The Nature of Gender Discrimination in the Navy

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Reviewed, approved, and released by
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A survey designed to measure the frequency and types of gender discrimination perceived to exist at Navy commands was completed by over 5,000 randomly selected enlisted and officer women and men. In addition, over 100 telephone interviews were conducted with survey respondents (primarily women) who were willing to describe their gender discrimination experiences in depth. While treatment discrimination is not prevalent in Navy commands, many Navy women experience subtle forms of gender discrimination that may result in reduced unit cohesion and increased turnover. It is recommended that awareness of the concept of gender discrimination be raised, and that rates of gender discrimination continue to be monitored.
Foreword

This effort was sponsored by the Equal Opportunity Division (Pers-61) of the Bureau of Naval Personnel. It was funded within Program Element 0605152N, Project Number R2097.SA113 (Studies and Analysis). The findings and recommendations are for the use of both Pers-61 and Pers-00W.

The authors wish to thank Dawn Eliassen, Kristin David, and Sharon Le for their help in conducting the interviews and inputting the survey data. We also are in debt to the Navy personnel who agreed to be interviewed and relate their experiences to us.

THOMAS A. BLANCO
Director
Personnel and Organizational Assessment
Summary

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to gather detailed information on the nature of gender discrimination in the Navy.

Approach

A short survey was mailed to 10,000 personnel, divided equally among women and men, officers and enlisted. Along with asking questions about gender discrimination, the survey solicited participants for in-depth interviews. Over 100 interviews were conducted, primarily with women.

Results

Overt discrimination in advancement, recognition, training, and job assignment was found to be rare. However, subtle discrimination in the form of treating women as less capable than men, rarely mentoring women, harassment, and expressions of hostility is occurring. Type of command had a strong influence on the prevalence of perceived hostility. All women appear to be equally vulnerable to gender discrimination, regardless of race/ethnicity or status as an officer or enlisted member.

One in 17 men experienced gender discrimination over a 2-year period. Enlisted men felt they are assigned an unfair share of undesirable jobs, and 20 percent of the women agreed with them.

Recommendations

1. Raise awareness of the concept of gender discrimination through use of vignettes during equal opportunity training.

2. Monitor rates of gender discrimination by increasing the scope of questions in the Navy Equal Opportunity/Sexual Harassment Survey.
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Introduction

Gender discrimination, like other types of discrimination, is an act, policy, or procedure that denies individuals equal treatment based solely on their membership in a defined category. Unlike most discrimination, however, the principal target group (i.e., women) is not a numerical minority in society, although the targets usually are minorities in environments where gender discrimination is encountered. Gender discrimination can be legal, as in the exemption of women from conscription. Despite often being perceived as protective, differential treatment actually deprives women of opportunities and rewards, defining their responsibilities on the basis of a socially mediated role.

Gender discrimination is sometimes referred to as sexism or sex discrimination. However, sex refers to the biological differences that define male and female, whereas gender is culturally defined and refers to patterns of behavior attributed to men and women. Discrimination based on sex is relatively rare. An example is the class-action lawsuit filed against the Hooters restaurant chain, alleging that its practice of hiring only women discriminated against men ("Great moments in civil rights," 1994).

Gender discrimination has little to do with sex, but a great deal to do with power. According to Reskin (1988), gender discrimination results from men’s desire to preserve their advantages. Men hold the dominant positions in organizations where women are attempting to gain a foothold, and men make the rules regarding hiring, promotion, and assignment. On a cognitive level, most men do not oppose equality for women. However, they resist change that threatens their dominant status, be it social, economic, or hierarchical.

Access discrimination occurs before individuals are accepted into an organization, operating through the organization’s recruiting and selection policies (Levitin, Quinn & Staines, 1971). Treatment discrimination (i.e., differential treatment of members of the organization) is manifested through unequal opportunities for training, desirable assignments, promotions, and various awards. It also includes verbal and nonverbal behaviors that generally are labeled as harassment.

Lott (1987) has argued that gender discrimination is most likely to occur in situations where there is little expectation of reward (nurture or sexual pleasure) or censure, and that the behaviors involved are acts of exclusion or distancing. Lott designed an experiment involving mixed-sex and single-sex pairs that required working together to perform a neutral task. Men paired with women made more negative comments about their partners, followed their partners’ advice less frequently, and turned away from their partners more often than men in same-sex dyads. No difference was found in the behavior of women in mixed-sex or single-sex pairs.

Men’s distancing behavior in work environments may be a means of emphasizing differences between the genders. Kanter (1977), in her seminal study of gender integration within a Fortune 500 company, called this phenomenon “boundary heightening,” which she further defined as designed to emphasize women’s outsider status. Among the other psycho-social dynamics described by Kanter (1977) were women’s isolation from informal networks, pressure to perform, and encapsulation in gender-typed roles. She argued that change would come about
when the sex ratio became more balanced (i.e., exceeds 20% women). In 1991, Yoder reviewed the research on gender integration in organizations to assess the current relevance of Kanter’s work. She concluded that increasing the proportion of women was not sufficient to bring about social change, because of backlash from the dominant group.

Discrimination against women in the workplace is more likely in some settings than others. The characteristics of organizations that are most vulnerable are three-fold. First, they are normatively masculine occupations, meaning that they involve jobs typically performed by men. Second, they are imbalanced in terms of gender, with men representing the majority of the employees. Third, the organizations are usually strongly hierarchical and always male-dominated. Obviously, the military services incorporate all of these characteristics, as do law enforcement, fire fighting, and many blue-collar jobs.

Margosian and Vendryzk (1994) conducted an extensive review of the literature on gender discrimination for their co-authored Naval Postgraduate School master’s thesis. They attribute unequal treatment of women to masculine hegemony. By its hierarchical, hyper-masculine, and patriarchal nature, the military (according to these authors) is a prime example of hegemonic masculinity. In their research, Margosian and Vendryzk (1994) conducted in-depth interviews with 68 women officers ranging in rank from lieutenant (O-3) to captain (O-6). These officers described how male officers expressed hostility and opposition toward them, used traditional stereotypes (perhaps, not consciously) to circumscribe women’s roles, and prevented women from attaining full organizational status by identifying them first and foremost as female.

The Navy Equal Opportunity/Sexual Harassment (NEOSH) Survey provides evidence of the widespread existence of gender discrimination. This survey, which has been administered biennially since 1989, consistently obtained statistically significant differences between the responses of women and men. Women, both officer and enlisted, view their Navy experiences in regards to assignments, training, leadership, communication, relationships with others, complaints, discipline, performance evaluation, and promotion less positively than their male peers. However, until recently the NEOSH Survey had no questions on gender discrimination per se. In 1993, items were added to the survey that paralleled the racial discrimination questions. Rosenfeld (1994) reported that almost half of officer and enlisted women experienced at least some form of gender discrimination over the previous year, primarily offensive jokes and negative comments about women. Women officers, whose representation in many commands is small, indicated that they experienced deliberate social isolation more often than enlisted women; enlisted women stated that they were assigned menial tasks more often than officers. Using unequal treatment based on race as a benchmark, Navy women were somewhat more likely to be targets of gender discrimination than African Americans were targets of racial discrimination (Rosenfeld, 1994).

