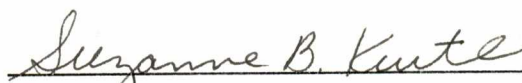
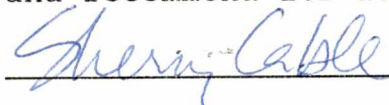


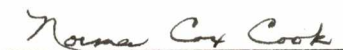
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Caroline Lucille Martin, entitled "Women in Combat/the Military: An Analysis of Feminist and Anti-Feminist Rhetoric." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.


Suzanne Kurth, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:





Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

WOMEN IN COMBAT/THE MILITARY:
AN ANALYSIS OF FEMINIST
AND ANTI-FEMINIST
RHETORIC

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Caroline Lucille Martin

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family and friends. Their love and support through this long process made this possible.

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I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Suzanne Kurth for her patience, perseverance and invaluable assistance in the development of this work. I would also like to thank Dr. Sherry Cable for her encouragement and support, and Dr. Norma Cook for her interest and enthusiasm in this project. Without the advice and input of these women the completion of this project would not have been possible.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a rhetorical analysis of the arguments of anti-feminists and feminists concerning the participation of women in the U.S. military and/or combat from 1972-1991. Sociologists increasingly are employing rhetorical analysis to document the ideological struggles of social movements and their countermovements. Rhetoric is a medium for such struggles. Successful signification of an issue, and establishment of the arena of debate, determine and reflect ideological power. This study attempts to establish what, if any, changes occurred in the type and frequency of the rhetoric employed in the debate over women in combat/the military.

Using content analysis techniques, articles from special interest publications during the twenty year time period were analyzed. The coding categories were developed from those used in the rhetoric and debate field, previous research on feminist and anti-feminist rhetoric, and analysis of general readership magazine articles from the period.

Changes in type and frequency of the rhetoric were found. The early anti-feminist rhetoric relied on tradition and biology and was a successful approach. The feminist rhetoric relied on pragmatic and educational approaches; they were not

successful in defining the arena of the debate. Parallels also were discovered between the rhetoric of this time period and the rhetoric of the women's suffrage movement from the turn of the century.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

*We hold these Truths to be
self-evident, that all Men are
created equal.*

(Declaration of Independence)

These words embody the natural rights beliefs of the founder of the United States. Ever since these words were written women have struggled to be afforded the equality promised to men. Women have fought for the right to engage in public speaking, have equal educational opportunities, vote, sit on juries and hold political office. At intervals their struggles have been very visible, as when social movements have focused on specific reforms, such as passage of women's suffrage and an equal rights amendment. Each time a women's movement has surfaced a countermovement has emerged to resist the proposed constitutional reforms.

In resisting the proposals of the women's movement, the opposition often labeled the advocates of female equality as unnatural or abnormal for not accepting the inherent inequality of women. The "truth" of female inferiority frequently was established with reference to The Holy Bible, physiological differences between females and males, and tradition. Proponents of female equality have had to parry

such arguments, while establishing the justness and naturalness of female equality.

Other debates have focused on what women have to gain or lose through change. Opponents of female equality propose that women will lose if they are declared equal, for they have a special (higher) status which requires that men protect them. Motherhood is often extolled as the highest calling.

Proponents of female equality have argued that women are denied opportunities to make choices and to obtain power. They often are somewhat utopian in their beliefs about how much existing power arrangements would change if women gained additional legal rights. Both sides recognize that the traditional order would change if women were guaranteed additional rights. Each side attempts to garner supporters for its position.

The struggle for women's equality has generated extensive rhetorical discourse. The public and particularly elected officials have been the recipients of impassioned statements invoking central cultural values. The values have been invoked for issues of all types. The rhetorical struggle highlights an underlying struggle over power. Feminists arguing women deserve access to opportunities unfairly denied them and their opponents fighting to preserve existing power arrangements.

Research Problem

This thesis analyzes anti-feminist and feminist rhetoric. Rhetoric involves the strategic manipulation of language in an intentional effort to persuade others to accept a particular viewpoint, with the ultimate goal of gaining support for a position or cause, and can include casting an opponent in an unfavorable light. The focus is on the rhetoric employed by proponents of these two perspectives concerning women's participation in the United States military and/or in combat from 1972-1991. This rhetoric is part of the rhetoric of the women's movement and the anti-ERA countermovement of the 1970s and early 1980s, as well as the conservative movement of the 1980s.

The rhetoric of the 1970s and early 1980s clearly was intended to influence political policy as well as public opinion because of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The research problem is to identify what if any changes occurred in the type and frequency of anti-feminist and feminist rhetoric used in discussing the suitability of women serving in combat and/or the military from 1972-1991.

Rhetorical analysis furthers understanding of how social movements (e.g., the women's movement) and their countermovements use rhetoric to make claims which promote their goals, especially how they may try to capitalize on general societal values in that maneuvering. In regard to

countermovements, Mottl has noted "a definitive feature of countermovements is the use of a single idea as an ideological lever for the mobilization of disparate constituents to preserve the status quo" (1980:622), such as the single idea of preventing the ERA. Analysis of rhetoric may allow us to see how the rhetoric being espoused directs attention to some issue and, as a consequence, away from other issues (e.g., toward women being drafted and away from women's loss of employment opportunities).

Various terms and concepts must be specified to clarify whose rhetoric, and about what, is the object of this study. Many of the arguments are directed specifically against women's participation in combat, and implicitly or explicitly question women's role in the military, so the focus of the rhetoric is referred to as "combat/the military." The terms "feminist" and "anti-feminist" were chosen to represent the opposing sources of rhetoric on women in combat/the military. Conservatism is, in general terms, a defense of the status quo against change in the institutions of society. All conservatives are not necessarily anti-feminist, so it did not seem appropriate to use the term conservative to describe opponents. Anti-feminist was chosen. Feminist is used to describe those who support the women's movement and its goals, in this case equality for women in the military.

Historical Background

ERA: 1972-1982

During the debate (1972-1982) over ratification of the ERA, which proposed equality under the law without regard to sex, many arguments surfaced against it, from the reasonable to the ridiculous. Some of the opposition arguments claimed that married women would be involuntarily forced to provide one-half of all family income; others claimed that the ERA would result in uni-sex bathrooms and homosexual marriages. One of the issues which opponents repeatedly focused upon as a problem was female military service. American families, the armed services, and ultimately American society would be destroyed through the weakening of the military if the ERA passed. Proponents of the ERA did not propose military involvement as a goal of their lobbying efforts. They were forced to respond to opposition arguments, sometimes stating Congress always had the right to draft women and at others that women should assume equal responsibilities.

Possible explanations for the defeat of the ERA can be postulated. When the ERA was initially presented to the states for ratification, the political climate was liberal and the women's movement was a preeminent issue. By the mid-1970s liberalism was fading. The ERA was identified, by conservatives, with the liberal politics associated with the 1960s and 1970s. A political shift to the right was

underway, and conservative influence increased, shifts characterized by a "backlash against the political and cultural liberalism of the 1960s" and the emergence of a "technologically sophisticated and aggressive Right" (Mathews and DeHart 1990:123). The "silent majority" found its voice. Conservatives became more organized, and coalesced into a more effective lobbying faction. In spite of public opinion polls which consistently showed majority public support for the ERA, legislators bowed to the pressure exerted by the minority opposition. After the ERA failed to obtain ratification in 1982, discussion of the role of women in combat/the military diminished.

With the end of the Viet Nam War and the draft the role of women in the military no longer was a highly visible, politicized issue, except when specific events brought it to the forefront, such as the U.S. invasion of Panama and the Persian Gulf conflict, what James Darsey calls "catalytic events" (1991:46). In early 1990 women's role in the military received attention surrounding the question of issuing combat decoration to female soldiers who exchanged enemy fire during the U.S. invasion of Panama in late 1989. The Panama invasion and Persian Gulf conflict (1990-91) stimulated extensive discussion in the general media of the place of women in the military, but this debate was relatively short-lived.

Women in the Military

Women's involvement in the U.S. military changed dramatically during the twenty years under investigation (see Appendix A). The opportunities for women in the military increased for demographic and policy reasons: the removal of a restrictive cap on the number of females in the military, the elimination of the draft of males, and a decrease in the number of young men due to population shifts (e.g., birth dearth), which affected many occupational opportunities, not just in the military (Reskin and Roos 1990). Beginning in the 1970s, women were admitted to service academies such as West Point for the first time in anticipation of passage of the ERA, thus opening new leadership paths to women.

In 1973, when the all-volunteer military was implemented, women made up only 1.9% of the U.S. military forces (Lamar February 15 1988:27). By 1990, women constituted 11% of the two million military personnel, and 13% of the Reserve forces. In 1991 women made up 11.2% of the Army, 9.7% of the Navy, 13.5% of the Air Force, 4.9% of the Marines, and 7.3% of the Coast Guard (Hughes and Buermeyer 1991:6).

The consequences of larger numbers of women in the U.S. military were seen in the make-up of the troops deployed to Saudi Arabia during Operation Desert Storm. Of the approximately 500,000 troops deployed in Operation Desert

Storm, at least 6% (30,000) were women (Hughes and Buermeyer 1991:6). The shift to an all-volunteer force which relied upon the Reserves led to an increase in the average age of service personnel as compared to past participants. Today, more than half (57%) of military personnel are over the age of 25, one-third are aged 30 or older, and the average age of enlisted personnel is over 28 (Hughes and Buermeyer 1991:6-7). With this increase in the age of service personnel, more of them may be or have been married and have children. Additionally, with the increased number of women in the military there is an increased probability of marriages where both partners could be deployed in times of conflict.

Time Periods

Darsey (1991) utilized time periods for his analysis of the Gay Liberation rhetoric and broke his study into time periods delineated by catalytic events, much as has been done for this study.

The analysis is divided into three time periods. Time period I (one) covers the years 1972-1982. During this time period women's roles were undergoing change, and considerable societal turmoil emerged in response to these changes. Changes in the military also occurred in how it obtained personnel as well as in the composition of that

personnel. A shift in the political climate can also be identified, moving from a predominantly liberal one to a very conservative one (Mathews and DeHart 1990). The ERA was up for ratification during this time period and failed, and the issue of women in combat/the military dominated the later stage of the debate over the ERA.

Time period II (two) covers the years 1983-1988. During this time the ERA was rather quietly reintroduced in Congress, the women's movement faded as a dominant issue, the role of women in the military was increasing, and the political climate was firmly conservative with Ronald Reagan in office.

