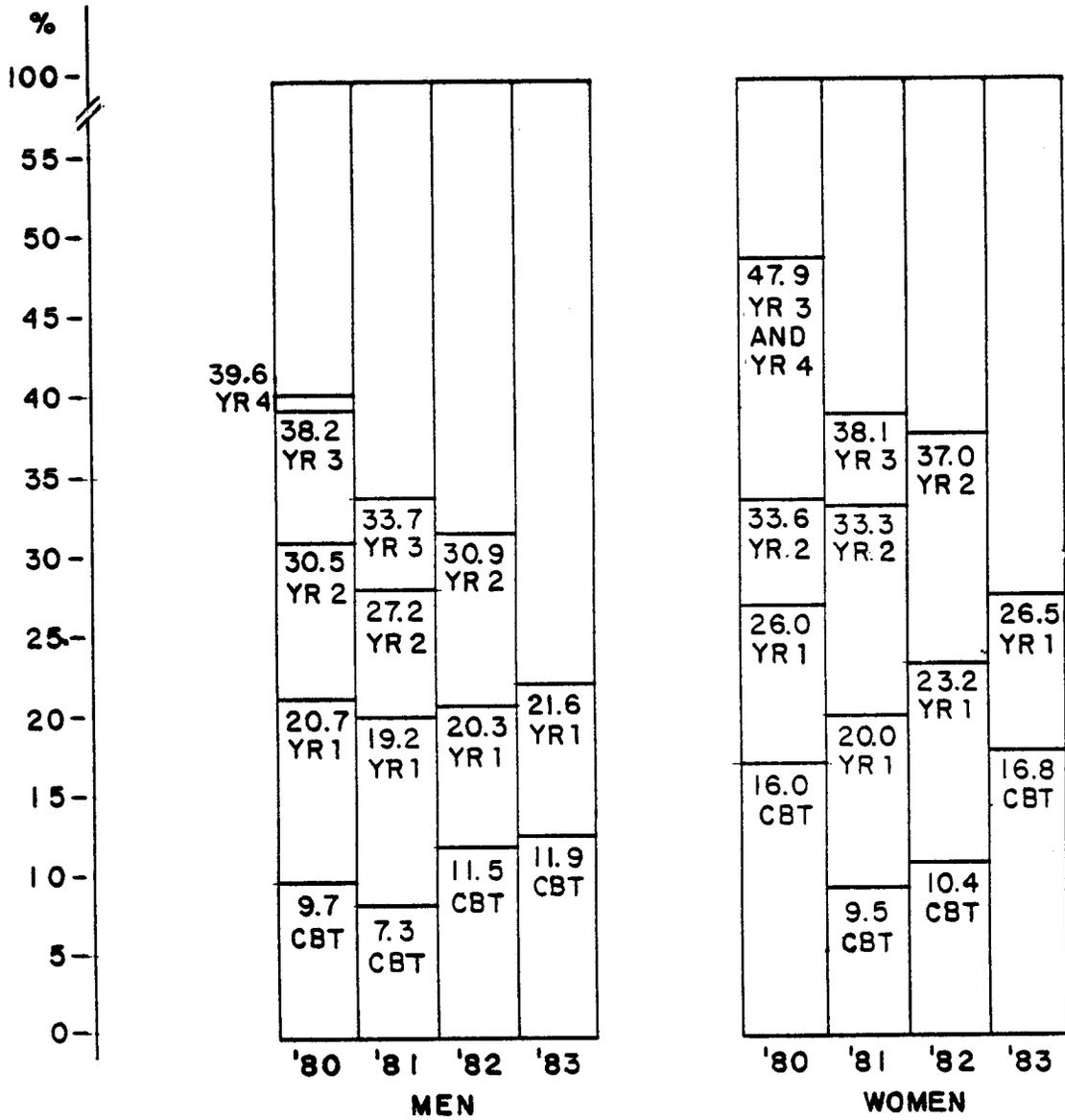
The purpose of this table, like the preceding one, can only be descriptive. That is, policy planners can understand what is happening (who stays, who leaves) but the tables do not provide any insight about why a phenomenon is occurring (why some stay and others leave). Understanding the reasons why men and women resign from West Point is an exceedingly difficult task. Based upon earlier studies (Priest, 1979; Adams, 1979) there was some evidence to suggest that physical correlates might be associated with persons who stay versus those who leave. In the Fall of 1979, a study was conducted to further examine the issue do women leave voluntarily as a function of personal choice or as a result from external influences within the cadet environment (Adams, Prince and Hall, 1980).

A follow-up mail survey was sent to all women who resigned from the Classes of 1980, 1981 and 1982. The

TABLE 16

CUMULATIVE GROSS ATTRITION RATE OF MALE & FEMALE CADETS

CLASSES OF '80, '81, '82, & '83
JULY 1976 - MAY 1980



SOURCE: CADET PERSONNEL OFFICE, U.S.M.A.
(U.S.C.G STATUS REPORT)

total population was 110. Of that group 68 completed the answer sheets accurately and an additional 4 elected to return long personal letters in lieu of the answer sheets. There was also one personal letter response from a parent explaining the reasons for the daughter's resignation. Including the personal narrative responses, 66% of the women contacted responded. In addition, four questionnaire packets were returned by the postal service because of change of address. In this study, three questions directly asked the influence of physical performance on the women's decisions to resign. The questions and responses are given in Table 17.

The results show that 78% of the women stated that physical performance did not influence their decisions to leave. Also, 85% of the women sampled who left said that they did not believe there was too much emphasis on physical training and development. Yet, 64% of the women who left felt that their own physical performance was a major factor for acceptance by their male peers.

In addition to examining the former female cadets' responses to physical performance and attrition, the study also asked how they personally felt about their former academy experiences and how other people have

TABLE 17

Attrition Questions and Physical Performance

Did your physical performance influence your decision to leave?

Yes	20.9%
No	77.6%
Other	1.5%

Do you believe that there is too much emphasis on physical training and development at West Point?

Yes	14.9%
No	85.1%

In your opinion, was your physical performance a major criterion for acceptance by male cadets?

Yes	64.2%
No	35.8%

SOURCE: Project Athena

reacted to their decision to leave. Table 18 presents the results of their feelings about their decision to resign.

Regarding personal feelings about their Academy experiences and their decision to leave, the majority of the women (67%) reported favorable feelings both at departure and now. There were 12% who reported unfavorable feelings at departure and now. Also, 66% of the women reported that they felt they had made the right choice in leaving. However, there were 19% who stated they were uncertain as to whether resignation was the right choice. A majority of women (69%) stated that if asked, they would recommend that other women apply for admission to West Point. There were 24% who stated they would not recommend other women to apply.

The women were asked about how support groups were used both at West Point and after they resigned. Table 19 provides a summary of their responses.

In the analyses of the importance of support from significant others to the decision to leave, 99% stated that they found support from either the family or from friends after they left. However, the women were also asked questions about support they could obtain from people within West Point prior to leaving. The

TABLE 18

Statements About Personal Affect (feelings) to Resign

How do you feel now about your decision to leave?

Made right choice	66%
Uncertain	20%
Made wrong choice	6%
Other (non-response)	8%

Looking back, how do you feel about your experience at West Point?

Favorable then and now	67.2%
Favorable then not now	1.5%
Unfavorable then favorable now	10.4%
Unfavorable then and now	11.9%
Other	9.0%

If asked, would you recommend that other women apply for admission to West Point?

Yes	68.7%
No	23.9%
Other	7.4%

SOURCE: Project Athena

TABLE 19

Support Systems

SUPPORT SYSTEM AFTER LEAVING WEST POINT

How have relatives and friends accepted your decision to resign?

Family supportive friends supportive	74.6%
Family supportive friends unsupportive	9.0%
Family unsupportive friends supportive	14.9%
Family unsupportive friends unsupportive	1.5%

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT SYSTEM (When you first had doubts about staying at West Point)

Were you comfortable discussing these feelings with your TAC?

Yes	38.8%
No	59.7%
Other	1.5%

Did you feel free to go to CCC to discuss your feelings with a counselor?

Yes	35.8%
No	62.4%

If you were an upper class cadet with a sponsor did you feel free to discuss your feelings with your sponsor?

Yes	9.0%
No	9.0%
Other (N/A)	82.0%

SOURCE: Project Athena

majority of the former female cadets reported that they did not feel comfortable in discussing their doubts about staying at West Point with the Tactical Officer nor with members of the Cadet Counseling Center.

In summary, the finding that the majority of women who resigned have positive personal feelings about their academy experiences and that they were able to obtain some favorable support from either family or friends is encouraging. This is the first systematic feedback which West Point officials have received regarding the positive feelings women have about the arduous and demanding experience of Academy life. It is also encouraging to note that most women, if asked, would recommend that other women seek admission.

The finding that the women were uncomfortable in discussing feelings to resign with officials in the formal support system is not new. Often, cadets, especially new cadets, view their TACs in antithetical roles: one as a counselor, the other as a disciplinarian. There are also lingering stereotypes within the Corps of Cadets that suggest a person is weak if it is known that the cadet wants to go to the Counseling Center to discuss a problem. Such labeling may contribute to the reluctance of the women to go

freely to the Counseling Center to discuss doubts about organizational commitment.

The issues and concerns about why women have left West Point will continue to be studied. There are many questions still unanswered. For example, the majority of women answering this survey reported that their physical performance did not strongly influence their decision to leave. Yet, overwhelmingly the women also stated that their physical performance was a major criteria for acceptance by their male peers. This seems to support ongoing research which has linked female cadet leadership evaluations with how they perform in physical performance tasks.