Civil rights legislation has made it costly to deny equal opportunity in the civilian workplace, and employers are more conscious of the need to treat women fairly than previously. Despite the decline in gender discrimination (i.e., disparate treatment of women in hiring, assignment, and promotion), gender harassment is still common. Gender harassment is based on stereotypes, beliefs, and attitudes about the appropriate roles of women and men, and includes disparagement,
antagonism, and ostracism. It is not synonymous with sexual harassment, which focuses on sexuality, but is a form of gender discrimination.

Although gender harassment has not received the attention of sexual harassment, it is more prevalent in the military. The Government Accounting Office (GAO) in its investigations of sexual harassment at the three academies (GAO, 1994) found derogatory comments and persistent reminders that women don’t belong to be occurring more often than harassment that focused on sexuality. Harris, Steinberg, and Scarville (1994) reported that half of the promotable women officers they interviewed were leaving the Army because of gender harassment; only 13 percent were leaving because of sexual harassment. Much of the behavior was initiated by superiors, suggesting that the expression of negative attitudes toward women was part of the Army’s culture.

Based on mounting evidence that gender discrimination was prevalent in the military, Navy funded a study in 1994 to gather detailed information on the nature of the problem. This report documents the results of that study.

**Method**

**Survey**

A short survey was designed to measure the frequency and types of gender discrimination perceived to exist at Navy commands (see Appendix A). Demographic items included in the survey were gender, age, length of time in Navy, paygrade/rank, rating/designator, and command assignment. Questions on gender discrimination came from several sources. The structure of several items was taken from a GAO survey on gender discrimination performed for the National Institutes of Health (A. Hartenstein, personal communication, 1994). Item content was derived from the NEOSH Survey and a series of focus groups. Four focus groups were held; two with women only, and two with men only (within each gender, one focus group was held with officers and chief petty officers, and one with petty officers). The task of the groups was to develop a list of the most common types of gender discrimination. Participants were asked to provide examples of gender discrimination that they either had experienced or heard of. They were specifically requested not to discuss sexual harassment. The elicited experiences were categorized and used to generate survey items. At the end of each group session, the focus group facilitators passed out business cards and told participants that they could call to discuss their experiences confidentially, if desired. No participant contacted the focus groups leaders.

Surveys were sent to a sample of 10,000 Navy personnel, 2,500 from each of the following groups: women officers, men officers, enlisted women, and enlisted men. Potential respondents were drawn from Navy personnel in ranks 0-1 to 0-6 or paygrades E-2 to E-9 who were working in a rating or designator that contained women. They also had to have at least 6 months remaining at their current command (to increase the likelihood that the survey would reach them). Of the original mailout, 367 surveys were returned to sender, leaving an available sample of 9,633 respondents. The actual survey response rate was 52 percent, with 5,012 completed surveys returned. The highest response rate (56%) was among enlisted women, followed by enlisted men (52%). Men and women officers responded to the survey in equal numbers (49%).
Table 1 summarizes demographic information about the survey participants. As is typical with Navy surveys, E-2 and E-3 are underrepresented and E-7, E-8, and E-9 are overrepresented among those who responded. Officer respondents approximated the population in regards to their distribution by rank.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Officer</th>
<th></th>
<th>Enlisted</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Age</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean years in Navy</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-1--O-2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-3--O-4</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-5--O-6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paygrade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-2--E-3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-4--E-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-7--E-9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Command*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shore</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squadron</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages exceed 100 percent because some respondents choose "other" along with another response.

**Enlisted.** Male respondents were older and had been in the Navy longer than female respondents. About three-fourths of both genders were petty officers (E-4 to E-6), but more men than women were chief petty officers (E-7 to E-9). While men were more likely than women to be assigned to a ship, the most usual assignment for both genders was ashore.

**Officers.** Among officers, men tended to be older and had been in the Navy longer than women. The majority of both groups were O-3 and O-4. Most of the officer respondents were assigned to shore commands at the time of the survey, but a higher proportion of men than women were assigned to squadrons and ships.

As with most surveys, distribution statistics were the method of analysis. The percentages for groups of interest were tested for significant differences using a 2-tailed z-ratio for independent groups. Whenever a second independent variable was included in the analysis, chi-square tests were performed.

4
Interview

One purpose of the survey was to solicit volunteers for telephone interviews that would allow for an in-depth exploration of individual incidents of gender discrimination. A sheet was inserted in each survey that requested interviews with respondents who had experienced gender discrimination within the past 2 years. The sheet asked for phone number, the best day and times to call, and a name that the researcher could ask for when calling for the interview (in case the respondent did not want to be identified). The sheet could be mailed with the returning survey or separately. The principal investigator’s phone number was provided in the event that participants wanted to contact a researcher directly.

Structured interviews, usually lasting between 10 and 15 minutes, were conducted by one of four researchers (see Appendix B). After basic demographic data were recorded, participants were asked to describe the gender discrimination incident occurring within the past 2 years that had the greatest effect upon them. If not spontaneously mentioned in the account, researchers elicited details about type of command where the incident took place, the discriminator’s gender and position in the organization, and the gender mix of the participant’s immediate work environment. Additionally, participants were asked what action they took in response to the discrimination, the outcome of their action, and whether they suffered negative consequences. If they did not file a formal complaint, the reason for not doing so was determined. Social support was assessed by asking who outside the chain of command was told about the incident, and the degree to which this person or persons provided support. Emotional and physical symptoms resulting from the incident were elicited, as well as whether the incident resulted in reporting to sick call or using leave or liberty. Finally, participants were asked whether and in what way the incident changed their career plans and feelings about the Navy.

Ninety-four telephone interviews were conducted. Nine of the respondents described incidents that had occurred more than 2 years ago or that involved sexual harassment, not gender discrimination. These interviews were not included in the analysis. Eleven interviews were conducted with men (4 officers and 7 enlisted); they will be discussed separately. Thus, the primary analyses were based on 34 interviews with women officers and 40 interviews with enlisted women. The median rank of the officers was O-3, and of enlisted, E-5. Because of the size of the samples and bias introduced through self selection, no statistical tests were performed on the data.

Survey Results

Perceptions of Unequal Treatment at Command

Five statements in the survey addressed whether women and men are treated equally at the command in regards to assignment, promotions, access to training, and recognition of their efforts. The question leading into these statements was worded, “As far as you are aware, do the following attitudes or situations currently exist at your command?” Five response options were provided in the survey: “Yes, for the most part,” “Yes, to some extent,” “No, women are discriminated against,” “No, men are discriminated against,” and “No basis to judge.”
2, only the “No” responses are shown. The “No basis to judge” respondents were eliminated prior to computing the percentages.

