

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

8 MAI 1945 UNIVERSITY / GUELMA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS & ENGLISH LANGUAGE

جامعة 8 ماي 1945 / قالمة

كلية الآداب و اللغات

قسم الآداب و اللغة الانجليزية



Women's Status in the United States Armed Forces

from Exclusion to Inclusion in the Battle Fields:

The Case of Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Language and Culture

BOARD OF EXAMINERS

| | | |
|---|--------|----------------------------------|
| Chairman: Dr. BOUDECHICHE Hamid | (MC.B) | University of 8 Mai 1945 Guelma |
| Supervisor: Mr. ZEMMOURI Layachi | (MA.A) | University of 8 Mai 1945- Guelma |
| Examiner: Mrs. ZEMITI Asma | (MA.A) | University of 8 Mai 1945- Guelma |

Submitted by:

ALLEG Djehina

KHARROUBI Amal

Supervised by:

Mr. ZEMMOURI Layachi

September 2020

Dedication

I dedicate this humble work to my mother who is my hero, my backbone, and my support
system

To my father who still considers me his little girl

My endless gratitude goes to my sister *Samira*, my two brothers *Housseem* and *Hemza*

To my niece *Melissa*, my nephew *Mohamed Ilyes*, and my brother in law *Fethi*

To my friends *Meriem* and *Chiraz*

To Mr. Aty Mourad for his encouragement and support

And finally, to every teacher, friend, colleague, who has been a part of this amazing journey.

Amal

Dedication

This Dissertation is dedicated to my sweet and loving mother who was always there for me since the day I opened my eyes in this life.

To my dear father and beloved brothers *Mohammed*, *Yahya* and *Youness* who always made me feel special in our family.

To my husband *Mohammed*, who was there for me during the preparation of this work.

To my best friends: *Meriem*, *Iman*, *Halla*, and *Abir*.

To my special teacher: Ms. Latifa BOUCHAREB.

To my second family “EXCLUSIVE”, who went with me through this five-year journey of the 8 May University 1945.

To all of my teachers who paved me the way for a better understanding of both knowledge and life. Noteworthy are Ms. Insaf TOULGUI and Mr. Layachi ZEMMOURI, who were the reason that made me pursue my studies here as an English student five years ago; Ms. Meriem SERHANI and Ms. Amel CHIHEB, who made our classes more joyful and interesting; Ms. Amina KRIBES, who was the reason that made me love civilization and choose it as a field of study for my dissertation.

To myself.

Djehina

Acknowledgments

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. We would like to start by thanking God for giving us the power to finish this work in such sensitive and difficult times. Also, we wish to express our gratitude to several people whose support, patience, and insights have assisted us in preparing and finalizing this project.

We would like to show our endless gratitude to our Supervisor Mr. ZEMMOURI Layachi. We would like to thank him for his commitment, patience, guidance, and availability at any time. Despite the fact that we were his students for only one year in our academic journey, he was one of our favorite teachers and a role model to follow in our carriers. It has been a privilege working under his supervision.

We would like to express our appreciation to the jury members for dedicating their time to examine and evaluate this dissertation. Their remarks are valuable and crucial to improve the content of this research.

Last but not Least, we would like to thank every single teacher in the Department of English for their efforts and encouragement.

Abstract

This dissertation explores the status of women in the US Armed Forces, and highlights their role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars. Women have always been part of the US Army whether officially or unofficially. Thus, accepting women as permanent members of the military raised serious debates throughout the years. This research chronicles the long history of women's involvement in the different wars that the United States fought. In addition, it covers the idea that masculinity is the core of the military foundation which makes it challenging for women to be accepted and given the same opportunities as their male counterparts in this field. Furthermore, the study follows the gradual integration of women within US Army lines by presenting the legal policies and laws that were passed by the US Congress and the Department of Defense from 1900 till 2015. The motive behind choosing Afghanistan and Iraq wars as a case study is the similarity of the circumstances that forced the United States to deploy women soldiers in combat zones despite the existence of the Combat Exclusion Policy that prohibits such action. In this regard, this study shows that American women soldiers always have the desire to serve their country even in harsh conditions. However, the success of these women in their mission is highly dependent on the attitudes of their male commanders and colleagues. Finally, even though women are not forced to join the armed forces, and always do so with their own will, they are more likely to suffer from the aftermath of wars and from inequality in the armed forces.

ملخص

تتناول هذه المذكرة وضع المرأة في القوات المسلحة الأمريكية، وتسلط الضوء على دورها في حربي أفغانستان والعراق. لطالما كانت النساء جزءاً من الجيش الأمريكي سواءً بشكل رسمي أو غير رسمي. لذلك أثار قبول النساء كمجنّدات دائّمت في الجيش جدلاً واسعاً على مرّ السنين. يعرض هذا البحث التاريخ الطويل لمشاركة المرأة في الحروب المختلفة التي خاضتها الولايات المتحدة. كما يتناول أولوية الذكورة في الجيش مما يجعل قبول النساء في هذا المجال وإعطائهنّ الفرص نفسها مثل نظرائهنّ من الرجال، أمراً صعباً للغاية. علاوة على ذلك، تتبّع الدراسة الاندماج التدريجي للمرأة ضمن صفوف الجيش الأمريكي من خلال عرض السياسات والقوانين التي أقرها الكونغرس الأمريكي ووزارة الدفاع من عام 1900 حتى عام 2015. أما الدافع وراء اختيار حربي أفغانستان والعراق كدراسة حالة فهو تشابه الظروف التي أجبرت الولايات المتحدة على نشر المجنّدات في مناطق القتال على الرغم من وجود سياسة إعفاء من القتال التي تحظر مثل هذا العمل. في هذا الصدد، تظهر هذه الدراسة أن المجنّدات الأمريكيات ترغبن دائماً في خدمة بلدهنّ حتى في الظروف القاسية، إلا أن نجاح هؤلاء النساء في مهمتهنّ يعتمد بشكل كبير على مواقف القادة والزملاء الذكور. أخيراً، على الرغم من أن النساء غير مجبرات على الانضمام إلى القوات المسلحة، ويفعلن ذلك دائماً بإرادتهنّ، فمن المرجح أن يعانين أكثر من عواقب مثل هذه الحروب وعدم المساواة في هذا المجال.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|----------|--|
| AAF | American Air Force |
| AEF | Army Expeditionary Force |
| AGF | Army Ground Forces |
| ANC | Army Nurse Corps |
| ANP | Afghan National Police |
| ARC | American Red Cross |
| ASC | Army Signal Corps |
| ASF | Army Service Forces |
| AVF | All-volunteer Force |
| AWS | Aircrafts Warning Service |
| CENTCOM | US Center of Command |
| COIN | Counterinsurgency |
| CPT | Civilian Pilot Training |
| CST | Culture Support Team |
| DACOWITS | Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Service |
| DAR | Daughters of the American Revolution |
| DoD | Department of Defense |
| ECP | Entry Control Points |
| ERA | Equal Rights Amendments |
| FET | Female Engagement Team |
| GAO | Government Accountability Office |
| IED | Improvised Explosive Devise |

| | |
|--------|---|
| ISAF | International Security Assistance Force |
| MAW | Marine Aviation Wing |
| MEF | Marine Expeditionary Force |
| MLG | Marine Logistics Group |
| MNF-W | Multinational Forces West |
| NNC | Navy Nurse Corps |
| OEF | Operation Enduring Freedom |
| OIF | Operation Iraqi Freedom |
| OPLAN | Operations Plan |
| PL | Public Law |
| PTSD | Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder |
| ROTC | Reserve Officer Training Corps |
| SOC | Special Operation Command |
| SOF | Special Operation Force |
| TCP | Traffic Control Points |
| UNSC | United Nation Security Council |
| UNSCOM | United Nation Special Commission |
| USA | United States of America |
| USAFA | United States Air Force Academy |
| USMC | United States Marine Corps |
| USNA | United States Naval Academy |
| USSC | United States Sanitary Commission |
| VA | Veterans Affairs |
| WAAC | Women Army Auxiliary Corps |

| | |
|-------|--|
| WAC | Women's Army Corps |
| WAFS | Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron |
| WASP | Women Airforce Service Pilots |
| WAVES | Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service |
| WFTD | Women's Flying Training Detachment |
| WMD | Weapons of Massive Destruction |
| WMP | Women's Military Participation |
| WWI | World War One |
| WWII | World War Two |

List of Tables

| | |
|--|----|
| Table 1. Time Line of Key Legislative and Policy Actions for Integration of Women in The Armed Services | 49 |
| Table 2. Chronology of Key Events in Operation Enduring Freedom..... | 64 |

List of Figures

| | | |
|------------------|---|----|
| Figure 1. | Afghanistan and its Surrounding Region | 63 |
| Figure 2. | Iraq | 68 |
| Figure 3. | Chronology of Events Relating to Operation Iraqi Freedom..... | 70 |
| Figure 4. | Cpl. Kimberly A. Martin, a lioness searches an Iraqi woman in Haditha, Iraq..... | 75 |
| Figure 5. | US Army Sgt. Leighmarie Lawless, a member of FET, talks with several children in a village in the Deh Yak district, Afghanistan. | 77 |
| Figure 6. | U.S. Army Sgt. Lidya Admounabdfany writes down information from a local woman, Afghanistan..... | 78 |

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter One: Women in the United States Armed Forces: History and Legacy | 6 |
| 1.1. Women in the Revolutionary War (1775-1783) | 6 |
| 1.2. Women in the Civil War (1861-1865) | 9 |
| 1.2.1. Female Nurses | 11 |
| 1.2.2. Female Combatants and Spies | 14 |
| 1.2.3. African American Women’s Participation | 15 |
| 1.3. Establishment of the Army and the Navy Nurse Corps: ANC and NNC..... | 17 |
| 1.3.1. The Army Nurse Corps (ANC) | 17 |
| 1.3.2. The Navy Nurse Corps (NNC) | 19 |
| 1.4. American Women in World War I (1914-1918) | 20 |
| 1.4.1. American Nurses in Europe | 21 |
| 1.4.2. First Women in the Navy | 24 |
| 1.4.3. The “Hello Girls” | 25 |
| 1.5. American Women in World War II (1939-1945) | 27 |
| 1.5.1. The Army Nurse Corps in World War II | 27 |
| 1.5.2. The Women’s Army Corps | 28 |
| 1.5.3. Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) | 31 |
| 1.5.4. Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES)..... | 32 |
| 1.6. Women in the US Military Post WWII to Present | 33 |
| Chapter Two: Gender Bias as a Block for Women’s Integration in the US Armed Forces | 36 |
| 2.1. Masculinity as the Core of the Military Culture | 37 |
| 2.2. Military Servicemen’ Attitudes towards Women’s Integration in the Armed Forces | 40 |
| 2.2.1. Cohesion and Group Effectiveness..... | 40 |
| 2.2.2. Attitudes toward Women’s Integration in the US Military | 42 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 2.3. Gender Bias and Women’s Discrimination in the Military Sphere | 44 |
| 2.4. Factors Influencing Women’s Integration in the Armed Forces..... | 45 |
| 2.4.1. Physical and Mental Factors | 46 |
| 2.4.2. Cultural and Religious Factors | 48 |
| 2.4.3. Socio-economic Factors | 48 |
| 2.5. The Congressional Laws and Policies for Women’s Integration in the US Armed Forces ... | 49 |
| 2.5.1. From 1900 - World War II | 52 |
| 2.5.2. From World War II – 1970 | 53 |
| 2.5.3. From 1970 – 2013 | 54 |
| 2.5.4. From 2013 - present day | 58 |
| Chapter Three: Women in Combat Zones: Afghanistan and Iraq Wars | 61 |
| 3.1. Operation Enduring Freedom: OED | 61 |
| 3.2. Operation Iraqi Freedom: OIF | 65 |
| 3.3. Women in Combat Zones: Gendering the Counterinsurgency | 72 |
| 3.3.1. Lioness Program in Iraq | 72 |
| 3.3.2. Female Engagement Team (FET)..... | 76 |
| 3.3.3. Assessment of the Effectiveness of the Lioness and FET Programs | 79 |
| 3.3.4. Culture Support Team Program: CST | 81 |
| 3.4. Postwar Experience for Female Veterans in Afghanistan and Iraq | 82 |
| Conclusion | 87 |
| Bibliography | 91 |

Introduction

Stories of women warriors have been there since the beginning of history. In every corner of the world, some exceptional women decided to leave their comfort zone, defy social norms, and join men in wars. Some of their experiences have survived time, and what they did have echoed through centuries. When the United States came as one nation both women and men contributed in gaining independence from the British rule. Since the Revolutionary War, women never hesitated to take actions and serve in the army whether officially or unofficially. The presence of women in the US army was not accepted at first. However, with time, US Army leaders started to realize the necessity of having females within army lines.

The integration of women in the US Armed Forces was not a smooth and a quick process. Neither society nor army officials believed that a woman could survive the hostilities of a war, and prove to be useful in the battlefield. The establishment of the Army Nurse Corps (ANC) in 1901 marked the first step for women to officially become a part of the army. During the two World Wars women were called to join US troops in Europe. The number of military women increased in almost every branch of the army. They served mainly in the health care and communication sectors where they demonstrated a great deal of commitment, and professionalism. Following the end of World War Two, women became permanent member of the US Armed Forces with the passing of Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948. The act set a limit to the number of women that can serve and defined their roles.

One of the main reasons that formed obstacles for women's participation in the US Army is gender bias. This latter is what determines the roles of men and women within the society, and holds the belief that the military institution is created for male soldiers rather than females. Nevertheless, gender bias is not the only notion that influences women's status in the military; other physical, mental and social differences would have more impact on the

subject matter whether positively or negatively. It may hinder the process of women joining the army and holding different positions of the work, or pave the way for female soldiers to have more chances to be equally treated as men. Furthermore, throughout the American history, the successive US governments passed many laws and devised many policies for the gradual integration of women in the US Armed Forces and changed their status from non-combatant soldiers to combatant ones.

The 9/11 attacks against the World Trade Center in New York city and the Pentagon in Washington DC dragged the United States in a new kind of war, “War against Terror”. In 2001 and after only one month from the attacks, the United States initiated Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) to eliminate Al Qaeda, terrorist network responsible for the attacks, and the Taliban ruling regime in Afghanistan. Two years later, Iraq was suspected of possessing Weapons of Massive Destruction and helping Afghanistan. Therefore, and under the Preemptive Strikes Policy, the United States invaded Iraq in 2003 launching Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF). This latter aimed at disarming Iraq and ending Saddam Hussein’s regime.

In both countries, cultural and religious sensitivities made it difficult and even impossible for US male soldiers and the coalition forces to interact with large factions in both societies mainly women and children. In an attempt to bridge the gap between the US army and Afghan and Iraqi women, special teams of US military servicewomen were called to serve in both countries.

The cornerstone of this research is to tackle the integration of women in the United States Armed Forces. In his article *The Integration of Women in the U.S. Military*, Lieutenant Colonel Arnaud Planiol presents a careful study on the most important issues concerning the subject matter. He carries out his search using historical documentations and articles, and conducts several interviews with the US servicemen around October 2015. Furthermore,

Planiol argues that though the results were split into with and against this integration, the military service was trying to shift the focus from gendered issue to performance and skill. Therefore, Planiol also emphasizes the challenges women face for joining the army, and explains the stages they went through during history to overcome those challenges.

Within the same scope, Elin Gustavsen, in her article *Equal Treatment or Equal Opportunity? Male Attitudes towards Women in the Norwegian and US Armed Forces*, presents a qualitative research that investigates how military men perceive the inclusion of women in the armed forces. Thus, she demonstrates her study with two different regions -the Norwegian and the US Armed Forces- in which she interviews 34 men as a whole from both regions. As a result, Gustavsen finds out that the servicemen from both countries do not deny the value and importance of women's engagement in the military section. In addition, they agree that women should have equal treatment and opportunities; however, each group perceives it from different perspectives which are related to specific topics because of their different cultural backgrounds. Although the sample she used may seem small, it still provides us with a general understanding of how men perceive women in combat ground in relation to their culture.

Women's joining the military sphere has always been a problematic issue all over the world; however, the US Secretary of Defense announced in January 2013 that "from 2016, women will be allowed to serve in ground-combat roles in the US Armed Forces." (King 4). In his article *Women in Combat*, Anthony King holds the view that western democracies started changing their perspectives about the involvement of women within the armed forces. He goes further and provides a study that compares several experiences from different regions in which women are integrated in the combat ground. In a nutshell, King concludes that women should not be prevented from joining the army based on their gender, rather, it should be based on their competence and performance in real life combats.

This research paper examines one of the most controversial topics in the US military studies, women's status in the US Armed Forces. It aims at providing a comprehensive look about the subject matter by examining the history of women's occupation in the US military sphere as well as the change in their roles from non-combatant duties to their involvement in more combatant roles. Moreover, this work discusses the different challenges that hindered women's full contribution, in addition to the different outcomes of women's engagement in field operations.

To further investigate the participation of women in the US Army, it is necessary to answer these questions: How did women start joining the army? Should women be employed in the military service? Do women have equal opportunities to join the US Army? How women are treated in the different sectors of the US Armed Forces? Should women be equal to men when it comes to military duties and involvement in the combat? How men and women are trained in the army? How do men and women influence each other when working in the same military environment? What are males' attitudes towards female colleagues in the army? How does the feminist movement perceive the view of women joining the army? How does women's military service affect the femininity and masculinity of both genders? What are the different policies regarding women's involvement in the military forces? What is the current status of women in the US Armed Forces?

The dissertation includes three chapters; the first deals with the historical evolution of women in the US Armed Forces, and their role in the different wars that marked the American history. The second chapter looks further into the struggles and blocks that hindered women enrolment and participation in the military forces, in addition to the laws and policies that contributed in developing their full integration. The third chapter is the core of analysis in this work where the inclusion of women in the battlefield is put into question.

To dig deep into the issue of women's participation in the US Military, a case study of US women soldiers' involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq wars have been analyzed in the third chapter. The case study first reveals the circumstances that led to both wars. Second, it highlights the difficulties that forced the US Army to call for the service of females in a war zone. Furthermore, the study sheds light on the Lioness Team in Iraq and the Female Engagement Team in Afghanistan and their different roles. In order to win the hearts and minds of Iraqi and Afghan women, US women soldiers operated in war zones and even compromised their lives to serve their country.

The success of the Lioness Team and the Female Engagement Team (FET) has been a matter of research since their involvement. Several scholars assessed the effectiveness of the women teams and provided different opinions. Some argue that both programs were successful in engaging with Iraqi and Afghan women. Due to their efforts the ambiguity that surrounded the soft gender in both societies was removed. Nevertheless, other studies show that the Lioness Program was more successful than the Female Engagement Team Program in its mission. They clarified that the lack of success of the FETs was due to their lack of training, their lack of authority to take decisions, and the attitudes of their commanders towards them.

This research examines the issue of women's status in the US Military Forces. Hence, the qualitative method is used for the construction of this dissertation because it provides the opportunity to explore different descriptions, illustrations, and critical thoughts which are discussed by experts concerning the subject matter. Moreover, it is necessary to make use of the historical analysis that encloses the chronological progress of women's participation in the US Army.

Chapter One

Women in the United States Armed Forces: History and Legacy

Since the dawn of history, women have always been a part of the military. The ways in which women stood side by side with men in wars made them a necessary agent in such difficult times. American women, like many other women around the world, have shown the courage and the capacity to participate in all the wars that the nation fought. This introductory chapter is dedicated to trace the long history of women in the United States Armed Forces since the Revolutionary War that led to the nation's independence until the present day. This chapter also explores the different forms of women's participation during their service. Moreover, the chapter provides statistics about the number of women who served in the different branches of the US Armed Forces at different points in time, and reveals the treatment they received when the country was no longer in need of their service. Furthermore, it examines the gradual integration of women in the US military from serving only *with* the army to being included *in* the army.

1.1. Women in the Revolutionary War (1775-1783)

American history is full of stories about the heroic experiences of women in wars. They have served in the army all over the globe. According to M.C Devilbiss, "the incorporation of women into the US Armed Forces has been an evolutionary process" (1). Despite their constant presence in the battlefield, women's involvement in the war usually took many forms that were not necessarily combatant. Many historians summarized women's roles in war as: "espionage agents, cooks, laundresses, military nurses and matron and boarding house landladies" (1).