Time period III (three) covers the years 1989-1991. During this time the issue of women's role in the military was once again debated. The U.S. invasion of Panama and the role of female troops there revived debate over their participation in combat. The Persian Gulf conflict began and ended, and the role of women in combat/the military received extensive but short-lived attention.

For all three time periods, anti-feminist and feminist rhetoric are analyzed for the nature of the arguments. Some of the questions to be addressed include: are the arguments against women serving in combat/the military based upon the characteristics of women or on the characteristics of military service/combat? What, if any, changes occur in the

rhetoric during the time periods? And, what kinds of rhetorical appeals are used?

General readership publications are examined to determine what arguments were being reported as prevalent in the debate and to aid in the development of rhetorical categories for coding. Special interest articles are then analyzed using content analysis.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

The first part of this chapter reviews analyses of rhetoric relating to women's suffrage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The second part of this chapter focuses on a conceptual framework for analyzing rhetoric, and the final part the social constructionist mode of approaching social issues.

Literature Review

Women's Suffrage

In the early 20th century, traditional female and male roles were changing, yet suffragists had to struggle against conservative opposition to the 19th Amendment, which would give women the right to vote. This struggle was examined by Aileen Kraditor (1981), who analyzed the anti-suffragist rhetoric and found three basic premises for opposition: theology, biology and sociology. The two primary premises used by supporters were justice and expediency.

On a theological level, anti-suffragists based their opposition on their belief that God relegated men and women to separate functions, a "divinely ordained division of

labor" (Kraditor 1981:17). In order to enlist women and appeal to men who supported certain advances for women, the opposition rhetoric attempted to demonstrate that this division of labor and "male headship of the family did not imply male superiority" (Kraditor 1981:15).

The biological premise was predicated on the view that women were physically and emotionally unsuited for the rigors of voting, and the responsibilities and duties thereof. Anti-suffragists argued that the "eternal differences between the sexes were so great" that women were incapable of participating in government (Kraditor 1981:21). At the same time they also argued that these "eternal differences" themselves were so delicate that, in order to preserve them, women *must* not be allowed to participate (Kraditor 1981:21).

The sociological premise was based on the belief that the inclusion of women in "male territory" certainly would result in social unrest, and have a negative impact upon the welfare of society as a whole. The spectre of sexual promiscuity also was raised. Suffrage was presented as something which would result in fraternization between the sexes (Kraditor 1981:23).

Opponents also stated that women were being misled about the benefits they would receive and deceived about the negative consequences they would incur. For example, anti-suffragists charged that "suffrage could not help the

working girl get higher wages" and "the majority of women do not want the ballot; to force it upon them would be *undemocratic*" (Kraditor 1981:34-38). Anti-suffragists claimed that the differences between males and females are immutable, and women therefore could not participate in a male arena of endeavor. Conversely, they argued that the presence of women in a male arena such as government spelled certain doom for that institution; that women would undermine male performance, somehow instigate the disintegration of male qualities needed for leadership, and also their own femininity. (These same claims were subsequently made by anti-feminists opposing the ERA and women in combat/the military.)

Supporters argued that as human beings women had the right to participate in the government that ruled them, basing this argument on natural justice. Women and men did not differ in any ways which justified inequality. Some supporters argued that women were somehow morally superior to men, and better capable of understanding what is involved in running society, which is the expediency premise. Various forms of the expediency arguments were used when the justice argument was not successful. Some feminists who used expediency arguments did not accept the underlying assumption that women and men were significantly different.

ERA

With its passage by both houses of Congress in 1972, the ERA was rapidly ratified by 30 states between March 22, 1972 and early 1973. The ratification rate slowed dramatically in 1973 (see Appendix B), with only three states ratifying. In 1975 only one state ratified. A single ratification in 1977 marked the final state ratification the ERA was to receive, even after a three year extension was granted beyond the 1979 deadline. In various states, proposals to rescind ratification were presented. After the 1982 defeat, the ERA diminished as a focus for anti-feminists, although it continued to be an important, but lower priority, issue for National Organization for Women (NOW) members and other feminists, as they continued to seek strategies for enactment of the ERA.

In spite of favorable public opinion as measured by public opinion polls (Tables 1, 2, & 3¹), legislators did not ratify the ERA. Historians, political scientists and feminists have addressed why the ERA did not achieve ratification (e.g., Hoff-Wilson 1986; Mansbridge 1986). The debate over ERA ratification has been the subject of several rhetorical criticisms (Solomon 1978, 1979, 1983, 1987), as have related topics such as social movements (Cathcart 1972) and the abortion debate (Railsback 1984).

¹ All tables may be found in Appendix C.

In her various articles, Martha Solomon examined the rhetoric of the ERA debate (particularly Stop-ERA). She determined that anti-ERA rhetoric relied on "vivid rhetorical depictions" (1987:242-43). She observed that ERA supporters were involuntarily placed in a defensive position by opposition rhetoric, and were consequently perceived as being "condescendingly pedantic" (1987:246) in their attempts to base their arguments upon "logical argument and evidence rather than vivid rhetorical depictions (1987:242-43).

Some of the ERA literature discusses the debate over the role of women in the military from 1972-1982 (Mathews and DeHart 1990), but there has not been a study of rhetoric concerning women in combat, an examination of that rhetoric over time, an examination of both feminist and anti-feminist rhetoric, or an analysis of what happened to the debate after the ERA was no longer a prominent issue.

Donald Mathews and Jane DeHart, in their book Sex, Gender and the Politics of ERA (1990), draw on Richard Hofstadter's Paranoid Style in American Politics (1965) to describe an apocalyptic style of discourse. This style can be characterized as consisting of sweeping generalities which imply, directly or indirectly, a far-reaching or total negative effect. For instance, "We see this amendment as a weapon of the women's liberationists to destroy the family structure. We fear it will lead to marriage among

homosexuals, the drafting of women into the Army, and the crumbling of the American family" ("Queens High" Time August 21 1972:8). They note that exaggeration and distortion may be deemed necessary because a literal approach to issues may not "contain the necessary moral message," about the perceived threat (Mathews and DeHart 1990:265).

In her book Rights of Passage: The Past and Future of the ERA (1986), historian Joan Hoff-Wilson observes that the passage of the ERA was seen as an open door to allow women in the military, which was equivalent to abandonment by men of their responsibilities, and would result in the presence of women where they had no business being. Several rhetorical tactics used during the ERA debate were identified by Hoff-Wilson (1986). Among those strategies was the "scare tactic" (1986:77), which elicits visions of disastrous results if the ERA were ratified. Among the horrors which outspoken opponent Phyllis Schlafly and other anti-ERA activists claimed would occur were sexually desegregated prisons and school physical education classes, housewives forced to enter the work force against their wills, the removal of laws requiring men to provide financial support for their wives, and the elimination of laws which protect women from sex crimes.

Another tactic was "righteous rhetoric" (Hoff-Wilson 1986:77), which utilized religious traditions and doctrines,

specifically the "Judeo-Christian traditions of women as subordinate and subservient to men" as support for opposition to the ERA. For example, Schlafly's claim that the Declaration of Independence is "a religious document from its first sentence to its last" is a form of righteous rhetoric (1977:167).

A third tactic was the "ad hominem" approach (Hoff-Wilson 1986:77), which used personal attacks and name calling, as illustrated by Stop-ERA founder Schlafly's description of feminists as "lesbians," "hysterical" and "aggressive" (Hoff-Wilson 1986:85).

Yet another tactic identified was the "red-herring" (Hoff-Wilson 1986:77). This mode of persuasion is best illustrated by the opposition threat of uni-sex toilets becoming the law of the land should the ERA be ratified. Hoff-Wilson (1986) interpreted these tactics as being indicative of anxiety about the changing roles of men and women, as well as anxiety over the increasing presence of women in the work force. Her analysis of anti-ERA rhetoric underscores the presence of a current of fear.

Jane Mansbridge's analysis of Phyllis Schlafly's rhetoric argues that Schlafly's anti-ERA rhetoric underwent a distinct shift in focus. Mansbridge notes that Schlafly's early arguments focused on pseudo-issues like "uni-sex toilets, the right to [spousal] support, and homosexual marriages" (1986:86). Schlafly's later arguments focused on

the issues of women in combat and abortion (Mansbridge 1986:86). This shift may have occurred because Schlafly found the latter issues more important to her audience, and therefore more effective rhetoric.

Conceptual Framework

Stuart Hall's theory of ideology guides this research. His concepts are adaptable to this rhetorical study. Meaning is a social production and language "the means by which meaning is produced" (Hall 1982:67). An issue raised by Hall's proposition was "which kinds of meanings get...constructed around particular events" (1982:67). Hall argues that "in order for one meaning to be regularly produced, it had to win a kind of credibility, legitimacy or taken-for-grantedness..." (1982:67).

Hall's approach is predicated on the notion that the way people behave is in part determined by how the situation is defined. The process of defining the situation becomes very important, especially when the situation/event is unexpected, or disrupts our expectations of the world. The power to signify events in a particular way constitutes ideological power. Rhetoric is inherently geared toward signifying events. "Significations enter into controversial and conflicting social issues as a...social force, affecting their outcome" (Hall 1982:70). Struggles over gaining the

power to signify occur in the arena of ideology, and rhetoric is one tool used in these struggles. How better to disseminate ideology than through rhetorical discourse.

In ideological analysis the investigator identifies the premises accepted as true and the propositions derived from them (Hall 1982:74). For example, anti-feminists claim that there is a divine division of labor (premise), which precludes women from participating in combat, or voting (proposition). If the proposition is to be accepted as true, the premise must be believed to be true, reality. In this case true means credible, "a recognition of things we already knew" (Hall 1982:75). Propositions acquire a type of "natural inevitability," based on circular logic. Meaning is determined by signification, which is a social practice. Meaning, therefore, is the result of a social struggle -- "a struggle for mastery in discourse" (Hall 1982:77).

Signification

For Hall, defining the situation is referred to as signifying the event, and the power to signify events in a particular way is ideological power. Rhetoric is inherently geared toward signifying events. Phyllis Schlafly and other opponents of the ERA sought to signify or define it as harmful to women and the society. Anti-feminists such as Schlafly not only sought to define ERA for others with

similar political beliefs, but also the legislators who would vote on it. Feminists tried to signify ERA as positive for women.

Arena

In a debate, a struggle occurs over who determines the rhetorical arena in which the debate takes place. If A makes a charge and B responds to that charge, the charge is then legitimized and side A has drawn the parameters of the argument, has determined the rhetorical arena of the debate. The ERA opposition placed supporters in a defensive position because opponents were successful in establishing the arena. Instead of justifying the need for ERA in their own terms, supporters were put in the position of "arguing against straw men and red herrings" (Solomon 1987:242).

