

NEW VOICES IN PUBLIC POLICY

Volume II
Fall 2007

Impact of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” Policy

Justin D. Hentges

Introduction by Professor David Armor

The paper by Justin Hentges (also a term paper in PUBP 713) is an outstanding example of evaluating a controversial public policy issue. Aside from the thorough and very comprehensible summary of a great amount of data on the military "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy, he treats the topic with objectivity and sensitivity, often difficult for an experienced policy analyst but especially noteworthy for a student new to the field. The paper also introduces, appropriately, qualitative material to help formulate his policy conclusions and recommendations.



School of Public Policy

Introduction

During the 1992 presidential campaign, Bill Clinton announced that he would seek full civil rights for gays and lesbians, including removal of the ban on service in the United States military.¹ Upon election, Clinton faced a number of obstacles to fulfilling his campaign promise, and the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” (DADT) policy soon emerged as an uneasy compromise between the military establishment, Congress and the new administration.² The policy, enacted into law in the 1994 National Defense Authorization Act (P.L. 103-160), stipulates that a person found to have engaged in homosexual conduct or who shows the propensity to engage in homosexual conduct cannot serve in the armed forces of the United States. However, sexual orientation itself cannot prevent someone from serving in the military as long as the individual does not express his or her orientation by homosexual conduct.³

This paper is a synthesis of six studies on the impact of the DADT policy, beginning with a brief history of the program and then reviewing various evaluations that have been done on the program. Finally, it discusses some policy questions regarding DADT that are not specifically addressed in the evaluation studies.

Background

Upon taking office, President Clinton announced a suspension of the Carter/Reagan policy forbidding homosexuals to serve in the military.⁴ The announcement of a change in the military homosexual policy was swiftly met with negative reaction among the military leadership, particularly the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Democratic Congress. The

resistance to the President's policy change was related to three longstanding beliefs on the effect homosexuals would have on the military.

The first belief was that homosexuals were mentally ill and therefore ill-equipped to serve in the military. While the American Psychological Association had removed homosexuality from its list of mental disorders in the 1970s, some members of the military and Congress continued to argue this point.⁵ The second argument was that homosexuals were a security risk and therefore unreliable in military service. Again this rationale had been discredited by the 1980s, but the viewpoint persisted into the 1992-1993 debate.⁶ Finally, the third argument, which had the most staying power, viewed openly gay men and women as a detriment to unit cohesion and thus a threat to military effectiveness.⁷ According to this view, because of the forced intimacy and lack of privacy in the military, an open homosexual would have a negative effect on his or her fellow soldiers and, in the heat of battle, would undermine moral and fighting strength. These concerns prompted the President to place a hold of six months on any policy change.⁸

President Clinton also issued a memorandum to Secretary of Defense Les Apsin directing the Secretary to "submit...prior to July 15, 1993, a draft of an Executive Order ending discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the Armed Forces".⁹ The President also directed the Secretary of Defense to be practical with the implementation of the policy and to maintain the standards of the Armed Forces when designing the new policy. The Secretary asked the RAND National Defense Research Institute to undertake a study to determine the consequences of allowing openly gay men and women to serve in the U.S. military. The RAND study looked at the causes of the military's approach to homosexuals by reviewing the military's ban and successive integration of African-Americans, studied

analogous situations such as fire and police force integration of open homosexuals, and looked at how other nations were proceeding. The study determined that the military should put in place a policy that would consider homosexuals on a case-by-base basis using existing applicable regulations concerning the need to maintain good order and discipline.¹⁰ This is not, however, what the President adopted.

The President, under increasing threat that Congress would codify the full ban on homosexuals in the military, settled for a policy that would not exclude or remove gays and lesbians from the military simply because of their sexual orientation.¹¹ The new policy would allow anyone that met basic military fitness to serve regardless of that person's sexual orientation as long as that person did not engage in homosexual conduct. Homosexual conduct includes "a homosexual act, a statement by the applicant [or service member] that demonstrates a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts, or a homosexual marriage or attempted marriage" or "Don't Tell".¹² The military was required to remove all questions pertaining to a person's sexual orientation from its recruitment procedures or "Don't Ask." Additionally the policy laid out two other less publicized requirements: "Don't Pursue" and "Don't Harass".¹³

In November 1993 Congress and the President codified the DADT policy and mandated three reasons for the separation of homosexuals from the armed services under the policy. The first required discharge for homosexual acts unless the service member could provide evidence that the acts were not "usual and customary behavior," that they are "unlikely to recur," and that the acts were not caused from "force, coercion, or intimidation".¹⁴ The second required a service member who states that he or she is homosexual must be removed unless he or she can prove that he or she does not have the propensity to engage in homosexual conduct. Finally, any attempt by a member of the armed services to engage or attempt to engage in a homosexual marriage would

lead to discharge. Expressly stated, the goal of DADT is to allow all persons to serve in the military without regard to sexual orientation while protecting and maintaining high unit cohesion through the removal of those that engage in homosexual conduct.