During the eighteenth century America, the traditional image of women as housewives was of a paramount importance. Since their childhood, young women were raised to become wives, mothers, and act like ladies (Zeinert 8). In such constraining atmosphere, any attempt

to perform other duties rather than those enlisted by the society created a threat to a woman's reputation. With the beginning of the Revolutionary War, women's traditional duties "became even more significant ... as men were called to join the fight for independence, leaving their wives and daughters at home" (Williams 1).

When talking about women's participation in wars in the American history, it is necessary to discuss women's role in the American Revolution. Also called United States War of Independence or American Revolutionary War, (1775–1783), "insurrection by which 13 of Great Britain's North American colonies won political independence and went on to form the United States of America (Britannica Encyclopedia). Any call for a war is generally directed to men, the superior sex, with a strong physical ability. However, the conflict led women to rethink their position in the society, and what they can do to help men. Protecting their homes and families became a circulating idea in the minds of many women, as Williams emphasizes saying that:

This barrier did not succeed in holding some women, though, as a brave number dared to venture outside of the domestic arena into the world of men. Driven by a variety of motives, ranging from a desire to prove their patriotic worth to an urge to reform societal demands, they left their predestined roles and followed the soldiers into a harsh reality of pain and sacrifice (Williams 1).

For women, the idea of patriotism and contribution during the War of Revolution extended to include many forms rather than just holding arms. For instance, "No Taxation without Representation" became a call for women too. Before the physical hostilities between the two parties of the war, boycotting the British goods was seen as one of the most important strategies to weaken to the British power in the colonies (Zeinert 13). Consequently, many women and especially housewives suffered from a shortage in the supplies that they needed daily. This fact drove a number of strong females to start their own companies in order to

produce the boycotted goods. Through such actions, they “demonstrate not only women’s willingness to participate in the war of independence, but also the sacrifices they endured to do so” (Williams 6).

After the beginning of combats, the number of men soldiers was insufficient. Men fighting in the frontlines made them an easy target to diseases and death. With such unfortunate circumstances, women’s help and participation became necessity. However, the exact nature and scope of such participation was not clearly defined. For many women, the idea of a female soldier was an intimidating one. In such uncomfortable reality many women “disguised themselves well enough to be enlisted in the army as males” (Treadwell 3). However, such involvement did not result in the establishment of an organized corps for women in the armed forces.

For much of the war, women’s participation and aid was mainly motivated by the need for women’s skills, and men’s rejection to perform certain roles and duties such as “nursing, clerking, or cleaning” (Katz 4). In 1775, General George Washington, for instance, “sponsored a bill that created a hospital department for the army and allowed it to pay civilian nurses approximately twenty-five cents a day” (4). Soon as the war continued, nearly 20.000 women joined the Continental Army, mostly as nurses. Similarly, among the groups of women that provided a remarkable help to the army was “The Women of the Army”, labelled by General Washington. This group performed tasks such as: washing and preparing clothes for soldiers, and cooking meals. Their presence in the frontlines “gave a domestic touch to the otherwise grueling nature of war” (Williams 13).

With all the hardships that women underwent during the Revolutionary War, they received a humble recognition from the military institution. According to Treadwell, the sacrifices of thousands of women went unrecorded to the degree that no single woman was enlisted as a member of the armed forces (4). Women hid their gender because of the

stereotypes about a women's job that governed the society back then. Consequently, most of their achievements went invisible in comparison to those of men.

What women did -whether in the home front or in the front lines- was heroic and defied the norms of the society. When discussing the legal framework under which women operated during the war, Devilbiss states that women maintained their civilian status and did not hold any military rank (1). For Katz, "the role of women in the military was shaped by customs, not by law". With the absence of a law that permits women to enroll in the armed forces, by the end of the war most women who fought went back home to their original jobs as housewives, the fact that enforces the idea that "women served with, and not in the army", or in other words, they have served unofficially. Whether women wanted the existence of such law or not, their contributions were mostly the result of a strong sense of patriotism which can be equal to that of men (2-5).

1.2. Women in the Civil War (1861-1865)

The American Civil War was a turning point in the nation's history. After the colonies won their independence from the British domination, the newly free states witnessed a rapid growth in all aspects of life. In "Women in the Civil War", Mary Elizabeth Massey states that, "the thirty years preceding the Civil War were marked by the nation's physical growth and expansion, economic diversification, democratic advancement, intellectual progress, and tragic sectional hostility" (3). With the different economic systems, and the different demographic composition, the country became divided into the "North" which was mainly industrial, and the "South" dominated by an agricultural system.

The early nineteenth century brought with it "sweeping changes that transformed the American society" (Frank 3). The spread of the enlightenment doctrine of human rights and the religious awakening led to the rise of a new movement in the north called "Abolitionism". One of its prominent supporters, William Lloyd Garrison "initiated a new era in the

abolitionist movement with the publication of *The Liberator*” in 1831 (3). As its name suggests, the main goal of the movement was to end slavery that swept the American South. Furthermore, a movement of religious reforms emerged as many revivalists began preaching the American society about the importance of creating a strong relationship with god (4). Influenced by these two very important movements, many people started realizing the unhuman nature of slavery and began calling for its abolishment.

With the rise of the previous idea of ending the existence of slavery in America, the southern states condemned these new demands by the North since the whole southern economic system depends on slave labor. Thoughts of secession from the states’ union became a circulating idea in the south, and by 1861 with many southern states seceding, the conflict turned into a Civil War between the Union Army of the North and the Confederate Army of the South.

Like the Revolutionary War, the Civil War was not a men’s fight only but a women’s too. When writing about women in the Civil War, DeAnne Blanton and Lauren C. Wike argue that “men were not the only ones to march off to war. Women bore arms and charged into battle, too, women lived in germ-ridden camps, languished in appalling prisons, and died miserably, but honorably, for their country and their cause just as men” (1). At first, many women saw the war as a temporary conflict that will end soon enough between the two camps. However, it was not the case, and tension escalated to physical hostilities which later on caused the loss of millions of lives.

Throughout their lives, women in both parts of the country had different life styles and upbringing; however, their reaction to the war was similar. To emphasize this point, Massey declares that “although conditioned in contrasting environment and schooled in opposing philosophies, women stepped as defenders of their respective causes” (25). With the outbreak of the war, women on both theaters sought to contribute in every way possible to

serve their community. From the start “women fought for their country from the engagement at Blackburn Ford, Virginia, on July 18, 1861, to the surrender of the last confederate army” (Blanton and Wike 8).

When the war started both sides lacked preparation, and suffered a shortage in the number of soldiers. During this time, the majority of women, especially in the south started “to encourage men to enlist in the army” (Massey 30). Sarah Emma Edmonds, a federal nurse and a spy, described southern women as “the best recruiting officers” (30), because of their persuasive power over their husbands, brothers, and sons. Additionally, such power was not invested in convincing men only to join the fight but also it extended to volunteering in the troops if the men in the family were unable or reluctant.

To provide supplies and food for men in the front lines during the Civil War, thousands of women worked for countless hours. In addition to the provision of goods, one of the most significant contributions of women during the Civil War was in the health sector (Michaels 2).

1.2.1. Female Nurses

With the continuous fight, hundreds of soldiers fell victims of diseases, wounds, and injuries. At first, many military officials refused the involvement of women in war under any form, claiming that the images of wounded naked soldiers were inappropriate for women to see. As the number of casualties rose, their attitudes changed and demands for health care labor increased. For most of the soldiers, taking care of the sick and injured posed a potential difficulty and risk for their lives. In contrast, hundreds of women did not hesitate to take that burden on their shoulders (Devilibiss 2).

To ensure the presence of the necessary health care, both parties followed different strategies, but improvements were more successful in the North with the foundation of the

Sanitary Commission (SC) in 1861. According to United States Sanitary Commission Records:

The United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) 1861-1878, was a civilian organization authorized by the United States government to provide medical and sanitary assistance to the Union volunteer forces during the United States Civil War ... A Commission of Inquiry and Advice in respect of the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces” to work in collaboration with the War Department and Medical Bureau, as ordered by the Secretary of War on June 9, 1861, and approved by President Lincoln on June 13 (4).

The establishment of USSC ameliorated the health care conditions in the northern camps. Among the first procedures taken by USSC were the recruitment and training of 6000 nurses to work in camps with the army. Also, women were permitted to turn many ships that were used to bring union soldiers from the South into hospitals to treat the sick and wounded (Devilibiss 2). To facilitate its work, the USSC founded a statistical bureau in the late 1861. The main purpose of this branch was “to compile statistics on the sanitary condition and medical treatment of soldiers as a basis for recommendations to the government” (United States Sanitary Commission Records 10). Furthermore, the rapidly increasing numbers of death among soldiers due to diseases like yellow fever, malaria, and typhoid fever, “charged the USSC to promote hygiene in the army camps” (Goodman 37).

The success of the nursing corps was the outcome of the efforts of many women like Florence Nightingale and Dorothea Dix. Nightingale was a very famous pioneer in the field of nursing due to her achievements in the Crimean War (1854-1856). Her guidelines concerning how to maintain a healthy home, provided the necessary bases to train nurses in the war. Influenced by Nightingale’s work, Dorothea Dix, “a reformer of care of the mentally ill and a founder of hospitals” (37), persuaded the Surgeon General of the United States about

the necessity of forming an Army Nursing Corps composed of female volunteers. Soon, the War Department appointed Dix to become the Superintendent of the United States Army Nurses (37).

In the South, things were less organized. The very conservative upbringing of female drove many to think that it is not a woman's job to care for the men in the war. The chaotic situation in the area and the constant displacement of families because of the northern invasion played a major role in the lack of health care labor. The labor shortage continued, however many nun sister organizations stepped forward to help the sick and injured confederate and union soldiers. Holy Cross Sisters, Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy were among the many religious societies that provided care during the war. (38)

One of the most famous nurses during the Civil War was Clara Barton. According to Goodman, "her first personal encounter with war occurred on April 19, 1861 when she treated the wounded Union soldiers who came to a train station in Washington" (39). After her father's death, she decided to become a full-time nurse in the battlefield. Throughout the war, she witnessed many battles and served as a relief agent and a nurse at the same time. When the war ended Barton oriented her efforts to help women find their missing husbands, sons, fathers. By conducting interviews with soldiers, she managed to locate many missing persons and the graves of hundreds of victims. The contributions of Barton continued through her foundation of the American Association of the Red Cross and becoming its first president.

What women did as nurses during the war did not grant them any military status or rank. Dorothea Dix offered the army a trained staff of nurses without any charges. Similarly, Clara Barton cured and saved the lives of thousands for free; in addition, she raised supplies for the army. It is true that an official recognition was not given to any of these women, however the war changed the mentality of many officials and the society about what a woman can endure.

1.2.2. Female Combatants and Spies

The Civil War brought no changes when it comes to who is allowed to enlist in the army and who is not. Like the Revolutionary War, females were not permitted to join the military even if they wished to. By the beginning of the war, many women decided to defy social norms and participate in the army, not as females but as males. Hundreds of women used to hide their gender by wearing men clothes and enlisting under males' names (Frank 23). What women did was motivated by their desire to join their loved ones in camps, their willingness to embark in an adventure, or simply their sense of patriotism (25).

Choosing to fight under a male's name, women soldiers lost the opportunity to be appreciated and remembered after the war. Most of women were not recognized by their male comrades unless if they were wounded during the battles. According to Massey, in 1861, "a female corporal served in the western theater in the first Kansas Infantry under the alias Alfred J Luther, was among the 873 Union soldiers wounded on August 10, 1861 at the battle of Wilson's Creek" (10). Following the battle, many male Union soldiers testified that corporal Luther demonstrated a remarkable courage and devotion during the fight (10).

In addition to those who fought in combats, women also took the role of spies either for the Union Army or for the Confederate one. Lisa Tendrich Frank states that "before either side conscripted troops, men with stanch convictions volunteered to fight. Their daughters, sisters, and wives emerged as spies" (25). The reliance on spies varied from the North to the South. Due to the great number of soldiers in the North, Union Generals relied less on scouts unlike the South which sought more for the help of informants because of the decreasing number of soldiers (McInerney 33). One of the main characteristics that was shared by women spies is their educational level. The great majority were well-educated and belonged to an aristocratic social class (Frank 26).

Women spies had the advantage of using “class, femininity, and gender roles to drastically shorten the war” (McInerny 33). Among the prominent female spies that succeeded in taking the previous advantage is Elisabeth Van Lew. She was the daughter of a very wealthy family in the North. Van Lew and her family went to live in Richmond, Virginia when she was just a little girl. Because of their status the Van Lew’s blended easily with the elites of the area. Like every rich family in the South, they had slave labor in their properties; however, they did not tolerate the ways in which the slaves were treated. Elisabeth believed in the idea of abolishing slavery and with time she convinced her entire family to aid the Union Army (34). In her memoir Elisabeth said:

If I am entitled to the name of ‘Spy’ because I was in the secret service, I accept it willingly; but it will hereafter have to my mind a high and honorable signification.

For my loyalty to my country I have two beautiful names—here I am called, ‘Traitor,’ farther North a ‘spy’—instead of the honored name of ‘Faithful’ (qtd. in McInerny 34).

1.2.3. African American Women’s Participation

Being medical care workers, spying for Union officials, were not the contributions of white women only but of black women also. After the outbreak of the war, many African American women volunteered to help the Union army in its mission. The Civil War provided an opportunity for the African American community to escape the atrocities that they witnessed in the south, and gave them hope for a better and free life in the North. In “African American Women and Espionage in the Civil War”, Theresa McDevitt states that “when the war began most African Americans were eager to aid the Union cause which they realized would lead to the abolition of slavery. Perhaps 700,000 of the nearly four million held in slavery prior to the war escaped to Union lines” (255).

One of the many African American women who rushed to take part in the war was Harriet Tubman. Due to her strong will and commitment, Harriet was able to serve in the Union army as a nurse, scout, and a spy for three years. She worked under the command of Colonel James Montgomery, who was able to lead successful raids on the confederate strongholds including ammunition depots and supply warehouses because of her valuable intelligence (Forbes 47). Tubman was a strong believer in the Union cause and wanted to aid her community in every way possible. In addition to her work in the army, she assisted more than three hundred of the enslaved African Americans who were still working in the South to flee through the Underground Railroad.

Tubman became an inspirational figure to her community, and her heroic actions echoed throughout the United States. Nearly 400 black men enlisted the United States Colored Troops (USCT) after being freed. Women, on the other hand, had their share of help as they cooked for the soldiers, washed their clothes and nursed the sick ones. When the war ended, Tubman was not awarded a government pension for her service during the war. In the thirty years after the war she petitioned to claim 1800 dollars for her service, however her petition was rejected by government officials (48-49).

Another example of an African American woman who served during the war is Mary Elisabeth Bowser. Elisabeth grew up a slave in Richmond, Virginia, as a servant in the household of John Van Lew, the father of the famous Southern white spy Elisabeth Van Lew (McDevitt 257). After his death Bowser was freed and went to a school in Philadelphia. During the war, she returned to Richmond to work as a spy for the Union army through her servitude in the Southern White House. Bowser was a very intelligent woman and had a photographic memory. With these abilities she was able to read confident documents, and to overhear the conversations that Jefferson Davis, the confederate president, had with his

officials. Bowser became one of the highest placed and most productive espionage agents of the Civil War (257).

1.3. Establishment of the Army and the Navy Nurse Corps: ANC and NNC

During the previous wars, it became evident that women were pioneers when it comes to health care and good sanitary conditions. The Civil War made it clear that women were a necessary agent in the battles. Accepting the presence of women in the army camps became easy, the fact that paved the way for the establishment of a permanent nurse corps.

1.3.1. The Army Nurse Corps (ANC)

In 1898, the US engaged in another conflict, but this time with an exterior enemy, Spain (Titherington 50). The origins of the conflict dates back to 1890s, with Cuba trying to gain its independence from Spain. Due to many riots in the region, the US interests in the island were threatened because of the Spanish control, driving the US president William McKinley to send USS Maine to Havana in attempt to protect US citizens there. However, the Maine sank due to an explosion resulting in 266 dead men, and a declaration from the United States to start a war with Spain (Govea 7-8).

The war lasted for ten weeks between the two countries, and the battles took place in many countries like Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. As hundreds of men served in the army, hundreds of women did as well. With the poor health care conditions that characterized any war camps, the need for more labor in the health sector brought thousands of women in the front. In contrast to nurses who served in the Civil War, those who worked during the Spanish-American War were highly trained. The skilled nurses were mainly graduate of the newly established nursing schools in the US. Lorreta P. Higgins states that “in 1873, the first nursing school had been established in the United States. Bellevue Hospital Training School was the first American nursing school based on Florence Nightingale doctrines” (472).

In the army's camps, men were victims of death because of diseases like the typhoid epidemic (472). Consequently, women's skills to provide care for the sick were highly demanded. Shortly, at the Surgeon General request, "the congress passed a bill to appoint women nurses under contract at the rate of 30\$ per month and daily ration" (Feller and Moore 4). The recruitment of nurses became the job of Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee, Vice President of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). Similar to Dorothea Dix, Newcomb "was entrusted with the responsibility of passing on qualification of nurses who sought appointment as nurses" (*The Army Nurse* 11). To ensure a high level of professionalism, only nursing schools graduates were chosen to serve (11).

Within the first two weeks, a number of 12.000 nurses volunteered. One example of these volunteers is Anna Maxwell. In 1880, Anna graduated from Boston Hospital School of Nursing. Her good qualifications allowed her to be accepted as a war nurse. Due to her commitment, Maxwell succeeded in organizing supplies and equipment, along with guiding 160 nurses in the Sternberg Field Hospital at camp Thomas, Georgia. Their efforts provided health care for hundreds of men who fell ill because of typhoid fever and malaria (Higgins 473). Another nurse who served in a field hospital in Coamo, Puerto Rico, described the situation saying that:

The nurses quartered in an old Spanish house in Coamo located in a banana grove. We drove to camp in mule ambulances. Put in long hours...Sick men from 3rd Wisconsin, 16th Pennsylvania, and 3rd Kentucky Regiments cared for by Army Nurses. All water for any purpose hauled in barrels from a spring more than a mile away. Tents crowded, typhoid fever, dysentery and diarrhea, conditions bad, no ice, no diet kitchen (qtd. in Feller and Moore 5).

On August 12,1898 a peace treaty was signed between the US and Spain marking the end of the war. As a result, the number of nurses decreased from 12.000 to 1563 nurses on

duty by September 15, 1898 (6). The war resulted in fifteen deaths among nurses mainly due to typhoid and yellow fever. In the same month, the General Surgeon “established a Nurse Corps Division office to direct and coordinate the efforts of military nursing. Dr. McGee was appointed Acting Assistant Surgeon and placed in charge” (6). To recognize the efforts of the nurses the Department of War passed the first regulations to govern the work of the nurses including their duties, payment and other privileges (6).

Even with the establishment of a Nurse Corps Division, administrative problems continued to exist since a number of the contract nurses were paid by the army and under military regulations, while others operated under private source (*The Army Nurses* 12). To avoid such confusion, it was necessary to create a unified corps under a military control. To accomplish the task, in 1901, the congress passed a bill to establish the Army Nurse Corps. According to Treadwell, “the ANC was a military organization, but without army rank, officer status, equal pay, or army benefits such as retirement and veteran’s rights” (6). At peace time, the number of contract nurses continued to drop reaching 202 nurses on active duty in 1901. Dita H. Kinney, a former contract nurse, was officially appointed the first Superintendent of the Corps (Feller and Moore 8).

1.3.2. The Navy Nurse Corps (NNC)

The Navy Nurse Corps was established by the congress on May 13, 1908 (Manual of the medical department 4). After the act was passed, Washington naval hospital became the first hospital to welcome the members of the NNC. The number of the first navy nurses was small and consisted of twenty-one women: a superintendent, a chief nurse and nineteen nurses. The newly appointed nurses were not provided a shelter by the navy, the fact that led them to rent a house using their personal money. Early in 1909, the nurses were mobilized to other naval hospitals including the ones in Annapolis, New York, Mare Island, California, and soon

enough they served in all the naval hospitals even in the Philippine Islands (*The navy nurse corps* 1).

1.4. American Women in World War I (1914-1918)

When the First World War started, America preferred to remain neutral as president Woodrow Wilson articulated “America must be impartial in thoughts as well as action”. The United States neutrality was not something new since the country has always kept a distance when it comes to European matters. The European origins of the majority of Americans raised a sense of sympathy among the population, especially with the Allies. However, not interfering was the best choice to the United States in order to protect its interests (“The United States in World War I” 8).