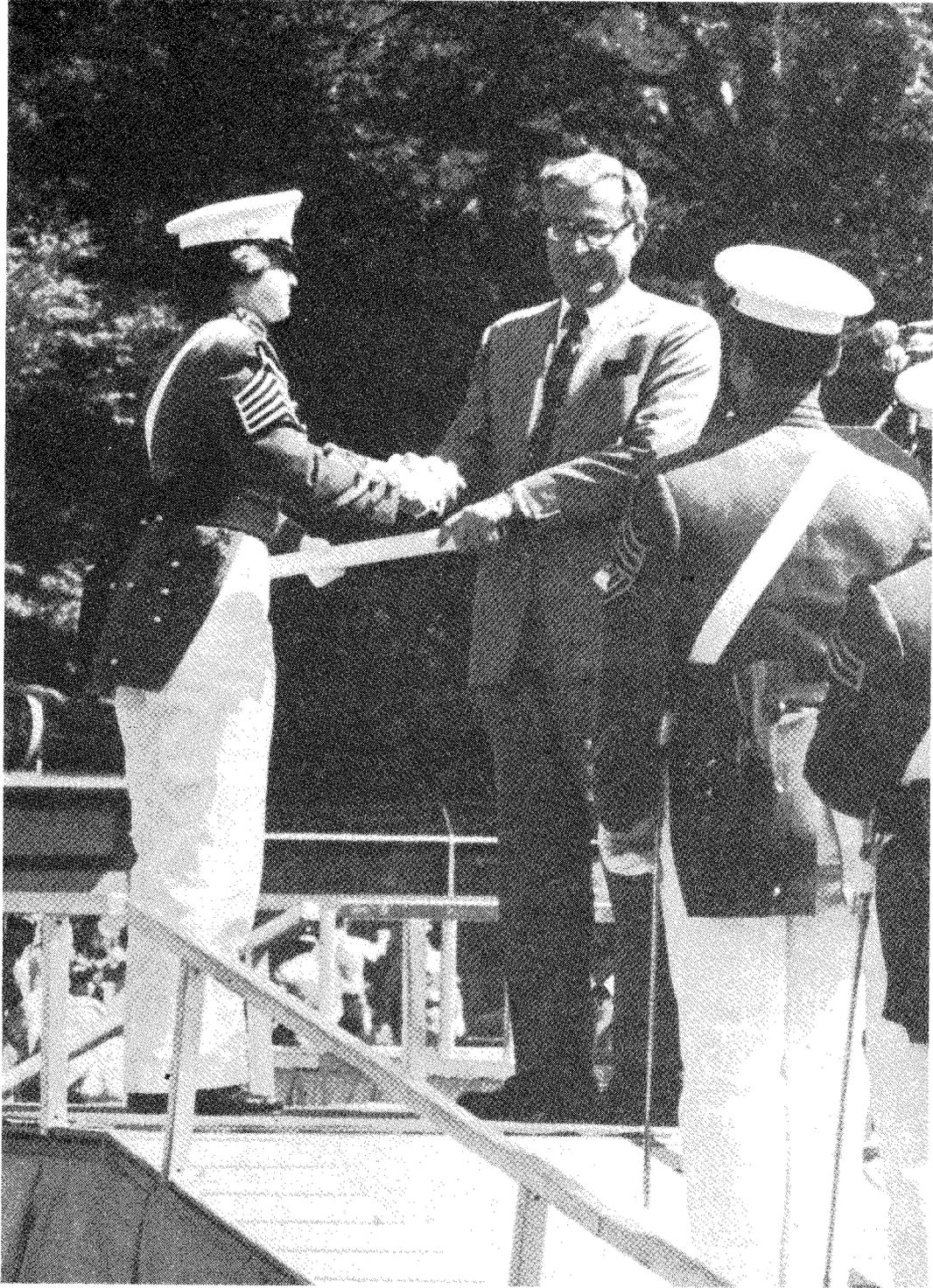
Summary

There is compelling evidence that the integration of women into the Corps of Cadets has been linked to how well the male peers accept women on the basis of the women's physical performance. Academy policy planners should continue to combat the difficulties that arise from attitudinal bias and from the lack of understanding of the policy of equivalent training by using formal communication (e.g., tied to classroom and training) to supplement the chain of command.

Research is ongoing to investigate the relationship between the average daily dietary intakes with cadet activities and energy balance (weight control) of male and female cadets.

Women's intercollegiate sports teams have all demonstrated their abilities to compete successfully on the intercollegiate level. However, the level of contribution of women in company intramural competition may be lessened because the more gifted women are often committed to intercollegiate teams.

Understanding the underlying reasons why men and women resign from West Point is an exceedingly difficult task. The majority of the women who have resigned from West Point have felt that their own physical performance was a major factor for acceptance by their male peers.



Chapter 3

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

The questions addressed in this chapter on intellectual development are: (1) Do women continue to perform as well as men in academic classwork? (2) Are there differences between the number of men and women who require action by the Academic Board based upon poor class grade performance? (3) Are changes in the curriculum at West Point necessary to accommodate the needs of women?

Academic Class Performance

The Basic Concepts for the United States Military Academy contain working goals for the intellectual development of cadets. The goals include:

transmission of basic knowledge in the sciences and the humanities, including perspectives of other cultures; development of a critical understanding of the various methods of acquiring knowledge; encouragement of a growth in the ability to reason logically; exposure to moral and ethical problems as a basis for informal individual judgement; development of the ability to communicate clearly and concisely; and, finally, stimulation of a lifetime desire for growth through both formal schooling and continuing self-development.

The goals of intellectual development place emphasis on long-term development rather than immediate, specialized, vocational skill development. Earlier studies of academic performance cited in Project Athena III have shown that women are well qualified in academic preparation (Adams, 1979). Excepting military science courses, there have been no problems for women as a group in academic studies. A comparison of academic performance for men and women in the Class of 1980 is given in Table 20. An inspection of the average scores shows that men and women perform equally well. It must also be stated that after four years of academic work, male and female cadets who may have been less successful in academic training and performance would have resigned or been separated by now. Thus, one would not expect to find many differences in the Class of 1980's performance.

Because the Academy has recently undergone a curriculum revision, military science courses are offered for only three years. The transition Classes of 1980 and 1981 both take Military Science 300.

Table 21 illustrates the military science performance for men and women in the Classes of 1980, 81, 82 and 83 for the past academic year. For the

TABLE 20

Academic Grades for Academic Year 1979-80

Class of 1980		First Term		Second Term	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
MS 300	Military Science	2.72	2.99		
SS307	Social Science	2.59	2.78	2.56	2.63
ER 403	Engineering Decision Methods	2.40	2.20	2.46	2.65
HI 400	History	2.58	2.41	2.53	2.15
PL 401	Leadership	2.86	2.88	2.68	2.82
ER 401	Engineering Mechan- ical Systems	2.40	2.51	2.53	2.59
LZ 400	Foreign Language			3.63	3.63
PE 401	Physical Education				2.54

4.0 scale

SOURCE: Office of the Dean, USMA

TABLE 21

Military Science Grade Performance
for Academic Year 1979-80
By Class - By Sex

	First Term		Second Term	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Class of '80 MS 300	2.72	2.99	--	--
Class of '81 MS 300	--	--	2.60	2.73
Class of '82 MS 200	2.61	2.18	2.84	2.69
MS 203	2.49	2.40	2.58	2.32
Class of '83 MS 101	2.60	2.23	--	--
MS 102	--	--	2.63	2.09

New Military Science Curriculum:

Fourth Year: MS 101 in first term
MS 102 in second term

Third Year: MS 200 and MS 203 in first or second term

Second Year: MS 300 in first or second term

First Year: No MS required

Transition of the above curriculum began in AY-78 and was completed during the past AY.

SOURCE: Office of the Dean, USMA

Classes of 1980 and 1981, women, on the average, received slightly higher grades in the Military Science 300 courses.

In the Class of 1982, women did more poorly in military science both semesters. The same results exist with the Class of 1983. That is, women continue to do more poorly in the first two years of military science courses. However, their adjustment and academic performance the last two years is quite similar to men.

One particularly pleasing note of academic accomplishment by a woman in the Class of 1980 was the selection of Andrea Hollen as a Rhodes scholar.

Academic Performance

To implement the concept for intellectual development the concept paper on intellectual development states in part that:

Only those who possess a sound academic preparation and whose records suggest the potential for continued development are selected. It then is the responsibility of the Military Academy to use all its resources to support and encourage those accepted as cadets to develop to their full potential.

Although the academic potential and past performance of

candidates is weighted heavily to predict future academic success, there are many other reasons which contribute to actual academic performance (e.g., personal motivation, good management of cadet time, etc.). The Military Academy, like all institutions of higher learning, is concerned with improving the performance of students' academic performance. The decision to retain or separate a cadet based upon poor academic performance is difficult. Each individual has a unique situation and must be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. Table 22 gives a summary of the academic deficiency rates for each class during the past academic year.

The results of Table 22 show that the largest number of cadets declared deficient are as expected in the plebe (freshman) Class of 1983. Of some concern is the large number of women in the Class of 1983 who are deficient during one or both semesters of the past academic year. The numerical differences between the percentage of men and women in the upper classes appear much less dramatic. A cautionary note is warranted. The reader should recall that because there is a small total population size for each class of women; therefore, comparing percentage differences between men

TABLE 22
 Academic Deficiencies* for Academic Year 1979-80
 By Class - By Sex

	80		81		82		83		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total Strength	857	62	930	65	895	80	1005	95	3687	302
# Deficient	49	2	91	6	108	10	250	33	498	51
% Deficient	5.7	3.2	9.7	9.2	12.0	12.5	24.8	34.7	13.5	16.9

*Deficiencies may be a result of poor performance in one or both terms of AY 79-80.

SOURCE: Office of the Dean, USMA

and women can be misleading. In spite of this caution, the relative number of women in the Class of 1983 who are academically deficient in Academic Year 1979-80 is quite large.

A more detailed breakdown of Academic Board actions for deficient cadets is given in Table 23.

The results of this table show that the largest category of cadets who are deficient are given the opportunity to correct the deficiency by repeating the course. This would be in support of the Academy's concept for intellectual development by providing as much opportunity as possible to encourage those accepted as cadets to develop to their full potential.

Academic Curriculum

The quality of instruction at the Military Academy in support of the concept for intellectual development has been studied by several academicians within and outside of West Point. Most recently, Professor H. Bradley Sagen, examined the quality of instruction at USMA. In a section on the consequences of academic failure, Professor Sagen states that:

The consequences of academic failure are substantially greater at USMA than at civilian institutions and the Academy is as much a captive of potential sanctions as

TABLE 23

Number of Deficient Courses During Academic Year 1979-80
By Class - By Sex

	80		81		82		83	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total Course Deficiencies*	50	2	102	6	150	15	311	35
<u>Disposition After Board Actions:</u>								
Separate	5	---	12	---	27	1	38	2
Repeat**	39	1	76	6	80	4	185	27
Condition	1	1	5	---	2	3	28	1
Deferred	---	---	1	---	5	---	---	---
Turned Back	---	---	---	---	7	1	23	5
Resigned	---	---	---	---	1	1	7	---

*Total deficiencies is higher than total number of cadets due to some multiple course deficiencies.