DADT continues to be the military policy on homosexuals serving in the military. Throughout the past fourteen years the Department of Defense (DOD) and the Government Accountability Office (GAO), have carried out various types of evaluations of the policy. Six of these evaluations are synthesized below.

Methods and Data

The first study was done prior to the implementation of DADT and provides a comparison between pre- and post- policy enactment. It was performed by the GAO and relied on analysis of the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) data on separation from the military.¹⁵ This impact study evaluates the earlier DOD policy which banned gays from the military.

The second study was conducted by DOD's Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness (OUSDP) from April 1997 to April 1998. The study was commissioned to review "how well the Department's policies on homosexual conduct in the military are being applied and enforced" and to assure the Department that it was faithfully implementing the policy.¹⁶ The review was carried out by a working group made up of members from each of the Military Services and from the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD). Various conversations took place over the course of the year between the various branches of the military and the OSD legal and personnel offices. The working group used DMDC statistics about the discharges based on homosexual conduct from fiscal years 1980 to 1997. The working group also studied available information on individual discharges for homosexual conduct.

The third study was performed by the GAO at the behest of the Subcommittee of Personnel, U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services and looked at the attrition rates of military personnel who serve at least 6 months but do not serve their full contract terms.¹⁷ This study looked at all attritions between fiscal year 1982 and fiscal year 1997. However, it specifically focused on those enlistees that began service in fiscal year 1993 but separated from the service by fiscal year 1997. It used data gathered from the DMDC and used a 48-month attrition point for all enlistees from fiscal year 1982 to fiscal year 1993. The study used this attrition point and time period because service members would have reached the 48-month point of service between fiscal year 1986 and fiscal year 1997, which is the last year with available data. The rates of attrition were tested by GAO and discussed with DMDC to determine the validity of the data. Additionally, the GAO report notes that because it does not study attrition of those with a five to six year contract, its findings remain somewhat conservative.

Besides analyzing the data from DMDC, GAO also interviewed, one-on-one and in large group discussions, 254 first-term enlistees and 41 supervisors in positions with higher-than-average attrition rates and with separations for misconduct, such as drug use. The purpose of these interviews was to delve deeper into the root causes of attrition than data analysis allowed. The GAO report, while focusing on all attrition, was one of the earliest studies that compared homosexual conduct separation with all reasons for military separation.

The fourth study was performed by DOD's Inspector General.¹⁸ This study was commissioned after the murder of Army PFC Barry Winchell because of his perceived homosexuality.¹⁹ The brutal killing of PFC Winchell raised concerns about DADT in the military, Congress and the general public.

Focusing on the “occurrence of offensive speech and of events or behaviors considered to be harassment based on perceived homosexuality, the tolerance of such speech, events or behaviors, and the respondent’s understanding and knowledge of the Policy,” the study sought to identify the environment in which DADT was operating.²⁰ The study was performed through surveys of 71,570 service members of units randomly selected from 38 randomly selected worldwide military installations of different sizes. The study participants are comparable to active duty populations across service, pay and gender. This study used as much randomness as would be allowed to still protect the privacy of the individual soldiers involved in the study.

The fifth study reviewed is one performed by the GAO in 2005.²¹ This study focused on the costs and the loss of critical skill service members due to DADT. GAO’s methodology consisted of interviews with a variety of individuals in DOD and the various branches and also included an analysis of DMDC data. It estimated financial data from the DOD’s own reports and from each of the branches financial reports. The study reviewed all information given by DOD and the Services and determined that the methodology of collection from the parties was adequate for the GAO study.

Finally, the sixth study was done by the Congressional Research Service, and it is introduced because it presents a summary of numerous past studies.²²

Results and Findings

The first GAO study found that the DOD’s prior policy of removal of homosexuals based on orientation and conduct from the Armed Forces represented a fairly small percentage of the total discharges from the military between 1980 and 1990. Table 1 provides the percentage of homosexual discharges to total discharges from the Armed Forces during this ten year period.

Note these figures are total discharges of service members who are homosexual as a percentage of total discharges; they are not the absolute rate of homosexual discharges.