During the war, Britain famous naval blockade prevented ships from reaching Germany, causing a shortage in military supplies, and hunger to the civilians. As a reaction, Germany started an unrestricted submarine warfare against any alien ships in the war zone. In early 1915, German U-boats attacked the merchant ship *Lusitania* on May resulting in the death of 201 people, including 159 Americans. The incident caused anger among Americans and a preparedness movement began. Young Americans started to take military training at schools and other communities. To gain allies, Germany sought Mexico’s aid in the war, in exchange of its help to recapture the territories that Mexico lost for the United States in the Mexican-American war (1846-48). The telegram between Germany’s Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmerman to its Ambassador to Mexico about the plan was intercepted by Britain and its content was revealed to the United States. With all these factors, the United States entered the WWI on April 6, 1917, three years after its start.

Sending US troops overseas became the next logical step for the new member of the Allies. In peace time, the US “was unprepared for battle, and had never maintained a large standing army, and had no system of mass recruitment and no trained reserve” (Telford 90).

Under such circumstances, the government depended on the willingness of men to volunteer. Hundreds of men were enlisted quickly in the army under the Selective Service Act of 1917, and their number jumped from 100.000 to 4.000.000 soldier in a span of a year (90).

1.4.1. American Nurses in Europe

At the beginning of the war, the ANC and the NNC nurses constituted the only members from the gentle gender to serve in the US Armed Forces. Because of the discharge of nurses from service during peace time, the newly formed corps suffered from a shortage in the number of nurses in duty. With only 403 nurses in the ANC, and 166 in the NNC, it was impossible for this small group of women to care for four million soldiers in the war. To resolve the problem, Surgeon General Gorgas called for the help of the American Red Cross (ARC) nurses to serve as a reserve force of the ANC. Jane Delano, the former superintendent of the ANC and a member of the Red Cross nurses at that time, became responsible for the recruitment of 8000 graduate nurses in only eight weeks. By November 1918, the number increased to reach 20.000 nurses ready for duty in the US and overseas (91).

Shortly after their enrollment in the ARC, mobilization orders for the new army of nurses came through. Almost 10,400 nurses were assembled from the various parts of the country “to be inoculated against diseases, supplied with necessary uniforms and equipment, and provided with a myriad of paperwork such as pay records, insurance, allotment and passports” (Johnson 34). Crossing the Atlantic was far from being a pleasant trip for these women. During the journey, the nurses had to wear a uniform for the twenty-four hours of the day because of the sudden night drills. In addition, blackouts in the ships were often to avoid any German submarine attack. When arriving to England, the ARC nurses undergone a series of checkouts before being approved. It was in London where women witnessed the first images of the war before crossing the British channel towards the frontlines (35-37).

Following their arrival, the nurses worked in all part of Europe including England, France, Italy, Belgium and Siberia. Despite their training, what the nurses faced in the base, evacuation, mobile, and camps' hospitals was very different from what they dealt with in the American ones (*The Army Nurse* 17). Elizabeth Ashe, a nurse with the ARC Children's Bureau in France described the undesirable reality in her diaries:

When we first went into the Abbey, the sight of files of maimed and lame men coming in overcame me so I thought I should leave, but they finally were seated, and were forgotten in the beauty of service. One poor fellow who was legless was brought in the back of a man; it is all too dreadful (qtd. in Schmedake 3).

The rising number of patients created a shortage in medical supplies. Necessary medication like antibiotic were not available to treat infections. According to Davida Michaels, "there was no electrical power and bandages from wounds had to be washed by hand and re-used" (4). Nurses treated various types of wounds, and their workload was very heavy. Some soldiers' conditions were very severe to the point that required amputation. In WWI the use of biological weapon like mustard gas, was very common. Gas burns were very common, dangerous and even fatal. Everyone including nurses were required to wear gas mask, the thing that made their job even harder (4).

Julia Stimson was an American nurse in the Great War. Following her graduation from studying Biology at Columbia University in 1903, she underwent nurse training at the New York Hospital School of Nursing, in which she graduated in 1908. She worked as a superintendent of nurses first for four years at Harlem Hospital, then for six years at Bares Hospital at Washington. In addition to her successful leadership, Stinson was a strong-willed person. Julia was among the first group of women being called out to war. She worked in France at Base Hospital N.21, but later she became the chief nurse at the British Base Hospital N.12 (Hallet 127).

Due to her commitment and hard work, Stimson occupied many important positions during the war as, a chief nurse of the ARC in France, then a director of the Nursing Service for the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). After the war, when the congress awarded a military rank for war nurses, she became “major”. Later, Julia was appointed the dean of the Army Nursing School until 1931, when she worked as the Superintendent of the ANC. In 1948, the heroine of the Great War died as a colonel in the military (130).

Another example of pioneer American nurses in WWI is Helen Dore Boylston. Helen received her training at one of the most prestigious hospitals in the north: the Massachusetts General Hospital. She was known for her adventurous spirit and big desire to help which made her serve as a war nurse in France. After the war, Helen narrated her experience in a book entitled *Sisters: The War Diary of a Nurse*, depending on the journals she wrote when in service (131). When describing her duty in a day work, Boylston said:

Still very busy. We are having awful heavy dressings now. One that I did today almost made me cry, and I don't cry easily either. The lad was a Canadian, about twenty-two with frightful arm; elbow joint smashed, and a whole arm stuff and swollen and full of gas gangrene. In getting off the dressing I had to move it some, and though I was as careful as I could be, I could hear the bones crunching and grating inside ... Once, accidentally touching a bare nerve-end with my forceps, I hurt him terribly and he turned his head to see what I was doing. I saw that his eyes were full of tears and the pupils enormously dilated with pain. But not a word out of him (148-149).

What Boylston and Stimson did was a drop in the sea of the heroic actions of American nurses in the war. They demonstrated a strong sense of professionalism in difficult environment, and under tough conditions. Many nurses lost their lives because of injuries, infections and gas exposure. Their contributions provided physical and psychological care for

soldiers at the front. Thousands of nurses went back home, and were discharged from duty, but their participation emphasized the significance and importance of female war nurses.

1.4.2. First Women in the Navy

In 1917, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels changed the military sphere when he allowed women to join the navy with equal military rank and payment. When the US declared war against Germany, all branches of the army suffered from the insufficient number of staff. The administrative work load drove Daniels to question the legality of enrolling women in the navy under the Naval Act of 1916:

"Is there any law that says a yeoman must be a man?" I (Daniels) asked my legal advisors. The answer was that there was not, but that only men had heretofore been enlisted. The law did not contain the restrictive word "male."

"Then enroll women in the Naval Reserve as yeomen," I said, "and we will have the best clerical assistance the county can provide." Tremendous gasps were heard, but this was an order, and it was carried out (qtd. in Devilbiss 3).

To implement this decision, Rear Admiral Leigh C. Palmer, the chief of Bureau of Navigation, the personnel branch in the Navy Department, "issued a memo to the naval districts announcing that women between the age of eighteen and thirty-five would be enlisted in ratings of yeoman (F) (F for Female), electrician (radio), or in such other ratings as the commandant may consider essential to the district organization"(Akers 18). Women from various parts of the US, answered the call and saw this as an opportunity to prove their patriotism, honor loved ones who were lost in the war, or embark in a new adventure. Thus, by March 1917, "11,000 enlisted women served along with 1,713 nurses, 269 enlisted female Marines, and 2 enlisted women in the Coast Guard" (18).

To be enrolled, female applicants had to undergo an interview, a written exam, and a physical check at the recruiting stations. Lillian Budd's experience of taking her clothes off in

front of a male navy doctor was not a pleasant one. However, the discomfort did not stop her from achieving her goal. After passing the enlistment required procedures, she took her oath and began her naval service as a yeoman first class (24). Influenced by her family's military history, Loretta Perfectus Walsh, became the first women to enlist as a Yeomanette. Walsh was a graduate of Lackwanna Business School in Scranton. After her enrollment, she worked as a clerk at the navy recruitment station in Philadelphia. In the same way, Charlotte Louise Berry Winters, following her graduation from Washington Business High School, preferred to start a carrier as a clerk in the Naval Gun Factory at the Washington Navy Yard. (20).

The navy was not the only corps to face the problem of the lack of men, but every other corps did also. The Army Corps laws were very clear that only men were eligible to join, and did not allow the enlistment of the other gender. On contrary, the Marine Corps welcomed women to serve, in order to relief the men holding administrative duties for battles (Hewitt 3). On July 1918, Major General Commandant George Barnett "dispatched a memorandum to the offices of Quartermaster, Paymaster, Adjutant, and Inspector asking for an analysis by the directors of each as to the feasibility of using women as replacements for male troops" (4). The responses were positive; hence, women were called to approach recruiting stations. On August 13, 1918 thousands of women, between the age of eighteen and forty, answered the call. Mrs. Opha Mae Johnson became America's first woman Marine, working as a clerk in the office of Quartermaster (4).

1.4.3. The "Hello Girls"

In May 1917, General John J. Pershing sailed for Europe as the head of the AEF. As the war continued, successful communication became pivotal to win. Infantrymen that set on switchboards of the AEF often faced difficulties, as the majority were monolingual, and significantly slow. Thus, communication between the US army with the French counterparts

were not very efficient. Realizing the severity of the issue, in November 1918, Pershing requested the War Department for one hundred women telephone operators saying:

On account of the great difficulty of obtaining properly qualified men, request organization and dispatch to France a force of women telephone operators all speaking French and English equally well ... All should have allowances of Army Nurses and should be uniformed (The "Hello Girls" Congressional Gold Medal 2-3).

Advertisements looking for female operators to serve in the Signal Corps were in all the newspapers across the US. Almost 7600 women volunteered to occupy the one hundred posts required. The selected women were assigned under contracts as: Operator, Supervisor, and Chief operator. On March 24, 1918 the first group of operators began to perform their duties in France, and soon the number of calls tripled from 13,000 to 36,000 per day. In addition, women also translated telephone calls between French and American officers in 12 hours shifts. The successful experience of these women led the US Signal Corps to recruit, train, and send other eligible volunteers, the act that raised the number of calls to 150,000 per day (4-6).

By the end of the war on November 11, 1918, the 223 female operators had connected a number of twenty-six million calls for the AEF. In his report, the Chief Signal Officer of the Army Signal Corps (ASC) commended the work of these women and wrote; "a large part of the success of communications of the army is due to ... a competent staff of women operators". Corah Bartlett and Inez Crittenden died during service in France because of the Spanish flue. The remaining members continued their work, and "were ineligible for discharge until formal release" (7). The last Group arrived to the US in January 1920, when the women veterans were informed that they served as civilians, and not as members of the army. Therefore, they were not granted any veterans benefits. It was until 1979, when the

Signal Corps women's status was changed to veterans, but only thirty-three were still alive to receive their Victory Medals and discharge papers (8-10).

1.5. American Women in World War II (1939-1945)

After more than two decades of peace in Europe, Germany disturbed the scene through its invasion to Poland in September 1, 1939, starting the Second World War. First, the war involved Germany, Italy and Japan as the Axis powers, and Britain with France as the Allies. However, through time, many countries were dragged into the conflict including the United States. Like in WWI, when the war started, the US chose to remain neutral and indifferent about what was going on in the other side of the Atlantic; however, when Japan attacked the American naval base in Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 the US declared war on Japan. Four days later, Hitler declared war on the US; hence, the United States entered WWII (Dzwonchyk and Skates 5-8).

1.5.1. The Army Nurse Corps in World War II

When Japan bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, eighty-two nurses were on active duty at three different army stations in Hawaii. Within few hours, hundreds of soldiers arrived at the army hospitals suffering from physical injuries and shock. Soon, the medical supplies became unavailable forcing doctors and nurses to work with what they had at hand. With the rising tension in the east, the US increased the number of troops in Philippines. More than one hundred nurses served on the islands in the different army hospitals. On December 8, 1941, one day after the Pearl Harbor incident, Japan attacked the Philippines. During the fight, nurses treated thousands of American and Filipino soldiers; however, similar circumstances to Pearl Harbor happened in the Philippines. With time, medical and food supplies run out of hand causing hunger and sickness among the patients. Due to heavy bombing, the American and Filipino armies were surrounded by the Japanese one, and sixty-seven nurses were held in captivity until February, 1945 (Bellafaire 4-6).

Six months after the infamous attack on Pearl Harbor, the number of the army nurses in duty reached 12,000. What these nurses lacked was proper training and knowledge about military conduct. To solve the issue, Lt. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell ordered a four weeks training for the newly appointed nurses to learn about: “army organization; military customs and courtesies; field sanitation, defense against air, chemical, and mechanized attack; personnel administration; military requisitions and correspondence, and property responsibility” (6). From July 1943 to September 1945, 27,330 nurses graduated from this training program (6). The ANC served all over the war theaters and accompanied soldiers even in the battlefields. During the years, the ARC took over the recruitment process of the nurses; and by the end of the war 59,000 women served in WWII (3). More than 201 nurses died, sixteen of them because of enemy fires (Higgins 473).

1.5.2. The Women’s Army Corps

In 1941, Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers proposed a bill to General George Marshall, the Army Chief of Staff, to establish an Army Women’s Corps that is distinct from the ANC. Rogers’ desire for the existence of such corps stemmed from witnessing the unjust treatment that women -who served with the US Army during WWI- received after returning home. To insure the same legal treatment of women in the army, Rogers insisted that the new women’s corps -if established- must receive the same benefits and official status; in addition to disability benefits and pensions available for US veterans. To accept women as an integral part of the army was not an easy decision for army leaders. Instead, the negotiations ended with a compromise between Rogers’ proposal and the army’s existing culture to establish the Women Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), a corps that would serve *with* the army. On May 14, the senate approved the final bill, and president Franklin D. Roosevelt signed it into law the next day (Hammond 3-4).

During the first year, 35,000 women were recruited in the WAAC; however, the number reached 150,000 with time. The new auxiliaries “were provided with food, uniforms, living quarters, pay, and medical care, and women were not allowed to command men” (4). Oveta Culp Hobby became the first Director of the WAAC with the rank of major. The first and second officers served as equivalents of Captains and Lieutenants in the regular army, but they did not receive the same payment. Fort Des Moines, Iowa became the first training center for the WAAC. After receiving the necessary training, the first unit of auxiliaries and their officers to operate in the field were assigned to the Aircrafts Warning Service (AWS) unit. Soon almost 40 percent of the army WAAC served in the Army Air Forces (AAF), the same percentage worked in Army Service Forces (ASF), while only 20 percent were allowed in the Army Ground Forces (AGF) (5-13).

The WAAC performed many tasks depending on which corps they were assigned to. Most auxiliaries worked as “file clerks, typists, stenographers, motor pool drivers ... switchboard operators, radio operators ... inspection, procurement, stock control, storage, fiscal oversight, and contract termination...” (13). In addition to their service inside their country, the WAACs also served overseas in many places like North Africa, the Mediterranean, Europe, China ...etc. Their duties were mainly summarized in clerical works and communication jobs (14). To illustrate, the 6669th Headquarters Platoon WAAC unit assigned to Lt-Gen. Mark W. Clark’s Fifth Army in North Africa was among the first units to prove the women’s competence in the field. The 6669th “accompanied the Fifth Army headquarters from Mostaganem, Algeria, across the Mediterranean to Naples and all the way up to the boot of Italy” (15). The unit included 10 telephone operators, 7 clerks, 16 clerk-Typists, 10 stenographers, and one administrative clerk. Every woman in the unit performed her job with professionalism and almost no complaint which made them a valuable member in the Fifth Army (15).

Throughout time, many administrative problems appeared as the WAACs military status was put into question. Army field agencies began to speculate which military procedures are applicable to the WAACs and which are not. Conflicting responses were given by different military authorities; however, no two could agree whether these women are “persons in the military service” or not (Treadwell 113). For instance, General Grunert, the Judge Advocate, and the Veterans Administration teamed up to reject Director Hobby’s request for National Service Life Insurance for the WAACs arguing that “Such persons are not in the active service in the land or naval forces of the United States ... The WAAC as constituted under existing law is essentially a civilian group. The principle upon which war risk insurance is founded ... has no application to those in civilian occupations” (qtd. in Treadwell 114). On July 23, 1942, Mrs. Rogers sought for the same request and introduced a bill to the congress, but it was rejected. On October 8, Rogers introduced another bill in order to provide the WAAC with hospitalization and domiciliary care by the Veterans Administration, five months later the bill was passed, and was enacted into a law (118).

Rogers’ efforts continued as she decided to cooperate with Director Hobby’s office to pass a bill that could gain the WAAC a military status within the army. On January 14, 1943 the bill was introduced to form the Women’s Army Corps, Army of the United States. On February, the Secretary of War declared his support for the bill, “although in the past the War Department has not advocated the establishment of the Corps as part of the Army, experience has proved that the present arrangement will not be satisfactory” (qtd.in Treadwell 119). Unfortunately, the bill did not pass the House of Representatives as it lacked many necessary information like: the number of women to be enlisted, type of duties, payment. Finally, the bill was passed by the senate on June 28, and signed by the president on the first of July, 1943. On the 5th of July, Director Hobby took the oath of the office as a Colonel, Army of the

United States, in the presence of General Marshall, and by that she became the first member of the Women's Army Corp (220-221).

By the end of the Second World War, more than 150,000 had served in the army inside and outside the US. Accepting women as members of the army was mainly motivated by the valuable services these women did for their country, combined with the recognition of army leaders to the competence, patience, and patriotism of these women. Through replacing men in noncombatant duties, women freed thousands of soldiers to leave for combat. The Women's Army Corps changed not only the military scene, but also the image held by society to women in the military of the United States (Hammond 26-27).

1.5.3. Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP)

When the WWII started in Europe, the United States realized its shortage in combat pilots. This fact pushed the US government to start a civilian flying program that would provide the necessary labor. The Program was called Civilian Pilot Training (CPT). From its launch, the CPT discriminated against women allowing only 10 per cent of females to join. Unfortunately, in July 1941, they were completely banned from the program (Schrader 11). As the woman pioneer pilot of her time, Jacqueline Cochran succeeded in convincing General Henry H. Arnold, Chief of the Army Air Forces, about the utility of training women to become pilots, and release men pilots for combat duties. Cochran had a strong belief that if women were given the same chance as men, they would prove their capability of flying military aircrafts. The casualties among male pilots led General Arnold to seriously consider Cochran's plan, so he approved a women's pilot training program (Women Airforce Service 1).

More than 25,000 applied for the program; however, only 1,830 were accepted. After 21 to 27 weeks of training only 1074 trainees completed their full training and were assigned to air bases. The women pilots were given the name of Women Airforce Service Pilots

(WASP) by General Arnold. The WASPs flew more than 60,000,000 miles in every type of aircrafts even the B-26 Martin Marauder that their male counterparts refused to fly. The women performed many noncombatant assignments like: test piloting, instructor piloting, transporting personnel, and flying drones. During the war thirty-eight (38) women lost their lives while in service. Because of their lack of a military rank and privileges like male pilots their families received no pensions, or death benefits, and they were denied the simplest form of appreciation, a flag on their coffins.

In 1944, General Arnold requested to Congress to give the WASPs a military rank, but his request was denied. On December 7, 1944, he delivered a speech in the graduation ceremony of the last class of WASPs and said, “you and more than 900 of your sisters have shown you can fly wingtip to wingtip with your brothers. I salute you ... We of the Army Air Force are proud of You. We will never forget our debt to you” (2). On December 20, 1944, members of the WASP were discharged from their occupations without any benefits and their military records were sealed and stamped “classified”. It was until 1977, when the congress granted them the veteran status without any ceremony that the ladies received their medals via mail seven years later (3).

1.5.4. Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES)

During the WWI, the US navy welcomed women to its corps in order to overcome labor shortage in its lines. Similarly, in WWII, the navy reopened the window for women to join the force under the name of Women accepted for volunteer Emergency Service or the WAVES. Since the establishment of the WAVES in July, 30, 1942, women were given full military status, and they enjoyed the same benefits as their male counterparts. During the war More than 100, 000 WAVES performed many administrative duties like clerical works, aviation instructors, intelligence agents, scientists, and engineers (Encyclopedia.com).