Table 2
Perceptions Regarding Equal Treatment of Women and Men at Command

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Officer Women (%)</th>
<th>Officer Men (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted Women (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted Men (%)</th>
<th>Officer Women (%)</th>
<th>Officer Men (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted Women (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted Men (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women and men with similar qualifications are advanced at the same rate.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men and women who perform at same level are rewarded at same rate.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training opportunities are equitable.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women and men have similar opportunity for high visibility jobs.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men and women get equally desirable assignments.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vast majority of respondents thought that women and men are treated equally at their command. The area that caused doubt among some enlisted personnel was that of assignment. Thirteen percent of the women and 14 percent of the men thought members of their gender were discriminated against when desirable assignments were made.

The type of command where respondents were assigned had no effect on the opinions of officers regarding equal treatment. With enlisted respondents, one statement was affected by command type. Nineteen percent of the women in aviation squadrons thought that women were discriminated against in assignment to highly visible jobs and projects ($X^2$ (4, $N = 1,243$) = 11.61, $p < .05$).

Negative Outcomes of Gender Integration

A set of negatively-worded statements addressed EO climate at the respondents’ command. The lead-in question was the same as described above; however, there were only four response options: “Yes, for the most part,” “Yes, to some extent,” “No,” and “No basis to judge.” The two affirmative responses were combined, and the “No basis to judge” response was eliminated prior to analysis.

The percentages responding “Yes” to these statements are shown in Table 3. Large gender differences are evident, except for the statement addressing readiness. One-quarter of the women officers and 38 percent of the enlisted women felt that their gender is viewed as less capable
than men at their commands. Enlisted women, but not officers, in aviation squadrons and ships were more likely than their peers to endorse this (44% of women in squadrons; 50% of women in ships).\(^1\) A quarter of the women thought that women's career progression suffered because of an "old boy" mentality. This finding is inconsistent with the results shown in Table 2 where only 3 percent of the officers and 6 percent of the enlisted disagreed with the statement, "Women and men with similar qualifications are advanced at the same rate." Perhaps, the distinction that was being made is that women have difficulty becoming equally qualified with men because of the "old boy" network, but when they succeed they are advanced at the same rate.

**Table 3**

**Perception that Gender Integration at Command has had Negative Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Officer</th>
<th>Enlisted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women (%)</td>
<td>Men (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are viewed as having less knowledge, skills and abilities than men.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z = 10.83*</td>
<td>13.31*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An &quot;old boy&quot; network prevents women from advancing in their careers.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z = 14.17*</td>
<td>14.99*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men have to perform undesirable jobs (e.g., lifting heavy objects, standing watch at night) more often than women.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z = -8.34*</td>
<td>-15.04*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostility exists between male and female personnel.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z = 5.44*</td>
<td>7.51*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readiness has suffered because of problems related to gender discrimination.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z = 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men receive harsher punishment than women who commit the same offense.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z = -6.18*</td>
<td>-10.76*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women have been placed in positions beyond their level of competence.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z = -8.66*</td>
<td>-6.89*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .001 using 2-tailed test.

Men felt that they get an unfair share of undesirable jobs and about 20 percent of the women agreed with them. A significant command effect was found for this item. Women assigned to ships (25% of the officers; 33% of the enlisted) were more likely than women in other types of commands to agree with the statement.\(^2\) Men also showed a significant command effect for this

\(^1\)\(X^2 (4, N = 1,305) = 18.33, p < .001.\)

\(^2\)For officers, \(X^2 (4, N = 1,073) = 16.87, p < .01;\) for enlisted, \(X^2 (4, N = 1,303) = 15.25, p < .01.\)
item. Among officers, those assigned to aviation squadrons (41%), ships (38%) and “other” commands (36%) were more likely than those in shore or training commands to agree with the statement. Over 50 percent of the enlisted men in all command types except training commands agreed that men are likely to be given more undesirable jobs than women, with 68 percent of men assigned to ships agreeing with the statement.  

The existence of hostility between the sexes was endorsed more by women than men, and more by enlisted than officer personnel. As shown in Table 4, the responses to this statement yielded significant differences by command type. Over 40 percent of the women assigned to aviation squadrons endorsed this item, as did 33 percent of the enlisted men. The rate was even higher for enlisted women assigned to ships. More women than men believed that hostility existed between the genders in all types of commands, including those that had been integrated for many years (i.e., training and shore).

| Table 4 |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| **Perceptions of Hostility by Command Type** | **Officer** | **Enlisted** |
| Command            | Women (%) | Men (%) | Women (%) | Men (%) |
| Aviation           | 44       | 14     | 43        | 33      |
|                    |          |        |           |         |
|                    | $z = 16.84^*$ |        | $z = 5.014^*$ | |
| Ship               | 39       | 19     | 59        | 28      |
|                    |          |        |           |         |
|                    | $z = 11.25^*$ |        | $z = 15.22^*$ | |
| Training           | 23       | 4      | 26        | 17      |
|                    |          |        |           |         |
|                    | $z = 14.05^*$ |        | $z = 5.33^*$ | |
| Shore, not training| 19       | 12     | 31        | 22      |
|                    |          |        |           |         |
|                    | $z = 4.94^*$ |        | $z = 4.96^*$ | |
| Other              | 16       | 16     | 34        | 15      |
|                    |          |        |           |         |
|                    | $z = 10.75^*$ |        |            |         |

*$X^2 (4, N = 1,137) = 28.76, p < .001$ for women.
*$X^2 (4, N = 916) = 6.68, p < .05$ for men.
*$X^2 (4, N = 1,304) = 62.26, p < .001$ for women.
*$X^2 (4, N = 788) = 9.39, p < .05$ for men.

**Advantages/Disadvantages of Gender**

Whereas the previous questions dealt with discriminatory attitudes or practices at the command, the survey also tapped possible advantages and disadvantages experienced due to gender. Thirteen work areas were queried. The lead-in question was worded, “During the past 2 years in the Navy, do you believe that your gender (being a woman or man) has generally helped you, generally hurt you, or had no effect on how you were treated with regard to the following?”

3For officers, $X^2 (4, N = 848) = 10.00, p < .05$; for enlisted, $X^2 (4, N = 748) = 17.81, p < .01$. 

8
In Table 5, only the percentages who stated that their gender had hurt them are shown. The respondents who indicated “not applicable” were removed prior to computing the percentages.

Table 5

Women’s and Men’s Perception that their Gender had
Been a Disadvantage in Various Career Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career Area</th>
<th>Officer</th>
<th>Enlisted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women (%)</td>
<td>Men (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juggling career &amp; family</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assignments</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment by supervisors</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership opportunities</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awards/recognition</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical/health services</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance evaluations</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment by coworkers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical standards</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training opportunities</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advancement/promotion</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation services</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .01.

**p < .001.

Women were more apt than men to believe that their gender had been a disadvantage in all career areas with one exception; male officers were somewhat more likely to feel their gender had hurt their promotional opportunities than female officers. The responses of officers and enlisted of the same sex to these items were very similar. The majority (ranging from 70% to 94%) felt their gender had had no effect on their careers in these areas. Less than 10 percent indicated that their gender had helped them. The area where being a woman had the greatest impact was in conflict between work and family responsibilities. This role conflict, may not have been a result of gender discrimination but, rather, role expectations of working mothers. That is, mothers in uniform may be stressed by competing roles in ways that fathers in uniform are not
due to societal expectations regarding motherhood. The other four areas that rounded out the top five areas wherein women had been treated differently as a result of their gender were in assignments, treatment by supervisors, leadership opportunities, and awards/recognition. There were four areas in which at least 10 percent of the enlisted men felt disadvantaged (i.e., juggling career and family, assignments, physical standards, and advancement).