Table 1: Percentage of Homosexual Discharges to Total Discharges from the Armed Forces
Fiscal Year 1980 to 1990

Fiscal Year	Army % homosexual to total discharge	Navy % homosexual to total discharge	Air Force % homosexual to total discharge	Marines % homosexual to total discharge	Total % homosexual to total discharge
1980	0.90%	5.30%	1.80%	0.70%	2.18%
1981	0.90%	5.30%	1.40%	0.60%	2.05%
1982	0.90%	4.40%	1.70%	0.90%	1.98%
1983	0.80%	3.50%	1.90%	1.00%	1.80%
1984	1.00%	3.40%	1.70%	0.90%	1.75%
1985	1.30%	3.40%	1.60%	1.10%	1.85%
1986	1.30%	2.90%	1.90%	0.90%	1.75%
1987	1.00%	2.60%	1.90%	1.10%	1.65%
1988	0.80%	1.80%	1.80%	1.10%	1.38%
1989	0.90%	1.80%	1.80%	0.70%	1.30%
1990	0.60%	2.80%	1.50%	0.80%	1.43%
Average	0.95%	3.38%	1.73%	0.89%	1.74%

Source: GAO 1992, 22-31.

The branch with the highest discharge rate over the ten year period was the Navy with an average discharge rate of 3.4% and a high of 5.3%. The branch with the lowest discharge rate during the same period was the Marines with an average rate of 0.9%. The year with the highest percentage of homosexual discharges compared to all discharges was in 1980 with 2.2%. The overall annual discharge rate for all branches over this ten year period was about 1.7%. This study shows that while there are varying percentages of discharges for homosexuals over years and among branches, the actual percentage of discharges based on homosexuality is a very small fraction of all discharges from military service.

The OUSDPR study found that the number of discharges based on homosexual conduct rose somewhat after the new policy was adopted in 1994. However, the study also found that the

number of service members discharged represents a very small percentage (less than 0.4%) of the total force.²³ Table 2 shows the percentage of the total active forces that was discharged for homosexual conduct in each fiscal year from 1980 to 1997. Unlike Table 1, these are absolute discharge rates based on the total force.

Table 2: Discharge for Homosexual Conduct Fiscal Year 1980 to 1997

Fiscal Year	Percent of force discharged for homosexual conduct	Total number of discharges	Fiscal Year	Percent of force discharged for homosexual conduct	Total number of discharges
1980	0.086%	1,754	1989	0.047%	996
1981	0.088%	1,817	1990	0.046%	941
1982	0.095%	1,998	1991	0.047%	949
1983	0.086%	1,815	1992	0.039%	730
1984	0.086%	1,822	1993	0.040%	682
1985	0.078%	1,660	1994	0.038%	617
1986	0.076%	1,643	1995	0.050%	757
1987	0.064%	1,380	1996	0.058%	858
1988	0.052%	1,101	1997	0.069%	997

Source: OUSDPR 1998, 15 and Burrelli and Dale 2006, 11.

While the percentage of the discharges for homosexual conduct did increase overall after the implementation of DADT in 1994, it failed to reach the relatively high levels of the early 1980s. The study found that one of the reasons for the increase in discharges in 1995 may have to do with reporting methods in the Air Forces. Prior to DADT, the Air Force recorded homosexual conduct violations as “fraudulent enlistment” if the recruit had indicated in their recruitment package that they were not homosexual. When DADT was implemented the Air Force changed this policy and started recording those discharges as discharges for homosexual conduct.²⁴

Additionally, the report found that for a large majority of discharges in 1997 (over 80%), the homosexual conduct was based on a statement of sexual orientation and not on any behavior.

The report also found that junior enlisted members accounted for 58% of discharges for homosexual conduct in fiscal year 1997.

Finally, the report found that women, who represented 14% of the total force accounted for 22% of the discharges for homosexual conduct. The report did not come to any conclusion about the reason for higher rate for women. Table 3 shows data on gender and discharges.

	Total	Total %	Male	Male %	Female	Female %
Statement of Homosexual orientation	820	82%	626	76%	194	24%
Homosexual Behavior	177	18%	147	83%	30	17%
Total DADT Discharge	997	100%	773	78%	224	22%

Source : OUSDPR 1998, 15.

The second GAO study provides data on military attrition in the U.S. Armed forces from 1980 to 1997. While not a study of DADT policy itself, it does provide some interesting comparisons between separations through DADT and separations for other reasons. Table 4 shows the reasons why service members (male and female) were separated between their 7th and 48th month of service and the percentage of the total discharges attributed to each reason.