**Indicates repeat of course during next Academic Year or STAP (Summer School)

SOURCE: Office of the Dean, USMA

the individual cadet. Because cadets must pass all courses to graduate and because the schedule of each cadet permits no opportunity to make up a course lost through failure during the academic year, cadets must be either assigned to summer school, turned back and thus lose one-half to a full year, or separated... The academic program should be made more flexible by providing greater opportunities for summer instruction and perhaps by creating at least one "hole" in the curriculum so that deficient cadets can make up a course if necessary....

Although there were several strengths noted in the curriculum, and shortcomings which could be improved, there were no recommendations to tailor any curriculum changes for women. This is not surprising. Women have adjusted well to the rigors of academic life.

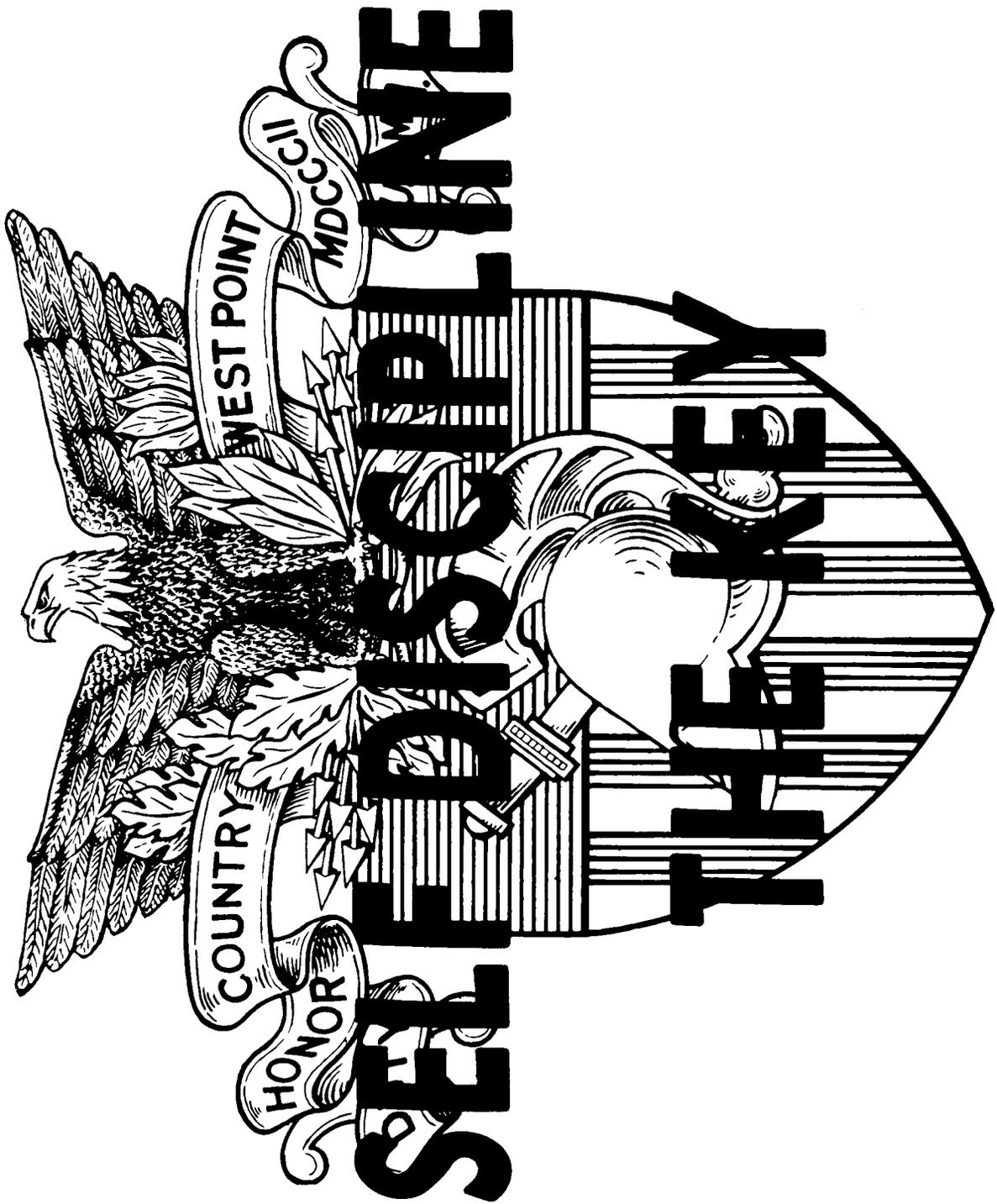
Summary

Overall, women continue to perform as well as men in academic course work. However, some difference is still evident in the first two years of military science courses. The first female Rhodes scholar from West Point is a member of the Class of 1980.

During the past academic year, the greatest percentage of deficiencies for both male and female cadets was in the plebe class. More than 20% of the women in the Class of 1983 were deficient in one or both of the academic semesters. The percentage of

deficiencies between men and women in the upper classes is less dramatic.

Although there have been several strengths and shortcomings noted in the Military Academy's academic curriculum, there are no recommended changes because of women. Women have been effectively integrated in all areas of academic life at West Point.



Chapter 4

MORAL DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter on furthering cadet moral development, the following questions will be discussed: (1) What are the perceptions of men and women regarding the moral ethos required to become an Army officer? (2) Are there differences between men and women on value patterns? (3) Are there a greater number of conduct cases reported for men or women in the Corps?

Moral Ethos

The concept for furthering cadet moral development states in part that:

The United States Military Academy avows its deep and abiding commitment to the moral growth of its cadets in both thought and action....New graduates cannot be fully rehearsed for every moral problem that might confront them, but they should have a firm idea of what their country expects from its Army's officers and what their profession requires....If graduated cadets are to serve as officers in a dedicated, self-disciplined way, their own examined moral beliefs and actions need to be in harmony with the values and standards requisite to an officer of the American Army.

At West Point, there are a number of programs and activities which are designed to develop a moral appreciation of the relationship between the values of the military profession and the ethical and professional standards required of Army officers. In support of the concept for furthering cadet moral development, a study was conducted in 1979 to discover whether there are any aspects of the military academy environment which might hinder the chance for individual cadets to develop morally (Priest, 1979).

There were three parts to the study. In the first part, almost 90% of the members of the Classes of 1980, 1981 and 1982 were asked about their confidence in dealing with moral issues intellectually, how their moral values have changed since entering West Point, and whether or not faculty are trying to indoctrinate them in inappropriate ways. The cadets were asked a brief set of questions (e.g., yes, no format). Because of the scaling, cadets responded to situations which were a simple, absolute response in contrast to an open-ended discussion. A summary of the overall findings is provided in Table 24.

TABLE 24

A Descriptive Summary of Cadet Responses to Their Own Moral Development^a

- More than 80% of cadets report that they have become more confident in dealing intellectually with complex moral issues since they came to USMA.

- About half the cadets report that their concern for understanding the nature of the moral life and acting as a moral person has increased since they came to USMA. A large number report that their concern has not changed, while only a few indicate their concern has decreased.

- About half the cadets report that their moral values have been modified somewhat since they came to USMA. About one-third report their moral values have not changed, while only a few indicate their values have changed a great deal.

- A majority perceive that faculty are not trying to indoctrinate them inappropriately.

- Officers are not perceived as trying to prove that USMA policies are unquestionably right as moral rules.

- USMA educational programs are apparently not producing dogmatic moralists who assume they know the right answer to complex moral issues with careful analysis.

This descriptive summary was derived from a series of ten^a item responses broken down by Classes of 1980, 1981, and 1982.

SOURCE: Office of Institutional Research, USMA

The results of the descriptive summary in Table 24 suggest that overall, the majority of answers provided by cadets give a positive evaluation of USMA ethical programs. Cadets indicate their values changed (but not too much); they have become more concerned about moral issues, and they believe moral evaluation requires careful reasoning. Cadets report they they are more confident of their ability to deal intellectually with such complexity. Officers are seen as respecting the cadet's right to freedom from inappropriate indoctrination.

A second part of the survey examined male and female perceptions of the Military Academy environment. Here, 10% of the cadets who participated in the survey were asked to write a brief essay on their perceptions of deficiencies in the West Point professional-ethical environment. An outline of cadet comments of the Academy's environment was prepared which divided their statements into three areas: general criticisms, criticisms in the academic area, and criticisms in cadet life. Table 25 presents the detailed categories and the number of essays which mention that category.

As the two tables show, there were 207 responses by cadets which criticized at least one aspect of the

Academy's environment as impeding their professional or moral development. There were only 29 cadets who wrote essays which basically defended the environment. It should not be surprising that cadets found some criticisms. The cadets were asked to look for problems. The totals indicate responses of men and women in the Classes of 1980, '81 and '82. Given that the largest category has only 19 total responses, comparisons by class by sex would not be meaningful. However, Priest (1979) provides some general comments:

Some cadets still cloak their unprofessional attitudes toward women in moral indignation. Their standards are rigid, absolute, and based on male norms. This proves that not every moral conviction of cadets is desirable from the view point of professionalism. There is much confusion produced by talking as if ethics and professionalism were synonymous. They are not....

In general, many cadets argue that more freedom and more privileges produce more responsibility, which in turn produces morality. Actually, all more leisure gives one is the chance to develop more responsible leisure time choices. There is no proof that responsibility in the area of leisure choices generalizes to responsibility in the performance of military duties. There are better arguments for giving cadets more leisure than the ones used by many cadets. For example, more leisure produces less need to spite the system....