1.6. Women in the US Military Post WWII to Present

When the WWII ended, the faith of women who served in the US Armed Forces was at stake again. For instance, the WAC member had the choice to be disbanded from the duty or to reenlist again. Between February 1946 and October 1947, 4,570 women were enlisted through the reentry program (Morden 37). Nonetheless, it was until 1948, when women gained a clear passage to enter the military sphere with Armed Service Integration Act. On June 12, 1948, President Harry S. Truman signed the act into a law opening the door for women to become permanent members of the army, navy, marine corps and air forces. Although the act brought some justice to the army women, it limited their membership to only 2 per cent, and excluded their jobs to noncombatant duties only with a risk of immediate disband in case of pregnancy (Deuster and Teepe 1).

After the full integration of women in the army, changes continued through the next decade. In 1951, in an attempt to ameliorate the situation of women in armed forces, the Department of Defense created the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Service (DACOWITS). The committee constituted of civilian men and women whose main duty was to report “matters concerning women ... and advise and issue recommendations on recruitment, retention, employment, treatment, integration and well-being of women in the armed forces” (Planiol 18). When the Korean war started, 49,000 women were on active duty; however, the number decreased to 30,600 by 1960 (18).

The restrictions imposed by the Armed Service Integration Act of 1948 were lifted with the outbreak of the Vietnam war in 1967. The 2 per cent limitations on women’s membership was banned, the fact that opened the door for more women to join; as well as, allowed many military women to be promoted in their rank (*America’s Women Veterans* 3). After the Vietnam War, men became less enthusiastic about joining the army. With the end of conscription and the establishment of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF), more women were

welcomed. In 1975, President Ford approved the enrollment of women in the military academies. The law permitted “the first women to join the military academies of West Point, Annapolis and Colorado Springs in the summer of 1976” (Planiol 19). By 1980, the number of females in the armed forces reached 171,000 members (8 percent of active duty force) (*America’s Women Veterans* 3).

Another turning point in the history of women in the US military was in the Gulf War (1990-1991). More than 41,000 women were deployed to take part in “Operations Desert Shield (August- December 1990) and Desert Storm (December 1990-March 1991) (Planiol 20). Nevertheless, women advancement in the military sphere was held back with DoD’s Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule on 1994. The later policy banned women from serving in direct ground combat (Deuster and Tepe 1). The September 11, 2001, attacks changed the American history as a whole, and increased women’s chances in the US army in particular. Since the incident, the US army “had been in Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) in Afghanistan and Iraq”, with 11 percent of forces deployed had been women (*America’s Women Veterans* 4).

On January 24, 2013, Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta declared the end to the ban on women in combat. With such unprecedented action, women now have equal opportunities and equal treatment in the military establishment (Yeung et al.1). According to the Department of Defense Demographics Report of 2018, “Women compose 17.9% of the total enlisted forces in US Army” (6). Women have proved their ability to endure the hardships that come with the job; yet, the percentage of women in the US Armed Forces is still humble in comparison to that of men. The inclusion of women in the battlefield is still an ongoing process which needs time and lots of efforts.

From the Revolutionary War until today, women’s roles in US Armed Forces have changed significantly. Earlier women did not even have the chance to be a member of the US

Military even if they wished to; however, now they are more welcomed. Women were very successful in the missions that they were supposed to do especially in the health care and communication sectors. By the end of the Second World War, the US Armed Forces accepted women as official members of the army with the Women's Service Integration Act.

From the Revolutionary War until today, women's roles in US Armed Forces have changed significantly. Earlier women did not even have the chance to be a member of the US Military even if they wished to; however, now they are more welcomed. Women were very successful in the missions that they were supposed to do especially in the health care and communication sectors. By the end of the Second World War, the US Armed Forces accepted women as official members of the army with the Women's Service Integration Act.

Despite the society's expectations, American women have always showed the desire to be a part of the army. Whenever the country called for their help, they have never hesitated to answer the call. Unfortunately, their efforts were not always recognized, underestimated, and seldom found themselves going back to their traditional jobs as women. The status of women in the US Military have always been a problematic issue. This fact made their integration in the army a slow and gradual process; however, they finally proved that they merit to serve their country like men do.

Chapter Two

Gender Bias as a Block for Women's Integration in the US Armed Forces

Gender discrimination is a famous issue that stands as an obstacle for women's employment and holding positions in different fields, one of which is the military sphere. Historically, gender variations and differences are what determine both men and women's roles in the society. In this regard, this chapter provides brief definitions of femininity, masculinity and military, in addition to an analysis of the relationship between these terms. It generally presents the idea that masculinity is the suitable notion and the core of the military foundation regardless of the existence of women in the armed forces, particularly in the USA.

Believing that women should not be part of the US Army because of their double-edged influence on the group's cohesion, male relations, and work effectiveness of the servicemen, this chapter attempts to explore different studies that were conducted to investigate attitudes and opinions toward women's integration in the armed forces. Furthermore, it covers the concept of gender bias, the impactful idea of women's discrimination in the military sphere, and the belief that women were not created to be treated equally as men.

The Chapter also discusses the various factors that would influence the status of women's military participation. These factors are categorized as physical, mental, cultural, and socio-economic constraints that hinder the equal treatment women are seeking within the armed forces in different countries, and within the U.S Army in particular. Finally, this chapter presents the legal policies and laws that were taken by the US Congress and the Department of Defense from 1901 till 2015. This latter is concerned with the women's integration in the US Armed Forces and the developmental changes of their status from being excluded from many military positions and occupations because of their gender, to being included even in combat grounds in this military sphere, just like any other male soldier.

The sources in which this chapter is based upon are governmental sources like the United States Constitution, the Department of Defense Reports, congressional articles of the U.S Constitutional Foundation, different articles and various books written by experts and employs in the field of the armed forces.

2.1. Masculinity as the Core of the Military Culture

Throughout the years of the human life, men are known to be the ones who are responsible for bringing food and providing shelter for their families, whereas women are the child-givers, mothers and housewives who are considered to be less important and inferior than men. As a result, there has always been a slight conflict between the two sides when it comes to those who can hold power and be responsible as much as possible during hard times, be it in a normal job or a military position. It is clear that men are more suitable than women for this status.

According to the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, masculinity is “the quality or nature of the male sex: the quality, state, or degree of being masculine or manly”. This latter suggests that masculinity refers mainly to manhood, strength, toughness of a person. It is more related to force and power –of men- rather than weakness and fragility. Totally unlike masculinity, femininity is “the quality or nature of the female sex: the quality, state, or degree of being feminine or womanly” (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary). In other words, it is a concept that has the notion of sweetness and softness that are often found in females rather than males. Nevertheless, military is also a word that involves toughness, and violence. Consequently, it is quite crucial to notice that “masculinity” and “military” are closely related considering the nature and the capability of a person whether it was a male or a female.

Historically speaking, women did not have the power to argue about their social, political or even cultural positions; and particularly, for the equality and equity in the military sphere. According to Elshtain, women are more likely to be associated with peace and love,

while men tend to be more violent and war material human beings. She describes the identity of women by being “beautiful souls” and relates to men’s identity as “just warriors” in order to protect the image of both male and female (Elshtain 3; Carreiras 5). Therefore, from this description, it became evident that war is a male institution which considers men to be its pivotal core.

Generally, relating war to masculinity rather than femininity is more logical and coherent. If the matter was the opposite, things would be seen as “unnatural” (5). Carreiras strengthens this view by providing the example of the Amazons myth of women in which they are described to be “female warriors”, “unnatural heroines”, “masculine” and “warmongering”. Despite the fact that these Amazonian women can cope with men’s strength and war’s environment, they are still seen as “marginal” and inferior than men when it comes to class and society (5). Thus, describing a female warrior with masculine aspects quite suggests the idea that being a warrior requires a man, not a woman.

Being a soldier in war times is never easy, and it takes a real warrior who is willing to sacrifice himself and his own life for the sake of his country and its people. Most men have this sense of protecting their properties and the ones they love, whereas women are the protected ones in this case. From this notion, men would apply to be soldiers and warriors in the face of death just for their loved ones to be safe and sound in their homes (Ayd 8-9). As this being considered, Mitchell argues that a Navy Lieutenant Neil L. Golightly said:

Consider the young man under fire and neck deep in the mud of a jungle foxhole, sustained in that purgatory by the vision of home – a warm, feminine place that represents all the good things that his battlefield is not. Somewhere in that soldier’s world view, though he may not be able to articulate it, is the notion that he is here ... so that all the higher ideals of home embodied in mother, sister, and girlfriend do not have to be here (qtd. in Ayd 9).

Additionally, America is quite known for its variety of movements, one of which is feminism. There was a division within feminists concerning the subject matter in which “liberal feminists” thought of joining the army as a chance for seeking equality between genders, whereas “radical feminists” saw it as disrupting the feminine notion and wanted to dissolve the whole military institution claiming that it is only a source of violence (Brown 152). However, the US military institution -like any other military institutions- also considered men to be the core of the armed forces despite the continuous participation of women from the Revolutionary War till present day, give or take some exceptions.

Megens and Wings (1981) diagnose the conditions to join the army which were made by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries and reveal that even though those conditions stress gender equality and are supposed to provide the same opportunities for men and women as soldiers, military services still “tend to portray men and women differently, depicting women in passive roles (receiving instructions from men), smiling, and wearing makeup” (qtd. in Brown 153). Notably, the US Armed Services are divided into four branches: army, navy, air force, and marines. These branches differ in how many women are allowed to join their sections based on some policies and ideas that are either more related to manhood and masculinity or womanhood and femininity (156).

Evidently, despite the large presence of women in the US Military Services, their roles and positions are still considered to be more superficial and marginal. While military men would take their recruitments and training with full usage of the armed materials, women are only allowed to have their training without actually holding a rifle or even using any kind of a military weapon. Most of the American soldiers tend not to have any problem concerning women joining the army; however, they still believe that “a woman in the army is still a woman”, and the idea that military is a masculine institution more than a feminine one

that encourages “gender division” regardless of the high existence of women in the armed forces (Brown 171-172).

2.2. Military Servicemen’s Attitudes towards Women’s Integration in the Armed Forces

The variation of gender and human behaviors are what makes a male different from a female. Thus, the world tends to hold different perceptions about each of them. The male is pretty much seen as the core of the family, which would not survive without because of his solidity, toughness and the harshness that can stand for anything in this world; whereas the female is that part of the family which would make it colorful, and all the time happy and joyful with her timidity, sweetness and softness. Therefore, each one of them is expected to have a very distinct role to play in life, and being a soldier in the armed forces is one of these debatable roles. Since the military is the arena of power, violence, and fighting, some would argue that women should have no part in this matter because they do not naturally fit in, and they are most likely to influence the job of men (Noakes 1-2).

2.2.1. Cohesion and Group Effectiveness

Women’s participation in the armed forces could be considered as a “threat” to the notion of femininity for women, and to the masculinity of the military. Although the military service in western countries needed women in their lines, they were never treated the same as men: “whilst the state and the military recognized the need for women’s labor in the armed forces, the appearance of women in military uniform repeatedly challenged existing conceptions of gender” (Noakes 157). As a result, women were generally engaged in the military; however, they were constrained to specific activities in accordance to their “occupations”, “appearance” and “behavior”. According to Cynthia Enloe: “militaries need women – but they need women to behave *as the gender ‘women’*” (qtd. in Noakes 157). Significantly, for the reason of protecting the notions of femininity and masculinity, the

differences between men and women are what determines their position in the military service.

Due to the fact that men and women are quite distinct from each other, a common belief claims that the existence of women within the military services would definitely disrupt men's roles and their group effectiveness, particularly when it comes to combat areas. Carreiras argues that "by interfering in the unit cohesion of male-bounded groups women would thus represent a threat to effectiveness, especially in combat situations" (91). In addition, she goes further and supports her argument with Segal's, who believes that if men hold the idea that they cannot work alongside women, eventually, this would actually affect their performance and prevent them from fulfilling their missions and assignments (92).

Nevertheless, Carreiras subsidizes this view and talks about other researchers who oppose this opinion because of their finding results to different studies concerning the subject matter. For instance, in the mid-1970, the US Army Research Institute for Behavioral and Social Sciences conducted two studies to determine whether women's participation in the military would, by any chance, affect the performance of its units or not. From one hand, the first study was concerned with the limited and intensive "training programs" in which some units included a specific percentage of women, whereas others were purely male units, also known as "MAXWAC". On the other hand, the second one examined the performance of units that included women during "extended field exercises", also known as "REFWAC". Evidently, both studies revealed no connection between the attribution of women and the preparation and "operational capability of the units" (91, Johnson et al I-1).

Notably speaking, Miller and Moskos, among many other writers, believe that women's involvement in the armed forces has minimum influence, if not none, on the cohesion and group effectiveness. Examples of other studies that examined the relationship between women's integration and group effectiveness that showed approximately the same

results are: Field and Nagl Report, a study that was taken by the RAND Corporation in 1997 and a British study by the Ministry of Defense in 2002. Instead, leadership skills and individual performances and differences are what determines group unity and cohesion and not gender variations (Carreiras 91-92; Pinch et al 60-61). Thus, it is important to note that every institution needs to keep a close eye on its workers' performances individually and not on the basis of gender and sex differences.

2.2.2. Attitudes toward Women's Integration in the US Military

The integration of women in the military has always been a debatable issue that took place in every society with different cultural and political backgrounds, like in the United States. According to the Constitutional Rights Foundation, and up till the twenty-first century, the acceptance of women was problematic and very limited. They were only involved as nurses, cooks, laundry workers and rarely as combatants because of the military institution -which is usually considered to be a masculine institution- that faced shortage in its soldiers leading them to fill the gaps with women. Yet, women were considered to be more "attached to the armed services and not part of them" (Women in the Military 10).

In addition, traditionally, women were not mainly welcomed in the US Military sphere, and particularly in combat grounds. Because of the beliefs that their society holds like: women are "life-givers", they should not be trained to kill, they are known for their lack of "physical strength", and that they should be protected from harm's way and not be involved in the battlefields, since that is a man's job not a woman's (11). Ultimately, unlike servicewomen, most of the servicemen tend to have a negative attitude because of the fear that this so-called male strong institution would be weaker with the participation of women; "Male Soldiers are afraid of lowered physical standards, increased sexual assault and harassment, reduced readiness, and destruction of the masculine culture of brotherhood" (Trobaugh 47).

On the one hand, in 1994, a study was held to investigate the attitudes toward women's integration in the US Armed Forces from two different perspectives, the feminists' and the militarists. Hence, between the struggle of calling for peace and safeness versus seeking for a male-female equality emerges the divided attitudes of feminists between "against" and "for" the integration (Herbert 26-27). Yet, the results indicated that feminists are more likely to support gender integration because their main goal, in the first place, is gender equality rather than the peaceful movements (41). Whereas militarists' results revealed negative attitudes toward gender integration claiming that women's involvement within the military sphere would influence the identity of men which is known for its toughness and roughness (41).

On the other hand, in 2000, a similar investigation took place in the US Military Academies like: The United States Naval Academy (USNA), the United States Air Force Academy (USAFA), the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) and a civilian university. In addition, the samples used included a small percentage of women. Significantly, these women's attitudes were obviously positive despite their small number (Robinson Kurpius and Lucart 261). Equally, male participants from the civilian academies also held positive attitudes because of their "liberal views and the acceptance of gender differences" that they acquired in social academies (263). On the contrary, military males held negative attitudes because of their "traditional" thinking of men and women's roles, and that military is a masculine institution rather than feminine, and also to the way they were taught in the American society that men "should not show emotions or admit pain" at any cost, unlike women do (262).

Recently, Elin Gustavsen also conducted a study about men's attitudes toward women in the Norwegian and US Armed Forces. Most of the results showed positive attitudes from both countries in which men liked working alongside women, mainly because it was a small

sample that was made in 2013 where women were already a part of the military -with some restrictions- and the servicemen sort of got used to them (370). Therefore, it can be said that the results are also due to the globalization and the acceptance of women in most of the working fields.

However, Gustavsen revealed that the Norwegians argued that women and men in the armed forces should have an “equal treatment”, while the Americans stated that both genders should have an “equal opportunity”, these arguments were justified depending on their varied orientations and cultural differences (370).

2.3. Gender Bias and Women’s Discrimination in the Military Sphere

According to Cambridge Online Dictionary, gender bias is “the unfair difference in the way women and men are treated”. In the military sphere, gender bias is the belief that men and women are different and they should not be treated nor trained in the same way. Hence, a research that was conducted in 2015 reveals that male soldiers think that military standards for training should be shaped in accordance to gender differences (Trobaugh 49). Nevertheless, despite the fact that in 2013 the US Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta announced that women should be integrated fully in combat areas (King 4; Moore 3; Kamarck 1), gender discrimination is still caught and noticed within the US Armed Forces because of the values and beliefs about women’s and men’s roles in the society.

It is argued, in the previous study that was conducted by Elizabeth Trobaugh, from a male perspective that women would not be able to adjust or perform well if the standards are based only on what a man can do because of their lack of “physical strength”. A participant even commented “If you want to make a combat unit ineffective, assign women to it” (49). Whereas most female soldiers and a couple of male soldiers believe that the lack of “familiarization” of the task and the lack of “motivation” are what hinders women from getting the same results as men do in a military training. Additionally, female soldiers stated

that they were not given the chance to prove themselves in the field, and they were directly declared to have different standards of training (49). Therefore, it is quite evident that even if women are accepted to be part of the military, they will always be seen as distinct creatures that need special treatment apart from their male counterparts.

Notably, and even after women were considered to be part of the US Military under the Women's Armed Service Integration Act in 1948, they were still treated with segregation and discrimination by men, and even by congress when it came to congressional decisions. Unlike men, women were limited in number and the positions they were occupying in their work. They did not have the right to give orders to men whatever rank they held; and most importantly, they were not given the same financial benefits unless they provided an official evidence, financially speaking, that a woman is more responsible than her husband in the family. This act was only repealed in 1973 when a female Air Force lieutenant named Sharron Frontiero had a dispute against the Defense Secretary Elliott Richardson. In short, the case was discussed by the Supreme Court in which it ended up in favor for Sharron Frontiero. It was later on known by the Case of *Frontiero vs Richardson* (Planiol 17).

2.4. Factors Influencing Women's Integration in the Armed Forces

Generally, most of the factors result from the relationship between gender and military. According to Rachel Woodward and Trish Winter, gender refers to "the structuring of social relations and individual identities around biological sex differences" (1). Evidently, these biological distinctions are what determines the relationships, roles, and identities of the individuals within any institution. In the same way, they define military as "the institutions and people working within those institutions that are granted license by the state to exercise coercive force or violence" (1-2). Consequently, if both men and women try joining the army, gender would be a problematic matter in this case because of those individual differences. Thus, one would only have the chance of participating in the military if s/he fulfills the

requirements of the intended institution that would necessarily include the masculine vibe of force and power.

Significantly, every institution would have specific standards and criteria that they use as basics to choose their employs and workers. Likewise, military institutions are also based on solid foundations that require specific standards for those who want to be part of it, in which they are actually in need to be recognized for their physical strength, psychological and mental abilities, social and cultural features and beliefs. As it happens to be known, men and women are very different when it is related to the criteria mentioned above. Clearly, males are much stronger, tougher, and rigorous human beings that have a standing position in society comparing to the nice and delicate gentle sex, females. As a result, in addition to considering the military as a masculine institution, women, unlike men, are faced with more problems and factors which would impact their military participation.

2.4.1. Physical and Mental Factors

Due to the fact that physical performance is a pivotal affair in the military sphere, it is the first thing that needs to be considered as a standard for joining the army. Thus, many would argue -especially for those who are in favor of gender divisions and inequality between men and women- that since females are known to be physically deficient compared to males, or rather, even though some are naturally strong enough to be part of the military, they still would not reach males' abilities and body fitness in combat grounds (Carreiras 89-90); let alone be equal or overcome them. This latter makes it evident that women should not be treated as equal to men and get assigned as combatant to fight in the front-lines of the war, or in Tuten's words: "the exclusion of women from front-line ground combat is mandated by their lesser physical abilities" (qtd. in Carreiras 90).

Aside from being a male or a female, pregnancy, menstruation, and motherhood are also womanly aspects that influence both of the body strength and the individual's psych

because of the biological hormones, which would eventually create barriers for women when joining the army (Carreiras 89; Woodward and Winter 3-4). Despite that making a family and rearing child is supposed to be the responsibility of both men and women, still, it is more commonly related to mothers rather than fathers because of the innate affection and the sentimental feelings of motherhood. For these reasons, the idea of gender itself is having more impact on the physical and mental abilities of a person which would create the obstacles and barriers in the face of every woman who wants to be part of a military foundation.