Men			Women		
<u>Official Reason</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Official Reason</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Misconduct	12,425	33.4%	Pregnancy	2,074	26.3%
Medical/physical problems	5,634	15.2%	Medical/physical problems	1,075	13.6%
Performance problems	4,625	12.4%	Misconduct	890	11.3%

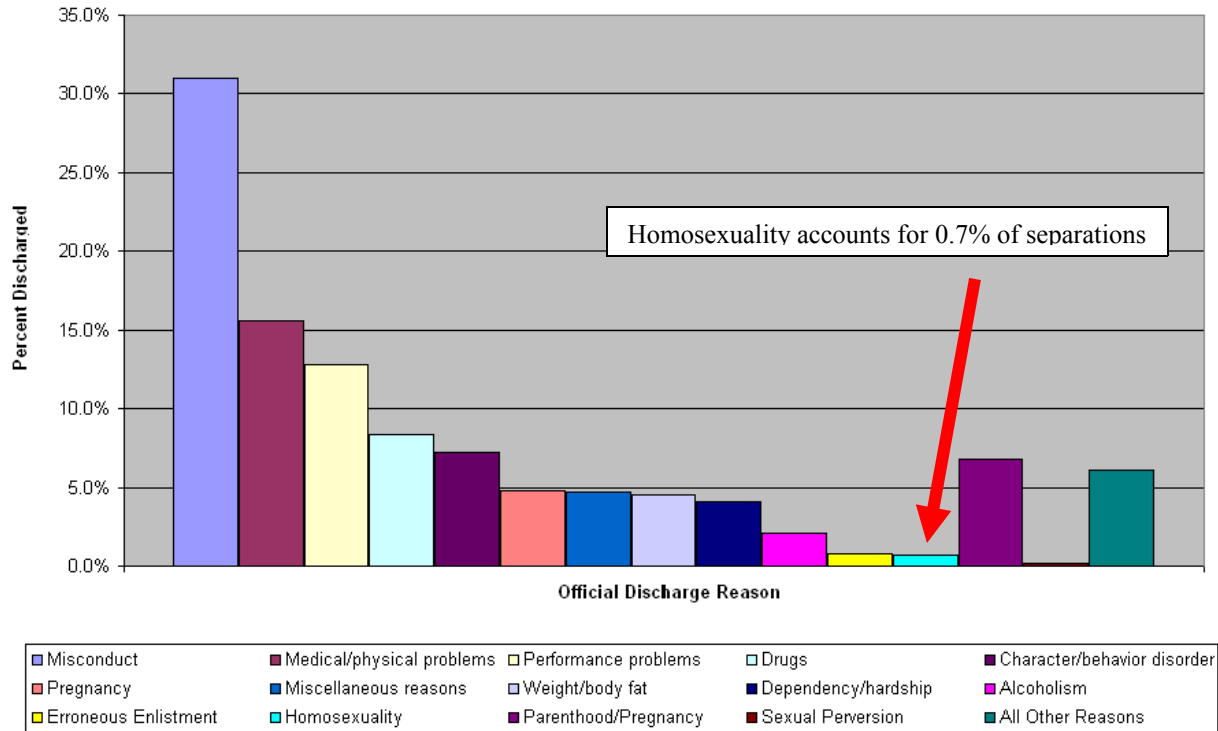
Drugs	3,448	9.3%	Performance problems	864	11.0%
Character/behavior disorder	2,548	6.9%	Parenthood	706	9.0%
Miscellaneous reasons	1,643	4.4%	Character/behavior disorder	550	7.0%
Weight/body fat	1,552	4.2%	Dependency/hardship	440	5.6%
Dependency/hardship	1,311	3.5%	Weight/body fat	380	4.8%
Alcoholism	827	2.2%	Miscellaneous reasons	379	4.8%
Erroneous Enlistment	326	0.9%	Drugs	152	1.9%
Homosexuality	192	0.5%	Homosexuality	97	1.2%
Parenthood	143	0.4%	Alcoholism	56	0.7%
Sexual Perversion	85	0.2%	Erroneous Enlistment	9	0.1%
All Other Reasons	2,403	6.5%	Sexual Perversion	5	0.1%
Total	37,162	100.0%	All Other Reasons	207	2.6%
			Total	7,884	100.0%

Source: GAO 1998, 30-31.

Homosexuality, as evidenced by conduct not orientation, accounted for 0.5% of male separations and 1.2% of female separations for FY 1994 enlistees. For both men and women, homosexuality was 11th among the 14 and 15 respective factors. Taken as a total, homosexuality accounted for 0.7% of all reasons for separation between the 7th and 47th month.²⁵

Chart 1 shows graphically the small percentage of discharges for homosexuality.

Chart 1: Reasons That Those Who Entered the Services in Fiscal Year 1994 Were Separated Between Their 7th and 48th Month



Source: GAO 1998, 30-31.