There is a lot of contradictory rhetoric about officers as role models, setting

TABLE 25

Content of Cadet Essays on USMA's Ethics
and Professionalism Environment

	Topic Heading Comments	Major Criticisms	Detailed Criticisms	Additional Criticisms
I. Generally positive, defends or justifies USMA	29			
II. I came to West Point voluntarily - will accept restrictions	3			
III. Unclassifiable	11			
IV. Mentions at least one undesirable aspect	207			
A. General criticisms		57		
1. USMA is too easy, should be tougher			3	
2. There are too many conveniences and services given to cadets			3	
3. We are treated like children			6	
4. Favoritism			9	
(a) In general				2
(b) Women				4
(c) Blacks or minorities				2
(d) Athletes				1
5. Unprofessional officer behavior			16	
(a) General conduct, no specifics				9
(b) Specific complaint				7
6. Outspoken cadets are harrassed			3	
7. Need more contact with civilian world			5	
8. Punishments			18	
(a) In general, too harsh and inflexible				10
(b) No chance to given reasons, "no excuse mentality"				2
(c) Punishment of wrong type				1
(d) Group punishment				2
(e) Cadet reaction - fear, paranoia				3
9. Inappropriate treatment of pot smokers			2	
B. Criticisms which focus on the academic arena		34		
1. Evening study period			14	
(a) General - academic limits				5
(b) Should be able to choose TV or gym instead of studying				9
2. Mandatory class attendance			3	
3. Required courses			3	
4. No "major" program			1	
5. Course requirements or study time requirements are too demanding			2	
6. Unprofessional instructor behavior			11	

TABLE 25 (continued)

Topic Heading Comments	Major Criticisms	Detailed Criticisms	Additional Criticisms
C. Criticisms which focus on aspects of the Commandants' control	116		
1. Absence card		16	
2. Too few privileges		19	
(a) Weekend leaves			16
(b) Effects of confinement to post			3
3. Tactical officer behavior		7	
4. Alcohol and drinking regulations		5	
5. Uniforms (blue jeans)		3	
6. Barracks		9	
(a) Inability to have posters			1
(b) Unreasonable searches			1
(c) Security regulations			7
7. Honor		9	
(a) General			4
(b) Toleration			1
(c) Single sanction			2
(d) Lawyers vs. cadet ownership			2
8. LES (or MDRP) Leadership Ratings		6	
9. Policies relating to women		6	
(a) Open door policy			3
(b) Fraternization			3
10. Public display of affection		7	
11. Mandatory attendance at games		5	
12. Cadet finance		3	
13. Communication rules		2	
(a) Derogatory language			1
(b) Obscenity			1
14. Fourth Class system		2	
15. Mess hall policies		2	
16. Third Class movie restriction		2	
17. No time or inadequate time		4	
18. Regulations in general		9	
TOTAL ALL RESPONSES	250		

Note: There were 235 cadets who answered the machine-scorable part of the questionnaire. Some of these did not write essays. Some essays mentioned more than one environmental aspect; thus, the responses not not equal 100%.

SOURCE: Office of Institutional Research, USMA

the highest example for cadets. Some cadets write as if officer misconduct justifies their misconduct. Other cadets say, in effect, "I do not imitate bad examples." The latter represents greater maturity. Role modeling can easily be overemphasized. Good role models are neither necessary nor sufficient for morality in cadets, especially for the higher stages of moral development....

In the third part of the survey, cadets were asked to identify what moral and ethical goals should be. A summary of their responses is given in Table 26.

The results show that the most frequent categories are honesty, honor, knows right from wrong, autonomy, nondefensive, duty, mental abilities and self-esteem. These eight categories account for nearly half the responses. The next eight categories account for an additional 26% of the responses. The first 18 categories account for 80% of the responses. The remaining 19 categories represent isolated views, not widely shared by large numbers of cadets. The West Point motto of "Duty, Honor, Country" was evident in the cadets' thinking in this survey. Cadets appear to have a well-developed set of beliefs about honor and duty. The concept for country does not appear to be as well-defined.

TABLE 26

Frequency of Cadet Moral Development Ideals in Cadet Responses

<u>Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Cum Percent of Responses</u>
8. Scott honesty*	30	7%
13. Honor	30	14
20. Knows right and wrong	29	21
16. Autonomy	28	28
26. Non-defensive	24	34
14. Duty	23	39
21. Mental abilities	22	45
18. Self esteem	21	50
24. Ambition	20	55
2. Scott kindness	18	59
12. Scott independence	17	63
17. Golden rule	12	66
23. Fair	11	69
28. Decisive	11	71
29. Trustworthy	11	74
22. Brave	10	76
3. Scott social skills	9	78
7. Scott status	9	80
19. Conformity to regulations	8	82
4. Scott loyalty	7	84
15. Country	7	86
27. Self knowledge	7	88
32. Competence	6	89
33. Cheerfulness	6	90
35. Self discipline	6	92
37. Empathy	5	93
25. Be a role model	5	94
31. Military skills	5	95
9. Scott religiousness	4	96
10. Scott self control	4	97
6. Scott physical development	4	98
30. No deviant behavior	2	98
36. Able to stand stress	2	99
34. Pleasure	1	99
5. Scott academic achievement	1	99
1. Scott intellectualism	1	100
11. Scott creativity	0	100

N = 416

Note: These responses were obtained from 196 different cadets.

*Scott refers to the scott value inventory.

SOURCE: Office of Institutional Research, USMA

Value Patterns

Because West Point selects from the best academically and physically qualified high school graduates from various social, geographic, and economic strata, a study was conducted in 1977 of the Class of 1981 to examine the influence that diversity of backgrounds may have on values of cadets at entrance. There were 48 values expressed in the study; however, there were only four values where males and females differ to a noteworthy extent. Table 27 provides a summary of the four values which differentiate male and female cadets.

Although there were four values where male and female cadets differ to a noteworthy extent, the pattern of differences is interesting. Women were lower than men in the value they gave to: marry and have a family, and raising a family. They were higher than men in the importance they assigned to: work to correct social and economic inequality, and helping others who are in difficulty. Essentially, the women were indicating very non-traditional attitudes for women toward marriage and procreation, but women were more willing to empathize with others. The latter finding is supported by research by Adams and Hicks

TABLE 27

Differences Between Male and Female Cadets
Value Patterns*

<u>Value</u>	<u>Sex</u>
Marry right person - happy family	.13**
Work to correct social/economic inequality	.11
Raising a family	.17
Help others who are in difficulty	.10

*Comparisons of the same cadet values has not been conducted for each class; therefore, across class comparisons on value patterns is not possible.

**Statistic used is ETa squared which summarizes the percent of variance which is accounted for by difference between sex. An ETa squared value of .10 or greater which accounts for 10% of the variance is defined as noteworthy.

SOURCE: Office of Institutional Research, USMA

(1980) which found that women as leaders were more considerate about the welfare of others. In spite of their diverse backgrounds, on most values, 44 of 48 surveyed, male and female cadets are highly homogeneous in their value patterns.

Conduct Cases

Thus far, the discussion about furthering cadet moral development has centered around cadet moral beliefs and personal values. Another means of insight into the moral growth of female and male cadets is to review not only their thoughts but also their actions. Perhaps a useful measure of cadet actions is to review the number of Class 1 conduct boards convened during Academic Year 1979-80. A summary of the Class 1 boards for the past year is given in Table 28.

The results of the table are primarily descriptive. No percentage comparisons are made because fluctuating sample sizes between men and women could distort differences. However, it does appear that the only noticeable difference is in the Class of 1980 women who have fewer conduct boards than men.

Although there are other crude measures of the conduct system (e.g., total demerits, number of area

TABLE 28

Class 1 Regimental Officer Boards for
Academic Year 1979-80
By Class - By Sex

<u>Class</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
1980	73	2
1981	106	8
1982	98	12
1983	54	8

Class 1 offenses are major conduct boards which can lead to a recommended separation.

SOURCE: S-1, USCC, USMA

tours, etc.), not all of these are true measures of misconduct. Some may reflect inappropriate behaviors such as drinking excessively during weekend privileges. In terms of major conduct cases, Class 1 offenses, men and women, by and large, seem to have behaved similarly.

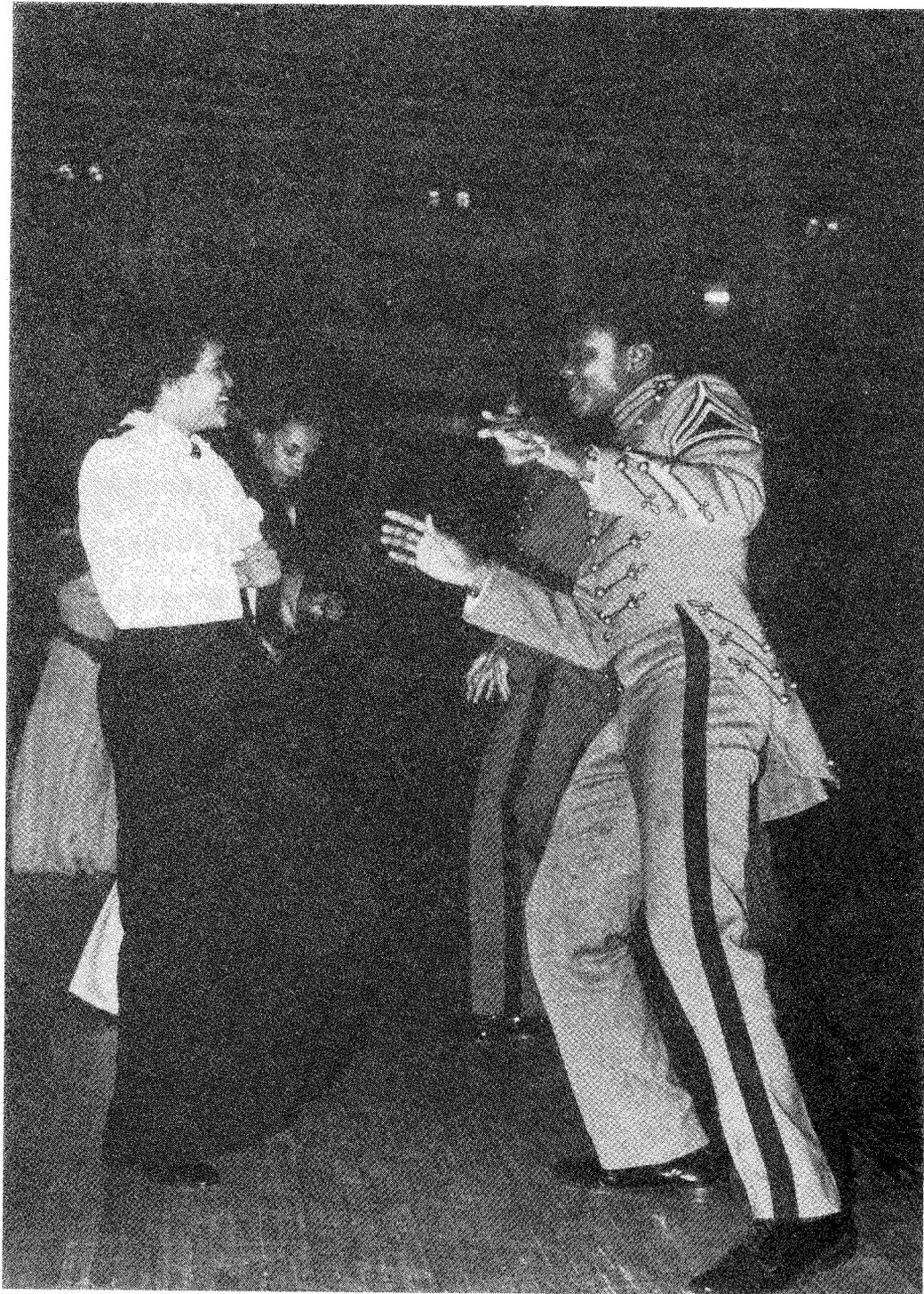
Summary

Most cadets report that they have become more confident in dealing intellectually with complex moral issues since they have come to West Point. Cadets do not perceive the faculty as trying to indoctrinate them inappropriately.