Once the media and the general public accepted the ERA opponents' questions or issues as ones deserving responses, the proponents had to address the issues selected by the opponents. Instead of presenting the ERA as something which would do good things for women, supporters were placed in the defensive position of refuting opponents' charges that the ERA was x or y or z, which effectively placed ERA opponents in the dominant position in the debate.

Hall's theory of ideology has been successfully applied to rhetorical criticism (Makus 1990). Anne Makus examined

the concept of computer hackers and how the activity of computer hacking was defined as either legitimate or illegitimate. One of Makus' observations about ideology is that it "fails to recognize that social relations depend on historical conditions, and instead represents them as natural, inevitable and eternal truths" (Makus 1990:498).

Constructionism

Within sociology there is a perspective called social constructionism. The constructionist perspective has been primarily concerned with social problems, focusing upon the claims-making associated with social problems rather than the social problems themselves. Claims-making is a rhetorical activity, and rhetoric can be utilized analyzing claims (Best 1989:1).

The first task of constructionist analysis is locating examples of claims (Best 1989:250). The sources for claims are press coverage, popular treatment, ephemeral material, opinion polls and interviews (Best 1989:250). The claims found can then be content analyzed by asking questions such as the following: What is said? What is the rhetoric? Who is making the claims? Do they reflect a particular ideology? (Best 1989:250-51). Another question to address is whether the claims-makers misrepresented or inaccurately described the situation.

From a social constructionist perspective, "every political issue has a relevant public discourse - a particular set of ideas and symbols that are used in the process of constructing meaning" (Gamson 1988:165). Many forums exist for such discourse, and each has an influence on the other. Using a constructionist approach allows the evaluation of the extent to which media representation of an issue is incorporated by people in their assessments of the issue.

The media play an important role in debates by disseminating rhetoric. Media presentations, or "packages" (Gamson 1988), reflect what Hall terms ideologies. Media presentations offer significations of events and may play a role in determining the arena for the debate. Analyzing what types of rhetoric are used and received is important in sociology because these debates frequently affect public policy, and hence "society." The constructionist approach enhances understanding of the active political nature of language and how it shapes our perceptions of reality (Mehan and Wills 1988:364). The constructionist approach informs this research.

Postmodernism as a theoretical approach is also related to rhetorical analysis. Norman Denzin states how his analysis of film is an "attempt to interpret how words, texts and their meanings play a pivotal part" in events which influence the political conditions of society

(1991:1). While this approach is not utilized in this study, it does provide evidence that the investigation of rhetoric has moved beyond the realm of rhetoricians. There appears to be some confluence of purpose between postmodernism and constructionism in that the political influence of words is an interest of both frameworks.

CHAPTER III

Methods

The research method employed in this study of rhetoric about women's participation in the U.S. military in general and in combat is content analysis. The analysis is of printed materials from 1972-1991, such as magazine articles, pamphlets, newsletters, and fact sheets. The analysis focuses on materials identified with a particular position, feminist or anti-feminist.

Analytic Approach

Rhetorical Analysis

Rhetorical analysis is important for sociologists because "...if rhetoric seeks to induce cooperation of others, the seeking and the cooperation will have social consequences" (Brock 1989:16). Rhetorical criticism functions to identify "a particular case or type of symbolic inducement" (Brock 1989:16). Rhetorical critics with a sociological perspective attempt to explain rhetoric by placing it in a social framework. This thesis attempts to identify, examine and explain the rhetoric surrounding women in combat/the military as it is reflective of "social structures, traditions, norms and conventions" (Brock

1989:21), and the effects changes in society over the past twenty years may have had on the rhetoric.

Drawing on the work of Ernest Bormann, Kenneth Burke, Hugh Duncan and Erving Goffman, David Zarefsky argues there is a theoretical tradition which recognizes "producing discourse as a social exercise" (1990:163). Rhetoric is a social practice and is therefore a subject for sociological analysis. Society itself is a rhetorical construct upon which sociology bases its *raison d'être*. Jurgen Habermas suggests that systematic institutional distortion of communication permits one or another social interest to prevail (Zarefsky 1990:167). This is, in effect, what is at issue in this thesis, though the focus is on how feminists and anti-feminists attempt to have their rhetoric prevail and thus their ideology.

Another justification for the study of rhetoric as a sociological concern is Marjorie DeVault's (1990) idea that rhetorical processes are "deeply gendered", in that statements are produced and responded to on the basis of profound understandings of gender (p.98). Gender refers to the social expectations placed upon the sexes, and those expectations deeply influence how rhetorical artifacts are produced, discussed, and heard. Gender ideals are very much a part of the argument over whether or not women belong in combat/the military, and part of the argumentation itself.

Rhetorical analysis facilitates the direction of attention to these gender ideals.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is "a set of procedures for making...inferences from images, speech and text ...identifying the intentions of communications; detecting the existence of propaganda" (Borgatta 1992:290-91). Content analysis requires specification of coding categories and units of analysis. To better determine the types of rhetorical strategies and classify the rhetorical artifacts under consideration I developed coding categories based on previous research and on analysis of arguments presented in general readership magazines and newspapers. The article or its equivalent (e.g., fact sheet) is the unit of analysis.

Definition of Terms

Feminism is the doctrine which advocates legal, social, political and economic equality for women, and feminists are those who support that doctrine. Anti-feminists are those who oppose the doctrine of legal, social, political and economic equality for women.

Conservatism is "a defense of the status quo against major changes in the political, economic or social

institutions of a society" (Plano and Greenberg 1982:6). Contemporary conservative women can be divided into two groups: laissez-faire and social conservatives (Klatch 1987). The social conservatives are opposed to feminism and its goals and positions on all levels. Laissez-faire conservatives support some of the goals and positions of feminism, but are economically and politically conservative, and oppose feminist goals on those grounds only. In order to avoid confusion I will use the term anti-feminist to describe those conservatives, both laissez-faire and social, who oppose feminist goals and precepts.

Samples

Anti-feminist and feminist articles which addressed women's participation in the military and in combat were obtained from magazines, newspapers and ephemeral material.

Anti-Feminist

Some of the sample publications for the anti-feminist rhetoric were chosen from the Keesing reference book The Radical Right: A World Dictionary (O'Maolain 1987), in which conservative/right-wing groups or organizations are listed, along with pertinent information, including publications issued by the group/organization. The publications found through this source included the monthly American Opinion,

and its bi-weekly successor The New American, edited by Robert Welch, founder of the right-wing John Birch Society. Each issue of American Opinion 1970-1985 was reviewed, as was each issue of The New American 1985-1991. Other conservative publications located include National Review and Conservative Chronicle. Four articles were identified in American Opinion or The New American which related specifically to the topic of women in combat/the military (September 1975, April 1978, March 1987, January 1990). An additional three contained statements about the topic and were reviewed for their arguments about the issue (October 1978, August 1986, April 1991).

Ephemeral materials distributed during time period one by proponents and opponents were analyzed also. Seven pamphlets, fact sheets and newsletters from such sources as the John Birch Society and Phyllis Schlafly's Stop-ERA were included in the anti-feminist sample.

Feminist

For the feminist rhetoric, each issue of Ms. magazine, from 1972-1991, and the National NOW Times, from 1980-1991, was examined. Ms. magazine was the first feminist magazine to emerge in the modern women's movement in 1972 and is generally considered the preeminent feminist magazine. However, Ms. underwent two management changes after 1987 and experienced a change in focus, becoming less feminist.

The table of contents for each issue was examined for relevant articles. In the case of ambiguous titles the article was examined to determine its relevancy. Five articles were located from Ms. which related specifically to the topic, or contained discussions of it (July 1972, March 1974, March 1988, March/April 1991, May/June 1991).

The National NOW Times is produced by the National Organization for Women (NOW), the most visible contemporary feminist organization. Issues of the National NOW Times from 1980-1991 in the Women's Studies Department at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville were examined in order to ascertain what was written about women and the military/combat. Four articles were located which related specifically to the topic, or contained discussions of it (March 1980, April 1983, May 1983, March/April 1991). The March 1980 (time period one) issue of the National NOW Times devoted much of its space to the topic of women in the military and draft registration, but it was counted as only one article since the majority of the information was related and not easily separable.

Ephemeral materials from feminist sources were examined also. Seven pamphlets, etc., from organizations such as the National Women's Party and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (NFBPWC) were used.

Coding

General Media

General readership magazines were examined to discover what was reported as the arguments used by anti-feminists and feminists. To locate relevant articles from magazines with a more general readership (e.g., Time, Newsweek, People) I used The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, a resource publication which lists articles by topic. Among the topic headings searched were: "Servicewomen", "Women and War", "United States in Persian Gulf and Women", and "Panama - U.S. Invasion and Women". Again, where titles were ambiguous the article was examined to determine its relevancy.

Newspaper articles on the topic were primarily obtained from two local papers, The Knoxville News-Sentinel and The Knoxville Journal. Some articles from newspapers outside the area were located by using NEWSBANK, which lists newspaper articles on microfiche according to topic, and personal sources. The articles obtained from microfiche did not include page numbers. Seven articles were chosen from newspapers using these resources, including the Boston Globe, the Washington Post, the Atlanta Journal, and the Washington Times. The newspaper articles are from time period three for the most part and relate to the Panama invasion and the Persian Gulf conflict. The articles were

chosen to provide examples of what was being reported outside the local press during the third time period.

The opposition arguments reported in the general media during time period one centered primarily on the unsuitability of women for military/combat duty, resembling Kraditor's (1981) suffrage rhetoric categories of tradition and biology. Author and speaker Andrea Fordham is reported as expressing the belief that most women prefer "our social system which encourages men to support and protect us" ("Two women speak..." Mademoiselle July 1976:123). Her rhetoric suggested what could be called a traditional premise. Like the anti-suffrage rhetoric, anti-feminist rhetoric focused on women's incapacities and weaknesses. Anti-feminists' biological premise claimed women were completely incapable of meeting the challenge of military/combat service, especially due to pregnancy, and emotional or mental weakness. Prominent anti-feminist Phyllis Schlafly, in one report, stated that "women shouldn't be obligated to serve in the military because they get pregnant" (Falligant 1975).

While Fordham and Schlafly offer no authoritative sources for their statements, two other articles report arguments likened to Kraditor's biology category, citing military studies which indicate women are too weak to fulfill their duties, and that there is a consistent 10% pregnancy rate among women soldiers ("Women in the army..." U.S. News and World Report September 6 1982:8). Brigadier

General Elizabeth Hoisington is reported as stating that women are "simply not physically, mentally and emotionally qualified to perform well in combat" ("Should women fight in war?" U.S. News and World Report February 13 1978:53).