The DODIG study aimed to assess the military climate with respect to DADT after the murder of PFC Barry Winchell. It found that the environment was not tolerant of homosexuality, both actual and perceived. Offensive comments about homosexuals were heard by 80% of respondents in the last 12 months, at the time of the study. It also found that there were significant differences between the branches with 45% of Marine Corps respondents hearing offensive comments about homosexuals in the past 12 months compared with only 23% of Air Force respondents.²⁶ The study also found that 85% of respondents who heard offensive comments about homosexuals believed that those comments were tolerated.

This study also found that 37% of service members reported having seen or experienced instances that they considered to be harassment for homosexuality, real or perceived. Again, the

study found that there were differences between the branches, with the Air Force having the most respondents (76%) who had seen or experienced harassment. The other branches were in the 60 to 70% range. The study also found that there was a tolerance of harassment by members of the chain of command, with 5% of respondents saying they believed that members of their chain of command tolerated harassment of homosexuals, real or perceived.²⁷

Finally, the study found that 97% of respondents said they had some understanding of the DADT policy. However, only 43% of respondents stated that they had received training on the policy. This corresponds roughly to the 54% who stated they were very familiar and understood the policy to a large or very large extent.²⁸

The study concludes by stating that offensive comments are common place and that harassment is a semi-regular occurrence. It also stated that such comments and actions are tolerated, to a greater or lesser extent, by members of the chain of command. It recommended an increase in training on DADT to ensure that everyone in the Armed Forces is aware of all parts of the policy--“Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell, Don’t Pursue, Don’t Harass”.

The third GAO study looks at the financial and manpower impact of DADT. This more recent report from 2005 provides data on the number of service members separated because of homosexual conduct from fiscal year 1994 to 2003. Table 5 summarizes this data.

Table 5: Number of Homosexual Discharges from the Armed Forces, Fiscal Year 1994 to 2003

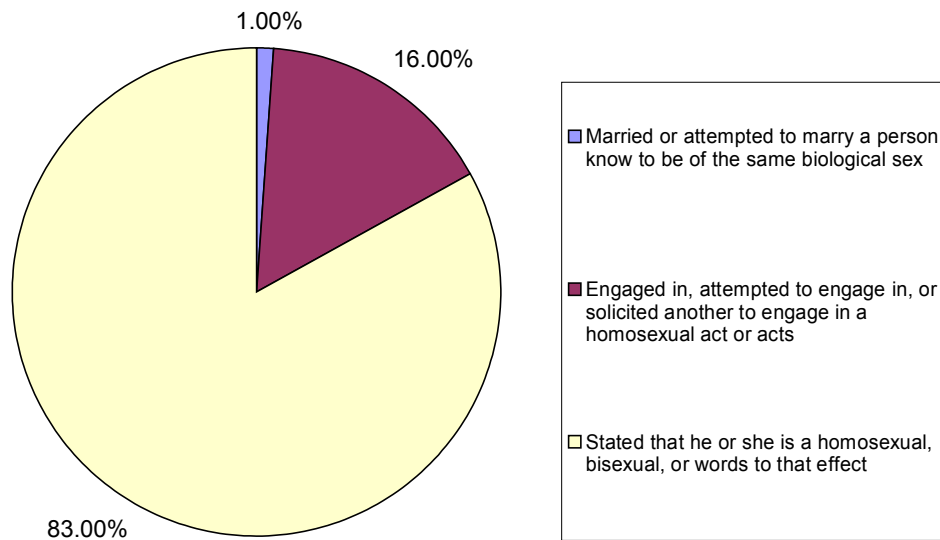
Fiscal Year	Army	Air Force	Marines	Navy	Total
1994	136	185	36	258	615
1995	184	235	69	269	757
1996	199	284	60	315	858
1997	197	309	78	413	997
1998	310	414	76	345	1,145
1999	271	352	97	313	1,033
2000	574	177	104	358	1,213
2001	626	190	111	290	1,217
2002	432	125	105	222	884

	2003	378	142	62	187	769
Total		3,307	2,413	798	2,970	9,488

Source: GAO 2005, 8.

The GAO report does not provide an explanation of the increases in discharges up to 2002 and the decreases following. Also, the GAO report does not provide data on the percentage of homosexual discharges to total discharges; however it does provide useful statistics on the reasons given for separations under DADT. Chart 2 provides a graphical interpretation from the GAO report, which shows that the majority of cases of separation from the military from 1994 to 2003 (83%) were based on statements by the enlistee rather than behavior.²⁹

Chart 2: Separations under DADT by Reason, Fiscal Years 1994 to 2003



Source: GAO 2005, 11.

The GAO report also concludes that of the 9,488 service members separated because of homosexual conduct during this period, 8% were in critical operations. It also reported that 3% of those separated had some skills in foreign languages such as Arabic that DOD deemed critical.³⁰ However, the report did not compare these rates to the total separations for critical operations, so it is not possible to say, from this data, whether homosexual separations accounted for a disproportionate number of separations in critical jobs.