**Personally Experienced Gender Discrimination**

Even though personnel may have felt that their gender had unfavorably affected their careers, they may not have felt that they were personally discriminated against. In other words, they may not have defined events as targeted against them. Because the primary purpose of the survey was to solicit personnel who were willing to talk about actual incidents of gender discrimination, a question was included in the survey that would identify those who had labeled their experiences as “discrimination.” This question was worded, “During the past 2 years, do you believe you have been personally discriminated against in the Navy because of your sex?” Table 6 shows the percentages that responded “yes” by several demographic variables. For women, race and rank were not significantly related to feeling discriminated against. Despite the finding that over one-third of the women officers in ships responded affirmatively—significantly more than any other group—it cannot be assumed that they had been assigned to ships when the incidents occurred. Men had significantly lower rates than women. Command type and rank/paygrade were not related to their responses, but race was (i.e., enlisted men who identified themselves as other-than black, white, or Hispanic reported the most discrimination). Interestingly, officer/enlisted status was not significantly related to feeling discriminated against for either gender.
### Table 6

**Percentage of Women and Men Who Said They Were Discriminated Against in Past 2 Years**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command*</th>
<th>Officer</th>
<th></th>
<th>Enlisted</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women (%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Men (%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19.56*</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.30*</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shore</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.56*</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aviation</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.91*</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.13*</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.05*</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.13*</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19.41*</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.37*</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-1--O-2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.13*</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-3--O-4 &amp; E-3--E-4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.69*</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-5/O-6 &amp; E-5--E-9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.45*</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.12*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.12*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Command is current command, not command at time of gender discrimination.

*For officer women only, discrimination rates differed significantly by command type ($X^2$ ($4, N = 1,172$) = 12.073, $p < .05$).

*For enlisted men only, discrimination rates differed significantly by race ($X^2$ ($4, N = 1,216$ = 22.25, $p < .01$).

* $p < .001$.

### Analysis of Events Surrounding Women’s Experiences of Discrimination

Because so few men indicated that they had been personally discriminated against over the past 2 years, only women’s surveys were analyzed to investigate what happened after the incident. The sample size for these questions, consisting of personnel who had experienced discrimination, was 254 officers and 345 enlisted.

Table 7 shows that the majority of officers who suffered discrimination discussed the incident with someone in the chain of command other than their immediate supervisor. They differed significantly from enlisted women in this respect. Almost 40 percent of the women, officer and enlisted, took an assertive approach by talking to the person who discriminated against them. Significantly more of the officers (36%) than enlisted (22%) took no action. Their reasons will become somewhat clearer in the data presented in a later table. As has been found in sexual harassment surveys of military women (e.g., Thomas et al, 1994), very few women filed a formal complaint.
Table 7

Actions Taken After Discriminatory Event

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action Taken</th>
<th>Officer (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted (%)</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 254)</td>
<td>(N = 345)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I discussed it with someone in chain of command other than my immediate supervisor.</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7.02*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I discussed it with person who discriminated against me.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I discussed it with my immediate supervisor.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I took no action.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.77*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I requested Commanding Officer’s mast.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I discussed with CMEO/EO officer.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I filed a formal complaint.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages exceed 100 percent because some women took multiple actions.
*p < .001.

Regardless of what action they took, the women tended not to be satisfied with the outcome. Table 8 shows the percentages for all respondents and for women who knew what the outcome was. Based on processed complaints (most of which were informal), only 31 percent of the officers and 39 percent of the enlisted stated that the situation was corrected, an agreement was arranged, or the perpetrator was disciplined. The majority of both groups indicated either that nothing was done or that attempts to correct the situation were not satisfactory.

Table 8

Outcome of Actions Taken

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>Officer (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted (%)</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 163)</td>
<td>(N = 269)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing was done.</td>
<td>36--(40)</td>
<td>27--(29)</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attempt was made to deal with the situation but I was not satisfied with what was done.</td>
<td>26-- (29)</td>
<td>30-- (32)</td>
<td>-.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation was corrected to my satisfaction.</td>
<td>16--(18)</td>
<td>17--(18)</td>
<td>-.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An agreement was arranged.</td>
<td>10--(11)</td>
<td>14--(15)</td>
<td>-.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know if anything was done.</td>
<td>6--(na)</td>
<td>5--(na)</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complaint is still being processed.</td>
<td>4--(na)</td>
<td>1--(na)</td>
<td>2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action was taken against the person who discriminated.</td>
<td>2--(2)</td>
<td>6--(6)</td>
<td>-1.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Percentages in parentheses are the values for resolved complaints (i.e., minus unknown and pending outcomes.

Due to concern over reprisal against women who complain about gender discrimination, the respondents were questioned about what occurred afterwards. Table 9 shows that 45 percent of the officers and 31 percent of the enlisted personnel indicated that nothing happened or none of
the response options accurately reflected what occurred. The remainder suffered negative consequences. Enlisted women experienced more of these consequences than officers, primarily by a worsening of interpersonal relationships (i.e., they became targets of hostility and disparaging remarks).

Table 9

What Happened to Women as a Result of the Actions They Took Following Discriminatory Act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Officer (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted (%)</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None of these things [i.e., those listed below] was done to me because of the action I took.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2.93*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People were hostile to me.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-3.23**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was denied awards or other recognition.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was given poor performance evaluations.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was not allowed to transfer away from discriminator.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-1.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was denied desirable assignments.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People said bad things about me.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-3.18**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was denied training or other opportunities</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was not given feedback on my performance evaluation.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was denied a promotion/advancement.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was transferred against my wishes.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was disciplined.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attempt was made to force me to leave the Navy.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages exceed 100 percent because some women indicated more than one reaction.

*p < .01.

**p < .001.

Because victims of gender discrimination seldom file complaints over discriminatory acts (less than 4% in this sample), reasons for not doing so were probed in the survey. The futility of filing was the main reason (see Table 10). Fear also played a prominent role. These women were afraid that their work environment would become unpleasant, that their careers would be ruined, and that the perpetrators would retaliate. The data shed light on the finding that fewer officers than enlisted took some type of action after being discriminated against—they were more likely to believe that doing so would ruin their careers, but also were more likely to think the incident was not serious enough to warrant action. Despite this difference between officers and enlisted, the majority of women did think the incident was serious enough to formally complain.
Table 10

Why Victims Did Not File a Complaint

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Officer (%) (N = 289)</th>
<th>Enlisted (%) (N = 303)</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I did not think anything would be done.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was afraid it would make my work situation unpleasant.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was afraid it would ruin my career</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.94*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was afraid the discriminator would retaliate</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought I would not be treated fairly.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did not want to be a trouble maker.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wanted to try to deal with it myself.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I didn’t think filing a complaint would be worth the effort.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did not think it was serious enough.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.46**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was easier to ignore than do something.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My other actions worked.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did not think I would be believed.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone discouraged me from filing a complaint.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was too embarrassed.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did not know what action to take.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-1.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages exceed 100 percent because some women indicated more than one reason.