The feminist rhetoric reported in the general media over all three time periods tends to focus on a justice premise, and what I have designated an educational approach. The justice premise is based on Kraditor's analysis of anti-suffrage rhetoric and rests on the idea that women deserve equal opportunity based on ability, not sex. The educational approach is an attempt to apprise the reader of the facts in a nonemotional manner.

Authoritative sources included military officers. Major General Jeanne Holm is reported as saying she thinks women should be allowed to serve in all combat positions for which they are capable. Using a justice premise and educational style, she expresses some reservations about the infantry including women, but thinks women should first be tested in that arena before a decision is made about exclusion ("Should women fight in war?" U.S. News and World Report February 13 1978:53). Holm cites service statistics in support of her position. Statistics showed women lost less time than men, even including pregnancy related time loss, and that the retention rate was higher for women than for men ("Should women fight in war?" U.S. News and World Report February 13 1978:54).

In time period two, the emphases of the feminists and anti-feminists apparently shift. The anti-feminist arguments still focused on women's unsuitability for combat but were less likely to espouse general opposition to women's presence in the military than before. Previous arguments focused on women's physical weakness and emotional unsuitability as reasons to exclude them from combat. A new argument was "society's" unwillingness or unreadiness to accept women soldiers coming home in body bags. Major Thomas Hogan is reported as saying, "The question is whether America is ready for their daughters to come back home in a body bag the way their sons do" (Conant et al 1985:38).

Feminist arguments again had an educational style, but the content of their arguments now included how dependent the military had become on women's participation, women's qualifications for military/combat service and the outdated nature of notions of a clear-cut front line concept. Lt. General Colin Powell is reported as saying, "We can no longer go to war without the women" (Lamar 1988:27).

Another article reported the many risky jobs women were already doing, such as flying repair missions over hostile territory, piloting cargo planes into battle areas, and flying tankers to refuel jet fighters, positions which leave those performing them considerably more at risk. (Conant et al 1985:36-38). These duties were cited to illustrate the inadequacy of the front line concept established after World

War II (Lamar 1988:27), which designates a support force in the "rear," but which is virtually inapplicable in modern warfare.

The bulk of the articles from the general media are from time period three. The anti-feminist arguments in this time period continue to identify biological (including emotional) inadequacies of women as justification for excluding them from combat. Retired General Robert H. Barrow testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that "women can't kill in combat situations. It's uncivilized and women can't do it. Women give life, sustain life, nurture life. They can't take it" ("Brass reluctant..." Knoxville News-Sentinel June 19 1991:A1).

The reports quote opponents as saying women are too weak physically, unable to kill, unable to tolerate primitive field conditions, and more suited to motherhood and nurturing. Peter Copeland quoted conservative Susan Fields' imagery of "suckling infants ripped from mothers" when he offered an example of the emergence of a new image in opposing women in combat (Copeland April 21 1991:A5).

The "body bag" argument, "society's" inability to deal with the prospect of its women coming home in body bags or maimed, was quite prevalent during time period three. There was also the argument that "society" wasn't ready to see its women killing enemy soldiers, or becoming POWs. Professor James Toner is reported as saying the "traditional

Judaic-Christian view of women is that we do not want to see women captured and held as POWs, or see them killing or throwing hand grenades. It somehow doesn't square with our image" (Straw 1991). His statements are illustrative of both a tradition-based argument and a body bag argument.

The focus of anti-feminist rhetoric has shifted from protecting women to protecting military readiness, and children from the pain of separation, while continuing to employ the traditional premises and biological arguments. Ex-infantryman and author of an anti-feminist treatise on women in the military Brian Mitchell stated that "women negatively impact the morale and discipline of units" ("U.S. women serving..." Knoxville Journal January 19 1991).

Supporter arguments remained fairly consistent in their pragmatic approach. The main focus initially being one of justice, and later being more expedient. The expediency argument posits that it is not beneficial to train women to do jobs from which they will be barred during war. Articles might quote female soldiers who reported their desire to use the training they had received to do the job for which they were prepared. The combat exclusion was reported as being illogical and unrealistic.

If the combat exclusion was to protect women, articles in time period three argued it was unsuccessful, and led to a waste of trained personnel. POW Major Rhonda Cornum is quoted as saying her experience as an Iraqi prisoner drove

home the lesson that combat restrictions for women were "stupid" (Copeland April 28 1991:A9). Support positions to which women were relegated were the very positions most vulnerable, and therefore desirable, to attack. In addition, the lack of clear-cut front lines was frequently cited as one reason why the combat exclusion was virtually impossible to enforce.

Books

Several books, Phyllis Schlafly's The Power of the Positive Woman, Jerry Falwell's Listen, America!, and Brian Mitchell's Weak Link: the Feminization of the American Military, were reviewed. These books were chosen for their opposition to the ERA, liberalism/secularism/, and women's presence in the military forces.

Schlafly's rhetoric pertaining to women in combat/the military was garnered from her book The Power of the Positive Women (1977), her STOP ERA and "Eagle Forum" newsletters. In the first time period this book was chosen because it was widely accepted as the handbook for anti-feminists, as an expression of the view of conservative women. Her conservative career includes campaigning for Goldwater in 1964, several unsuccessful bids for Congress, as well as writing several books. Falwell's book Listen, America! (1980) was also used as a background source of conservative rhetoric of the 1970s and 1980s. Falwell was

the onetime leader of the Moral Majority, as well as a visible supporter of conservative causes.

Mitchell's book Weak Link: The Feminization of the American Military (1989) was chosen because it was widely cited in anti-feminist arguments and is wholly devoted to the opposition of women's presence not only in combat, but also in the military at large.

Feminist books were not specifically reviewed for this project because I have read feminist materials over the past decade and am familiar with the feminist rhetoric.

Coding Categories

Categories were adapted from the field of rhetoric and debate (e.g., Foss 1989, Freeley 1986) and previous analyses of ERA rhetoric. The initial coding categories focused on premises, style, tactics and predicted consequences. Five premise categories were drawn from Kraditor's analysis (1981) of the rhetoric over suffrage: theology, biology, sociological, justice and expediency. The sociological premise was recast as the social premise. The tradition premise was added based on the work of Freeley (1986).

The style categories were drawn from various literature. Mathews and DeHart (1990) first used Hofstadter's apocalyptic category to analyze anti-ERA rhetoric. An educational style is suggested by Solomon's

analysis of ERA supporters' rhetoric. An emotional category was developed to incorporate the highly charged modes of expression.

The tactic categories -- scare, red-herring, righteous rhetoric and ad hominem -- are from Hoff-Wilson's (1986) analysis of the ERA debate. And, based on the background books and general media articles, a set of predicted consequence categories was developed. Feminists and anti-feminists apparently try to "support" their positions by arguing the inevitability of certain consequences - negative, positive, individual, social, military, and economic. The predicted consequences were not tabulated and do not appear in the frequency table.

The initial categories for coding the rhetoric required revision based on preliminary coding of the special interest articles and comparison coding. Some categories were not used and subsequently dropped. The revised categories were developed from analyzing general media reports on the debate and determining what types of arguments were the dominant ones.

A graduate student in Sociology coded nine anti-feminist and nine feminist articles representing the different time periods for the purpose of establishing whether the categories were reliable. Some coding was very consistent. As a result of comparing the raters' coding, some changes were made in the categories and the coding.

The expediency and justice categories proved to be problematic. While they may be effective conceptually, when applied to the rhetoric in this study, they proved to be fuzzy and difficult to differentiate. As a result, the justice and expediency categories were collapsed into one category labelled pragmatic.

The emotional style category was amended to clarify which arguments should be included. The argument which claimed male soldiers would be distracted, demoralized and horrified was originally included in the social category. After the two coders discussed their differences, these arguments were placed in the tradition category. Articles were recoded with the revised coding scheme (see Appendix D). The article could be coded in more than one category in a section. The revised categories are described below. The coding categories are divided into four sections: premise, tactics, style and predicted consequences.

Premise

The premise is the broad foundation upon which the argument is based. Five basic premises are identified: theology, biology, social, tradition and pragmatic.

The theology category covers those arguments which are based on God-ordained roles for women and men. Examples of this premise are, "Our respect for the family as the basic unit of society, which is ingrained in the law and customs

of our Judeo-Christian civilization, is the greatest single achievement in the entire history of women's rights" (Schlafly February 1972:1); "ERA could well spell the mockery of scripture and law" (Happiness Of Womanhood 1972).

The biology category is based on Kraditor's analysis, and includes arguments which use claims of women's physical and emotional weakness as evidence of their unsuitability for combat/the military, and which were also used in anti-suffrage rhetoric. It also includes such things as questions about sexuality/promiscuity, the effects of pregnancy and menstruation, and stamina for field conditions. For example, "I had this lieutenant tell me women couldn't concentrate and menstruate at the same time" (Mitric 1991).

The social category (Kraditor's sociology premise) encompasses those arguments which say that "society" as a whole will suffer if women are admitted to a male arena of endeavor, primarily through the weakening of the family and a weakening of the military. This category also includes the argument that the public is not ready to accept women coming home in body bags. For example, "[Including women in combat] would produce an unusable armed forces" (Stang 1978:41); "...women's libbers are radicals who are waging a total assault on the family, on marriage, and on children" (Schlafly February 1972:3). (The Schlafly quotation is also

illustrative of the ad hominem and scare tactics, as well as of the apocalyptic style.)

The tradition category is drawn from the field of rhetoric and debate (Freeley 1986). It covers those arguments which are based on maintaining traditional roles for women and men. These arguments include those which propose that women have always been the child-bearers and nurturers and men have always been the providers and protectors, and the status quo should remain unchanged. The argument that male soldiers would be distracted, demoralized or horrified if women were included in combat troops and fell victim to injury, rape or death, formerly included in the social category, is an argument from tradition. This category also includes the argument that women should not kill, that men have always been the warriors and they should remain so. For example, "...these are not skills that a sane society should desire women to cultivate" (Buckley 1978:487).

The pragmatic category is made up of justice arguments which claim that women's inclusion in combat/the military is fair and right because women deserve equal opportunity to participate in any arena, and to exclude them from participation solely on the basis of sex is unfair, both to women and men. It is also comprised of those arguments which propose women are a qualified labor pool which is

being wasted by the American military, an argument formerly specified as expediency.