However, others would disagree claiming that this matter should not be defined by gender, rather, a military institution ought to demand the required “physical abilities” for “a particular job” as “a selection criteria” for joining the armed forces: “Rather than assuming that all women are incapable of performance by virtue of the average women’s lack of capacity, specific requirements should serve as the selection criteria, not gender” (qtd. in Carreiras 90). As a result, the distinction of the body strength, endurance, and capability to perform military tasks between soldiers is what determines who would be more suitable for the job, and not gender differences. In other words, both men and women need to go through the same military training and tasks in order to determine who deserves to be part of the armed forces institution.

Furthermore, within this modernized world, countries are relying more on technologies and new fighting weapons and machines, especially the USA which is considered to be as one of the strongest countries with huge economy and industry. With the spring of the twenty-first century and the possession of Weapons of mass destruction, it became notable that what the army needs is the wit, intellectualness, and insightfulness of its soldiers more than their power, strength and “brawn”. In other words: “Increased use of technology, rather than brawn, is becoming a hallmark of modern warfare” (Pinch et al 70). Therefore, the traditional idea of considering physical abilities as a barrier for women in the

military is diminishing, giving them higher chances for more suitable job positions and equal opportunities (68).

2.4.2. Cultural and Religious Factors

In addition to the physical and mental factors that hold women from being a part in the military, cultural and religious factors are also very important, if not crucial, to be taken into consideration in accordance to each country (Pinch et al 10). Carreiras demonstrates that in her book *Gender and the Military* with Segal's Model of Women's Military Participation, in which she includes three pivotal dimensions, one of which is "culture". According to her, culture refers to "the social construction of gender, social values about gender and family, public discourse regarding gender, and values regarding ascription and equity" (15). That is to say, culture is what actually determines gender differences and creates stereotypical visions about what a male is capable of whereas a female is not.

Sometimes those values and public opinions are shaped from reality; yet, most of the times they are mere skepticism about what a woman is and her ability to do anything.

However, the belief that military and "national defense is a male activity" is quite unshakeable and cannot be changed easily overnight (Moore 4; Herbert 26).

2.4.3. Socio-economic Factors

While physical and cultural factors hold a negative notion that stand as barriers for women's integration in the army, socio-economic factors are the most influential factors, yet, in a positive manner. Thus, with the development of societies and the demographic growth, most of the working fields held a need for labor and working-hands in order to evolve their economy in this globalized world; and the US Military is one of these foundations that tend to compete with other countries when it comes to expanding their combat areas and employees, be it a male or a female (Stachwitsch 307). Therefore, the personnel shortage in the armed

forces is the reason to call for the requirement of women in the military despite all the differences that gender may hold.

2.5. The Congressional Laws and Policies for Women’s Integration in the US Armed Forces

Since the creation of the official US Army after the American Revolutionary War in 1776, and despite the fact that women had such minimum roles in the military sphere like nurses, clerks, cooks, laundry workers, they were not actually considered to be part of the military foundation; but rather, “nearly all women who participated in the nation’s early wars served as civilians who were ‘with’ but not ‘in’ the military” (King 5; Women in the Military 10). Nevertheless, apart from these women, there were few who were involved in the fighting arenas because they had no other choice but to step in and fill the empty place of another male soldier like Margaret Cochran Corbin did defending Fort Washington against the British Army (Kamarck 1).

Table. 1.

Timeline of Key Legislative and Policy Actions for Integration of Women in the Armed Services (1901-2015)

| Year | Key Legislative and Policy Actions | Public Law (PL) |
|------|---|--|
| 1901 | Army Nurse Corps is established under the Army Reorganization Act of 1901. | 31 Stat. 753; February 2, 1901 |
| 1908 | Navy Nurse Corps is established. | P.L 115; 35 Stat 146; May 13; 1908 |
| 1942 | Naval Reserve is opened to Women and the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps is created. | P.L. 689. 56 Stat. 730; July 30, 1942; P.L. 554, 56 Stat. 278, May 14, |

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| | | 1942 |
| 1943 | Marine Corps Women's Reserve is established and the Women's Army Corps is established as part of the regular Army on a temporary basis. | P.L. 110; 57 Stat. 371; July 1, 1943 |
| 1948 | Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 makes women a permanent part of the military, but prohibits their assignment to combatant aircraft and naval vessels and limits the protection of women in the military to 2% of enlisted and 10% of officers. | P.L. 625; 62 Stat. 356; June 12, 1948 |
| 1967 | Limits on the percent of women in the military are repealed. | P.L. 90-130; 81 Stat. 374; November 8, 1967 |
| 1974 | Minimum age requirement for women enlisting without parental consent is reduced from 18 to 17 to be consistent with age of consent for men. | P.L. 93-290; 88 Stat. 173; May 24, 1974 |
| 1975 | Women are allowed to be admitted to service academies. | P.L. 94-106; 89 Stat. 537; October 7, 1975 |
| 1978 | Women are permitted to be assigned duty on noncombatant Navy ships and up to six months of temporary duty on other ships. | P.L. 95-485; 92 Stat. 1623; October 20, 1978 |
| 1988 | DoD implements "risk rule" which excludes women from noncombatant units or missions if the risk of exposure to direct combat, hostile fire, or capture were equal to or greater than the risks in the combat units they support. | NA |
| 1991 | The Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces is established. | P.L. 102-190; 105 Stat. 1365; December 5, 1991 |

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| 1993 | Congress establishes requirements for gender-neutral occupational standards and repeals remaining prohibitions on women serving combatant aircraft and vessels. | P.L. 103-160; 107 Stat. 1659 et seq.; November 30, 1993 |
| 1994 | The “risk rule” is rescinded and DoD issues the Direct Ground Combat and Assignment Rule which limits women from being assigned to units below brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground. | NA |
| 2000 | Congress mandates 30-day (in-session) notice of any change that would open assignment of women to Navy submarines. | P.L. 106-398; 114 Stat. 1654A-136; October 30, 2000 |
| 2006 | Congress mandates 30-day (in-session) notification for any change to the 1994 ground combat exclusion policy, or the opening or closing of military career fields to women. | P.L. 109-163; 119 Stat. 3251; January 6, 2006 |
| 2008 | The Military Leadership Diversity Commission is established with mandate to review promotion and command opportunities in the Armed Services by ethnicity and gender. | P.L. 110-417; 122 Stat. 4476; October 14, 2008 |
| 2010 | DoD notifies Congress of intent to allow women to serve on submarines. | NA |
| 2011 | Congress mandates review of the Direct Ground Combat and Assignment Rule. | P.L. 111-383; 214 Stat. 4217; January 7, 2011 |
| 2012 | DoD eliminates the colocation restriction from the Direct Ground Combat and Assignment Rule. | NA |

| | | |
|------|--|--|
| 2013 | DoD repeals the Direct Ground Combat and Assignment Rule, removing barriers to the assignment of women to combat units and occupations and directs implementation by January 1, 2016. | NA |
| 2014 | Congress issues validation criteria for the development of gender-neutral occupational standards. | P.L. 113-291; 128 Stat. 1919; September 19, 2014 |
| 2015 | Congress issues an additional validation criterion for the development of gender-neutral occupational standards and reduces the notify-and-wait period for congressional review to 30 calendar days. | P.L. 114-92, November 25, 2015. |
| 2015 | Secretary of Defense announces all combat roles and units open to women. | NA |

Source: Kamarck, Kristy N. "Women in Combat: Issues for Congress". *Congressional Research Service*, No. R42075, 2016. fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R42075.pdf.

As it is shown in **Table. 1.** above policies and legislative decisions were taken by the US Congress and the Department of Defense to show the gradual change of women's position in the US Armed Forces from Exclusion to Inclusion.

2.5.1. From 1900 - World War II

The first official policy, which was only related to women's participation and not full integration in the military, and that was established by the US Congress under the Army Reorganization Act was the Army Nurse Corps (ANC) on February 2, 1901. This latter was formed as a regular medical organization after realizing the urgent need for nurses within the military. Afterwards, in 1908, and under the Naval Appropriation Act, the US Naval Corps

also had its own permanent Navy Nurse Corps (NNC) (Kamarck 1; Planiol 16; Women in the Military 10). Regardless of the importance of these created foundations, they were not given any acknowledgment and women were still considered to be helpers in difficult times rather than having full positions and occupations like their male counterparts.

2.5.2. From World War II – 1970

Despite the fact that America was still preventing women from taking part in the US Military Institution, a slight change of thoughts happened after the First World War, and particularly, after getting involved in the Second World War. The US Army found itself suffering from the shortage of male laborers and had to make calls to strengthen its front lines. As a result, in 1942, the US Congress established Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) which was, in fact, a disconnected unit from the army that was only created to compensate some non-combatant male positions. In addition, the congress empowered special units for Women in the Naval Reserve (Kamarck 2; Women in the Military 10).

Yet, aside from the fact that the WAAC and the Women's Naval Reserve were the main units that were related to women's non-combatant participation in the military and were established in 1942, other peripheral units were as well created simultaneously in 1942 and up till 1943 in which women were "employed in all support and rear functions that did not require them to be directly in combat" (Planiol 17). These units were: The Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS), the Women's Flying Training Detachment (WFTD), the Women Air Force Service Pilots (WASP), the Women Army Corps (WAC) and the Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Services (WAVES) (17). Thus, even though more than 350,000 volunteered women held different non-combatant position in the war (King 5), the Second World War was the turning point for women that emphasized their pivotal roles.

After recognizing the importance of involving women in the US Armed Services, the congress went through several discussions concerning the subject matter and decided to make women as an integral part of the U.S Military under the Women's Armed Service Integration Act 1948 (King 5; Kamarck 2; Planiol 17). This latter was signed by the American President, Harry Truman (Women in the Military 10).

However, even though this act was established, and women started holding official positions, they were still treated with restrictions and limitations. They were limited in number to 2% of those who can be accepted in the military and only 10% of the accepted ones can be officers (later on repealed in 1967); they were not given the same financial support as men (later on revoked under *the Frontiero vs Richardson* case in 1973). They were not allowed to participate in combat roles; and last but never the least, they held no right to give orders to men regardless of their ranks (Planiol 17-18).

During the 1950s and the 1960s, America went through several wars, ones of which are the Korean War and the Vietnam War. Even though the impact was slow, these wars took part in changing the US Military policies and influencing them. In 1967, and in the light of the fact that America faced shortage in its military staff, particularly because of the Vietnam War, it was obliged to lift the 2% limits rule of the number of women included in the total military personnel and involve more servicewomen. In addition, women were allowed to be promoted to different ranks which were previously prevented from, alongside repealing some restrictions that were imposed on women by the Women's Integration Act of 1948 (Planiol 18). Thus, women had more chances and places to fill in the US Armed Forces.

2.5.3. From 1970 – 2013

After the Vietnam War and the gradual disposal of the conscription policy, there was a remarkable change in the women's status both socially and military, mainly for two major reasons. First, in 1973, the US Congress decided to replace the draft of the military service

with the All-Volunteer Force causing a shortage of qualified men; consequently, driving their attention to involve more women in the military sphere. Second, the emergence of the Equal Rights Movement that calls for equal chances and opportunities between genders in all fields including the armed forces (King 5). Those two reasons contributed in changing women's status at many levels.

The Equal Rights Movement resulted the passing of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) by the US Congress. This amendment calls for "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex" (Newspapers.com). Significantly, the Equal Rights Amendment idea started growing in the 1920s after women got their right to vote, even though it was actually opposed by some groups at the beginning. The ERA was finally proposed and passed officially by the congress in the 1970s, when women started calling for the gender equality and formed social movements for their special cause.

It is quite known that every new decision proposed by the congress needs to be approved by at least three fourths of the states in order to be ratified and included in the constitution (US Const. Art. V). However, even though the ERA had a deadline to be ratified in 1978 which was extended to 1982, the congress did not succeed to make it official (Newspapers.com). Despite that the fact the ERA was never ratified before its deadline and is still considered to be a debatable issue nowadays, it was the social point that came together with the military sphere in favor of women's integration in the US Armed Forces (King 6; Planiol 19).

Additionally, in May 20, 1975, the Women's Service Integration Act that restricted women to specific positions was also revoked when the congress passed a couple of legislations which were mentioned previously (see Table. 1. 1974, 1975, 1978). Those legislative laws allowed women to have more chances at their work place and led to the

increasing of the number of women in the military (king 5). Therefore, it became evident that men and women should have equal rights and treatments in every field, and that they should not be judged based on their gender. However, this was actually quite the case in most of the foundations, but not all of them.

While most of the barriers against women were falling apart in the 1980s, it was argued whether women should be part of the Selective Service -that was already considered as a compelling act only for men aged between 18-25 to register in the armed forces- or not (Kamarck 3). Finally, the US Supreme Court made a decision in the “*Rostker vs Goldberg*” that women are incompetent enough to be part of the Selective Service since its main goal is the combat ground, and women did not have the right to hold any official combat positions yet (Women in the Military 12).

In 1988, the Department of Defense declared a new rule that stood as a barrier to women concerning their integration in the US Armed Forces, this latter is called “The Risk Rule”. It embraced the idea that women shall not be involved in any noncombat position that would threaten them or expose them to “direct combat, hostile fire, or capture”, in addition to any kind of risk and danger which is “equal to or greater than the risks in the combat units they are supporting”. Equally, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) also reported that women should not be engaged in the combat field given to the reasons that they do not have neither the communal nor the governmental full support, and that the US Military Forces already have the necessary male number of the soldiers (Kamarck 4). Yet, the First Gulf War (1990-1991) had another saying about the subject matter.

As the debatable issue of women’s participation in the army keeps rising, their need and importance are demonstrated when almost 40000 women took part in the Gulf War. Even though they were not allowed to participate in direct combats, they were quite close to these units to the extent that some of them died and others were captured, which made their

existence more evident and pretty much apparent for their male counterparts (Planio 20; Moore 2; Women in Military 11).

Consequently, in 1991, the US President George Bush established the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces in order to study women's status in the armed forces and the related laws and policies. This latter was for the purpose of: opening more chances for women to participate in combat roles in the navy and aircraft with some exceptions like the submarines; realizing the desired equality between men and women; eliminating gender discrimination; yet, maintaining some "policies prohibiting the assignment of women in special operation forces" (Kamarck 5).

By 1994, rules prohibiting women from being involved in combatant roles were getting revoked one after the other. At the same time, the "Risk Rule" was repealed and replaced with the "Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule" also known as "Direct Combat Exclusion Rule". This policy stated that every military position should be taken on the basis of the competence and qualified performance of the intended member, be it a male or a female, "except that women shall be excluded from assignments to units below the brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground ..." (Kamarck 6; Duester and Tepe 1). Thus, regardless of the restrictions established by the Exclusion Policy, the status of women gradually changed given the fact that more opportunities and positions were opened for women in different fields, ranks and specialties.

During the first decade of the 21st century, America went through wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. These conflicts opened the opportunity to understand that the Exclusion Policy was still mere ink on a paper, not because women wanted to take part in these wars, but because of their unexpected nature. In spite of the fact that it was an official policy established by the Department of Defense (DoD), women were obliged to get involved in combat ground even if they were not assigned to it (Kamarck 7; Moore 2). An old Chinese

man said once before: “All war is deception”; likewise, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were not direct and frontal, instead, they were based on “ambushes, roadside bombs, rocket grenade attacks, snipers, guerilla raids, and suicide bombers” (Women in the Military 11). As a result, even if women were not assigned to units in which their primary goal was to engage in combat, one way or another, they found themselves in the middle of it.

At this point, even though it was not officially declared yet, the US Armed Forces could not operate without women anymore. An important example that demonstrates their pivotal roles in the army is that, since most Iraqis and Afghan men are Muslims, they do not accept the fact that their women and daughters are to be searched and touched by male soldiers. Therefore, servicewomen were actually needed especially when dealing with the questioning of the females and searching for weapons in the houses of Iraqis and Afghans (Women in the Military 11; Kamarck 7; Pinch et al 69).

Equally, the US Congress was reconsidering the opening of more chances for any modifications concerning women’s assignment limitations and the remaining prohibitions - like positions in the field of submarines- for they truly proved their worth to the US Armed Forces (Moore 2). In 2008, the DoD established the Military Leadership Diversity Commission. This latter aimed at opening more chances and opportunities for every qualified member, not based on their gender or ethnicity, but mainly focused on accepting diversity in the military sphere (Kamarck 10). Notably speaking, this commission, besides to the accumulated policies that repealed most of the restrictions and limitations against women’s involvement in combat roles, also opened the doors to the idea of completely eliminating the Direct Ground Combat and the Assignment Rule (the Exclusion Policy).

2.5.4. From 2013 - Present Day

In January 2013, the DoD officially revoked the Ground Combat Exclusion Policy - the last obstacle- paving the way for women to be fully integrated in the combat grounds, to

have their rights as American soldiers to hold a rifle, control an armor, and engage in the direct frontlines of the battlefields alongside their male counterparts (Planiol 26; Women in the Military 12). However, although this was announced by the Secretary of Defense, Leon Panetta, in 2013, the procedures were not intended to be completed and fully implemented till 2016 (Deuster and Tepe 1; King 4).

Regardless of the fact that this development of integrating women in the US Armed Forces was a slow process, at the end of the tunnel, it was an achievable objective. This reality is demonstrated by the rising percentage of the involved women in the US Military Foundation with its different services (Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Aircrafts) from 1.6% in 1973 to 14.6% in 2012 (Planio 24). Women's integration in the US Army was accomplished after realizing that it was not based on gender discrimination and differences, but rather, on the individual's performance and competence (King 6).

In addition, in 2016, female soldiers graduated from "Ranger" and "Infantry" schools of officers and combat leaders which are normally considered as a prevalent thing in the American Society nowadays, unlike what it was in the previous years. Hence, like most of the countries around the world, the US Military Institution witnessed a massive deployment for women in different roles, be it in a supportive or a combat unit (Moore 3). Nevertheless, even though it may seem that women's situation in the army sphere has turned upside down since the WWII, it cannot be easily thought that they will always be treated the same way or given the same chances as their male counterparts (Gustavsen 362).

In a nutshell, women's integration in the US Armed Forces was a gradual process that took a considerable amount of time and effort throughout the American history. Starting from the 1900s till early 2000s, the US Congress studied this matter and launched several policies that were developed throughout the years to move the status of women from being totally excluded from the military foundation, to being included even in combat roles. Therefore,

with the shortage of the military staff that most countries are facing, the development of technologies and the armed forces weapons, the rising awareness of societies and the decline of the traditional beliefs concerning women's and men's roles, the existence of women in the military sphere -occupying all sorts of positions like men- became an inevitable reality.

Chapter Three

Women in Combat Zones: Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Afghanistan and Iraq were the theaters of the last two wars fought by the United States. Once again, women soldiers were called to serve with the US Army. This chapter traces the uprising events that led to the start of both: Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom. Also, it highlights the circumstances that forced the US Army to call for the involvement of female soldiers despite the Combat Exclusion Policy that prevents women from being present in a war zone. Furthermore, the chapter examines the establishment, the mission, and the degree of effectiveness of the Lioness Team in Iraq, and Female Engagement Team and Culture Support Team in Afghanistan. Finally, it presents some postwar experiences that US female Veterans went through upon their return from the wars of Iraq and Afghanistan. It also covers the idea of improving mental health care systems in order to help those female veterans to successfully reintegrate again in their civil life.

3.1. Operation Enduring Freedom: OED

On the morning of September 11, 2001, the world woke up on one of the most tragic events in the history of the United States. The day marked an attack by al Qaeda's- a terrorist network led by Osama Bin Laden, a Saudi exile in Afghanistan - against the World Trade Center in New York, and the Pentagon in Washington DC. Four United Airlines filled with passengers were hijacked by members of al Qaeda. Two of them crashed against the twin towers in New York, the other hit the Pentagon building in DC, while the fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. The attacks caused the death of 3000 people, most of whom were Americans. The incidents caused a wave of anger among Americans, as well as; the rest of international governments and organizations (Wright et al.1). President George W. Bush "identified the attack as an act of war against the United States rather than using the previous practice of classifying terrorist act as crimes" (1).