*p < .01.

**p < .001.

Interview Results

The interviews were structured so that respondents would provide information on what happened, the environment in which the incident occurred, and subsequent events. Most of the data were numerically coded for computer analysis, but the descriptions of discriminatory events were read and content analyzed.

Nature of Gender Discrimination

The events described by the respondents had four themes: (1) gender harassment, which generally took the form of disparagement of women, lack of respect by subordinates or supervisors, antagonism, and ostracism; (2) subtle discrimination, which was manifested as being left out of the information loop, being overloaded with collateral duties, and rules applied to women and men differentially; (3) gender-based assignments or denying women opportunities given men; and (4) unfair performance evaluations, withholding of awards, and unwarranted blame. Some of the narratives involved more than one type of discrimination, as will be apparent in the stories that are presented below.
The most frequently discussed form of gender discrimination experienced by both officers and enlisted women, was harassment. Table 11 indicates that over half the enlisted women and over a third of the officers complained of men's overt behavior. Often their narratives began with the statement, "I was the only woman in the ....," suggesting that the men they worked with had scant experience with Navy women and/or that they expected their misbehavior would receive social support. Two typical stories follow.

A senior lieutenant (LT) engineer had to work for a civilian contractor who made a habit of calling the few women officers there "floozies." He dealt only with the two male ensigns, declaring that women were unable to perform their jobs because of their gender.

An E-5, upon checking into the squadron, was being introduced to others in her division when the master chief stated that it takes three women to do the job of one man.

Table 11

| Nature of Gender Discrimination Described by Navy Women During Interviews |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Category                 | Officer   |          | Enlisted  |          | Total     |          |
|                          | N         | %        | N         | %        | N         | %        |
| Gender harassment        | 14        | 37%      | 24        | 55%      | 38        | 46%      |
| Subtle discrimination    | 10        | 26%      | 3         | 7%       | 13        | 16%      |
| Disparate opportunity    | 8         | 21%      | 12        | 27%      | 20        | 24%      |
| Unfair evaluation, blame, awards | 6       | 16%      | 5         | 11%      | 11        | 13%      |

Women officers were more likely to report subtle discrimination than were enlisted Sailors. At first they tended to think it was personal, rather than gender based, particularly if they were the only woman in the work group. Two of their stories follow.

A lieutenant commander (LCDR) and commander were the only two women assigned to a ship. They were left out of meetings and only men were invited to participate in after-work activities with the commanding officer (CO). When the ship returned from a deployment, they were replaced as department heads, but none of the men were. The executive officer told them they were too junior for the position, but their replacements were men junior to the women.

A Navy woman was promoted to first class while assigned to a joint command. However, she was not considered part of the peer group; e.g., not included in meetings and only found out about important changes after the fact. Her responsibilities were given to a civilian man. She was not certain if her treatment was gender discrimination or service related.

15
Enlisted women complained of gender-based assignments somewhat more frequently than officers. Usually, interviewees felt that, as a result, they were denied career-enhancing opportunities or were underutilized. Examples of scenarios that were reported are:

A LCDR noted that women at the command were not allowed to go on inspection parties and were excluded from key billets. When she spoke to the CO about the situation he told her that men needed these experiences to progress in their careers.

An E-6 woman was ordered into a squadron to be operations chief. However, the E-5 man who was in the position was allowed to stay until he transferred from the command. Then, she was given the title, but not the responsibility. When she complained to the chief and asked if he thought all women were incompetent idiots, he said yes.

The final form of gender discrimination involved rewards and punishment, usually a reprisal for complaining about discrimination. Two scenarios follow:

A LCDR was one of two female pilots in her squadron. They asked to be part of a detachment going to a carrier but were told the carrier CO would not allow women aboard. When she found out that female medical/dental personnel and contractors were deploying with the ship, she spoke to the officer in charge again and was allowed to go. However, she felt that nothing had been gained by her assertiveness. Her department head had not supported her, her evaluations suffered, and she was called a bitch behind her back.

An E-7 woman became qualified as the officer of the deck while underway—a remarkable achievement for someone at her level. Yet, the E-7 ranking board ranked a do-nothing male chief number one and her a lot lower. She felt it resulted from the “good old boys” sticking up for each other and refusing to acknowledge women as professionals.

Environment in Which Event Occurred

Table 12 shows that most of the discriminatory acts were perpetrated by supervisors—an expected finding because of the nature of treatment discrimination. That is, although coworkers and others can inflict gender harassment, they usually cannot affect performance evaluations, assignments, or awards. When asked the sex of the person who discriminated, 95 percent of the officers and 96 percent of the enlisted indicated male.
Table 12
Organizational Status of Perpetrator and Type of Command Where Discrimination Occurred

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who discriminated against you?</th>
<th>Officer (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immediate supervisor</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher level supervisor</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coworker</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilian employee</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other person</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several people</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What type of command were you assigned to when the event took place?</th>
<th>Officer (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shore command, but not training or medical</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical command or facility</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aviation squadron</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training command</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information on where the victims were assigned when the discriminating event occurred, and the status of the perpetrator is also provided in the table. It is difficult to attach meaning to the location data because the distribution of women over this 2-year period is not known. However, unlike the survey respondents, the interview respondents were not disproportionately assigned to ships. Assuming that the majority of the surveyed women were still on sea duty when the interviews were conducted, this difference may be due to the difficulties inherent to telephone communications with ships. After three attempts, the researchers gave up trying to speak with a potential interviewee.

**Effect of Being Discriminated Against**

The impact of being a victim of gender discrimination is shown in Table 13. Sixty-three percent of the women said that their feelings toward the Navy changed as a result. Officers spoke of realizing for the first time the disparity between what was said and what was done. Enlisted talked of being disappointed in the Navy.

About half of the women stated that their career plans changed as a result of being discriminated against. For the vast majority, this change meant that they planned to leave the Navy early.