The sixth study synthesizes much of the information from the previous studies. In 2006 the Congressional Research Service updated its “Homosexuals and U.S. Military Policy: Current Issues” report for Congress. This report provides data from 1980 to 2004 on the total number of

homosexual discharges and the percentage of the total force those discharges represented.³¹ That data is reproduced in Table 6.

Table 6: Homosexual Conduct Discharges from 1980 to 2004.

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Force</u>
1980	1,754	0.086%
1981	1,817	0.088%
1982	1,998	0.095%
1983	1,815	0.086%
1984	1,822	0.086%
1985	1,660	0.078%
1986	1,643	0.076%
1987	1,380	0.064%
1988	1,101	0.052%
1989	996	0.047%
1990	941	0.046%
1991	949	0.047%
1992	730	0.039%
1993	682	0.040%
1994	617	0.038%
1995	757	0.050%
1996	858	0.058%
1997	997	0.069%
1998	1,145	0.081%
1999	1,034	0.075%
2000	1,212	0.088%
2001	1,227	0.089%
2002	885	0.063%
2003	770	0.054%
2004	653	0.046%
Total	29,443	0.066%

Source: Burrelli and Dale 2006, 11

The first full year of DADT, 1994 is bolded. The highest percentage of homosexual discharges as a percentage of total force takes place in 1982. In the DADT period of 1994 to 2004, the peak year was 2001 with 0.089%. From 2001 to 2004 there has been a steady decline in the percentage of homosexual discharges to total force. This decline could be a result of the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, or given the fact that soldiers are still being discharged in

critical areas like Arabic, it could be a result of a change in perception in military ranks of having openly gay soldiers serve in the military.

The possibility of changing perceptions was suggested by the reaction by the civil command and retired generals to the comments by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Peter Pace on homosexuality. Chairman Pace stated that he believed homosexuality was immoral and that the U.S. should not promote a policy-repeal of DADT-that promoted immorality.³² Reaction ranged from Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) activists calling for an immediate repeal of DADT to retired General John Shalikashvili reversing his support of DADT to Senator John Warner (VA), ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee, “respectfully, but strongly, disagree with the chairman's view that homosexuality is immoral” and signaling a possible willingness to overturn DADT after hearings on the policy.³³

Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

Carter and Kolenc argue that in three of the four policy areas of DADT-“Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell, Don’t Pursue”-the policy is succeeding in allowing gay and lesbian soldiers to serve in the military without regard to their orientation. The only area that the policy is not succeeding in is the “Don’t Harass” aspect, although strides are being made to change the military culture in terms of homosexual harassment.³⁴ Their conclusions rest on the goals laid out at the inception of the program to allow gay men and women to serve in the military regardless of sexual orientation.

The government studies reviewed in this paper examined the impact of DADT. The data and information was collected and analyzed over two decades by different federal agencies at

different times. All studies came to roughly the same conclusion: DADT on a macro scale has very little impact on military manpower and discharge rates.

DADT has partially met its goal of allowing gay men and women to serve in the military without regard to orientation as evidenced by the small number of discharges to overall discharge rates and to the total forces strength. However, while the DADT-era discharge rate never reached the peak of 1982 (0.095%), it has come close a number of times (1998, 2000, 2001). Are these higher rates of discharge under DADT a result of increased scrutiny into service members' lifestyles or of increasing numbers of soldiers living out of the closet? The impact of DADT is similar in some ways to a full ban on gay men and women service members, because gay men and women must serve in the closet. There has been no "on-the-ground" change for these service members.

The military does not operate in a vacuum. During the past thirty years, American's tolerance to gay people and relationships has seen a substantial increase. In 1977 43% of people agreed that homosexual relations should be legal; today, 59% agree. In 1982 only 34% of people thought that homosexuality was an acceptable lifestyle; today, 57% agree.³⁵ And most telling for this discussion, in 1994 52% of the American public supported allowing gays to serve openly in the military, while in 2006 60% support such a measure.³⁶

This change in public opinion can also be seen among the political leaders of the nation. All 2008 Democratic Presidential candidates have said they would repeal DADT and lift the ban on openly gay men and women serving in the military. While the Republican candidates have not made such a pledge, their argument against lifting a ban relies primarily on the current state of conflict and the possible disruption in the military if a major change were made to recruitment and retention policies. Additionally, the Military Readiness Enhancement Act (H.R. 1246) has

gained more supporters in the House of Representatives, and there is movement by the Democratic Congress to seriously consider the repeal of DADT and the full inclusion of gay soldiers in the military. This change in public and political perception of DADT may have serious consequences on the military establishment's view of the policy.