Claims that women recruits are better educated, motivated and have lower absenteeism, as well as claims that trained women are wasted talent when unused, are pragmatic arguments which suggest justice. Arguments which posit that women's equality is somehow linked with inclusion in combat/the military also fall within the revised pragmatic category. Some examples are, "The right to fight is historically linked with full equality in democratic societies" ("Women in the Trenches" 1978:27); "I have several women friends who trained to be pilots. They want to be combat pilots" (Mitric 1991); "Women must be appointed to and given the opportunity to serve in decision making roles" ("Testimony of Mary W..." Minerva Fall 1984:117).

Tactics

Tactics are the rhetorical strategies used in persuasion. Based on the review of the literature, focus is on errors of reason: scare, red-herring, righteous rhetoric and ad hominem tactics. Scare tactics are ones which elicit a fear response through various means. For instance, these tactics utilized the images of teenaged girls huddling in foxholes, or of women being captured and raped by the enemy. The threat that including women in combat/the military will

result in a weak military and a vulnerable nation is also a scare tactic.

Righteous rhetoric is the use of religious doctrine to support one's position. The claim that God meant for women to be mothers and men to be warriors and that to have women assume the role of soldier is an affront to God's will is righteous rhetoric. For instance, "[The ERA] seeks to make men and women legally identical when biologically and Biblically men and women are not!" (Happiness Of Womanhood 1972).

Red-herring tactics are those which offer a misleading consequence in order to oppose a position. They are exaggerated events which are unlikely to occur, present no real substantive threat, and are unsubstantiated by the facts. In effect, red-herring arguments are usually a sub-category of scare tactics. While unusual, it is possible to present red-herring arguments which do not fall into the scare category. The articles by William F. Buckley are an example of this unique situation (1978, 1991). He appears to mask the red-herrings within the context of what otherwise seems to be a logical argument. For example, Buckley wrote, "The attempt to equalize the sexes is going to be asymptotic. You think you have reached equality, but there is still a tiny difference there. That difference bespeaks an insight which is a hallmark of civilization" (September 9 1991:54). Scare tactics can appear without the

use of red-herrings. Some examples are, "[I]n combat zones, women and men would have to share latrines" and "girls and women will be forced to share dormitory facilities with boys and men..., in schools, colleges, military services, reformatories, prisons" (Smoot 1973:4-5).

The ad hominem tactic is also known as name calling. This tactic is exemplified by attacks on the person supporting or carrying the message rather than the message itself. For instance, labeling feminists as radicals, lesbians and bitter old maids as a means of discrediting feminism is an ad hominem tactic. Rather than addressing feminism as a doctrine, the opposition attacks the character of those who support feminism. For example, "...the reason you don't hear about such women is that their very existence is a slap in the face of the feminoids who run ERA" (Stang 1978:41). This tactic is also apparent when feminists attack the character of anti-feminists, such as Schlafly, instead of the content of their arguments. For example, it was reported that "in 1960 she [Schlafly] was termed a 'very loyal member of the John Birch Society' by its founder Robert Welch - a claim she says she denied at the time" (Wohl March 1974:55). It is not uncommon for more than one tactic to be utilized within the same statement. For example, "Degradation of women and the disintegration of our civilization are the real objectives of E.R.A. proponents, many of whom are Communists" (Smoot 1973:4). This statement

uses scare and ad hominem tactics, as well as being apocalyptic in style.

Style

The style section refers to the overall tone of the artifact and has three categories: emotional, apocalyptic and educational. The emotional style is characterized by the use of emotionally or value-laden terminology or images. This style relies heavily upon unsubstantiated claims rooted in value systems. For example, reports which refer to female soldiers as mothers or daughters or indulge in flowery rhetoric are emotional in style. Senator Sam Ervin's rhetoric (quoted below) is an outstanding example of the emotional style, with his references to flowers of womanhood being blown to pieces by an alphabetized list of weaponry. This style also includes those statements which are sardonic or ironic in tone, as that in Ellen Goodman's (1983) "Doctor, Do You Feel a Draft?", and Molly Ivins' (1991) "Season of Drear." Tactics which elicit a fear response or appeal to values are also often emotional in style. In discussing combat Ervin says, "...where they [women] will be slaughtered or maimed by the bayonets, the bombs, the bullets, the grenades, the mines, the napalm, the poison gas, or the shells of the enemy" (Thom 1991:85).

The apocalyptic style is characterized by an all-encompassing tone. For example, Schlafly's charges that the

ERA would force women to provide 50% of the household income. The intimation of her statement was that all women would be forced to hold jobs outside the home, as well as match their spouses' income. The charge that women's presence in the military is a threat to national security is also apocalyptic in style. An entire society is at risk, not just the institution of the military. Some examples of this style are: "...our entire society is being successfully manipulated by a bunch of weirdos" (Huck 1978:33); "The presence of women inhibits male bonding, and diminishes the desire of men to compete for anything but the attentions of women" (Mitchell 1989:190).

The educational style is exemplified by the informative tone of the artifact. Claims are usually, though not always, substantiated by some authoritative source or study. The information is generally presented in a factual manner and is more journalistic in nature, for instance, articles which rebut anti-feminist claims by providing omitted material or ignored data. One example of this style is an artifact issued by the Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW), which provided the full text of a Yale Law Review article which Senator Ervin had misrepresented by extensively taking statements and words out of the original context, and consequently altering the meaning of the statement. One example of this style specifically used in a rebuttal situation is: "Schlafly

quotes Dr. Emerson as saying the ERA won't bring equal pay. Dr. Emerson conceded nothing of the kind. 'No, I didn't say that at all,' he told me. 'That's absolutely incorrect. Obviously ERA would do a great deal to improve opportunities for women workers'" (Wohl 1974:55).

The code sheets included a section on predicted consequences. This section was designed to analyze what consequences of events were predicted by the claims-makers. The categories were: negative, positive, individual, social, military and economic. Predicted consequences were not tabulated.

CHAPTER IV

Rhetorical Analysis

The data obtained from the content analysis indicate a definite shift took place in the premises, tactics and styles used in the debate over women in combat/the military. As expected, with the increasing presence of women in the military, and the expanded roles for women in other areas, the argumentation shifted in such a way as to reflect these changes, especially the anti-feminist rhetoric. Beginning with time period one (1972-1982), and subsequently time period two (1983-1988) and time period three (1989-1991), anti-feminist data will be presented, and then feminist data. First I will review the relative frequencies with which various forms of rhetoric appear; then I will present examples of the rhetoric and interpret the findings.

Frequencies

Anti-Feminist Rhetoric

Tables 6 and 7 (see Appendix E) illustrate the shifts which took place in the rhetoric from 1972-1991. The anti-feminist rhetoric underwent the most drastic change.

Premises. In time period one, the premises were primarily social and tradition, with each appearing in virtually all articles (92%). Biology appeared in 38% of

the articles, and theology in 15%. In time period two, the social premise appeared in both articles, as did the biology premise. The tradition premise was in one, and the theology premise did not appear. The small sample of two articles makes these figures probably unrepresentative. (The lack of material in the second time period can be attributed to the defeat of the ERA and the subsequent lack of debate, and the perceived diminishing activity of the women's movement.)

In time period three, 83% of the articles had a biology premise and 67% tradition premise, an increase of 45 points from time period one for the biology, and a 25 point decrease for tradition. The use of the social premise went down 42 points from time period one to 50%. So, we see a shift of arguing primarily from social and traditional premises to primarily biological and traditional premises. The rhetoric in time period one was "...a social experiment of unprecedented magnitude and unimagined consequences" (Cropsey 1980:73) and "one of the reasons men fight is to keep their women out of the hands of the enemy" (McDonald 1975:96).

By time period three the rhetoric had changed to focus on biological ties between mothers and children, and "...that a woman should ignore what binds her to the newborn child or enjoins her to comfort men who cannot adequately be comforted by other men is a tug against nature. And that a man...should cease instinctively to gravitate to his

responsibility to protect the home is a violation of his nature" (Buckley August 1991:23).

Tactics. In the tactics category, 84% of the articles in time period one used scare and ad hominem tactics, 76% used red-herring, and 15% employed righteous rhetoric. In time period two, one each used scare and red-herring tactics, both used ad hominem, and none had righteous rhetoric. Again, the small sample of two articles may affect these findings. In time period three, 33% of the articles used scare tactics, 50% used red-herring, 67% used ad hominem, and none used righteous rhetoric. These figures indicate a substantial drop in the use of scare and red-herring tactics, a moderate decrease in the use of ad hominem tactics, and a total cessation of the use of righteous rhetoric.

Style. Similar shifts appeared in the styles over time. In time period one 46% of the articles used the emotional style, 92% the apocalyptic style, and 38% the educational style. In time period two each style was used in one of the two articles. In time period three, 17% used the emotional, 33% the apocalyptic style and 83% used the educational style. These percentages represent a drop for the emotional style, a dramatic drop in the apocalyptic style, and a substantial increase in the use of the educational style.

Predicted consequences. The predicted consequences included consideration of what sources of authority were used. The anti-feminists spent a great deal of time quoting one another. The anti-feminists tended to predict dire consequences for society and women if the ERA were passed and if women went in to combat/the military (e.g., a public outcry if women were killed or taken prisoner in war, women's presence in the military would reduce combat effectiveness and readiness).

Feminist Rhetoric

Premises. In period one, 80% of the articles used a pragmatic premise, and 13% used the social premise. In time period two, 71% used the pragmatic premise and none of the other premises. In the third period, 80% had the pragmatic premise, and no other premises were used. The consistency of usage of the pragmatic premise may be partially accounted for by the collapsing of the expediency and justice categories.

Tactics. In the tactics categories for time period one, 20% used ad hominem tactics, but no scare, red-herring or righteous rhetoric tactics were used in time period two or three.

Style. In the style section for the first period, 6% of the articles used an emotional style, 100% employed an educational style, and none used the apocalyptic style. In

time period two, 28% used an emotional style, all used an educational style, and none the apocalyptic style. The third period had 20% with an emotional style and 80% with an educational style. None used the apocalyptic style. So, there was a 14 point increase in the use of the emotional style from time period one, use of the educational style remained static, and there were no cases of using the apocalyptic style. The educational style is most often found in the general media which presented both sides of the issue, or in the feminist rhetoric which favored this style as a more logically appealing presentation of their position. Feminist rhetoric underwent substantially fewer changes than did anti-feminist rhetoric.

Predicted consequences. Feminists spent their time quoting military studies and sources which supported their contention that women were performing well in their current roles, and would likely perform well in combat roles. Feminists predicted positive consequences for the military if women were included fully in the services by virtue of a better qualified, more motivated fighting force, and soldiers who were less insubordinate and lost less time for disciplinary problems. Positive consequences were also predicted for women in general, based on the idea that full first-class citizenship could not be denied to women if they were equally at risk as men to die for their country.