When specifically asked, most male and female cadets were critical of at least one aspect of the Academy's environment as impeding their professional or moral development. However, some male cadets still mask their own unprofessional attitudes toward women in moral indignation by basing their standards on rigid male norms.

On most personal values, male and female cadets are very similar in their value patterns. The similarity overrides factors such as social/economic background and gender.

The actual conduct or behavior of male and female cadets is very similar. There is no major difference between the percentage of conduct cases reported for men and women. In terms of furthering cadet moral development, women appear to have internalized similar value patterns as men who attend West Point.



Chapter 5

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter on cadet social development the discussion will be directed at members of the Class of 1980 who now have the hindsight of four years of experience. The questions addressed in this chapter are: (1) Is there a need for the Academy to provide for support systems for women? (2) Have male and female self-concepts relating to psychological masculinity and femininity changed over the past four years? (3) Does increasing contact with members of the opposite sex produce feelings of respect and friendship? (4) How satisfied are male and female cadets with their four-year experience?

Support Systems

An Academy concept paper on social development is still being finalized. When approved, it will contain the general philosophy of how the Academy plans to steward young adult social development. Part of the draft concept paper states that:

The complexity and diversity of social experiences at West Point is such that the concept of cadet social growth defies description in complete detail. Its central features can be identified; i.e., it is systematic and progressive, but allows for varying rates of progress. It is systematic in that it proceeds by phased repetitive cycles of cadet experiences. It is progressive in that it promotes widening opportunities for social growth through choice of activities and increasing responsibility for self control.

Part of the proposed concept for social development provides for opportunities for social growth through a choice of activities. Researchers (Darley, 1976; Kanter, 1977), have suggested that support groups of successful, advanced women will ease the integration of others who follow. During Cadet Field Training at Camp Buckner in the second summer, all women cadets were billeted as a group. While this had a counter-productive effect on integration (Vitters, 1978), the experience did provide women with an important source of support because it gave the women an awareness that they and their friends had shared a similar experience with which they could identify. Except for this experience, the women in the Class of 1980 do not think of themselves as a cohesive unit. The women in the Class of 1980 did not show any

favortism toward the women in the Class of 1981. Some women in the Class of 1981, expecting some big sisters to help them, were resentful of what they perceived as standoffishness (Priest, Grove and Adams, 1980). Women in the Class of 1980, however, were trying to fit in as cadets. Many avoided actions which would call attention to themselves as women.

In an attempt to better understand how certain social and extracurricular groups might function as support groups for women, a complete list of cadets who are members of any one of 121 recognized extracurricular activities as of May 1980 was obtained. The approximate percentage of 7% women in the Classes of 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983 was used as an index of proportional group membership. Based upon the binomial distribution using 90% confidence limits, there were 84 activities that had a proportionate number of women cadets as members. There were 24 activities where more women participated than would be expected by chance, and 14 where fewer participated than would be expected. Table 29 lists the 24 extracurricular activities which female cadets participated in more than is expected due to chance.

The results show that the Margaret Corbin Seminar,

TABLE 29

Activities Which Have More Women Participants Than
Expected by Chance^a
Classes of 1980-1983

<u>Activity</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>% Women</u>
Margaret Corbin Seminar	27	74%
Arts Seminar	119	14
Bowling Club	110	15
Bowling Team	20	45
Cycling Club	95	18
Cycling Team	17	24
Judo Club	23	22
Judo Team	20	25
Team Handball Club	183	23
Team Handball Team	45	47
Riding Club	53	15
Riding Team	15	33
Arabic Language Club	135	12
Cadet Chapel Choir	138	26
Cadet Catholic Chapel Choir	121	24
Catholic Chapel and School Teachers	64	38
Fellowship of Christian Athletes	171	24
Jewish Chapel Choir and School Teachers	18	22
Cadet Band	60	17
Fife and Drum	12	33
Rabble Rousers	17	35
Theater Support Group	104	19
Fourth Class Ring and Crest	34	18
Public Affairs Detail	54	24

*Excludes women's gymnastics and lacrosse, and other currently inactive groups.

^aUsing a 90% binomial confidence interval

SOURCE: Office of Institutional Research, USMA

which was explicitly designed by Academy officials to be a forum for women's issues, is the only non-sport activity in which a majority of the members are women. Recreational activities such as bowling, cycling, and riding were popular among the women. In addition, the women were drawn to religious activities such as choir, Sunday school teaching, and the Fellowship of Christian Athletes. The data suggest that the Corbin Seminar did play a useful support role for some women, while other women found support in already established groups. Still others wanted merely to blend in and be accepted as cadets. It is not known to what degree these women have sacrificed their personal identity as women in favor of the role as cadets.

Senior officials at West Point were apprised of the importance of support groups. For example, one, in a list of multiple goals to promote the total integration of women, recommended that the Academy "establish a women's forum to provide women (officer, equivalent civilian, and cadet) with the opportunity to share information, to give and receive support and to build skills necessary to assist the Academy in its stated efforts to integrate the services of men and women" (Adams, 1979, p.231).

Another way to look at the need for support groups for female cadets is to view women as "outgroup" members (Yoder, Adams, Prince, 1980). Persons are members of an "outgroup" or "tokens" if they comprise less than 15% of the group (Kanter, 1977). In 1976, women in the Class of 1980 comprised 8.7% of the class but only 2% of the Corps. Four years later, women are still members of an outgroup comprising 8% of the Corps. Tokens are highly visible and cause contrast between dominants (men) and the outgroup (women), which generates uncertainties in the men about how to act toward women. This uncertainty may cause men to fall back on stereotypes which impede social assimilation. Thus, men react with suspicion when women meet collectively and informally. However, legitimizing forums is one strategy to enhance social adjustment.

Male and Female Self-Concept

The concept for cadet social development "allows for varying rates of progress" which are based upon each male and female cadet's maturation as a young adult. Prior research with the Class of 1980 showed a general trend toward increasingly positive self-concept scores during their two years at the Academy.

In particular, cadets of both genders tended to attribute to themselves higher levels of socially desirable, stereotypically masculine qualities as they spent more time at the Academy. Furthermore, cadets of both gender groups did not tend to attribute to themselves lower levels of socially desirable, stereotypically feminine qualities as they progressed through the first two years of the Academy.

It is important to underscore what is meant by the terms psychological masculinity and femininity. They are psychological not cultural measures. In this context, masculine and feminine attributes are scaled to measure the extent to which individuals attribute to themselves qualities which are considered desirable for both genders to have. The term psychological masculinity is used to refer to agentic attributes such as competitiveness, independence, and roughness, which have been more typically ascribed to men in American society. The term psychological femininity is used to identify personal attributes like kindness, expressiveness, and understanding of others. Within the culture, these desirable attributes have been stereotypically ascribed to women. Table 30 shows the results of the most recent administration of the

TABLE 30

Changes In Self-Concept Over Time:
Personal Attributes Questionnaire

Spence Name	Sex	July 1976 NCT	Late August 1976 RW	RW	Late August 1977	Late August ^a 1977	April ^b 1980
				Spring 1977 Mall Survey			
Masculinity	M						
	\bar{X}	23.25	23.87	24.43	24.20	25.15	24.04
	S	3.81	4.36	4.14	3.85	3.82	4.28
	F						
	\bar{X}	21.24	21.65	21.56	22.16	23.59	22.08
	S	4.26	4.89	4.78	4.48	4.49	4.54
Femininity	M						
	\bar{X}	21.18	21.98	21.68	21.42	22.13	22.10
	S	3.46	3.83	3.67	3.74	3.89	4.19
	F						
	\bar{X}	23.05	23.27	22.54	22.91	23.22	21.66
	S	2.99	3.22	4.42	3.63	3.33	4.28

^aFor the five tests 1976-1978, n = 470 males, 37 females
(longitudinal sample).

^bn = 397 males, 36 females: not necessarily the same individuals
as the longitudinal sample

SOURCE: Project Athena

personal attributes self-concept scale given approximately sixty days prior to graduation.

Except for women's femininity scores, the results show that, on both self-concept measures, males and females had higher scores at the end of the four years. On the masculinity scale, which reflects the tendency to attribute desirable stereotypical masculine qualities, both male and female cadets increase at the end of the four-year period. These differences are considered large in magnitude (.79 for males and .9 for females), and they are statistically significant. On the femininity scales, which reflect the tendency to attribute desirable stereotypically feminine qualities to the self, female cadet scores decrease by 1.39 after four years. This is considered a large sized decrease. For males, there is a large increase in femininity scores, .92 after four years.

The highest scores obtained for any period measured occur immediately following the Summer of 1978 when both male and female cadets have either recently completed the Cadet Troop Leader Training experience in Army units or they have recently completed leadership assignments in the summer training experiences at Cadet Basic Training or Cadet Field Training.

The data for the four-year comparisons suggest that all cadets are increasing in their self concept of socially valued attributes of masculinity. Men are also increasing in their scores on personal attributes of understanding, expressiveness, etc. Women, as a group, show the only decline in psychologically feminine attributes after four years. Based upon these data, the four-year experience at West Point was not psychologically damaging to the self-concept of male and female cadets.