Table 13

Effect of Gender Discrimination on Feelings and Navy Career Plans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Officer (%)</th>
<th>Enlisted (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did gender discrimination change your feelings about the Navy?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what way (yeses, only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Now know there is big gap between policies and practices</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disappointed in Navy</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less committed</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel unwanted</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel I have to prove myself</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did gender discrimination change your Navy career plans?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what way (yeses, only)?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will leave Navy early</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will request an early transfer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men’s Interviews

Because of the small numbers involved (i.e., 11 men), the only analysis conducted of the male interviews was a review of the discriminatory events they described. Two of the men related stories that did not constitute gender discrimination. The remaining nine interviews described events regarding the assignment of tasks ($N = 3$), treatment ($N = 4$), and policy ($N = 2$). The assignment complaints focused on men being given an unfair share of manual work, while women had less demanding tasks. Treatment complaints were more personal, describing situations in which a woman was granted something (e.g., an early out) that the interviewee was denied, or a man being discriminated against by female superiors. Navy assignment policy was the subject of the last two complaints. One caller stated that women were treated preferentially in regards to assignments. “They used to get all the shore billets and now they are getting the good ships.”
Discussion

This analysis demonstrated that gender discrimination by Navy commands is not prevalent. Less than 15 percent of the respondents to a large-sample survey felt that women and men are treated differently by their commands in advancement, recognition, training, and job assignments. This type of treatment discrimination is in violation of federal law and military regulation. Because the Navy annually monitors various personnel statistics for evidence of inequities in these career areas, overt discrimination has become fairly rare. Enlisted women, perhaps because of their relative lack of power, were more apt to experience discrimination than officers.

Subtle forms of discrimination still appear to be operating, however. Over a fourth of the women believe that they are viewed as less capable than men at their command. They also felt that the "old boy" network acted as a barrier to their progression. Perhaps, most disturbing was the perceived hostility between women and men at the command. Type of command had a strong influence on this finding. Women in the most nontraditional environments, ships and aviation squadrons, appear to be the least integrated. This finding seems to bear out Reskin's (1988) thesis that men in groups where women are gaining a foothold resist change that threatens their status. Men's overt hostility is consistent with Kanter's (1977) discussion of distancing behaviors, designed to demonstrate to women that they don't belong. While these behaviors may have resulted in less-than-optimal unit cohesion and discomforted their targets, readiness was not affected in the opinion of the majority of respondents.

The different rates of gender discrimination discussed in the preceding two paragraphs probably resulted from the source of the discrimination, and degree of oversight. That is, subordinates and peers cannot influence advancement, job assignments or other career areas; they can express hostility or negative opinions of women's abilities. Thus, while overt, job-specific gender discrimination may not be common, harassment and more subtle differential treatment of women and men are occurring.

The investigation also demonstrated that gender discrimination impacts disproportionately on women—an expected finding in a historically male organization. Few men had experienced discrimination based on their gender in the previous 2 years, whereas over 20 percent of the women had. Unlike sexual harassment, however, organizational status and race/ethnicity were unrelated to incidents of gender discrimination. Apparently, in this regard, all women are equally vulnerable.

The aftermath of incidents of gender discrimination shed light on why they seldom receive much attention. Almost none of the women filed a formal complaint; primarily because they thought no action would be taken to correct the situation or they feared retaliation. Interestingly, officers, whose status imparts some power, were more apt to be deterred from filing a complaint because of negative repercussions than enlisted women. Perhaps, officers perceived that reporting endangered their careers to a greater degree than did enlisted.

The telephone interviews served to add a human dimension to the survey statistics. Since only people who had been discriminated against and expressed a willingness to be interviewed
comprised this subsample, the stories had negative themes. Gender harassment was the most prevalent theme. Women told of being subjected to ostracism, disparaging remarks, and overt antagonism. They also related tales of disparate treatment in regards to aspects of their jobs.

Gender discrimination is difficult to root out for several reasons. First, the motivation of the perpetrators may be the defining factor, and motivation is difficult to discern. When the only woman in the division is left out of informal gatherings, is it because she is not liked or solely based on her gender? Second, these behaviors may be deeply rooted in the organizational culture. When cadets at a military academy repeatedly state that women don’t belong there, are they reflecting the ethos of the institution or trying to drive women out (or both)? Third, differential treatment of women often serves a protective function. When an Air Force General will not send his women pilots in harm’s way, is he refusing to treat women equitably or displaying a caring form of paternalism?

Regardless of the barriers to the elimination of gender discrimination, an attempt must be made for both legal and pragmatic reasons. It is the law of the land and DoD regulation that women and men be treated equally in their workplaces. Moreover, ignoring these rules has its costs even when few victims file formal complaints. Over half of the women in this study stated that their plans in regards to a Navy career had changed as a result of discriminatory incidents and their aftermath.

**Conclusions and Recommendations**

One out of every five Navy women and one out of every 17 men experiences gender discrimination in a 2-year period. Navy leadership is probably unaware of the prevalence of this problem because it is seldom reported or brought to the attention of civilian media. Nevertheless, it costs the Navy in terms of reduced unit cohesion and turnover. As a consequence, the following actions are recommended:

1. Raise awareness of the concept of gender discrimination through use of vignettes during equal opportunity training.

2. Monitor rates of gender discrimination by increasing the scope of questions on unequal treatment based on gender in the Navy Equal Opportunity/Sexual Harassment Survey.
References


Appendix A

Survey of Gender and Workplace Issues
This questionnaire is about gender discrimination. Gender (or sex) discrimination is any behavior that denies equal job opportunity because of one's sex. These behaviors may affect such things as advancement, awards, and overall treatment. Gender discrimination also includes situations in which people's talents are not fully utilized because of their sex. Both women and men can experience gender discrimination.

Please complete these questions even if you have never experienced gender discrimination in the Navy. Carefully read each question and give your answer by marking the answer that best applies, or by filling in the information asked for.

NO ONE WILL SEE HOW YOU ANSWERED THE SURVEY EXCEPT FOR THE RESEARCHERS WHO WILL ANALYZE THE RESULTS.

PRIVACY ACT STATEMENT

Authority to request this information is granted under Title 5, U.S. Code 301, and Department of Navy Regulations, Executive Order 9396. License to administer this survey is granted under OPNAV Report Control Symbol 5354-9, which expires on 30 June 1995.

The purpose of this survey is to collect data related to gender discrimination among Navy personnel. The information provided in this survey will be analyzed and stored at the Navy Personnel Research and Development Center in San Diego.

All responses will be held in confidence by the Navy Personnel Research and Development Center. Information you provide will be grouped with the responses of others, and will not be associated with any single individual. Completion of this questionnaire is entirely voluntary. Failure to respond to any of the questions will NOT affect you in any way except for the lack of representation of your views in the final results and outcomes.
You have been randomly selected by computer to take part in this survey. Your participation is voluntary. Please take the time to give careful, frank answers. It should take less than 15 minutes to complete the survey.

**IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS**

* USE NO. 2 PENCIL ONLY.
* Do NOT use ink, ballpoint or felt tip pens.
* Erase cleanly and completely any changes you make.
* Make black marks that fill the circle.
* Do not make stray marks on the form.

For questions that look like the following, print the required information in the boxes provided. Then blacken the corresponding circles under the numbers or letters you printed.

**EXAMPLE**

1. How long have you been on active duty in the Navy?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For questions that look like the next two examples, blacken the circle corresponding to the answer you selected.

**EXAMPLE**

2. Are you currently assigned to a ship?
   - No
   - Yes

3. How much do you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements?

   a. I enjoy my life in the Navy

   Agree
   Disagree
   Strongly Agree
   Strongly Disagree
   Don't know
1a. What is your gender?
   - Male
   - Female

1b. How old are you?