Comparison

For the anti-feminists, the lack of material in the second time period suggests that conservative opposition to women in combat was only a superficial concern, used primarily to combat the ERA. This focus is, perhaps, indicative that conservative concern for women extended only to the middle-and upper-class white women whose fears were exploited, not to the poor women and women of color already in the military, or most likely to be in the military.

Women being killed was voiced as a concern, but when women actually died in hostile action it "hardly raised an eyebrow" (Copeland April 21 1991:A5). The concern over military readiness and effectiveness indicates a response to the high level of integration of women in a broad range of military duties, as well as an acknowledgement of military dependence upon its female personnel. Little apparent shift was evidenced in supporter rhetoric. One shift may have been from the argument of equal opportunity for women to one of military utilization of trained personnel regardless of sex. However, the two arguments are so closely aligned that it is difficult to claim a shift took place.

Nature of Arguments

Anti-Feminist Rhetoric

The analysis of anti-feminist rhetoric first focuses on Phyllis Schlafly's arguments and tactics, because of her apparently central role in shaping the rhetoric during time period one.

Phyllis Schlafly. Using Stop-ERA fact sheets and newsletters, e.g., The Phyllis Schlafly Report, Schlafly conducted a grassroots drive, appealing to housewives to network, write letters and otherwise actively work to persuade elected officials to vote against the ERA. Schlafly's appeal relied in part upon emotionally charged language geared toward eliciting fear and defensiveness, primarily on the part of "ordinary" housewives. In conjunction with using emotional rhetoric was the tactic of personalizing the threat, and therefore the fear it evoked, e.g., "your" daughter, "your" family, "your" husband.

Schlafly's anti-ERA rhetoric did not heavily rely upon the issue of women and combat in 1972, but by 1980 it had become one of her primary themes (the other being abortion), and by 1982 it became the focal point of her opposition to the ERA (Mansbridge 1986:86). As the ERA neared its deadline for ratification, lacking only three states to pass, Schlafly's rhetoric focused more and more upon the issue of women and combat, which apparently elicited the

most opposition. As Mottl (1980) noted, countermovements may focus on a single issue.

The anti-feminists and their rhetoric draw on various forms of political conservatism, although two beliefs consistently emerge: the importance of resisting change in the so-called natural relationship of the sexes, and the importance of preserving the traditional American family, often based on a religious hierarchy of authority (proceeding from God to Jesus to man to woman).

Harm to the family. The primary focus of anti-feminists in period three was upon mothers being separated from their children, presumably leaving the impression that this was the predominant situation. Of the articles which addressed the childcare problems of family separation, all focused upon the mother's deployment, not the father's. There were reports of fathers who left a wife expecting a baby or recently delivered, but the focus was on his serving his country, not leaving his children, as was the case with women.

This limited view draws on the societal perception that mothers are more important to the children and that women are more valued as parents, and that men are considered disposable in the service of their country. For example, "...that a woman should ignore what binds her to the newborn child or enjoins her to comfort men who cannot adequately be comforted by other men is a tug against nature. And that a

man...should cease instinctively to gravitate to his responsibility to protect the home is a violation of his nature" (Buckley August 1991:23).

The rhetoric concerning women in combat/the military resurfaced in late 1989 when the U.S. invaded Panama, and a female captain led her unit in an offensive maneuver. Since that time, the issue has received much attention and generated much debate, albeit short-lived.

Harm to society. The apocalyptic anti-feminist rhetoric in this study tended to fall into two general categories, one focusing primarily on social impact and the other primarily upon military impact. The social focus seems to be concerned with sexual promiscuity, or the demise of social institutions such as the family. The military focus seems to be concerned with the deterioration of the military. First harm to society and to women will be considered, and then harm to the military.

The social impact arguments generally proposed the decline (or fall) of society and hinted at unbridled sexual activity. Permitting women into the military would result in "epidemic pregnancy" and was a "social revolution and unparalleled decadence" (Huck 1978:38), the primary implication being one of total destruction of American society. More eloquently, William Buckley argued that women's presence in combat/the military would "lead us to jettison our traditions, abandon those [vital brakes]

against sheer licentiousness of conduct" (April 14 1978:487). And Schlafly threatened the decay of the United States as having women in combat is "counter to American morals, mores, and morale" (1977:102).

Harm to women. The emotional nature of the issue of women in combat/the military is illustrated in the use by anti-ERA groups of the spectre of young women (wives, mothers, daughters) huddling in foxholes, being raped by the enemy if captured, killing and being killed. One general media article reported Lt. General Hal Moore "retired in disgust in 1977 when...ordered to dilute recruiting standards, and assign women to duties that would endanger them in wartime" ("Where have all the young..." October 29 1990:50). An anti-feminist article asserted that "one of the reasons men fight is to keep their women out of the hands of the enemy" (McDonald 1975:96).

A reported anti-feminist is quoted in another general media magazine as saying, "We see this amendment as a weapon...to destroy the family structure. We fear it will lead to...the drafting of women into the Army..." ("Queens High" August 21 1972:8). In a women's magazine, Andrea Fordham states, "Most women I know do not consider it a deprivation not to be drafted or have to go to battle" ("Two women speak out..." 1976:123).

Schlafly frequently stated, with some minor variation in wording, that the ERA would "positively, absolutely and

without a shadow of a doubt make women subject to the military draft on the same basis with men" (Wohl 1974:57; The Phyllis Schlafly Report February 1972:1, May 1972:1 and November 1972:2). She also claims that exempting women from combat is "the way the overwhelming majority of American men and women want it" (Schlafly 1977:99).

Anti-feminists would start with Schlafly's premise that women will be drafted, and then assert a series of consequences. In a pamphlet LOOK OUT! They're planning to draft your daughter distributed to Tennessee legislators and those in other states, the author wrote, "The sort of lunatics who would inflict upon us a system which presumes that it makes no difference which spouse is sent to drive a tank...are seeing their insane notions on the road to being forced upon two hundred million Americans" (Schmitz n.d., p.12) [The article originally appeared in the November 1972 issue of American Opinion.]

Once the numbers of women in the military increased in the 1980s, the issue was what women should be allowed to do in the military. The anti-feminist rhetoric in time period three (1989-1991) resembles that of time period one, albeit less dramatic, though no less based on traditional concepts of women. The major change in opposition arguments is the reliance upon statements which claim the American people/society are/is not ready to accept women in combat/coming home in body bags, thus shifting the source of

opposition from the individual speaking to the society at large. For example, Lt. Lorrie Hayward is quoted as saying, "The American people are simply not ready for women coming home in body bags" (Lamar February 15 1988:27).

Anti-feminist arguments did not address the status of women already in the military, most of whom were poor, working-class or of color. First, their opposition focused on protecting white, middle-class young women from military service. Later, they focused on protecting the American public from seeing women harmed.

Harm to the military. Retired General Andrew Gatsis (quoted at length by Falwell) argued that "the presence of women will destroy [male] bonding" (Gatsis March 16 1987:30-31). Lawrence Patton McDonald exhibited the same style, when he labeled supporters of military equality as "...Communist, radical, revolutionary," and the concept as "disastrous...to the entire nation" (McDonald 1975:96). He further predicted that U.S. Navy vessels would become "floating bawdy houses" (p.38), an obvious destruction of our fighting forces. Susan L. M. Huck promised "military incapacity and lowered morale" (April 1978:24).

The importance of a "strong military" was implicit in many arguments in keeping with the conservative ideology underlying most anti-feminist rhetoric.

Feminist Rhetoric

The feminist rhetoric on the issue of women in combat/the military seems to be one of accentuate the positive, avoid the negative. While acknowledging the ERA might indeed mean the drafting of women into combat, feminists focus on those elements which would prevent most women from being in combat, such as being subject to the same physical standards as males when considered for combat duty. They also focus on emphasizing the benefits to be gained from military service, such as job training, educational, medical and retirement benefits, and employment preference for veterans. They also take pains to point out that ultimately Congress has the last word on exempting women from combat, and that not allowing women in combat positions is based on outdated concepts of front lines. With the advanced technical nature of modern warfare, it is no longer possible to define combat zones clearly, that all personnel are exposed to danger.

Early feminist arguments. When arguing for the ERA, feminists contend that it must be ratified for women to gain social equality. For instance, "The equal rights principle should be extended to women so that they may, at long last, assume their rightful place as full citizens" (Hale and Kanowitz November 1971:220). The major thrust of feminist rhetoric is a reaction or rebuttal to charges of the anti-feminists, increasingly it is in the arena defined by the

anti-feminists. The stance seemed to be one of support by default. The National Organization for Women (NOW) and other feminist organizations had members who opposed the Viet Nam War and the draft, so they never argued women *should* fight. The essence of their stance when communicating with one another was opposition to draft registration on principle, but for the inclusion of women if such a registration were implemented ("NOW opposes draft..." March 1980). The feminists focused on educating themselves, so the same newsletter also had information on the role of women in the military at the time, and addressed several of the points often used by the opposition in arguing against women being allowed into the military/combat, such as the educational quality of recruits, physiological differences, and combat effectiveness, citing service studies of the latter, and the results.

Feminist ideology focused on opportunities for women, while anti-feminists argued that the feminists were saddling women with responsibilities women should not have to shoulder. Feminists were unable to present any benefits which were not already supposedly available through existing legislation, such as equal employment opportunity and equal pay for equal work. These existing laws may have been ineffective, but the feminists were unable to state categorically that the ERA would be an improvement. Their failure to define the situation as one of opportunities

probably contributed to the success of anti-feminists in defining it negatively.

Mid 1980s feminist rhetoric: equal employment opportunity. In time period two (1983-1988), feminists focused on opportunities for women within the military. For example, "These exclusionary laws and policies [re: combat] do not provide safeguards, but instead serve only as barriers to promotion, and to policy-making roles" (Stiehm Fall 1984:118). Some claimed that military investigations of lesbian/homosexual activities disproportionately focused on women. For example, an article in the feminist newsletter The Longest Revolution, on Navy investigations claimed that the Navy had focused primarily on women, and more specifically those in non-traditional jobs (McAlister 1982/1983:1+). The typical argument was that this situation was indicative of the military's response to the changing status of women in the military, and was an indirect method of restricting the positions open to women (Riddiough May 1983:7).