During the spring of 1980, interviews were conducted with over 90% of the women in the Class of 1980 by the Academy historian and by a staff officer in the Office of the Special Assistant to the Superintendent for Policy and Planning. In the interviews, cadets were asked to state what the term "femininity" meant to them. Although some women had no idea of a definition, most perceived it as something involving conduct and behavior, rather than a matter of physical appearance. For that reason, it was something that could be exhibited at some times and not at others. Thus, you could retain your femininity in a low crawl through the mud, but not exhibit it until later. One said, "I never worried about losing my

femininity. I thought it was totally ridiculous that anyone even thought that we would lose our femininity. Exercise and everything else is good for you; it makes men look better; physically, it makes women look better, and I have always been brought up to believe that. The first time I wore my fatigues I felt strange, but that was only because of society's symbol of fatigues. It really didn't violate my own sense of femininity." Another said "I had to learn that femininity wasn't perfume and little pink bows...so I had to define femininity for myself. I picked more of an androgynous type of femininity than probably a lot of women have. It suits me just fine there...In high school, it's more the clothes you wear, the rings, the jewelry you wear. Here it has to be something more that's inside. The uniforms don't fit very well; they tend to make you look angular. If you have any curves at all, they make you look heavy. So you have to redefine that... when we were trying on our uniforms for graduation ... (there was a comment) "you look fantastic." Another woman commented that since she'd become a First Classman and could go out more on weekends, "Guys in my Company turn and look at me and like 'you're in this Company?' and they get really

shocked...Just turn some heads and I don't think I've lost my femininity. I don't think I've changed since I came here... It's just traditional that you equate leadership and aggressiveness and physical with masculinity, and gentleness and everything else with femininity. That's just the way people perceive it..." (Priest, Grove and Adams, 1980).

Contact and Social Acceptance

In earlier reports on Project Athena there were a number of studies cited which measured attitudes toward women in society and beliefs about the role of women in the military. None of these studies asked directly how men felt about the individual women at West Point. Priest (1980) suggests that it is possible that previous negative results by male cadets reflect group stereotypes rather than personal hostility. For example, research by Savell and Collins (1975) has shown that men in the Army tend to have negative attitudes toward women as a group but they tend to respond more positively to women as individuals. Perhaps a better understanding of social acceptance can be gained by investigating further questions about feelings from personal contact rather than attitudes

toward groups.

A comparison of causes of differential treatment due to race, ethnicity or sex was obtained from women in the Class of 1980 at entrance and just prior to graduation. The results are summarized in Table 31.

Table 31 makes a comparison between the levels of differential treatment attributed to race, ethnicity, or sex by female cadets at two different times in their cadet career: treatment during plebe summer training (CBT), and treatment during their year as seniors. The table shows that female cadets attributed higher levels of severe treatment during the latter period. The difference is significant, and of moderate size. There were no significant differences in levels of attributed kind treatment to self or others between the two time periods.

The higher level of severe treatment attributed by First class cadets may be a willingness to reveal such treatment more than when they were plebes. Alternatively, it is possible that the level of discriminatory treatment has increased. This could be the result of the increase in interest the press and other media had given to women just prior to graduation (e.g., branch drawings, more magazine feature stories,

TABLE 31

Comparison of Attributions of Differential Treatment
By Female Cadets at Two Times

	Time				Standardized Difference in SD Units
	1976 CBT Mean	(SD)	1979-80 Year Mean	(SD)	
Treated more severely	2.40	(1.36)	3.32	(1.26)	-.63*
Treated more kindly	2.47	(1.19)	2.06	(0.99)	.38
Others treated more considerately	3.15	(1.24)	3.03	(1.25)	.10
N =	90		35		

*p \leq .01

SOURCE: Office of Institutional Research, USMA

increased press interviews, etc.). Experience has shown that male cadets in the past have reacted quite negatively to the greater attention given to women in their class. The scores may be a reflection of their feelings. Also, the increase in scores could be the result of an increase in the number of individuals who display minor instances of such behavior, or a great increase in more extreme forms of behavior by a few people. It is difficult to determine based on survey scores.

Interview data taken by the historian with women in the Class of 1980 have helped to clarify these results. In the face-to-face interviews, women said that the frequency of gender-based harassment has decreased generally over the four years. Although it still exists, such incidents generally are more covert. It is still possible to hear adverse comments, although perhaps now only once a week, instead of a few times a day. One female cadet said, "The attitudes of the male cadets have changed greatly. It used to be the accepted norm to get in a large group of people and cut down the girls, make fun of the girls...Now the norm is to keep quiet about your feelings about the girls, even if you don't particularly care to see them at West

Point... You might discuss that with your good friends if the subject should come up, but you wouldn't sit in a large group and openly talk badly about any females...that kind of behavior is not supported that much anymore."

Also, there are indications in the interviews that women cadets have become much more assertive in dealing with adverse gender-related comments. One woman said, "The women in my company got a lot of that. I wouldn't say a lot, but we got it. Anything beyond nothing was a lot to me." This clearly shows a lowered threshold by women for adverse material. One interesting technique used by one women is the use of nonhumorous laughter, "Ah, ha, ha,...very funny." This allows both parties to treat the comment as unintentional (i.e., a joke), whereas both parties know the remark is a clear violation of professional standards.

Academy policy is clearly designated to decrease anti-female expressions by cadets. There are cases where male cadets were disciplined administratively for adverse comments which were made to, and reported by, other male peers.

Male and Female Satisfaction

Cadets in the Class of 1980 were asked their opinions about how satisfied they were with their four-year experience at West Point. This was part of several questions asked about institutional and historical perspectives on women in Military Academy roles (Priest, Grove and Adams, 1980). Members of the Class of 1980 were asked a question that has been asked of graduating seniors since 1971. "If you had to do it all over again, would you have enrolled in USMA?" The results of the male and female responses are given in Table 32 along with the response from previous classes.

For the males, mean satisfaction increased from 1971 to 1975, dropped sharply in 1976, and has increased to a record high in 1979 and 1980. For the females, mean satisfaction was .43 standard deviation units lower than for their male classmates, which is regarded as a difference of moderate size. Men in the Class of 1971 had the lowest mean satisfaction of all groups tested, followed by women in the Class of 1980. To some extent, responses to this question may be influenced by a cadet's current belief about future Army career options. Thus, differences between men and women on this measure may not be attributed in any

TABLE 32

"Would You Do It All Over Again?"

<u>Class Year</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
1971	M	3.09	1.41
1972	M	3.42	1.33
1974	M	3.53	1.37
1975	M	3.79	1.25
1976	M	3.38	1.35
1977	M	3.46	1.38
1978	M	3.51	1.38
1979	M	3.83	1.32
1980	M	3.82	1.23
1980	F	3.25 ^a	1.42

Note: The response value of '3' represents 'undecided.'
Higher scores indicate, "Yes, I would do it over
again." Data for intervening years not available.

^aIn comparison with males, CY-80, the mean is lower; $t = 2.62$,
 $p \leq .01$.

SOURCE: Office of Institutional Research, USMA

simple way, entirely to the effects of the USMA environment. That is, each class of cadets is more apt to respond based on what the members experienced and what they expect to experience in the Army. It should be noted that for all groups the mean score is greater than 3.0. This indicates that the average graduating cadet (regardless of gender or year of graduation) has a positive feeling that "yes, I would have enrolled in USMA if I had to do it all over again."

A second question, "What are your emotional feelings toward West Point?" was asked. The response of male and female members of the Class of 1980 with the responses of earlier classes available, is given in Table 33.

The results in Table 33 show, for all groups, the mean score is on the positive side of the response scale. For males, the mean score has increased regularly since 1971. For female cadets, the mean score is significantly lower than for males in the same class year, a moderate difference. The lowest means are for males in the Classes of 1971 and 1972, followed by males in the Class of 1973 and females in the Class of 1980.

Based upon the data in Tables 32 and 33, it

TABLE 33

Emotional Feelings About West Point

<u>Class Year</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
1971 ^a	3.19	1.25
1972 ^a	3.19	1.25
1973 ^a	3.27	1.28
1974 ^a	3.47	1.25
1980 M	3.77	1.16
1980 F	3.28	1.14

(5 = Very strong attachment to USMA)

^aData for intervening years not available.

^b.43 standard deviation units lower than for CY 80 males,
 $t = 2.46, p \leq .01$.

SOURCE: Office of Institutional Research, USMA

appears as though cadets in the Class of 1980 were not the most dissatisfied group, and that they are on the positive side of the scale on both measures. While one might hope that future groups of female cadets will be as highly satisfied as the male cadets, it is not surprising that results from women in the Class of 1980 were lower than their male classmates. At the end of the plebe year, a 15-item measure of satisfaction with various aspects of cadet life was administered; women cadets scored slightly (but not significantly) lower than the men cadets (Priest, Prince and Vitters, 1977). Clearly, there are opportunities for the Academy to learn more about how to promote a higher degree of emotional satisfaction for subgroups of female cadets. The data show that the Academy has improved the satisfaction level of male cadets to a considerable extent over the last 10 years. Interestingly, the data seem to refute the prediction that the presence of female cadets at USMA would disadvantage male cadets in some way. In fact, the last two groups of male cadets are measurably more satisfied than their predecessors, despite the men's claim that women were a negative influence.