Within hours, the US forces alert status was raised to Defense Condition (DEFCON 3), their highest alert (Lambeth 15). To protect the US soil from further air strikes, the DOD “had to establish an air defense umbrella over the United States ... as dozens of armed fighters maintained round the clock patrols over more than 30 American cities” (16). Moreover, Operation Nobel Eagle started as hundreds of armed fighters remained on alert at bases throughout the United States (16). Although no party claimed its responsibility for the assault, the US government declared al Qaeda responsible for it, and plans for retaliation started (17). Before taking any move, the Bush administration put its efforts to form an international coalition that would help the US seek its revenge. Furthermore, the North Atlantic Council, and for the first time in its 52 years history, “invoked the mutual defense clause in the charter of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)” (18).

On the 7th of October, the US Center of Command (CENTCOM) initiated a military campaign called Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). General Tommy Franks, the Commander of CENTCOM planned the OEF, first to eliminate Osama Bin Laden and al Qaeda, and then to terminate the ruling of Taliban regime in the region. The OEF was divided into four phases. The first phase included planning the air strikes that would facilitate the second phase which is the insertion of Special Operation Forces (SOF) in the ground. The latter group would have to cooperate with and train indigenous forces which would result in achieving the humanitarian goals of the operation and would allow the international coalition to help reconstruct Afghanistan (Wright et al.27).



Fig. 1. Afghanistan and Its Surrounding Region from: Perry, Walter L., and David Kassing. *Toppling the Taliban: Air- Ground Operations in Afghanistan, October 2001-June 2002*. RAND Corporation, 2015.

Following 9/11, Americans called for a rapid reaction against al Qaeda and the country that hosts it. The war in Afghanistan was as president Bush described it a “different kind of war”. It is usually described as a global war against terror rather than a war against Taliban and al Qaeda. Consequently, in a less than one month after the 9/11 attacks, military operations started. In this short time period, it was impossible for United States planners to come up with a comprehensible military plan for the OEF. Also, it was hard to determine the number of the necessary forces needed in the war zone (Perry and Kassing 2).

The international coalition between the United States and its supporters played a pivotal role in this new war against terror. More than fifty countries provided the United States with the help it needed. Twenty of which deployed more than 8000 troops to the

CENTCOM Area of Responsibility. Similarly, Countries like Pakistan, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, and the United Kingdom provided the United States with effective intelligence (14-15). The war in Afghanistan was not an easy one due to many factors. Taliban’s insurgency and its guerilla warfare, combined with a rugged nature of the area and a difficult topography made it very difficult for US soldiers to coordinate with each other (Wright et al.5). These circumstances drove the US to be more reliant on its Afghan supporters. According to Collins; “the military operation featured Northern Alliance – a united front of Tajiks, Hazzara and Uzbeks- and anti-Taliban Pashtun forces fighting a war of maneuver against the Taliban ... the US contribution came in the form of air power and advice from the COF and CIA paramilitary personnel” (47).

Table. 2.

Chronology of Key Events in Operation Enduring Freedom

| Date | Event |
|---------------|--|
| 2001 | |
| September 11 | Al Qaeda attacks the United States |
| October 7 | United States begins air attacks on al Qaeda and Taliban forces in Afghanistan |
| October 19 | First SOF teams inserted in North Ranger raid on Taliban compound in the south |
| November 9 | Mazar-e-Sharif taken by Northern Alliance |
| November 13 | Kabul falls without fighting in the city |
| December 5 | The Bonn Agreement, establishing roadmap for successor regime, is signed |
| December 4-17 | Action at Tora Bora, bin Laden escapes |
| December 22 | Hamid Karzai installed as a leader of the Interim Administration |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| December 28 | International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) was established with UK in command |
| 2002 | |
| March 1-18 | Operation ANACONDA in Shahi Kot valley |
| May 1 | Training of Afghan National Army begins |
| June 13 | Loya Jirga elects Karzai as head of the state |
| June 21 | Turkey assumes command of ISAF |

Source: Perry, Walter L., and David Kassing. *Toppling the Taliban: Air- Ground Operations in Afghanistan, October 2001-June 2002*. RAND Corporation, 2015. www.rand.org.

Operation Anaconda was the last one in the first phase. Despite the tactical difficulties the US forces succeeded in defeating Taliban and al Qaeda fighters. Although the United States managed to overthrow the Taliban regime, many of its leaders were able to flee to Pakistan and other regions. Soon after, the US began to hunt down the rest of those leaders in every corner of the globe. A reconstruction phase started in Afghanistan with the UN calling for a conference in Bonn, Germany. The United States and its allies were gathered to establish a new government in the country. The conference resulted in forming an Interim government by Afghan leaders with Hamid Karzai becoming the president (49-50).

3.2. Operation Iraqi Freedom: OIF

Operation Iraqi Freedom is one of the United States war operations that were held against Iraq. Although this war started officially in 2003, its main roots date back two decades ago when Saddam Hussein took over Iraq's government in 1979 and started initiating wars with Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. At the beginning of Hussein's ruling, Iran was facing a revolt against "the fundamentalist militants" whose goal was to create "an Islamic republic" in Iran. As a result, the shah of Iran fell down leaving the country

vulnerable and weak. With the unfortunate history that gathered Iran and Iraq throughout the years, Hussein took advantage of Iran's poor situation and decided to resolve the problems and issues between the two countries. Significantly, he started a war with Iran in 1980 which lasted for eight years. In 1988, they agreed to make a truce and stop this war leaving both countries with approximately one million fatalities and broken governments (Palka et al. 374).

After the war with Iran, and despite the fact that Kuwait helped Iraq during this war, Iraq claimed that Kuwait was stealing oil from its territories and decided to invade it in August 2, 1990, starting the First Gulf War (374). Threatening the Saudi Arabia's borders and its oil fields, the United States of America created an International Coalition to protect Saudi Arabia (375). Evidently, Iraq was seen as "a dangerous threat to international peace and security" (Yoo 563), and was put under surveillance. Consequently, the United Nation and Security Council launched several resolutions to drive Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait, one of which is Resolution 678 that gave Iraq a deadline until January 15, 1991. Refusing to leave Kuwait under these resolutions, the coalition launched Operation Desert Storm forcing Iraq to disengage from Kuwait in 1991 (Yoo 564; Schmitt 84).

Despite the fact that the coalition succeeded in expelling Iraq out of Kuwait at that time, Hussein's regime was not completely destroyed as they wanted it to be -leaving that gap for the Second Gulf War to take place later on in 2003. "The end of the first Persian Gulf War in 1991 created conditions that would increase the likelihood of future military action" (Perry et al. 10); in other words, there was a big chance that Iraq was not going to keep things as they were since it had the permission to keep its military forces (11). As a result, it was only a matter of time that another war would begin.

With the beginning of the 20th century, the 9/11 attacks in 2001, and the past actions of Iraq, assumptions over having the Weapons of Massive Destruction by Afghanistan and

Iraq grew bigger. The latter led the American administration of George W. Bush to declare war on Terror on those countries (Perry et al. 28), by “replacing the Cold War doctrine of containment and deterrence with a new policy of preemptive strikes, one that could be tried out in Iraq” (Kellner 417). This new policy focused on a self-defense system in which a country should strike first whenever it feels threatened, which, later on, resulted launching the war on Iraq (417).

Regardless of the fact that George W. Bush administration was also aiming at taking control over Iraq’s oil fields and building military bases in its territories -like they did with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, those reasons were not enough to build a case against Iraq and end Hussein’s regime (Kellner 420). Therefore, with the uprising events in Iraq itself, Saddam Hussein’s abusive regime with his people, Sunni vs Shi’a issues, the doubts concerning the existence of Weapons of Massive Destruction in his country, the US and the UK –claiming to free the Iraqi people from Saddam’s regime- proposed to the Security Council to take actions against Saddam Hussein and stop his ruling, under the allegation that he is a dangerous president who’s putting his country under a “rouge regime” (Palka et al. 375; Schmitt 84; Klenner 426).

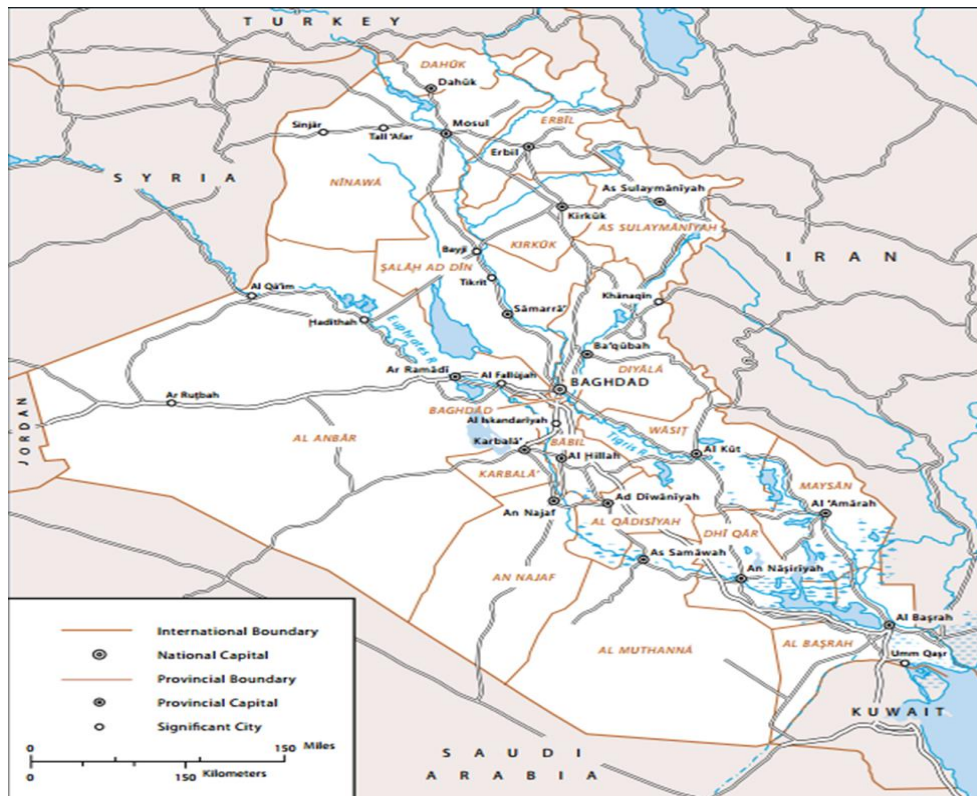


Fig. 2. Iraq from: Rayburn, Joel D., et al. *The US Army in the Iraq War, Volume I*, United States Army War College Press, 2019.

As a result, in 2002, the best solution that the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) came up with is to adopt the new Resolution 1441, which is about as Schmitt states in his article:

Resolution 1441, passed unanimously on 8 November, condemned Iraq's failure to fully disclose information about its weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile programs, cooperate with weapons inspectors, and ties to terrorism, cease repression of its population, facilitate humanitarian assistance by aid agencies, and cooperate in accounting for missing individuals and property from the first Gulf War." (84).

However, regardless of the fact that Saddam Hussein allowed weapons' inspectors to look in his territory for WMD -that were never found later on- he did not show any other response neither to this resolution nor to the previous ones (Yoo 566). Hence, despite the opposition of some countries, this breach of resolution led the UNSC to give authority to the

US administration to take a military action and form “the coalition of the willing” that invaded Iraq on March 19, 2003 (Yoo 563; Palka et al. 375). This invasion of Iraq started officially with the American President George W. Bush launching Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) on March 21, 2003 (Palka et al. 375).

“Operation Iraqi Freedom” is a term used mainly by the US government to justify the war declared on Iraq, while other countries –mostly Arabs- describe this latter as more of an “invasion” and not an operation to free Iraq (Kellner 426). Because of the previous sanctions and resolutions taken by the Security Council to condemn Hussein’s regime, Iraq’s military forces were getting weakened and vulnerable as time went by (Perry et al. 19). In the contrary, the US Military Forces were getting developed in all kind of fields and prepared for operations, particularly in Iraq because of the shared history and the complicated ties they had (16). Consequently, Iraq was attacked under the Preemptive Strikes US Policy and defeated in less than a month, putting an end to Saddam’s regime (Yoo 563).

OIF was divided into two phases: “the combat operations phase” and “the stability-and-support operations phase” (Palka et al. 378). The combat operation phase included numerous of major combat operations as it is shown in Figure 3.1. It aimed at bringing down Saddam Hussein’s rogue regime at any cost claiming that he was a dictator president who was hiding WMD in his country; whereas, “the stability-and-support operations phase” was aiming at rebuilding Iraq after the downfall of Saddam’s regime. Moreover, focusing on bringing down Iraq -that tried to invade Kuwait all over again- the United Nation Special Commission (UNSCOM) was developing the Operations Plan (OPLAN) throughout the years after the first Gulf War (Perry et al. 31).

Like they did in the first Gulf War, the US Military Forces wanted to strike Iraq from Saudi Arabia’s borders. This latter refused, leaving the US with no option but to use Kuwait’s territory as a staging base to attack. With approximately 75,000 soldiers, the American V

Corps “launched its attack from Kuwait northward toward Baghdad, remaining west of the Euphrates River”, while The First Marine Expeditionary Force (1 MEF) that included about 35,000 American and British troops “attacked from Kuwait through the heartland of Iraq”. In addition, the Coalition Special Operation also had an entry from Jordan and Turkey “to deploy Special Forces into northern Iraq”, not to attack Iraq, but to disarm it from the missiles that were threatening Israel (Palka 377).

Between March 19th and April 30th, Baghdad, Nasariyah, Tikrit, Karbala and the main territories in Iraq were attacked under the “Major Combat Operations” as it is shown in Figure 3.1., and Saddam Hussein was defeated. In May 1, 2003, President Bush proclaimed that the phase of combat operations in Iraq came to an end, and that it was high time for the phase of stability-and-support operations to take place for the reconstruction of Iraq (Yoo 563).

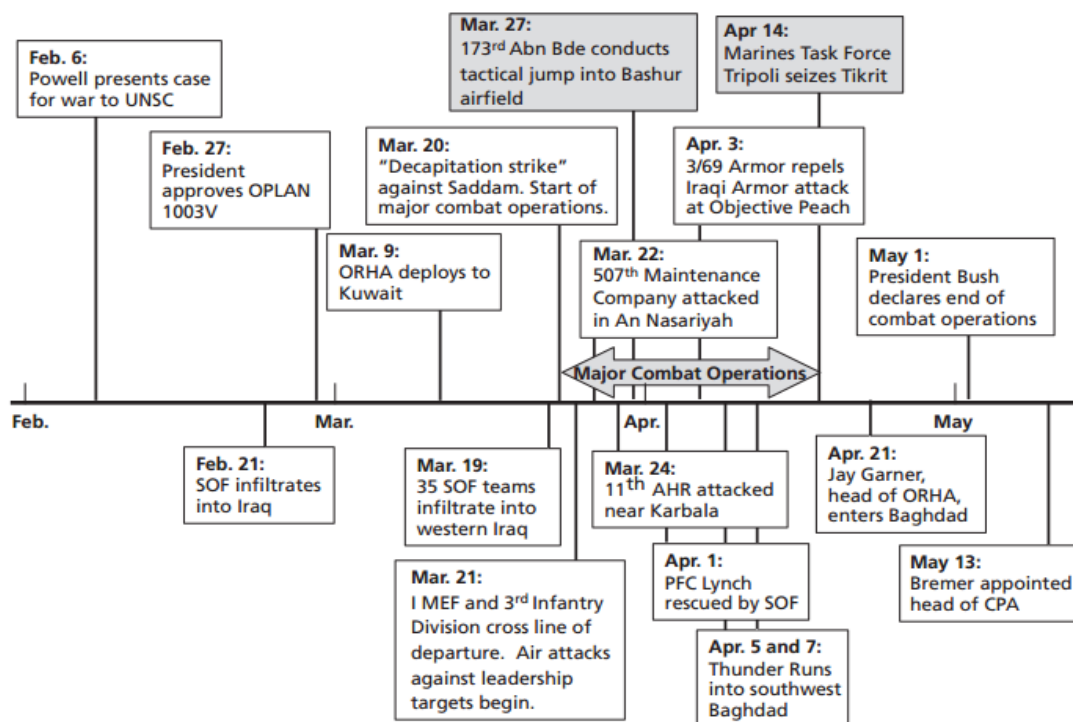


Fig. 3. Chronology of Events Relating to Operation Iraqi Freedom from Perry, Walter L., et al., *Operation IRAQI FREEDOM: Decisive War, Elusive Peace*. RAND Corporation, 2015.

Hussein did not expect his government to fall quickly with so minimum power used by the US Military. However, regardless of the fact that most of the Iraqi public wanted to end Saddam Hussein's regime, a dissent came to surface after the US occupation was about to take place in Iraq. This group of dissidents included members of the Ba'ath Party (which supported Saddam's Government), Jihadists from the Middle East, Fedayeen to Saddam, former Iraqi military members, and some criminals who were released to fight the occupation in 'a lawless' manner (Perry et al. 237).

One of the main reasons that made this dissent stronger is the disbelief of the Iraqi power and the underestimation of Saddam Hussein along with his loyal followers. Hence, the US Military and its friendly coalition took a hit on Iraq with a limited number of troops for a war to start, thinking that "the Iraqi military would not resist", and that the Iraqi public would be more welcoming (238).

However, things did not go as they planned, "Instead, the vast bulk of Iraqi Military and security forces choose to desert rather than surrender; much of the Iraqi public, while pleased to see Saddam depart, proved reluctant to embrace a foreign occupation" (239). As a result, chaos happened. Moreover, because of the limited forces, the US Military could not control the dissent. This latter caused a huge looting movement that started from Baghdad to all over the country for the next up-coming years (239-240).

In a nutshell, with the up-rising events in Operation Iraqi Freedom, the multiple combat operations that were held against the dissidents in Iraq, and the countless fatalities and injuries coming from both sides of the US Army Forces and the Iraqis, the War on Iraq had to come to an end at some point. On August 31, 2010, the American President Barak Obama declared the end of the US combat operations in Iraq. Yet, some troops stayed under the allegation of helping Iraq to rise again (Terreon 9). Furthermore, "On December 15, 2011, US Armed Forces in Baghdad marked the official end of the war in Iraq" (10). On the whole,

War on Iraq did not end with a winner and a loser, it was more of “a policy decision by the US and/or Iraqi government” (Dale 3). In other words, and at the end of the day, both governments agreed to stop this useless blood shell known as the War on Iraq.

3.3. Women in Combat Zones: Gendering the Counterinsurgency

When the wars on Afghanistan and Iraq began, the policies that excluded women from the battlefields were still applied. However, with the start of the rebellion- or what many scholars call insurgency- in both countries, a counterinsurgency strategy took place in order to establish peace. With time, the coalition forces faced many obstacles in their counterinsurgency operations in both countries especially with local women. Because of the cultural and religious sensitivity, Iraqi and Afghan women were a red line to soldiers. Such difficulties brought women soldiers to the front lines on special assignments with the Lioness Program in Iraq, and the Female Engagement Team in Afghanistan (Mackenzie 52).

3.3.1. Lioness Program in Iraq

When the rebellion started in Iraq, local women were unapproachable by US soldiers. This fact gave rebels the opportunity to use women to transport concealed weapons and illegal items, and even to carry out suicide attacks. In September 2003, Lieutenant Colonel (Lt Col) Richard Cabrey, Commander of the 1/5 Field Artillery, and Lieutenant Colonel William Brinkley, Commander of the 1st Engineer Battalion were based around the town of Ramadi in Al Anbar Province of Iraq. The region was a confrontation zone between US soldiers and Iraqi rebels. While conducting operations in Ramadi, locals including men, women and children, were searched for weapons and for any clues that could connect them with the rebels. However, male soldiers were not able to search Iraqi women for cultural and religious sensitivities (McNulty 130).

Realizing the complicated nature of the situation, the US forces had to come up with an appropriate solution that would facilitate the counterinsurgency mission. Lt Col Cabrey

recognized that he needed female soldiers to be able to search Iraqi women and children during operations. He then commissioned Lt Col Brinkley to provide female volunteers that would accompany the all-male units of the 1/5 Field Artillery. A group of two women began their mission as searchers, but the group later grew in size. Lt Col Cabrey called the female soldiers on these particular missions “Team Lioness”. The women joined the men soldiers in their patrols that usually occurred at night. As the unit enters a house, the family get separated with men in one room and women and children in another room. Then, men soldiers would search the men whereas the Lionesses search the women and children (131).