2. What is your paygrade or rank?
   - E-2
   - O-1
   - E-3
   - O-2
   - E-4
   - O-3
   - E-5
   - O-4
   - E-6
   - O-5
   - E-7
   - O-6
   - E-8
   - E-9

3. How long have you been on active duty in the Navy? (Count the time from the day you were sworn in, but include only periods of active duty service.)

4. What is your designator?
   - Does not apply/I am enlisted

5. If you are a Chief Petty Officer, Petty Officer, or an officially DESIGNATED STRIKER (qualified to wear the striker rating badge), what is your general rating?
   - Does not apply/I am an officer
   - Not rated/not designated striker

If your rating abbreviation has two letters instead of three, use the first two columns, starting with the first box on the left.
The answers for Questions 6 and 7 are based on the standard DoD race and ethnic categories. If you are of mixed heritage, please select the racial/ethnic group with which you MOST closely identify.

6. Are you of Spanish/Hispanic/Latino origin or descent?
   ○ No
   ○ Yes

7. What is your racial background?
   ○ White
   ○ Black/African American
   ○ Asian/Pacific Islander
   ○ Other

8. To what type of ship/activity are you currently assigned? (Mark all that apply.)
   ○ Shore or Staff Command
   ○ Training Command (not a Training Squadron)
   ○ Aviation Squadron (deployed to ships)
   ○ Aviation Squadron (deployed to shore)
   ○ Carrier based A/C Squadron/Detachment
   ○ Aircraft Carrier (other than carrier based A/C Squadron/Detachment)
   ○ Cruiser
   ○ Destroyer types (includes frigates)
   ○ Mine Craft
   ○ Submarine
   ○ Reserve Unit
   ○ Combat Logistics Force ship (other than AD/AS/AR)
   ○ Tender/Repair ship
   ○ Afloat staff
   ○ Amphibious ship/craft
   ○ Other

9. What is the geographical location of your current assignment? (If deployed, where are you homeported or based?)
   ○ Alaska or Hawaii
   ○ CONUS (excluding Alaska or Hawaii)
   ○ OCONUS

10. As far as you are aware, do the following attitudes or situations currently exist at your command?
   ○ There are no women at my command
     (Skip to Question 11.)

   Does this attitude or situation exist at your command?

   a. Men and women who perform at the same level are given formal recognition at the same rate
   b. Women and men with similar qualifications are advanced or promoted at the same rate
   c. Training opportunities are provided equally to men and women
   d. Women and men have similar opportunities for high visibility jobs or projects
   e. Men and women get equally desirable assignments
   f. Hostility exists between male and female personnel
   g. Readiness has suffered because of problems related to gender discrimination
   h. Women are viewed as having less knowledge, skills, and abilities than men
   i. Women have been placed in positions beyond their level of competence
   j. An "old boy" network prevents women from advancing in their careers
   k. Men have to perform undesirable jobs (for example, lifting heavy objects, standing watch at night) more often than women
   l. Men receive harsher punishment than women who commit the same offenses

   Yes
   No
11. During the past two years in the Navy, do you believe that your gender (being a woman or being a man) has generally helped you, generally hurt you, or had no effect on how you were treated with regard to the following?

- Advancement/promotion
- Assignments
- Awards/recognition
- Discipline
- Juggling career and family responsibilities
- Leadership opportunities
- Medical/health services
- Overall treatment by co-workers
- Overall treatment by supervisor(s)
- Performance evaluations/FITREPS
- Physical standards
- Recreation services
- Training opportunities
- Other

12. During the past 2 years, do you believe you have been personally discriminated against in the Navy because of your sex?

- No
- Yes

If you selected this answer, skip to Item 18.

13. Think of an instance of gender discrimination that you experienced in the past 2 years. If you have experienced gender discrimination more than once, think of the experience that you consider the most serious. What type of command were you assigned to when that experience took place?

- Ship
- Aviation squadron
- Training command
- Medical command/military medical or dental treatment facility
- Shore facility (other than training or medical command)
- Other

14. For the gender discrimination experience referred to in Question 13, which of the following actions, if any, did you take? (Mark all that apply.)

- I discussed it with the person who discriminated against me
- I discussed it with my immediate supervisor
- I discussed it with someone else in my chain of command
- I requested a Commanding Officer's mast
- I discussed it with the CMEO/EO officer
- I filed a formal grievance (NAVREGS ART 1150 or UCMJ ART 138 complaint)
- I took no action

If you selected this answer, skip to Question 17.

15. For the gender discrimination experience referred to in Question 13, which of the following describe the outcome of the action you took? (Mark all that apply.)

- An agreement was arranged
- The situation was corrected to my satisfaction
- An attempt was made to deal with the situation but I was not satisfied with what was done
- Action was taken against the person(s) who discriminated
- The action is still being processed
- I don't know if anything was done
- Nothing was done
- Other

16. Because of the action(s) you took regarding the gender discrimination experience referred to in Question 13, which of the following (if any) happened to you? (Mark all that apply.)

- People were hostile towards me
- People said bad things to me
- I was denied desirable assignments
- I was denied a promotion/advancement
- I was denied training or other developmental opportunities
- I was denied awards or other recognition
- I was transferred against my wishes
- I was forced to continue working with the discriminator(s) -- I was not allowed to transfer
- I was disciplined (please explain)

- An attempt was made to force me to leave the Navy
- I was given poor performance evaluations
- I was not given feedback on my performance
- Other

None of the above was done to me because of the action I took.
17. Which of the following describes why you did not file a formal grievance? (Mark all that apply.)

- My other actions worked
- I did not consider it serious enough
- I was too embarrassed
- I wanted to try to deal with it myself
- It was easier to ignore
- I was afraid it would ruin my career
- I did not want to be a troublemaker
- I was concerned that I would not be treated fairly
- I was concerned that filing a complaint would not be worth the time or effort
- I was concerned that the person who discriminated against me would retaliate
- I did not know what actions I could take
- Someone discouraged me from filing a complaint or grievance
- I did not think I would be believed
- I did not think anything would be done
- I was afraid it would make my work situation unpleasant
- Other reason

18. Use the space below to make any comments you wish about topics addressed in this survey. Use additional sheets as needed. Do NOT staple additional sheets to this booklet.
If you have any questions, you may contact:

Marie Thomas
(619) 553-7655 or DSN 553-7655

Please complete the survey within the next 5 days. When you have completed it, return it in the enclosed pre-addressed envelope. If the envelope is missing, send the survey to:

Navy Personnel Research and Development Center
Survey Operations Center
Code 01E (MDT)
53335 Ryne Road
San Diego, CA 92152-7250

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND EFFORT!
Appendix B

Gender Discrimination Interview
GENDER DISCRIMINATION INTERVIEW

Subject ID __________ Interviewer Initials __________ Date ______

Explain purpose of the interview study (to find out more about gender discrimination and the responses and actions individuals take after an experience of gender discrimination).

Ask: Is this a good time to call? Are you alone? Offer to call back if timing is bad.

Explain that some of the questions in the interview will be similar to those in the survey; others will be different. Remind the respondent that the interview is voluntary and that she or he can choose not to answer questions. Interview answers will not be linked to survey responses. Phone numbers will be destroyed after interview.