With such a discussion of changing DADT, a couple of issues should be kept in mind. First, while it is easy to talk about aggregate numbers and overall force strength, DADT affects real people. Gay men and women who want to serve in the armed forces are being removed. Even at a low percentage, the reasons for removal—which clearly harms the soldier—should be substantial and not based on unfounded biases. Additionally, studies on the impact of removing a gay soldier from his or her unit need to be undertaken. If unit cohesion is one of the reasons for keeping gay men and women out of the armed forces, what is the impact of removing them from a unit, specifically during a time of crisis?

Second, the impact of DADT may well go past the actual number of discharges made under the policy. Before a final assessment of the policy can be made, one would have to determine the costs associated with potential recruits (both homosexual and heterosexual) not serving in the military because of the policy. One would want to look at the overall effects of the policy on public opinion in the United States in general. If public opinion on this issue is moving towards greater acceptance for open homosexuals, should the military take this into account when deciding its own policies on the issue? And will the military even have a say in the matter if political leaders are elected that vow to remove the policy?

Third, given the changes in roughly 25 nations' policies, including Israel, the United Kingdom, and Canada, allowing openly gay men and women to serve, the case studies to draw conclusions from have grown since the initial 1993 RAND study. Have those nations

experienced positive or negative effects, or any, from the inclusion of openly gay men and women in their ranks? What can we learn from their experiences?

And finally, a general discussion of equality and fairness in military service needs to be undertaken. Is it fair in the military for a straight soldier to display a photo of his spouse near his bed while a gay soldier cannot do the same? Should issues of fairness even be included in the military or does the military culture operate under different presumptions-if so, why? In this case a needs assessment, like the original RAND study, needs to be done to look at the current issues surrounding openly gay soldiers serving in the armed forces.

These additional areas would have to be assessed to do a complete impact assessment of the DADT policy. For the purposes of this study, DADT has partially met its goal of allowing gay men and women to serve in the military regardless of orientation, as long as they remain silent about said orientation. Based on the relatively low numbers of discharges due to homosexuality, as seen through conduct and speech, compared to overall discharge rates and total forces strength, the DADT policy does not appear to have a significant impact on overall military manpower numbers.

- ¹ Belkin, Aaron, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Is the Gay Ban Based on Military Necessity? *Parameters* Summer 2003: 108.
- ² Carter, Chad C. and Barone Kolenc, Anthony. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell:" Has the Policy Met its Goals? *University of Dayton Law Review* 31, no 1 (2005): 1
- ³ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense Personnel and Readiness (OUSDP), (1998): 1. Universal resource link located at: <http://www.sldn.org/templates/dadt/record.html?section=180&record=1107>; accessed on 18 February 2007.
- ⁴ Belkin, 2003, 108
- ⁵ Carter and Kolenc, 2005, 4
- ⁶ RAND, *Sexual Orientation and U.S. Military Personnel Policy* (1993): 7-9, Universal resource link located at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR323/mr323.ch1.pdf; accessed on 24 February 2007.
- ⁷ Belkin 2003, 109
- ⁸ Carter and Kolenc 2005, 3
- ⁹ RAND, 1993, 1
- ¹⁰ RAND, 1993, 1-2, 33
- ¹¹ Carter and Kolenc 2005, 5
- ¹² Bill Gertz, Policy on gays detailed; Pentagon issues a guide for GI's. *The Washington Times*, 23 December 1993: A1.
- ¹³ Carter and Kolenc, 2005, 14
- ¹⁴ Carter and Kolenc, 2005, 7
- ¹⁵ GAO, *Statistics Related to DOD's Policy on Homosexuality*, (1992): 1, Universal resource link located at: <http://archive.gao.gov/d33t10/146967.pdf>; accessed on 10 March 2007.
- ¹⁶ OUSDP, 1998, 1
- ¹⁷ Government Accountability Office (GAO), *Military Attrition: Better Data, Coupled with Policy Changes, Could Help the Services Reduce Early Separations* (1998): 2. Universal resource link located at: <http://www.gao.gov/archive/1998/ns98213.pdf>; accessed on 24 February 2007.
- ¹⁸ U.S. Department of Defense Inspector General (DODIG), *Report on the Military Environment with Respect to the Homosexual Conduct Policy* (2000), Universal resource link located at: http://www.sldn.org/binary-data/SLDN_ARTICLES/pdf_file/2064.pdf; accessed on 18 February 2007.
- ¹⁹ Carter and Kolenc, 2005, 15
- ²⁰ DODIG, 2000, 1
- ²¹ GAO, *Financial Costs and Loss of Critical Skills Due to DOD's Homosexual Conduct Policy Cannot Be Completely Estimated* (2005), Universal resource link located at <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05299.pdf>; accessed on 24 February 2007.
- ²² David F Burrelli and Charles V Dale, *Homosexuality and U.S. Military Policy: Current Issues* (March). Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service (2006).
- ²³ OUSDP, 1998, 2
- ²⁴ Ibid, 1998, 4-5
- ²⁵ GAO, 1998, 33
- ²⁶ DODIG, 2000, 9
- ²⁷ Ibid, 2000, 11-13
- ²⁸ Ibid, 2000, 14-15
- ²⁹ GAO 2005, 11
- ³⁰ Ibid, 2005, 4
- ³¹ Burrelli and Dale, 2006, 11
- ³² Bryan Bender, General's comments boost debate on gays in military: Reaction strong as Congress set to reexamine rule. *The Boston Globe* 2007 (14 March 2007): Para. 6, Universal resource link located at: http://www.boston.com/news/nation/washington/articles/2007/03/14/generals_comments_boost_debate_on_gays_in_military/; accessed on 9 August 2007.
- ³³ Bender, 2007, para. 9-11
- ³⁴ Carter and Kolenc 2005, 23
- ³⁵ Saad, Lydia. *Tolerance for Gay Rights at High-Water Mark* (2007): Para. 3-4, Universal resource link located at: <http://www.gallupoll.com/content/?ci=27694>; accessed on 7 August 2007.
- ³⁶ The Pew Research Center for the People & The Press, "LESS OPPOSITION TO GAY MARRIAGE, ADOPTION AND MILITARY SERVICE" (2006): 2, Universal resource link located at: http://www.pewtrusts.org/pdf/PRC_GayMarriage_0306.pdf; accessed on 7 August 2007.