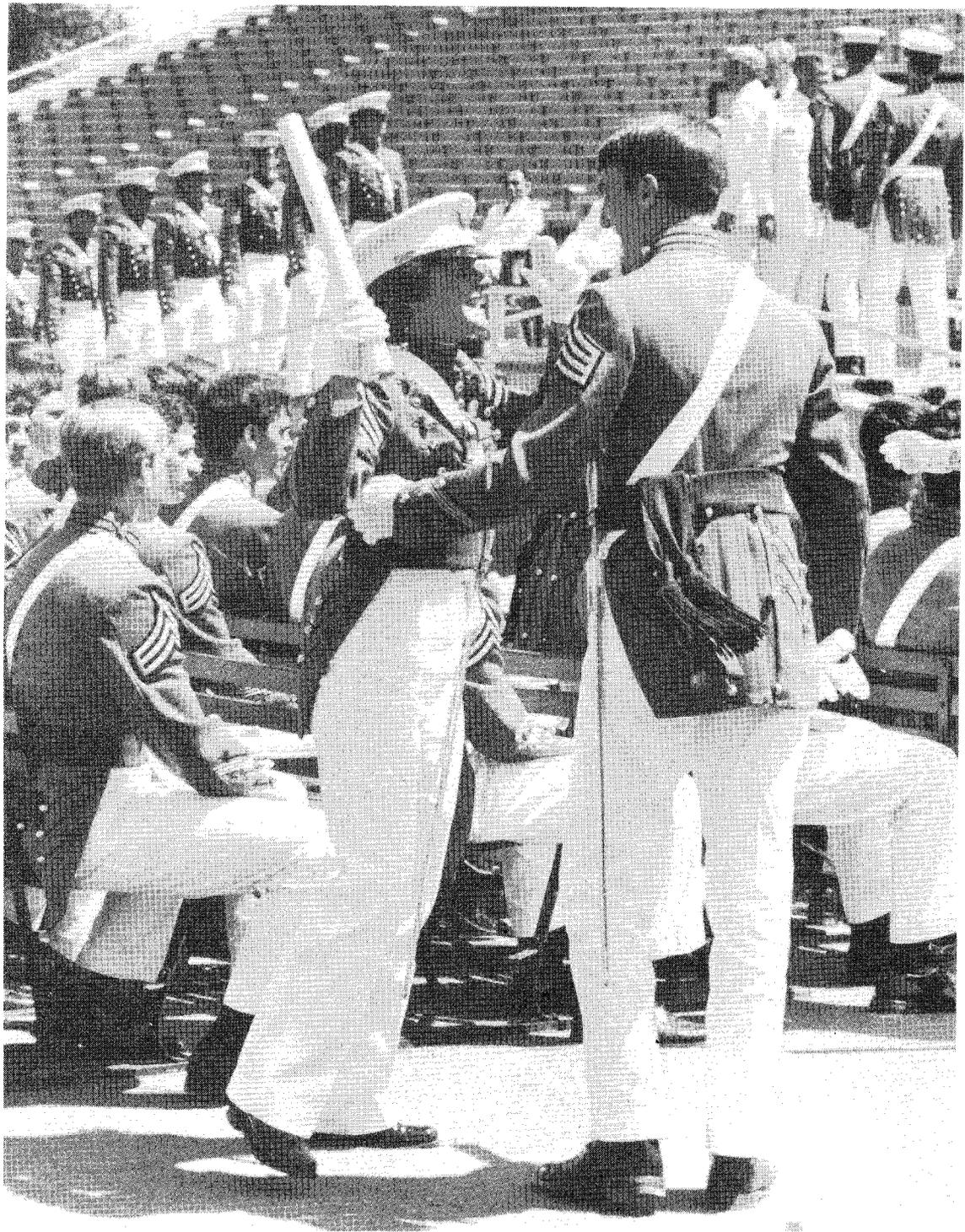
Summary

Support groups have been helpful for women in their social adjustment as cadets. While many women found support in already established groups, others wanted merely to blend in and avoided activities which would call attention to them as women. No doubt women have been subject to remarks by their male peers whenever they would gather informally. It is hoped that the official recognition of support groups will encourage more women who were reluctant in the past, to become more active with issues which support the integration of women.

Continued studies about the self-concept of male and female cadets reveal that both men and women have tended to attribute to themselves higher levels of agentic or psychologically masculine qualities. Men also report higher scores in the psychologically feminine personal attributes like understanding, expressiveness, and warmth. The four-year experience at West Point was not psychologically damaging to male or female cadets. The majority of the female cadets in the Class of 1980 when interviewed just prior to graduation, did not feel that they had become less culturally feminine.

Survey data of the Class of 1980 just prior to graduation found that women report an increase in discriminatory treatment after four years at West Point. However, interviews with women in the Class of 1980 just prior to graduation reveal that the frequency of sexist harassment has decreased over the four years. Also, women also report that they have become more assertive (agentic) in dealing with sexist comments.

Regarding overall satisfaction with their four-year experiences, men are more positive than women. Nevertheless, the women also report positive feelings toward West Point.



Chapter 6

POST-GRADUATION ISSUES

This chapter on post-graduation will discuss the plans to study the early Army experiences and adjustments of coeducational classes, starting with the Class of 1980. The primary questions to be addressed in this chapter are: (1) How does the Military Academy evaluate how successful it has been in training and developing women as future Army officers? (2) How can senior Army planners in Washington improve their understanding of officers' early Army experiences as these factors relate to commitment and satisfaction?

Evaluating the Success of Integration

What will follow in this section is a discussion of what future research has been planned, why it is being formulated, and what the intended use of the results will be to senior officials at West Point, and in the Army.

Undoubtedly, a large influx of women into non-traditional officer roles will continue before the Army has accumulated knowledge regarding what effects

various male-female role relationships have on leader behavior, early Army experiences, unit readiness and effectiveness, dual career management, and long-term career intentions. The post-graduation research seeks to build upon the earlier efforts which have been designed primarily around the admission of women into West Point and the institutional reaction to this historical precedent.

During the past four years, Project Athena has progressively evolved into a four-phase program:

Preadmission phase to prepare cadets and the military community for the arrival of women.

Integration phase which included careful documentation of how women were being integrated into the Corps of Cadets.

Assimilation phase which studies how well women are being fully assimilated into the Corps of Cadets.

Graduate Assessment phase which will study how well women are ready to assume and are performing their roles as Army officers.

To date, Project Athena has successfully focused upon the individual cadet by examining the adjustment to the four current pillars of cadet life; military development, physical development, intellectual development, and moral development. Moreover, some

attention has been given to what will become a fifth pillar, social development. Future research has been planned to meet the following need: To follow female graduates of West Point, comparing their career preparation, early officership experiences, and long-term career outcomes with those of their male peers. The goals of the study are three-fold:

1. To provide the United States Military Academy with data that will enable it to (a) refine its selection criteria, (b) increase the effectiveness of its programs to prepare female officers for the United States Army, and (c) predict the adjustment and retention of females selected for admission to West Point.
2. To provide the Department of the Army (through the Army Research Institute) with data that will enable it to identify those factors (variables) in the early career experiences of female officers that predict satisfaction with and commitment to a career as an Army officer.
3. To contribute to the research literature and theory on career development and retention in the military.

Essentially, then, the overriding theme of the post-graduation research is to collect and analyze data over several years that will provide the basis for both understanding the Army careers of females graduating from West Point, predicting their adjustment and success as officers, and providing feedback to West

Point and the Army that will enable each to most effectively prepare female career officers.

In order to accomplish the three research goals mentioned above, senior officials at West Point were asked for their input concerning: (1) What direction should research that follows male and female graduates take? (2) What specific needs or questions could the research help to answer that have practical implications for the Academy? (3) How can this research help Army officials to better understand the variables which influence officer career adjustment and commitment? The following persons and agencies at the Military Academy provided valuable input:

1. Superintendent of West Point
2. Deputy Superintendent
3. Commandant and Deputy Commandant
4. Dean of the Academic Board
5. Director of Intercollegiate Athletics
6. Chief of Staff, USCC
7. Director of Admissions

8. Department of Behavioral Sciences and Leadership

9. Office of Institutional Research

10. Department of Physical Education

Based upon the input from resource persons who influence the major aspects of cadet life, a conceptual model for post-graduation research has been developed. The model is provided in Figure 1.

The model depicts the process female and male cadets move through from entry into West Point until the completion of the required five years of service after graduation. At entry, Phase I and II, men and women bring certain values, attitudes and expectations along with other personal background factors. Those personal characteristics interact with early experiences at West Point, such as Cadet Basic Training, to produce early interest in an Army career or the decision to leave West Point. A list of the major variable sets which have been measured on men and women in support of Project Athena is given in Table 34.

Many other personal characteristics have been studied (e.g., Internal and External Locus of Control,

FIGURE 1: Conceptual Model of Post-Graduation Research

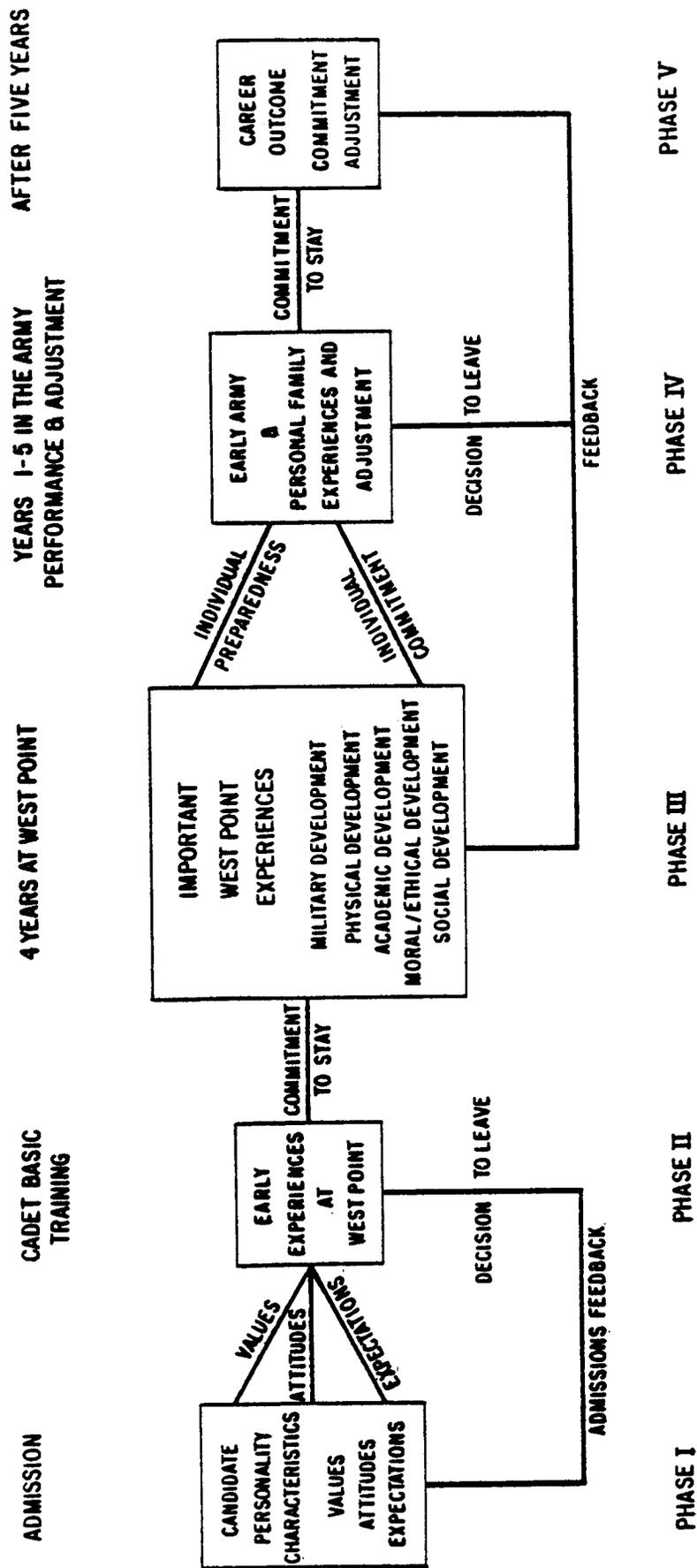


TABLE 34

Phases I and II of the Conceptual Model

ADMISSION: PHASE I

Demographics:	Age Sex PAE (Physical Aptitude Test) Influence of Family Military Family Recruited Athlete Prior Service Information Prior College Information
Personal Values:	Personal Attributes (Masculinity/Femininity) Moral/Ethical Values Self-confidence Self-esteem
Attitudes:	Toward Women in Military Toward Women as Leaders
Expectations:	Life Style Preference (Marriage and Family Plans) Work and Family Orientation Commitment to Graduation