The feminist rhetoric directed to influencing sister feminists often was different in tone and style from the pro-ERA rhetoric directed to influencing legislators and the general public. One NOW article which addressed military investigations of lesbian activity contained emotional rhetoric referring to military investigations as "witchhunts" and "military harassment" (Riddiough May

1983:7). A NOW representative is quoted as saying that the charges were "part of an evolving pattern in the U.S. Navy to eliminate women from ship duty" (McAlister 1982/1983:4). The authoritative source was a feminist representing the Center for Women's Studies and Services who argued that the investigations were not related to the competency or job performance of the women, but to their sexual preferences.

The 1990s: women at war. The feminists again were countering negative images -- in this case, that of motherless children. They presented facts such as, of the 17,500 families left without the custodial parent "about 1,200 were families with both parents in the Gulf" (Summers 1991:90-1), and of the remaining 16,300 families most were headed by single men.

The feminist argument is that as long as women are denied the opportunity to fulfill their responsibilities as citizens in the protection and defense of their country, they will be relegated to second-class citizenship. Forbidding women the right to assume a combat role excludes them from full citizenship and political participation, and relegates them to the proverbial back of the bus. As Eleanor Smeal said, "...now we have the worst of both worlds: we're in the military and we have no equality" (Thom 1991:85). Additionally, combat exclusion effectively closes an important career choice for women in the military. They may be allowed to join the military, but this option is

quite limited because women cannot attain the higher ranks which combat duty opens up to service personnel. For example, "[The laws] do little more than limit job and promotion opportunity...arbitrarily limiting [women] from some high-risk positions but not others" ("Women in arms" 1991:12).

Public Opinion

Opinion surveys/polls were located which related directly or in part to the issue of women in combat/the military (see Appendix A). Three were reader surveys which appeared in "women's magazines" (Glamour and McCall's), and one in a magazines for military women (Minerva).

A 1980 Gallup Poll (Table 1) was cited in an issue of Minerva (Stiehm Spring 1984:139-163). Glamour polled its readers twice, in April 1980 and reported the results in the June 1980 issue, and again in January 1982 and reported results in March 1982 (Tables 2 and 3). McCall's (in conjunction with Representative Patricia Schroeder) sponsored a telephone poll of 755 women in February 1990. The results are reported below (McCall's May 1990): 79% approved of women's serving in combat. Age was related to approval: those under 45 had a higher level of approval (83%) than those over 45. When the question was

personalized, 60% would approve of their daughters serving in a combat position.

Based on these polls, approval of women in combat apparently rose between the early 1980s and 1990. The polls in general consistently indicate a constant majority favored women participating in the draft and/or in combat positions.

In 1980, 59% said women should be drafted (Table 1). In 1982 69% of respondents said women should be drafted, and 60% said women should not be limited to noncombat duties (Table 2 and 3). By 1990 the McCall's survey showed greater support. In an April 1991 Tennessee survey, 51% supported the idea that women should serve in combat, and in August 1991 Newsweek reported 79% supported that proposal (see Tables 4 and 5). These findings contradict the claim by opponents of women in combat that the American public would not support females serving in combat roles.

Interpretation

Rhetoric changed over the twenty year study period, and a relationship exists between the changes in the rhetoric and the changes in society. When women serving in combat was a hypothetical consequence of the ERA, the arguments focused on women being physically, emotionally and mentally unsuitable for the job. More concentration was on how women would serve only to distract and demoralize male soldiers, and even endanger them. After women serving in combat

became a virtual reality with the invasion of Panama and the Persian Gulf conflict, arguments shifted to a focus on how women serving in combat was something for which the American public was unprepared, and how the American public was unable/unwilling to accept women being shipped home in body bags (Goldberg 1990, Gross 1990, Straw 1990). The focus went from one of the individual shortcomings of women in general to a focus on society's inadequate coping mechanisms for a radically different role for women. In fact, contrary to predictions by Beverly LaHaye, president of the New Right group Concerned Women for America, and other anti-feminists, there was no uproar of outrage reported in the media when eleven female soldiers were killed in Operation Desert Storm, five of them killed in hostile action (Copeland April 21 1991:A5). Two of those five were killed on February 25, 1991 in a SCUD attack on Saudi Arabia ("First women killed..." February 28 1991:A12).

Elements which do not appear in feminist rhetoric are those which were extensively utilized by anti-feminists, preservation of the family, religion justification, traditional gender arrangements, and protection of American society. Once anti-feminists appropriated these powerful icons, feminists lost access to them, and thus lost a powerful base from which to campaign, both for the ERA and for equality for military women.

CHAPTER V

Summary and Conclusions

Rhetorical analysis is useful as a sociological enterprise because it makes us aware of several things: who was making arguments about given events, what their arguments were, and when these arguments were being made. It also offers ways in which to interpret the events around which the arguments existed.

Hall's theory of ideology has proven suitable and useful to this study. Ideology played a pivotal role in what arguments were proffered by various participants, and these arguments subsequently determined the signification of events through the ideology employed. The ability to signify the event, in turn, determined in what arena the debate took place, and anti-feminists not only successfully co-opted signification, but they also successfully determined the arena, and thereby placed feminists in a defensive, reactive position.

The dominant position of anti-feminists was virtually unassailable by the feminists. In adopting an unemotional, educational approach to the debate the feminists ceded some very powerful rhetorical icons to the other side. Icons were more emotionally appealing in regard to women's roles than were the values claimed by the feminists, thereby relegating the arena to the anti-feminists. The feminists

relied on the values of independence and equality, which are values more closely associated with men in American society, while anti-feminists relied on values of nurturance and dependence of women, images which are virtually inseparable from the concept of women in American society.

Rhetoric which depicts women as fragile, delicate creatures in need of protection may perpetuate the sense of powerlessness which women feel, and facilitate the continuance of a system which limits their economic and social growth. Rhetoric which depicts women as a threat to our country's strength perpetuates a view of women which tolerates violence against women, as well as justifying continued economic and political discrimination.

These sorts of characterizations of women may result in women's expanding roles being viewed as such a threat to social stability and national security that political and economic discrimination and even physical violence against women, could be seen as justifiable because it keeps women "in their place," and thereby ensures social stability and a secure nation. And both kinds of rhetoric serve to perpetuate and widen the gulf which exists between men and women, as well as fostering the distrust and miscommunication which plagues societal relationships between the sexes. It would be difficult indeed to view and treat women as second-class citizens and second-rate humans

if they, too, are killing and being killed alongside the young men we send to war.

Summary

This study established what types of appeals dominated the debate and when these appeals appeared. The findings indicate that the appeals did alter over time. Some ways in which the debate altered are indicated by the ways in which the issue was presented. In the 1970s, the anti-feminists successfully signified female military service as a volatile issue, one that roused emotions. Anti-feminists addressed it most successfully because they were arguing from a traditional values stance, which was ultimately less threatening in political terms. The feminist arena, alternatively, was an argument from a change stance, which was much more threatening in political terms.

Anti-Feminist

By the 1980s, those anti-feminists who addressed the issue at all were doing so in terms of 1970s arguments. Rather than address the current status of women in the military, anti-feminists tended to focus on presenting old arguments rather than addressing new realities. By the 1990s, the anti-feminists were focusing on military readiness and mother-child separation, rather than female

inability in the arena of warfare. During the Persian Gulf conflict, the anti-feminists and general media focused upon mothers being separated from their children, and the impression was given that this was the predominant situation. In fact, of the 17,500 families left without the custodial parent "about 1,200 were families with both parents in the Gulf," (Summers 1991:90) and of the remaining 16,300 most were headed by single men, a point which received minimal attention in the media.

The sources uncovered in this study revealed only the one article (Summers 1991:90) which addressed this fact. Of the articles which addressed family separation, all focused upon the mother's deployment, not the father's. This limited view serves to reinforce the concept that mothers are more important to the children, and that women are more valued as parents than as defenders of their country. It also reinforces the concept that men are not valued as parents and are considered disposable in the service of their country.

In questioning military readiness, there was an intimation, covert and overt, that readiness was compromised because women were unsuited for warfare, physically, emotionally, and socially, by virtue of current motherhood, potential pregnancy, vulnerability in the field, and so on. Perhaps the basic anti-feminist strategy really did not alter very much after all.

In the area of tactics, anti-feminists substantially decreased use of the blatant scare and red-herring tactics of the earlier arguments, as well as decreasing their use of ad hominem tactics. While three of these errors were still in evidence, they were less frequently present and often less obvious than in earlier rhetoric. The increased use of motherhood and family as themes may have involved fallacies not addressed in this analysis.

The increased number of women in the military, as well as in other occupations, had an effect upon anti-feminist rhetoric. No longer could anti-feminists claim that the stay-at-home housewife and mother was the norm. Women had moved into the public arena as workers and politicians, and many of these women were conservative. Rather than risk failure with arguments which were effective in the past, anti-feminists seem to have bowed to expediency and taken a more moderate approach to their opposition of women serving in combat/the military.

While many conservative women working in the public arena would deny being feminists, they nonetheless embodied many of the characteristics commonly associated with feminism, and supported certain goals formerly supported only by feminists, such as equal pay for equal work, equal job opportunity, and national policies for childcare assistance. The changes required that anti-feminists modify their rhetoric to accommodate this new reality. They

were still guilty of misinformation, misquoting, and exaggerating or downplaying events as best suited their position (Wohl 1974; CACSW pamphlet 1972).

Feminist

Feminist rhetoric also underwent a shift in focus over time. Some of the shift occurred because during the battle over the ERA they often were responding to anti-feminist arguments. Initially the argument was made in terms of providing equal opportunity to women who wished to join the military, or were already in the service. The rhetoric also associated equal opportunity to engage in combat roles with the attainment of equal status as citizens in a democracy. This approach is consistent with the burgeoning women's rights movement and the demands being made at the time for expanded roles and rights for women.

By the 1980s, with a substantial increase in the number of women in the military, the focus shifted more to those women being allowed equal opportunity in regard to combat roles since promotion and career opportunity relied heavily upon one's performing in a combat position. The rhetoric was insistent that women's opportunities in the military were severely limited due to combat exclusion. At this time draft registration became an issue as well. Feminists, while opposed generally to the war machinery and concept of war, were nonetheless ideologically obligated to support the

registration of women on an equal basis with men. Feminists were in a somewhat contradictory position. On one hand they opposed war and the accoutrements thereof, but on the other supported the inclusion of women in the draft and in combat. This created a curious quandary which many feel was not satisfactorily resolved, and which may be viewed as an area of vulnerability within feminism which allowed opponents to point the finger of inconsistency at feminists.

By the 1990s, feminist rhetoric had come to focus almost exclusively upon the pragmatic argument. Given the substantial role women now played in the military, and the dependence of the military upon its female personnel, the rhetoric focused on the appropriate and logical utilization of that personnel. The rhetoric during the invasion of Panama and the Persian Gulf conflict became the rhetoric of rationality.