Bibliography

- Belkin, Aaron. 2003. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Is the Gay Ban Based on Military Necessity? *Parameters* Summer 2003: 108-119.
- Bender, Bryan. "General's comments boost debate on gays in military: Reaction strong as Congress set to reexamine rule." *The Boston Globe*, March 14, 2007. Universal resource link located at: http://www.boston.com/news/nation/washington/articles/2007/03/14/generals_comments_boost_debate_on_gays_in_military/; accessed on 9 August 2007.
- Burrelli, David F and Dale, Charles V. "*Homosexuality and U.S. Military Policy: Current Issues*" March 2006. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service
- Carter, Chad C. and Barone Kolenc, Antony. 2005. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell:" Has the Policy Met its Goals? *University of Dayton Law Review* 31, no 1: 1-23.
- Department of Defense Inspector General (DODIG). *Report on the Military Environment with Respect to the Homosexual Conduct Policy*. 2000. Universal resource link located at: http://www.sldn.org/binary-data/SLDN_ARTICLES/pdf_file/2064.pdf; accessed on 18 February 2007.
- Department of Defense Office of the Under Secretary of Defense Personnel and Readiness (OUSDP). 1998. Universal resource link located at: <http://www.sldn.org/templates/dadt/record.html?section=180&record=1107>; accessed on 18 February 2007.
- Gertz, Bill. Policy on gays detailed; Pentagon issues a guide for GI's. *The Washington Times*, 23 December 1993.
- Government Accountability Office (GAO). "*Financial Costs and Loss of Critical Skills Due to DOD's Homosexual Conduct Policy Cannot Be Completely Estimated.*" 2005. Universal resource link located at <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05299.pdf>; accessed on 24 February 2007.
- _____. "*Military Attrition: Better Data, Coupled with Policy Changes, Could Help the Services Reduce Early Separations*". 1998. Universal resource link located at: <http://www.gao.gov/archive/1998/ns98213.pdf>; accessed on 24 February 2007.
- _____. "*Statistics Related to DOD's Policy on Homosexuality.*" 1992. Universal resource link located at: <http://archive.gao.gov/d33t10/146967.pdf>; accessed on 10 March 2007.
- The Pew Research Center for the People & The Press (Pew). "*LESS OPPOSITION TO GAY MARRIAGE, ADOPTION AND MILITARY SERVICE.*" 2006. Universal resource link located at: http://www.pewtrusts.org/pdf/PRC_GayMarriage_0306.pdf; accessed on 7 August 2007.
- RAND. "*Sexual Orientation and U.S. Military Personnel Policy.*" 1993. Universal resource link located at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR323/mr323.ch1.pdf; accessed on 24 February 2007.

Saad, Lydia. *“Tolerance for Gay Rights at High-Water Mark.”* 2007. Universal resource link located at: <http://www.galluppoll.com/content/?ci=27694>; accessed on 7 August 2007.