CADET BASIC TRAINING: PHASE II

Early Experience (Cadet Basic Training)
Decision to Stay (Commitment Measures)
Decision to Resign (Reasons Why)

Test Anxiety, Father's occupation, etc.). However, the variable sets in Table 34 show the most consistent relationships in predicting early adjustment by male and female cadets. In Phase II, cadets make a conscious choice to stay or resign. Valuable information about why cadets leave can be fed back to the Office of Admissions so that recruitment and selection procedures can be enhanced.

If male and female cadets elect to stay, then there is a four-year training and development period (Phase III) during which they develop commitment as cadets to graduate and become Army officers. The major variable sets which have been studied under Project Athena are given in Table 35.

The important West Point experiences have been outlined under five areas of cadet development: military, physical, intellectual, moral, and social. The post-graduation research will build upon the knowledge gained from earlier research to help decision-makers better understand how the Academy experiences have prepared men and women for their roles as Army officers.

Phase IV of the conceptual model identifies both early Army and personal experiences that graduates will

TABLE 35

PHASE III of the Conceptual Model

IMPORTANT WEST POINT EXPERIENCES

Physical:	Physical Fitness Physical Development PT Weight Control Sports Participation Varsity vs. Intramural Individual vs Team Experience Level of Participation
Military:	Military Science Training Performance Summer Training Cadet Basic Training Cadet Field Training Cadet Troop Leader Training Cadet Military Specialty Training Branch Selection and Dual Career Management Leadership Counseling/Evaluation Expectations of Army Duties
Academic Development:	Grade Performance Learning Skills
Moral Development:	Honor System Religious Activities Fourth Class System
Social Development:	Dating Mentor Relationships Sponsor Program Roommate Other Social Experiences Support Systems Life Management Skills

probably encounter. The major sets of variables to be studied are shown in Table 36.

The women and men who graduate will have a different degree of readiness to assume the multiple roles that may await them (e.g., officer, spouse, troop leader, etc.). Concurrently, these new officers may experience differing types of acceptance with both non-commissioned and commissioned officers as well as from troops. The type of assignment, characteristics of the work, location and other variables all contribute to "the early career experience." Out of these, the young men and women graduates will begin to acquire various career attitudes while adjusting to career roles.

The variable sets are classified under the subheadings of cadet development so that feedback from early Army experience can be related to specific aspects of cadet training and development.

The last phase of the model (Phase V) is titled career outcome. The variable sets to be studied are given in Table 37.

This period reflects time after year five when the men and women graduates make a decision to stay in the Army or to resign.

TABLE 36

Phase IV of the Conceptual Model

EARLY ARMY AND PERSONAL FAMILY EXPERIENCES
(Years 1-5)

Physical:	Fitness and Participation
Military:	Transitional Experiences Readiness to assume marital responsibility Readiness to assume officer role New found freedom Initial Assignment Troop Experience Leadership and Counseling Work Satisfaction Branch, Unit, Location Organizational Climate Leader Style Senior Officer Role Model Relationship with Key NCO Expectation vs. Experience Drug Cases/Discipline Problems Unaccompanied Tour Awards OER - New System Dual Career Assignment and Branches
Academic:	Military School Early Civil Schooling Critique of West Point Preparation Writing Skills
Moral:	Ethical Dilemmas at Work
Social:	Peer Relationships Social Interaction Adjustment, Feelings, Stereotypes Spouse Adaptation Fraternization Policies Dating Opportunities Time Off Pregnancy (policy) Family Planning

TABLE 37

Phase V of the Conceptual Model

CAREER OUTCOME

Commitment to Army

Physical Fitness
Performance

Military Performance
Importance of Job Involvement
General w/Army
Satisfaction Measures
Specific w/Branch, Career
Officer Evaluations

Academic
Military Schools
Civil Schooling

Moral/Ethical Value Change

Social Adjustment

In summary, then, the post-graduation study has four operational objectives to support the three research goals. The objectives are:

1. To identify specific aspects of the West Point education and training that explain male/female differences, if any, in officer career adjustment, attitudes, commitment, and performance.
2. To identify specific (aspects of the) early career experiences of West Point graduates that explain male/female differences, if any, in officer career adjustment, attitudes, commitment, and performance.
3. To develop models for predicting Year 1-5 career adjustment, satisfaction, commitment, and performance among male and female graduates of West Point.
4. To provide feedback on the results of the research to policy makers at West Point and in the Army.

No one has attempted to study the career of West Point graduates, longitudinally. Except for the research resulting from Project Athena, there is little research on the Army officer careers of women. We lack both the conceptual and empirical models to guide many of the contemporary policy issues that accompany the assimilation of women as officers in the regular Army. It behooves us to seize upon this unique opportunity to follow the careers of West Point's female graduates and to learn from their experiences and adjustments.

Utility of Results

The primary purpose of research is to increase our knowledge. The knowledge gained from the study of the integration of women is useful in influencing policies when relevant organizational goals are considered. Therefore, the benefits to be derived from the post-graduation study will depend not so much on the results or findings that will be reported, but more importantly on whether and how they are utilized by various decision-makers. There is a significant amount of interest in obtaining feedback at West Point. Senior officials are examining research evidence on issues which influence the Academy development goals of military, physical, intellectual, moral and social development. Thus, within the Academy the utility of the results include:

- increase in effectiveness of recruiting and selection programs for women.

- refinement of physical education programs for women.

- refinement of intramural and intercollegiate sports programs for women.

- development of more effective support systems for women.

- lower attrition among female cadets.

-- increase in effectiveness of preparation for dual careers among engaged cadets.

-- improvement in performance of females in Military Science.

-- increase in effectiveness of branch selection and assignment process.

Outside of the Academy, there are many agencies within the Department of Defense that might benefit from the study: the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, the Military Personnel Center, the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Social and Behavioral Sciences and the other federal service Academies. Benefits could include:

-- an increase in understanding of the capabilities of women as leaders.

-- insights into unit readiness of units with mixed gender leaders.

-- insights into leader effectiveness with subordinates' motivation to follow women leaders.

-- an increase in understanding of dual career management and commitment.

-- identification of correlates of adjustment and satisfaction with early career experiences.

Finally, the academic community will benefit in two ways. First, the measurement of many career-related variables will be clarified with

reliable instruments available for use elsewhere. Second, the study will extend the theory and knowledge of career development in the military.

Summary

To date, Project Athena has focused upon the individual cadet by examining the experiences and adjustments of women as cadets during their military, physical, intellectual, moral, and social development at West Point. With the graduation of women in the Class of 1980 this year, Academy officials plan to evaluate the success of integration efforts. Because the primary purpose of the Military Academy is to prepare its cadets for a life of national service as Army officers, the ultimate success of how well women have been integrated will be measured by how ready they are to perform their roles as Army officers.

The post-graduation research program will collect and analyze data over several years that will provide the basis for understanding how women graduates are adjusting as officers. The information will be fed back to West Point and to the Army to enable decision-makers to make improvements in programs which prepare women in Army careers.

Conclusions

Overall, the integration of women into the Corps of Cadets has been successful. Some areas have complete integration; others although positive, still need improvement. Unquestionably, the progress of coeducation after only four years has exceeded the modest expectations of critics and in some areas the optimism of many supporters.

In the area of military development, women's performance has refuted critics predictions that female leaders could not be as effective as male leaders. Also, the most recent evidence shows that negative, attitudinal biases about women in leadership are changing more rapidly than many supporters would have predicted.

In the area of physical development, women as a group have not reached their full potential. Physical performance standards for men are based upon at least ten years of data on how previous male cadets have done. No such normative data base exists for women. Thus, physical performance for women and equivalent training must be based upon the formative evidence which is still being collected on each class with

women. Many male cadets still do not accept or understand the doctrine of equivalent training. As long as the doctrine is not accepted, men will continue to use physical performance differences as an artificial headwind to the integration of women in physical development.

The intellectual performance of men and women has been quite similar throughout the four-year experience. Women appear to be accepted in academic classes regardless of whether verbal or quantitative skills are stressed. Even in the Military Science courses, the previous evidence of gender differences is receding.

The studies of the moral development of male and female cadets show the cadets to have similar values and beliefs. The cadets support the honor code, and subscribe to the ethics and standards of professionalism required of them to become Army officers.

The social development of men and women has been positive for the most part. However, sexism still exists. Some male cadets are still sensitive to questions which call attention to their own prejudices. In turn, they have encouraged some female cadets to be uncomfortable with research efforts which are designed

to further their assimilation. Quite often, women either avoid activities which single them out from other cadets as women or they adopt denial-coping strategies, "leave me alone, I just want to be a cadet." The social acceptance of women as cadets appears to be improving. However, activities which identify cadets as women have not been totally well received.

Senior officials should not become complacent with the progress of integration to date. Full assimilation of a minority group by a majority group is a continuous, long-term effort which requires the sustained support and commitment by senior policy officials.

In large part, much of the success of integration must be attributed to the women themselves -- especially the female cadets of 1980. They have persevered to prove, primarily to themselves, that they could become regular Army officers.

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