Feminists claimed it was irrational for the military to train women in positions and then not use them to their best advantage just because they were women. The situation with the female soldier who was a Panamanian specialist, but was left in the U.S. because she was female, is illustrative of the apparent irrationality of the military in its use of personnel. Cases which exemplify this point occurred when women trained male combat pilots, but were not allowed to fly in combat themselves, and when women flew refueling and cargo planes and rescue helicopters, which were much more

vulnerable targets, without the weaponry to protect themselves from attack. These situations are what the feminists pointed to when arguing for women to be allowed to participate in combat roles if they were qualified and willing.

Conclusions

An impact combat restrictions have upon the status of women is in the area of political power/leadership. Many past U.S. presidents, and other powerful political personalities, have been part of the military. Many were in combat and/or held high leadership ranks. There is an apparent reluctance to entrust the presidency to a woman, and this reluctance can in part be attributed to women's lack of experience in the military arena. The rationale behind this reluctance may very well be that since women have never experienced combat, how can their judgement in military matters be trusted? As the commander-in-chief, how can a woman defend this country in war, or wage war on others, when she has never participated in combat or led others into battle? Additionally, it is often through the connections one makes in the upper echelons of the military which afford a political candidate a measure of invaluable support. Such considerations are not limited to the presidency, but extend to other political offices as well.

As long as women are denied access to these types of experiences, their political access and success will be limited.

The rhetoric used during the past twenty years against women being allowed in combat parallels that used 100 years ago in the opposition to women's suffrage. The same images and arguments are being used now as then. Women were too weak, emotional, irrational, etc., to be allowed to vote, and now they are too weak, emotional, irrational, etc., to be allowed into combat, as the rhetoric reported in Aileen Kraditor's (1981) research illustrates.

One fallacious argument frequently committed by anti-feminists was the accusation that all women would be subject to combat if these positions were opened to women, or that feminists wanted all women to be sent into foxholes regardless of their qualifications. This scare tactic was a successful rhetorical tool, despite the fact that feminists made a point of stating that *qualified women* should be allowed to serve. No evidence was provided that the suggestion was ever made that women, or men, be indiscriminately assigned to positions for which they were unqualified. This fallacious argument was not the only one which appeared in this debate. Nor were the anti-feminists the only ones guilty of spurious arguments, unfounded accusations, and emotional appeals. The evidence does suggest, however, that the majority of these fallacious

rhetorical methods were committed by the anti-feminists. Martha Solomon's research of ERA rhetoric supports the conclusions of this study, indicating that feminists were put in a defensive posture early on in the debate, which persisted even after the ERA was defeated (1987:246).

The values and themes drawn on by each side differed, as well as the rhetoric. Anti-feminists drew on themes and values associated with God, country, motherhood, and apple pie. Feminists tended to draw on the values of independence, equality for all, and individual achievement as a means of evaluation rather than membership in a particular group. All these values and themes are important to most Americans, and are generally respected, but there seems to be restrictions on who can claim these icons, and for what cause. Anti-feminists' use of the "traditional values" icons apparently was not particularly frowned upon by those in powerful positions. Feminists' use of "revolutionary" icons associated with the inception of our nation apparently was not successful.

When addressing their audience through their own publications, the feminist rhetoric appeared to be somewhat more radical. When interviewed or quoted by the general media, feminist rhetoric took a decidedly more moderate tone. NOW was consistently more radical in its newsletters, while Ms. started out radical and gradually adopted a more moderate approach. Anti-feminist rhetoric remained fairly

consistent, regardless of venue. They usually exhibited the same approach in the general media as they did in their own publications.

The rhetoric surrounding the participation of women in combat/the military did indeed shift over time. Some of the reasons these shifts occurred are:

1) a change in the role of women in society at large. Women left the home in unprecedented numbers, entered universities in unprecedented numbers, and entered the work force in unprecedented numbers, including those occupations formerly reserved for men.

2) a change in the role of women in the military. With the advent of an all volunteer military, combined with the rescission of the 2% ceiling on women military personnel, women came to represent approximately 11% of all military personnel. This resulted in a formerly unimagined reliance upon female military personnel.

3) a shrinking pool of young males available to enter traditionally male occupation (Reskin and Roos 1990:302). Women of service age were abundant and proved to be better qualified than their male counterparts in terms of education. The expanded presence of women in the military resulted in a needed shift in the attitudes held concerning women's service roles.

Future Research

Future research in this area must certainly examine the extent to which changing societal norms, values and expectations contribute to the change in the rhetoric, as well as the extent to which rhetoric influences public policy, as well as public opinion. And there must be an inquiry into the reality of women's military service, both on an experiential level and a performance level, unsullied by the ideological biases which make much of current information suspect.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Chronology of Development in Women's Role in the Military
1972-1991.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Development</u>
1972	Senate resolves women should not be denied admission to military academies solely on grounds of sex
1973	Volunteer military implemented Military women given same dependency benefits as military men Military draft officially rescinded
1974	Viet Nam War winding down
1975	Military draft officially suspended Troops returning from Viet Nam House and Senate pass legislation mandating women's entrance to academies
1976	Women enter Air Force Academy WAF (Women in the Air Force) abolished
1980	Congress rules to exclude women from selective service registration Selective service registration reinstated
1981	Supreme Court upholds exclusion of women from selective service registration
1989	United States invaded Panama; Lt. Linda Bray led female troops in exchange of fire with enemy

- 1990 United States mobilizes forces to Saudi Arabia
 following Iraqi invasion of Kuwait
- 1991 United States launches attack on Iraqi forces in
 Kuwait
- 1/30/91 Army Spec. Melissa Rathbun-Nealy captured by Iraqi
 troops while on transport mission
- 2/25/91 First woman to fly helicopter in air assault into
 enemy territory carrying supplies into Iraq
- 2/27/91 Major Rhonda Cornum downed and captured in Iraq
 while on rescue mission
- 2/28/91 First female casualties in Gulf War - 2 killed in
 Iraqi Scud attack
- 4/16/91 Lt. Linda Bray (of Panama invasion) accepts
 medical discharge, reports cold shoulder from
 superiors and resentment from male soldiers
- 5/22/91 House passes measures to allow women Air Force and
 Navy pilots to fly combat missions
- 7/31/91 Senate votes to overturn ban of Air Force and Navy
 women from flying combat missions
- 2/9/92 First women assigned to combat frigate

APPENDIX B

Chronology of History of the Equal Rights Amendment
Legislative Action

<u>Year</u>	<u>Action</u>
1923	ERA introduced to Congress
1972	ERA passed by Congress and opened to ratification by states
1972/73	30 states ratified ERA
1974	3 states ratified
1975	1 state ratified
1977	1 state ratified
1979	7 year ratification deadline extended 3 years
1982	ERA fails to receive ratification
1983	ERA reintroduced to House of Representatives, failed passage by six votes.
1985	ERA reintroduced to House of Representatives.

APPENDIX C

Table 1. March 1980 Gallup Poll Data

Women should participate in the draft	59%
Men should register for the draft	83%
Women should register for the draft	56%

Source: Stiehm, Judith Hicks. "Public Opinion About Women and the Military", Minerva, Spring 1984. pp.139-163.

Table 2. Survey Data on Women and the Draft

#	Question	Yes	No	Not Sure
1	Should women be drafted?	69%	28%	3%
2	Should women be trained for combat?	33%	56%	11%
3	Are women capable of handling combat?	38%	50% ^a	12%
4	Would having women in the military create more problems than it would solve?	39% ^b	48%	13%
5	Would drafting women hurt or help passage of the ERA?	61% help	32% hurt	7%

^a Physically - 23%; Emotionally 27%

^b Expense -21%; Male resentment 18%

Source: "Women and the Draft," Glamour, June 1980. p.31.

Table 3. Survey Data on Women and the Military

#	Question	Yes	No
1	Should there be more servicewomen?	78%	22%
2	Should women be restricted to noncombat duties?	40%	60%
3	Is the military a good career for women?	72%	28%
4	Should women be drafted in times of crisis?	68%	32%

Source: "Women's Role in the Military," Glamour, March 1982. p.33.

Table 4. Poll Results on Women in Combat

Women in Combat	Overall	Women	Men
Support	51%	53.1%	50.4%
Oppose	37%	n/a	n/a

Source: Social Science Research Institute, UTK
The Knoxville New-Sentinel, April 14, 1991. p. A1 and A9.

Table 5. Gallup-Newsweek Poll Results

Question	Yes	No
Should women be in ground combat units?	52%	44%
Should women be assigned to combat?	79%	18%
Should young women participate in a draft?	50%	47%

Source: "Opinion Watch: On the Front Lines?", Newsweek, August 5, 1991. pp. 23 and 27.

APPENDIX D

Code Sheet

Title:
 Author:
 Source:
 Date: _____ Time Period: 1 2 3
 Length: Short (1pg <) _____ Medium (2-3 pgs) _____
 Long (3pgs. >) _____
 Topic:
 Type: Opinion _____ Interview _____ Research/Report _____ Book _____
 Article _____
 P.O.V.: Author _____ Interview _____ Subject _____ Poll _____ Fem. _____
 Cons. _____

Premise

theology _____
 biology _____
 social _____
 tradition _____
 pragmatic _____

Tactic

scare _____
 righteous rhetoric _____
 red-herring _____
 ad hominem _____

Style

emotional _____
 apocalyptic _____
 educational _____

Predicted Consequences:

negative _____
 positive _____
 individual _____
 military _____
 social _____
 economic _____

Quotations: _____

APPENDIX E

Table 6. Frequency of Arguments by Time Period

Time Periods							
1972-1982		1983-1988		1989-1991			
Anti	Pro	Anti	Pro	Anti	Pro		
							Total
<u>Premise</u>							
theology	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
biology	5	0	2	0	5	0	12
social	12	2	2	0	3	0	19
tradition	12	0	1	0	4	0	17
pragmatic	0	12	0	5	1	4	21
<u>Tactic</u>							
scare	11	0	1	0	2	0	14
red-herring	10	0	1	0	3	0	14
righteous	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
ad hominem	11	3	2	0	4	0	20
<u>Style</u>							
emotional	6	1	1	2	1	1	12
apocalyptic	12	0	1	0	2	0	15
educational	5	15	1	7	5	4	26

Table 7. Number of Anti-Feminist and Feminist Articles Analyzed by Time Period

Time Periods	Anti-Feminist Articles	Feminist Articles
1972 - 1982	13	15
1983 - 1988	2	7
1989 - 1991	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	21	27

VITA

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