The Team Lioness soon recognized that their lives were also at stake because “there were no clear “front” lines that could determine where and what these women were doing in Iraq”. In April of 2004, in Ramadi, Team Lioness was in a mission supporting a Marine unit, the 2nd Battalion, 4th Marines. The targets were two known leaders of the rebels. After searching the houses in the area, they were captured. In the next morning, the unit was ambushed and the Lionesses involved in the mission were caught in the fire. The female soldiers engaged in the confrontation along their male counterparts. This situation led the Lionesses to be involved in an act against the army’s policy that restricts women from serving in units that its primary mission is to engage in direct combat. Despite the army’s policy the female soldiers had no choice but to adapt to the situation and help in eliminating the enemy (132).

In 2004, the USMC initiated the Lioness Program of its own. The program involved employing Marine women to serve with US military in ground combat zone (Long 25). This ad hoc division - a group who is constituted only when necessary or needed- of women mission involved conducting search and seize operations, and security checkpoints. The success of the first Lioness Teams led the Multinational Forces West (MNF-W) to follow the USMC footsteps. In 2006, the Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF) asked both the Marine

Aviation Wing (MAW) and the Marine Logistics Group (MEG) to provide a group of Marine women to form a Lioness Team. The women would serve from one to two months with the ground forces. Following their selection, the Marine women undergo from five to ten days training. It consisted of learning how to fill weapons, weapons familiarization, firing including AK-47, female research techniques, culture and basic language training, intelligence gathering, and detainee operations (Beals 5).

After finishing their training, the women were divided into small groups of four to five members. The Lioness teams operated in entry control points (ECP), and traffic control points (TCP). Sargent (Sgt) Rachel Ramey became a member of the Lioness Program in 2007. After her deployment to Fallujah, she volunteered to be a Lioness, and received a five days training. Then, she was recruited in Habbiniyah. The team was further divided into two, a searcher and a "Guardian Angel». The first conducts the searching, and the second looks after the searcher. As Iraqi women approach the ECP they were taken to a searching area, where the Lioness team reveal their faces to the women in order to lessen their stress. Sgt Ramey served for two months as a searcher under her request (6-7).



Fig. 4. Cpl. Kimberly A. Martin, a lioness attached to 3rd Battalion, 4th Marine Regiment, Regimental Combat Team 5, searches an Iraqi woman in Haditha, Iraq, May 1 from: The 1st Marine Division: “The Blue Diamond”. Marines: www.1stmardiv.marines.mil/Photos/igphoto/232188/.

Soon the Lioness Program was expanded far beyond just checkpoints. Marine Lionesses began participating in patrols where they would engage in “knock and Talks” operations with locals of the villages to gather information and listen to people concerns especially women(McNulty 136). Although they were operating in a new land and in a completely different culture, the Marine women were able to adapt to the long hours of work. In 2005, a suicide bomber in Fallujah drove his car into a military convoy that was transporting a Lioness team from the base to the checkpoint. Three of six members were killed that day . Inspired by this team’s efforts, Marine women were called again to serve years later in Afghanistan (140).

3.3.2. Female Engagement Team (FET)

One of the major outcomes of the Bonn Conference 2001, was the establishment of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The main goal behind the ISAF was to maintain security in Afghanistan. With the establishment of the new government, the Afghani society became divided into two groups. The first group included those who support the new government and the existence of the ISAF forces in the country to maintain peace, while the other group rejected such presence, and supported Taliban and the dissent (Moghaddam 1). By 2009, ISAF leaders initiated a counterinsurgency mode (COIN) in Afghanistan. The new doctrine included conducting humanitarian operations, and rebuilding Afghanistan's infrastructure, winning the support of the Afghan population, and eliminating any opposing groups (4).

With time it was clear for ISAF leaders that Taliban and the rebels took advantage of the ISAF forces resilience to violate the privacy of Afghan houses. Rebels used houses to store weapons and to hide. They have also disguised themselves in women's clothes in order to smuggle themselves in checkpoints. To solve the problem, David Kilcullen, an Australian military advisor to the pentagon with anthropological training, emphasized that in order for the COIN to succeed, it is important to gain the support of Afghan women who constitute 50% of the population (4). Consequently, the USMC called for the service of the first Female Engagement Team in 2009, in Farah province.

Being the backbone of the family, Kilcullen saw that women could have a major influence on their children, husbands, brothers, etc. The main mission of the FET was to engage with the Afghan women and children, the most venerable half of the society. The role of the FET was to help in search during the raids and compounds or what is referred to as "cordon and knock" operations (7). They collected information from Afghan females about the rebellion, and about the daily life of the society that would help the effectiveness of the

COIN objectives (Kareko 2-3). The information that the Afghan women would provide were extremely valuable as one Afghan National Army leader said; “the women pass all news in the village. They know who is doing what, who should and shouldn’t be in the area, they talk around the well or while collecting firewood about the news they have heard from their husband” (qtd.in McBride and Wibben 206).



Fig. 5. US Army Sgt. Leighmarie Lawless, a member of a female engagement team, talks with several children in a village in the Deh Yak district, Afghanistan from Female Engagement Team. *NCO Journal*, US Army, Photo by Sgt. Ken Scar, 19 Oct. 2011.

Second Lieutenant (Lt) Johanna Shaffer was the officer in charge of the first FETs. During their first mission, the team was accompanied with a member of the Afghan National Police (ANP), so he could explain the FET’s mission to the elders of the village. After several discussions, the elders accepted to allow the women of the village to meet with the team. Soon after, All the Afghan women and children were brought into a single house where they received school supplies and hygiene items. Each FET member had a specific duty; three guardian angels provided security to the rest of the team, one was a searcher, one

photographed the mission and Lt Shaffer was the spokesperson who interacted with the Afghan women with the help of an interpreter. The Mission was a successful one as the team was able to obtain valuable information from a faction that was previously neglected by the coalition forces (Beals 9).



Fig. 6. U.S. Army Sgt. Lidya Admounabdfany writes down information from a local woman at the Woman's Center near the Zahari District Center outside of Forward Operating Base Pasab, Kandahar Province, Afghanistan, Admounabdfany is a member of 3rd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division's female engagement team (FET) from Female Engagement Team. *NCO Journal*. US Army Photo by Sgt. Ken Scar, 17 Dec. 2011.

Through having conversations with the Afghan women and children, the FETs were able to create a bond with them. Such interaction allowed the team to understand: the nature of their lives, the relationships within the tribe, and to have an image about the community. Furthermore, the FET managed to explain to these women that their male counterpart's mission was to maintain security in the area and that may take a long period of time. FET's visits helped to clarify three misconceptions about the Afghan population. First, it was believed that the entire village will be angry because some of their members were detained;

however, they were not. Second, ISAF forces thought that the presence of Marine women would not be acceptable by Afghan males. In contrast, they were very receptive of the FET engagement with their women. Third, it became clear that women had no control on what was going on in their village. Through their long discussions with the FET, they gained the power and knowledge to influence their husbands and sons (10-11).

3.3.3. Assessment of the effectiveness of the Lioness and FET programs

The effectiveness of the Lioness program in Iraq and the Female Engagement Team in Afghanistan has been a controversial issue. In “Women Marines in Counterinsurgency Operation: Lioness and Female Engagement Teams”, Ginger E. Beals argues that both programs were successful in achieving their goals. Task Force Lioness contributed a lot in maintaining security measures and peace by approaching Iraqi women who were before an unknown segment to the male soldiers. Similarly, the FETs proved to be beneficial and helped in creating a communication channel between the US forces and the Afghan women, children and even men (18).

In “The Veil of Kevlar: An Analysis of the Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan”, Stephanie K. Erwin believes that “these units are predominantly ad hoc in nature drawing upon women from various specialties that do not necessarily pertain to population engagement or intelligence collection ... they lacked proper training in both cultural awareness and forward combat operation” (13). Erwin further explains that “the FET mission is often misunderstood, underestimated, and underutilized by military leadership. Certain commands and regions have subsequently found it difficult to reap the full rewards of having such units” (13).

Similar to Erwin’s assessment, Gabrielle Cook argues that the FET program was ineffective. Cook believes that the failure of the FET was the result of their “unsuccessful integration into the US COIN doctrine due to inconsistencies in FET implementation” (13).

Moreover, Cook claims that the FETs did not have a part in “the decision-making process, and in planning stages of the operations because of the poor implementation of the adequate policies in practice” (13). For her, the poor implementation of the FET in the COIN strategy led to the lack of coordination and synchronization between the team with other COIN actors. The FET also lacked the ability “to determine the resources, capabilities and activities necessary to achieve their goals” (14).

Likewise, Sippi Azarbaijani Moghaddam states in “Seeing out their Afghan Sisters: Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan” that the FET “struggled to demonstrate usefulness”. Moghaddam argues that there are several reasons behind the failure of the FET. First, the use of the female soldiers came out of necessity only that almost made them invisible to their commanders and male counterparts. She adds that the program was not developed to meet the COIN aspirations. With the insufficient training period, the ill preparation for the task, the lack of Knowledge about the context in which they were going to operate in, and even the absence of linguists made the FET mission harder and sometimes even impossible (46).

Keally McBride and Annick T.R. Wibben share Moghaddem’s view. Both authors claim that using the ‘Soft Power’ as a part of the COIN strategy had its advantages. The FETs managed to win the acceptance of all segments of the Afghan society even men who saw the female soldiers as a “third gender” that are here to help rather than to fight. However, the FET program effectiveness is limited mainly because of the FETs commanders. McBride and Wibben believe that the Afghan men were flexible and tolerant with the female soldiers’ presence more than their commanders and colleague male soldiers were. Captain Scot Cuomo, a strong supporter of the FET program said; “I think the infantry in me will have a very hard time ever accepting that going to rush against the enemy and there is going to be a female right next me ... Can she do it” (209-211).

The views about both programs have been different among scholars. The Lioness program has been less controversial than the FET one. When discussing the success of the FET program, the majority of experts believe that the main reason behind its failure is the lack of acceptance of females in the units they were detached to. Whether the female soldiers demonstrated usefulness or not, their gender was always a block.

3.3.4. Culture Support Team Program (CST)

The Culture Support Team Program was established in 2010 following the order of the International Security Assistance Commander General Stanly McChrystal. The reasons behind creating the CST program are similar to those that led to the creation of the Lioness Program in Iraq and the FET program in Afghanistan. The Special Operation Command (SOCOM) was the authority responsible to recruit servicewomen from all services to join the CST. Two hundred women volunteered to become a member of the CST. The SOCOM recruiting website explained that:

CSTs directly support activities ranging from medical civic-action programs, search and seizures, humanitarian assistance and civil-military operations. Cultural support training will primarily focus on basic human behavior, Islamic and Afghan cultures, women and their role in Afghanistan, and Tribalism. Training is conducted at Fort Bragg, N.C. Cultural Support Program members must make, at a minimum, a one-year commitment to the program (qtd.in Haring et al.1)

After finishing a two months training program, the teams were deployed in Afghanistan mainly from eight to ten months. Then, the women were assigned to the Ranger Teams responsible for conducting Direct Action (DA) operations, or to Special Forces Teams whose main job was conducting Village Stability Operations. During their service time the CSTs were engaging and searching Afghan women and children. Despite their risk-free mission, the reality was different from that. The CSTs operated in harsh conditions and

witnessed some sort of combat that included even firefighting. Two servicewomen, 1st Lieutenant Ashley White and 1st Lieutenant Jennifer Moreno were killed in action during direct action night raids (2). When discussing the CST program and her experience as a CST member Captain Meredith Mathis said, “I feel like I’ve seen as much if not more combat than a lot of infantry soldiers: leading patrols, IEDs, getting mortared ... I’ve seen combat and I consider myself a combat-tested veteran.” (qtd.in Haring et al.2).

The CSTs faced the same attitudes from their commanders and male counterparts in the unit as the FETs. However, with the increasing effectiveness in the missions that they were involved in, the units became more aware of their usefulness in the team. Rapidly Commanders were asking for the deployment of more CST teams in Afghanistan. Accepting the presence of women in the units helped them to be easily integrated, an advantage that the FETs did not have.

Operation OEF and OIF contributed a lot in changing the long-lasting stereotypes about military women. The claims of those who opposed women’s full integration in the armed forces that: the presence of women in units would affect men’s performance, women can’t survive tough living conditions, women cannot help male colleagues if they were injured, the public won’t accept to see women in the battlefields have proven to be false because of those women who served in Iraq and Afghanistan (Planiol 24).

3.4. Postwar Experience for Female Veterans in Afghanistan and Iraq

Due to the congressional changes and law developments –as it was discussed in Chapter Two-, women now represent a larger group in the US Military. In 2017, compared to the 2% of women who were allowed to be part of the US Military in 1950 (Boyd et al. 10), a recent study shows that women in the army comprise “15% of Active Duty Forces, 18% of the National Guard and Reserves, and 9% of the total veteran population” (Leslie and Koblinsky 106). Hence, with the total inclusion of women in combat zones, Strong et al.

argue that “This increase may also expose the female veterans to combat-related trauma, putting them at risk for additional post-deployment mental health concerns.” (489).

Generally, regardless of the fact that the Direct Combat Exclusion Policy –which limited women’s positions and prevented them from being involved in combat zones- was not revoked till 2013, women did serve in the frontline wars of Iraq (OIF) and Afghanistan (OEF), whenever they were called (Dye et al. 92; Strong et al. 490; Leslie and Koblinsky 106). Consequently, these wars were the most recent wars that involved the largest group of female soldiers in the history of America (Street et al. 686). Leslie and Koblinsky state that “Almost 12%, or 280,000 of those who deployed in Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), were women” (106). These women fulfilled both their roles and their male counterparts’ roles like providing medical care, handling human remains, firing a weapon, and even killing someone (107).

Notably, multiple studies indicate that the aftermath of OIF/OEF wars affected women and men differently. In 2016, Koblinsky et al. state that “Among OEF/OIF women veterans, 20% have suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 14% have reported depression, and others have experienced anxiety, alcohol abuse, and other behavior health conditions” (2). According to the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, post-traumatic stress disorder is “a psychological reaction occurring after experiencing a highly stressing event (such as wartime combat, physical violence, or a natural disaster) that is usually characterized by depression, anxiety, flashbacks, recurrent nightmares, and avoidance of reminders of the event-abbreviation PTSD”.

Moreover, Koblinsky et al. argue that women who participated in direct combat exposure are more likely to be traumatized and suffer from both physical and psychological side effects than their male counterparts. They add that despite the belief that women -unlike men- should be able to go back to their normal life easily, “significant number of women

report war-related mental health conditions”, these mental conditions (most of the time PTSD symptoms) would later on affect their social life and family relationships (2). Evidently, in “Current Challenges in Female Veterans’ Health”, Resnick et al. also state that –according to Medical University of South Carolina- although men are more exposed to gunfire, death scenes, combat zones compared to women, women have higher rates in reporting PTSD symptoms (10.4% - 12.3%) than men (5.0% - 6.0%) (865).

Furthermore, Boyd et al. believe that combat exposure in OEF/OIF is “a strong predictor of post-deployment depression and PTSD symptoms in women” (13), and state that « being female or divorced was associated with higher risks of PTSD” (16). In particular, anxiety and anger are one of the PTSD symptoms that cannot be controlled, especially for women. Thus, military changes people and the way they feel around their loved ones, as a female soldier described her feelings after coming back from war:

I’ve been back 5 ½ years, and it seems like I’ve been getting angrier and angrier the longer I’ve been back, which is just not me ... My brother, I’ve never heard from my brother in the 15 months I was gone ... and it’s like they’ve (family members) ignored my 15 months overseas, so I think that’s a number one issue with me. And the other one is, I can just see myself getting angry and it comes out, and it’s like I’m watching me get angry and I can’t stop it (qtd. in Leslie and Koblinsky 114).

Similarly, in 2017, Leslie and Koblinsky conducted another study concerning women who served in OEF/OIF. They argue that because of the stereotypical role of women, “female veterans are often expected to readjust quickly to family and parenting roles” (107).

However, this belief is what creates bigger problems for women with their families when they are back from the war. It makes the families of these women -in this case- ignore what their mothers, sisters, wives and daughters are going through after being a part in a war zone (107). For instance, one stated that:

(A challenge) was having to reconnect with somebody when you're so used to walking around tight, squared eyed, focused, and driven at the mission. And to come back and somebody wants you to be loving, and endearing, and trusting. It's like they want you to be "the lady", and you've been used to ... some of the (military) positions that we've held. So, relating to that intimate part of people, and to my family ... I wasn't able to adjust (qtd. in Leslie and Koblinsky 113).

Significantly, the social reintegration in the civil life is a lot harder than it may seem. Military life means that a soldier should always be prepared to be called out at any time and in any place, as someone who shared her postwar experience said:

I found it difficult from my first deployment going 100 miles per hour plus all the time, and then it just comes to a screeching halt (in civilian life). Everyone is moving so slow and nothing is an urgency. Why is everyone moving so slowly!?! (qtd. in Leslie and Koblinsky 111).

Recently, scholars do not only investigate women's conditions and postwar experiences, instead, they conduct studies discussing certain strategies to help female veterans improve their mental health and reintegrate in the society and the civil life successfully. In "'Give us Respect, Support and Understanding': Women veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan recommend strategies for improving their mental health care", Koblinsky et al. provide full descriptions and recommendations from the veteran women's experiences of OEF/OIF. They categorize these strategies under three themes: "The therapeutic relationship, the clinical care environment, and structural aspects of the health care system" (20). Koblinsky et al. emphasize the fact that the Veteran Affairs facilities and community practice should be improved for female veterans and provide them with special care and treatment as a reward for their sacrifices for the country (20).

Additionally, in 2017, after investigating the postwar related challenges and personal experiences faced by OEF/OIF female veterans, Leslie and Koblinsky also aimed at exploring the thoughts of other female veterans who were able to reintegrate successfully “in which they had effectively used personal strengths and military skills to improve their transition to civilian family life.” (115). Hence, a female soldier described her thoughts about how important is the military service and how did this idea helped her and her family to overcome the problem of the deployment and family separation:

I tried to find ways to help him (my son) understand. I would show him the world map and show him where Afghanistan was. That way it didn't seem like I just left him ... (I'd) try to explain why we were gone. Like “Hey, there are bad guys out there and we had a job to do to keep everyone safe.” (qtd. in Leslie and Koblinsky 115).

Overall, suffering from social and mental health issues upon returning from a war zone is highly expected. The individual differences are generally what determine to what extent a soldier can handle the situation, be it a male or female. Yet, after going through combat, most studies show that women are more likely to have these issues than men (Resnick et al. 865-866).

What the Lioness Team, the FET and CST did in Afghanistan and Iraq indeed was crucial for the US COIN strategy. Almost all the women volunteered to accomplish a task different from the desk jobs that they were used to. The success or failure of such groups was highly dependent on the attitudes of the military leaders under which they operated, how much knowledge they possess about the operations, and the acceptance of their presence by the Afghan and Iraqi societies. The war had a long-lasting implication on the women who served in Afghanistan and Iraq wars. They suffered from both physical and mental problems that made the return to their normal lives very difficult.

Conclusion

After examining the history of the involvement of American women in the US Armed Forces, it is clear that their path was full of obstacles. Since the US came up as an independent country, women have always tried to conquer many fields including the military one. During the country's first wars, as the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, women managed to play a part in the conflict by providing the necessary health care to male American soldiers. Some of them also defied societal expectations and became spies and combatant in the battlefield. Unfortunately, following the end of the war, women found themselves placed back in their homes without any recognition for their efforts and definitely denied any benefits.

A new opportunity for women to serve in the US Army came with the establishment of both the Army Nurse Corps (ANC) in 1901, and the Navy Nurse Corps (NNC) in 1908. Both corps allowed women to become army nurses under contracts; however, it denied them any military rank or status. Once the First World War started, the ANC and NNC were put into use and their size increased significantly. American nurses operated all over Europe where they came face to face with war for the first time. The sights of wounded soldiers were not easy for women to tolerate; yet, this did not stop them from doing their job in the perfect way possible. The WWI also witnessed one of the turning points in the history of women in the US Army by allowing women to join the US Navy with equal pay and equal military rank as their male counterparts. Similarly, the Signal Corps called for the help of hundreds of female telephone operators to handle communication tasks. Again, women were discharged as soon as the war ended with a similar fate as women who served in the previous wars.