Assure anonymity/confidentiality.

Sex: __________ Female __________ Male

Are you an officer or enlisted? __________ Officer __________ Enlisted

What is your paygrade/rank? O-________ E-_______

How long have you been in the Navy? ________ years ________ months

1. Think of the gender discrimination incident that occurred in the past two years that had the greatest effect on you (i.e., was the most upsetting for you).

Please describe the incident to me (When did it happen, where did it happen, etc.)

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

1
B-1
(Interviewer: Check the general category of the discrimination)

- Advancement/Promotion
- Assignment
- Awards
- Discipline
- Leadership
- Medical/health treatment or services
- Performance evaluation
- Recognition
- Recreation
- Respect from coworkers
- Respect from supervisors
- Training
- Other __________

2. What type of command were you assigned to when this experience took place?

- Ship
- Aviation squadron
- Training command
- Medical command/military medical/dental treatment facility
- Shore facility (other than training or medical command)
- Other __________

3. (If not answered above) Who discriminated against you?

- Immediate supervisor
- Higher level supervisor ________________
- Coworker
- Civilian personnel
- Other ________________

4. (If not answered above) What was the gender of the person who discriminated against you?

- Male
- Female

5. (If discriminator is male) When the discrimination occurred, had the person who discriminated against you worked with women prior to your coming to the command?

- No
- Yes
6. When the discrimination occurred, were the people you worked with...

   ___ Mostly men
   ___ About equal numbers of men and women
   ___ Mostly women

7. What did you do about the discrimination?

   [Note to interviewer: Have person focus on actions within Navy structure; social support will be discussed later. If person says s/he filed a grievance, find out if it was a formal grievance -- NAVREGS ART 1150 or UCMJ ART 138 complaint]

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

(Interviewer: check all that apply)

   ___ Took no action (skip to question 9)
   ___ Discussed it with discriminator
   ___ Discussed it with immediate supervisor
   ___ Discussed it with someone else in chain of command
   ___ Requested a Commanding Officer's Mast
   ___ Discussed it with the CMEO/EO officer
   ___ Filed a formal grievance
   ___ Other _________________________________

8. In terms of the discrimination you experienced, what was the outcome of the action you took?

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
(Interviewer: check all that apply)

___ An agreement was arranged
___ The situation was corrected to my satisfaction
___ An attempt was made to deal with the situation but I was not satisfied with what was done
___ Action was taken against the person(s) who discriminated
___ People were hostile towards me
___ Action is still being processed
___ I don't know if anything was done
___ Nothing was done
___ Other _____________________________

9. Describe any negative consequences you suffered as a result of the action or actions you took (or not taking action) with regard to this gender discrimination experience.

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

( Interviewer: check all that apply)

___ People said bad things to me
___ I was isolated from other personnel
___ I was denied desirable assignments
___ I was denied a promotion/advancement
___ I was denied training or other developmental opportunities
___ I was denied awards or other recognition
___ I was transferred
___ I was forced to continue working with the discriminator(s) -- I was not allowed to transfer
___ I was reduced in paygrade/rank
___ An attempt was made to force me to leave the Navy
___ I was given poor performance evaluations
___ I was not provided feedback on my performance
___ I was disciplined
___ Other _____________________________
10. (If not answered above) Did you file a formal grievance?
   
   ___ Yes  (Skip to question 12)
   ___ No   (Go on to question 11)

11. Why didn’t you file a formal grievance?

   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

(Interviewer: check all that apply)

   ___ I felt that I did not have a strong enough case
   ___ I did not consider it serious enough
   ___ I was too embarrassed
   ___ I wanted to deal with it myself
   ___ It was easier to ignore it
   ___ My other actions worked
   ___ I did not know what actions I could take
   ___ I was afraid it would make my work situation unpleasant
   ___ I was afraid it would ruin my career
   ___ I did not want to be a troublemaker
   ___ I was concerned I would not be treated fairly
   ___ I was concerned that filing a complaint would not be worth the time or effort
   ___ I was concerned that I would be retaliated against
   ___ I was told/advised that I did not have a strong enough case
   ___ Someone discouraged me from filing a complaint or grievance
   ___ I did not think I would be believed
   ___ I did not think anything would be done
   ___ Other ______________________

12. (If not answered above) Did you talk to anyone outside of your chain of command about the discrimination?

   ___ Yes
   ___ No  (Skip to question 17)
13. Who did you tell? *Interviewer: check all that apply*

- Coworker(s)
- Chaplain
- Someone at Family Service Center
- Spouse/Partner
- Friend(s)
- Relative(s)
- Other

14. What reaction, feedback, or advice did you get from the person (or people) you told?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

15. Did anyone encourage you to report the discrimination to someone in authority?

- No (*Go to 16*)
- Yes (*Interviewer: have participant explain how s/he was encouraged*)

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

16. Did anyone discourage you from reporting the discrimination to someone in authority?

- No (*Go to 17*)
- Yes (*Interviewer: have participant explain how s/he was discouraged*)

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________
17. How much social support did you feel you would get from other people if you did report the discrimination to someone in authority?

___ A large amount
___ A slight amount
___ No support

18. I am now going to read a list of emotions. Which of the following did you experience because of gender discrimination? (Interviewer: read each item and check all that apply)

___ Anger
___ Frustration
___ Sadness
___ Depression
___ Low self-esteem
___ Stress
___ Irritation
___ Disappointment
___ Discouragement
___ Other
___ No effects experienced

19. Did you experience any physical symptoms as a result of the gender discrimination experience?

___ No (Go to 20)
___ Yes
   What symptoms?

20. Did the experience of gender discrimination result in your reporting to sick call?

___ No (Go to 21)
___ Yes
   How many hours of work did you miss? ________ hours

21. Did the experience of gender discrimination result in your using leave or liberty that you had not planned to use?

___ No (Go to 22)
___ Yes
   How many hours of unplanned leave/liberty did you take? ________ hours
22. Did your gender discrimination experience change the way you felt about the Navy?

   ____ No (Go to 23)
   ____ Yes
       How did your feelings about the Navy change?

23. Did your gender discrimination experience change your Navy career plans?

   ____ No (Go to 24)
   ____ Yes
       How did your career plans change?

24. Do you have any suggestions about how the Navy could prevent or better deal with gender discrimination?

   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
This completes the interview, except for a few last questions about you.

24. What is your marital status?
   ___ Never married
   ___ Married
   ___ Separated or divorced
   ___ Widowed

25. How old are you? ___ years

   If they do not want to answer, ask for age category:
   ___ Under 21
   ___ Between 22 and 29
   ___ 30 or older

26. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   ___ H.S. degree
   ___ One year of college
   ___ Two years of college
   ___ Three years of college (no degree)
   ___ BA or BS
   ___ Graduate work or degree

27. What is your (if enlisted) rating/(if officer) community? ___________

That completes the interview. Do you have any questions about the study, or any comments that you would like to make?

Thank you very much for participating in this telephone interview.
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