It was until World War Two when American women saw diversity in their roles in the US Army. When the US entered the WWII, Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers sought an opportunity that changed the future of US women soldiers by proposing a bill to establish the

first Women Army Corps. To accept women as an integral part of the Army was not an easy decision to make by military leaders; instead, Women Army Auxiliary Corps was established. The WAACs performed many tasks and their duties were mainly administrative. The WAACs efforts finally paid off in 1943 when they became a part of the US Army and their name changed to Women Army Corps. The WACs were not the only women to join the army, as Women Airforce Service Pilots came also in the picture. Courageous women pilots flew American Aircrafts and even lost their lives doing so. Their work was classified after the end of WWII and their sacrifice was forgotten until recently.

Due to the fact that Gender Bias is what determines the differences between a male soldier and a female one, they were neither given the same opportunities nor equal military duties. Significantly, since the military institution is usually considered to be masculine more than feminine -because of the physical, mental and social differences between men and women, most of its employees did not accept the fact that women have the right to hold different positions in the military in the same way as men. Therefore, when women were not fully integrated in the US Armed Forces yet, several researches revealed that men –civilians or soldiers- showed negative attitudes toward women’s integration in the army claiming that it would influence their manhood. However, with the social and cultural developments, other recent researches showed both positive and negative attitudes because of the gradual acceptance of women’s involvement in the military sphere.

Throughout the years, laws and policies were passed by the US governments progressively –with some limitations- in favor of women. From the Revolutionary War till WWII, women were marginalized, and they were only called to fill the gaps when the military foundation is facing a shortage of staff, particularly in combat zones and frontline wars. After their involvement in WWII, women proved themselves to be worthy of holding combatant roles and equal positions as their male counterparts, therefore, in 1948 Women’s

Armed Service Integration Act was passed making women a permanent part of the US Military with some restrictions. However, despite this act, women were often called for combat roles.

As a result, The DoD issued another act known as the Ground Combat Exclusion Policy which focused on the individual's performance and competence –be it a male or a female- except that females would be only excluded from direct combat grounds. Consequently, US Women Soldiers took part in every American war, like in Iraq and Afghanistan. Hence, it was until 2013 where America realized that the existence of women in their army lines is becoming a need, the fact that led them -in 2016- to fully integrate women in all kind of positions in the US Military institutions.

The 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the US waged a new kind of war which was called “war against terror». In a span of three years, the United States was involved in two wars, one in Afghanistan and the other in Iraq. Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom dragged the US Army to operate in new territories where the culture is completely unfamiliar and different from the one at home. When the US started its “counterinsurgency” mode in both countries, female soldiers were of great necessity in order to engage with a large proportion of the society that includes women and children. The Lioness Program started in Iraq first with female soldiers placed in checkpoints so they could search Iraqi women. The program soon expanded to home searches and “Knock and Talks” operations. The Concept of the Lioness team was brought later to Afghanistan under the name of the Female Engagement Team and later the Culture Support Team. The FETs and CSTs’ job was to engage with Afghan women to collect information and explain their male counterparts’ mission in the country.

The efficiency of these teams was debatable among experts. Some appraise the work of these women and consider their mission to be successful, but others believe these women

lacked the knowledge and the proper training, the thing that resulted in their failure. It is clear that the US Army women are called to serve only when they are needed, and mainly for a limited period of time. The reliance of US military leaders on women is driven by necessity not by diversity. This fact makes it clear that female soldiers are not intimidated by wars and should be part of it.

Regardless of the fact that women are more likely to suffer from postwar combat-related traumas more than men, they still want to be part of the military ground, willingly not forcibly as the majority were volunteers. Evidently, one fifth (20%) of these female veterans of the OEF/OIF suffered specifically from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and 14% reported depression, while others witnessed permanent physical impairment, anxiety, flashbacks of stressful events during the war and other mental health concerns. Recently, some studies did not focus on these postwar health problems; instead, they focused on providing strategies for the Veterans Affairs (VA) facilities to make the lives of female veterans easier than expected after their participation in wars.

Bibliography

Air Force Law Review. Vol. 68. pp. 131-140, 2012.

Akers, Regina T. *The Navy's First Enlisted Women: Patriotic Pioneers*. Naval History and Heritage Command, Navy Dept, 2019.

America's Women Veterans: Military Service History and VA Benefit Utilization Statistics. National Center for Veterans Analysis and Statistics, Department of Veterans Affairs, 2001.

Azarbaijani Moghaddam, Sippi. *Seeking out Their Afghan Sisters: Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan*. CRH Michelson Institute, 2014.

Aydt, Hilary Kathryn. *The Social Construction of Gender in the Military and Resistance to the Integration of Women*. 1998. Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Honors Theses. *ProQuest*, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/60524558.pdf>.

Beals, Ginger E. *Women Marines in Counterinsurgency Operations: Lioness and Female Engagement Teams*. 2010. Marine Corps University. *ProQuest*, <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a604399>.

Bellafaire, Judith. *The Army Nurse Corps: A Commemoration of World War II Service*. U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1993.

Boylston, Helen Dore. *Sister: The War Diary of a Nurse*. Ives Washburn, 1927.

Boyd, Marry Ann, et al. "Mental Health Issues of Women Deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan". *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2013, pp, 10-22. *ProQuest*, doi: 10.1016/j.apnu.2012.10.005. Accessed 13 Aug. 2020.

Blanton, DeAnne, and Lauren M. Cook. *They Fought like Demons: Women Soldiers in the American Civil War*. Sutton, 2005.

- Brown, Melissa T. "‘A Woman in the Army is Still a Woman’: Representations of Women in US Military Recruiting Advertisements for the All-Volunteer Force." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2012, pp. 151-175.
- Carreriras, Helena. *Gender and Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*. Routledge, 2006.
- Cook, Gabrielle. "Counterinsurgency and Female Engagement Teams in the War in Afghanistan." *E-International Relations*. Aug 2015. <https://www.e-ir.info/2015/08/16/counterinsurgency-and-female-engagement-teams-in-the-war-in-afghanistan/>. Accessed 16 Aug 2020.
- Collins, Joseph J. *Understanding War in Afghanistan*. NDU Press, 2011.
- Dale, Catherine. "Operation Iraqi Freedom: Strategies, Approaches, Results, and Issues for Congress". *Congressional Research Service*, No. RL34387, 2009. fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL34387.pdf. Accessed 14 Aug. 2020.
- Department of Defense. *2018 Demographics: Profile of the Military Community*. The Department of Defense, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Military Community and Family Policy, 2018.
- Deuster, Patricia A., and Victoria Teepe. "Why a ‘Women in Combat Symposium’?" *Military Medicine*, vol. 181, no. 1, 2016, pp. 1–3. *ProQuest*, doi:10.7205/milmed-d-15-00353. Accessed 19 Feb. 2020.
- Devilibiss, M.C. *Women and Military Services: A History, Analysis and Overview of Key Issues*. Air UP, 1990.
- Dye, Judy L., et al. "Characterization and Comparison of Combat-Related Injuries in Women During OIF and OEF". *Military Medicine*, vol.181, no. 1, 2016, pp. 92-98. *ProQuest*, doi:10.7205/MILMED-D-15-00237. Accessed 9 Aug. 2020.

- Dzwonchyk, Wayen M, and John Ray Skates. *A Brief History of the U.S Army in World War II: The Campaigns of World War II*. U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1992.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Women and War*. 1987. The University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Ernest Govea. *The Political and Military Impact of the Spanish-American War*. 2012. Marine Corps University 2012. *ProQuest*, <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a601164>.
- Erwin, Stephanie K. *The Veil of Kevlar: An Analysis of the Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan*. 2012. Naval Postgraduate School. *ProQuest*, <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/6792>.
- “Equal Rights Amendment.” *Newspapers.com*. 2018. www.newspapers.com/topics/end-of-the-20th-century/equal-rights-amendment/. Accessed 5 May 2020.
- Feller, Carolyn M, and Constance J. Moore, editors. *Highlights on the History of the Army Nurse Corps*. U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1995.
- “Femininity.” *Merriam-Webster.com*. 2020. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/femininity>. Accessed 21 March 2020.
- Forbes, Ella. *African American Women during the Civil War*. Garland, 1998.
- “Gender Bias” *Cambridge.com*. Cambridge University Press, 2020. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/gender-bias>. Accessed 25 April 2020.
- Goodman, Rhonda. “Expanding the Role of Women as Nurses during the American Civil War.” *Advances in Nursing Science*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2009, pp. 33–42. *ProQuest*, doi: 10.1097/01.ans.0000346285.14483.74. Accessed 18 Feb 2020.
- Gustavsen, Elin. “Equal Treatment or Equal Opportunity? Male Attitudes towards Women in the Norwegian and US Armed Forces.” *Acta Sociologica*, vol. 56, no. 4, 2013, pp. 361-374. *ProQuest*, doi: 10.1177/0001699313480513. Accessed 10 Apr. 2020.

- Hammond, William M. *The Women's Army Corps: A Commemoration of World War II Service*. U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1993.
- Haring, Ellen, et al. "Women in Combat: Learning from Cultural Support Teams". *Women in International Security*, Aug. 2015. www.wiisglobal.org. Accessed 15 Aug. 2020.
- Hallett, Christina E. "American Nurses in Europe". *Nurses Writers of the Great War*, Manchester UP, 2016, pp. 127-130.
- Herbert, Melissa S. "Feminism, Militarism, and Attitudes toward the Role of Women in the Military." *Feminist Issues*, vol. 14, 1994, pp. 25-48. *ProQuest*, link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF02685655. Accessed 10 April 2020.
- Hewitt, Linda L. *Women Marines in World War I*. History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1974.
- Higgins, Loretta P. "Army Nurses in Wartime: Distinction and Pride." *Military Medicine*, vol. 161, no. 8, 1996, pp. 472–474. *ProQuest*, doi:10.1093/milmed/161.8.472. Accessed 19 Feb 2020.
- History.com Editors. "The United States in World War I." *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 6 Apr. 2017, www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/u-s-entry-into-world-war-i-1.
- Johnson, Cecil D, and et al. *Women Content in the Army – REFORGER 77(REF WAC 77)*. Special Report S-7. US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, 30 May 1978, apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a055960.pdf. Accessed 30 April 2020.
- Johnson, Katherine Burger. *Called to Serve: American Nurses Go to War, 1914-1918*. 1993. University of Louisville. *ProQuest*, <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/701>.

- Kamarck, Kristy N. "Women in Combat: Issues for Congress". *Congressional Research Service*, No. R42075, 2016. fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R42075.pdf. Accessed 25 Apr. 2020.
- Kareko, Raymond T. "Female Engagement Teams". Army University Press., Oct 2019. <https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/NCO-Journal/>. Accessed 15 Aug 2020.
- Katz, Lucy V. "Free a Man to Fight: The Exclusion of Women from Combat Positions in the Armed Forces." *Law and Inequality*, vol .10, no.1, 1992, pp.4-5.
- Kellner, Douglas. "Preemptive Strikes and the War on Iraq: A Critique of Bush Administration Unilateralism and Militarism". *New Political Science*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2004, pp, 417-440. *ProQuest*, doi:10.1080/0739314042000251342. Accessed 10 Aug. 2020.
- King, Anthony. "Women in Combat." *The RUSI Journal*, vol. 158, no. 1, 2013, pp. 4-11. *ProQuest*, doi:10.1080/03071847.2013.774634. Accessed 12 Apr. 2020.
- Koblinsky, Sally A., et al. "'Give Us Respect, Support and Understanding': Women Veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan Recommend Strategies for Improving Their Mental Health Care". *Social Work in Mental Health*, 2016, *ProQuest*, doi:10.1080/15332985.2016.1186134. Accessed 14 Aug 2020.
- Lambeth, Benjamin S. *Air Power Against Terror: America's Conduct of Operation Enduring Freedom*. RAND, 2005.
- Leslie, Leigh A, and Sally A. Koblinsky. "Returning to Civilian Life: Family Reintegration Challenges and Resilience of Women Veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars". *Journal of Family Social Work*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2017, pp, 106-123. *ProQuest*, doi:10.1080/10522158.2017.1279577. Accessed 12 Aug 2020.
- Long, Gail C. *Effectiveness of the U.S Military Female Engagement Teams*. 2012. Naval Postgraduate School. *ProQuest*,<https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a567705>.

- McBride, Keally, and Annick T. R. Wibben. "The Gendering of Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan." *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2012, pp. 199–215., doi:10.1353/hum.2012.0012. Accessed 07 Aug 2020.
- McDevitt, Theresa. "African American women and espionage in the Civil War." *Social Education*, vol. 67, no. 5, 2003, p. 255-257, [https://go.gale.com/ps/anonymous?id=GALE %7CA108048791&sid=googleScholar&v=2.1&it=r&linkaccess=abs&issn=003777](https://go.gale.com/ps/anonymous?id=GALE%7CA108048791&sid=googleScholar&v=2.1&it=r&linkaccess=abs&issn=003777). Accessed 6 Apr 2020.
- McInerney, Emily. "Crossing Borders Using Class, Femininity, and Gender: How Northern Women Spies Shortened the American Civil War." *EIU Historia*, <https://www.eiu.edu>.
- MacKenzie, Megan H. *Beyond the Band of Brothers: the US Military and the Myth That Women Can't Fight*. Cambridge UP, 2015, p. 52. Google Books, books.google.dz/books?id=vKumCQAAQBAJ&pg=PA53&dq=female+engagement+team+and+lioness+team&hl.
- Manual of the Medical Department. U.S. Navy, 2009.
- "Masculinity" *Merriam-Webster.com*. 2020. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/masculinity>. Accessed 21 March 2020.
- Massey, Mary Elizabeth. *Women in the Civil War*. University of Nebraska P, 1994, p.3. Google Books, books.google.dz/books?id=iMOXnAboxV4C&dq=women+in+the+american+civil+war+pdf&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwirkbX7r9boAhUAShUIHcr2Bs0Q6AEIRzAD#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Michaels, Davida. "American Nurses in WWI." *American Nursing History*, www.americannursinghistory.org/.

- Moore, Brinda. "Introduction to Armed Forces & Society: Special Issue on Women in the Military." *Armed Forces & Society*, Apr. 2017, pp. 1-11. *ProQuest*, doi: 10.1177/0095327X17694909. Accessed 8 Aug. 2020.
- Morden, Bettie J. *The Women's Army Corps 1945-1978*. U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1990.
- Noaks, Lucy. *Women in the British Army: War and the Gentle Sex, 1907-1948*. Routledge, 2006.
- Palka, Eugene J., et al. "Operation Iraqi Freedom: A Military Geographical Perspective". *The Geographical Review*, vol. 95, no. 3, 2005, pp. 373-399. *ProQuest*, doi:10.1111/j.1931-0846.2005.tb00372.x. Accessed 7 Aug 2020.
- Perry, Walter L., and David Kassing. *Toppling the Taliban: Air-Ground Operations in Afghanistan, October 2001-June 2002*. RAND, 2015.
- Perry, Walter L., et al., Editors. *Operation IRAQI FREEDOM: Decisive War, Elusive Peace*. RAND, 2015.
- Pinch, Franklin C, et al., editors. *Challenge and Change in the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues*. 2004, 3rd ed., Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2006.
- "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder" *Merriam-Webster. Com*. 2020. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/post-traumatic%20stress%20disorder>. Accessed 15 August 2020.
- Planiol, Arnaud. "The Integration of Women in the U.S. Military." *Etudes de L'IRSEM*, no 43, 2016, www.irsem.fr/data/files/irsem/documents/document/file/2443/Etude_IRSEM_n43_En.pdf. Accessed 20 Apr. 2020.
- Rayburn, Joel D., et al., Editors. *The US Army in the Iraq War, Volume I*. United States Army War College Press, 2019.

- Resnick, Eileen M., et al. "Current Challenges in Female Veterans' Health". *Society for Women's Health Research*, vol. 21, no. 9, 2012, pp. 895-900. *ProQuest*, doi:10.1089/jwh.2012.3644. Accessed 13 Aug 2020.
- Robinson Kurpius, Sharon E, and A. Leigh Lucart. "Military and Civilian Undergraduates: Attitudes toward Women, Masculinity, and Authoritarianism." *Sex Roles*, vol. 43, no. ¾, 2000, pp. 255-265. link.springer.com/article/10.1023%2FA%3A1007085015637. Accessed 15 Apr 2020.
- Schmedake, Megan L. "World War I Volunteer Nursing". *The Purdue Historian*, vol.7, no.1, 2014, pp 1-15. <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/puhistorian/vol7/iss1/3>. Accessed 08 May 2020.
- Schmitt, Michael N. "The legality of Operation Iraqi Freedom under International Law". *Journal of Military Ethics*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2004, pp. 82-104. *ProQuest*, doi:10.1080/15027570410006453. Accessed 9 Aug 2020.
- Schrader, Helena Page. *Sisters in Arms: The Women Who Flew in World War II*. Pen & Sword Books, 2006.
- Stachowitch, Saskia. "Military Gender Integration and Foreign Policy in the United States: A Feminist International Relation Perspective." *Security Dialogue*, vol.43, no. 4, 2012, pp. 305-321. *ProQuest*, doi:10.1177/0967010612451482. Accessed 20 Apr 2020.
- Street, Amy E., et al. "A New Generation of Women Veterans: Stressors Faced by Women Deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan". *Clinical Psychology Review*, vol. 29, 2009, pp. 685-694. *ProQuest*, doi: 10.1016/j.cpr.2009.08.007. Accessed 10 Aug 2020.
- Strong, Jessica D., et al. "What is War? Female Veterans' Experiences of Combat in Iraq and Afghanistan". *Journal of Women and Social Work*, vol. 30, no. 4, 2015, pp. 489-503. *ProQuest*, doi:10.1177/0886109915585383. Accessed 25 Aug 2020.

- Telford, Jennifer. "The American Nursing Shortage during World War I: The Debate over the Use of Nurses' Aids." *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, vol.27, no 1, 2010, pp. 85-99. *ProQuest*, doi: 10.3138/cbmh.27.1.85. Accessed 07 May 2020.
- Tendrich Frank, Lisa, Editor. *Women in the American Civil War*, vol 1, ABC-CLIO, 2008.
- Terreon, Barbara S. "U.S. Periods of War and Dates of Recent Conflicts". *Congressional Research Service*, No. RS21405, 2020. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RS21405.pdf>. Accessed 15 Apr. 2020.
- Titherington, Richard H. *A History of the Spanish-American War of 1898*. Appleton and Company, 1900.
- The Army Nurse*. U.S Army Nurse Corps, 1944.
- The Navy Nurse Corps*. Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Navy Dept., 1943.
- Treadwell, Mattie E. *The Women's Army Corps*. U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1991.
- Trobaugh, Elizabeth M. "Women, Regardless Understanding Gender Bias in U.S. Military Integration." 4 88, 2018, pp. 46-53. ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/jfq/jfq-88/jfq-88_46-53_Trobaugh.pdf?ver=2018-01-09-102340-317. Accessed 19 April 2020.
- United States Sanitary Commission Records*, New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, 2006.
- United States. Congress. S. Committees on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs. *The "Hello Girls" Congressional Gold Medal Act of 2018. Hearing 115th Congress, Second Sess*, US Congress, 2018.
- US Constitution. Art. V.
- Wallace, Willard M. "American Revolution." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 27 Aug. 2020, www.britannica.com/event/American-Revolution_ Accessed 7 April. 2020.

Williams, Claire R. "More than Housewives: Revolutionary Era Women in War."

MAD.RUSH Undergraduate Research Conference, 22 March 2014, James Madison University, 800s Main ST, Harrisonburg, US.

"Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service." *U*X*L Encyclopedia of U.S. History*, 22 Aug. 2020. *Encyclopediadia.com*, www.encyclopedia.com. Accessed 7 May. 2020.

Women Airforce Service Pilots Congressional Gold Medal Act. Pub L. 111-40. 1 July 2009. Stat. 123.1958.

"Women in the Military." Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2014, pp. 10-15. www.crf-usa.org/images/pdf/gates/Womin-in-Military.pdf. Accessed 18 Apr. 2020.

Woodward, Rachel, and Trish Winter. *Sexing the Soldier: The Politics of Gender and the Contemporary British Army*. Routledge, 2007.

Wright, Donald P., et al. *A Different Kind of War: The United States Army in Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), October 2001-September 2005*. Combat Studies Institute Press, 2010.

Yeung, Douglas, et al. *Recruiting Policies and Practices for Women in the Military: Views from the Field*. RAND, 2017.

Yoo, John. "International Law and the War in Iraq". *American Society of International Law*, vol. 97, no.3, 2003, pp, 563-576. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3109841. Accessed 14 Aug 2020.

Zeinert, Karen. *Those Remarkable Women of the American Revolution*. Millbrook Press, 1996.