

## The Military Closet: Sexual Orientation and the Canadian Forces

A substantial literature addresses the alienation of sexual minorities in modern Western society and the complementary and complex problem of creating a world free from anti-homosexual practices.<sup>1</sup> Much of that work is politically driven and seeks to change discriminatory policies through minority rights' discourse.<sup>2</sup> Within that strategy, bisexual, gay and lesbian people are positioned as an oppressed minority deserving the same rights as the majority who are not stigmatised by their sexual orientation. That perspective has dominated the literature on 'gays in the military.' Academic and political debates have been framed within the problematic of the rights of homosexuals to serve freely in the American military.<sup>3</sup> The right of homosexuals to serve in the Canadian Forces (CF) was assured in 1992 by means of exactly the sort of court order that American activists continue to seek. However, that event has not resulted in a literature exploring the effects of the change in policy. As a result, the experiences of openly homosexual servicemembers remain a matter for theoretical speculations in the United States and official disinterest in Canada. What little academic attention has been paid to the Canadian experience has been framed in terms of the American political exigency of lifting the ban.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the *lack* of evidence of a homophobic backlash to the Canadian policy of inclusion has been cited as evidence in support of lifting the American ban. However, that argument neglects the continuity of an antihomosexual tradition in the CF and fails to analyse significant evidence of homophobic violence.

In the end, official policies of exclusion or inclusion are largely symbolic, albeit very important, phenomena. On one hand, they offer protection to a vulnerable subgroup; however, they can have unintended consequences on the lived experiences of individuals. It is not necessarily the case that legislating inclusion results in a more friendly environment for stigmatised individuals. Professional team sports in North America do not officially regulate the sexuality of their players. However, homosexual men are effectively kept in the closet through various techniques of intimidation and ostracism.<sup>5</sup> These antihomosexual practices are continuous from childhood group dynamics to adulthood. It is unlikely that there exists a Canadian who has not witnessed first-hand the efficacy of simple schoolyard taunts of ‘fag’ and ‘queer’ in silencing and obscuring homosexual desire.<sup>6</sup> What is less visible, and requires careful research, are the effects of that process. The fact that so few professional gay athletes discuss their ordeals is testament to the efficacy of the system that keeps the man’s world of aggressive sport free from the taint of homosexuality. Those who do address the issue reveal the power of unofficial regulation.<sup>7</sup> Like aggressive team sports, the military has traditionally defined itself as a symbol of masculinity and a place where masculine virtues are proved. Many men and women have an interest in ensuring that the CF continue to maintain such a culture and project such an image.<sup>8</sup> Official policies of inclusion can give rise to more complex and nefarious forms of exclusion. In fact, some people who adamantly oppose the presence of queers in the CF can welcome a military that officially accepts homosexuals, but in which there are, apparently, none. This seems to confirm the essential manliness of the institution.

Without a careful analysis of the evidence, it will be impossible to know how homosexual men and women actually manage in the CF. Why do they enlist? What do they expect from the CF? What is the experience of serving in various military environments? Equally, how have straight-identified servicemembers responded to the change in policies? Only empirical evidence will contribute to a deeper understanding of the real-life problems facing all well-meaning people who are committed to overcoming bias. In this paper, I attempt to frame the issue of homosexuality in the CF by drawing on insights from social psychology, political science, sociology, anthropology, literary theory, journalism, and history. How should a study of this military sub-group proceed? I do not accept that sexual orientation can be theorised or profitably discussed in isolation from other social and military hierarchies. Any attempt to simplify the issue will be inadequate and myopic.

Rosemary Park has demonstrated that the 1992 policy change removing all official discrimination based on sexual orientation was directed from outside of the CF. Although both the Conservative government and the CF leadership opposed the court order to lift the restrictions, both ultimately acquiesced and adopted an attitude of “benign neutrality” in relation to homosexual servicemembers. The policy that has since governed the CF has balanced “(1) the homosexual member’s entitlement to serve, (2) an acknowledgement of the organization’s two formal responsibilities to permit homosexuals to serve and to suppress dissent, and (3) recognition in part of the resistant heterosexual member’s private entitlement to disagree.”<sup>9</sup> Rather than embrace sexual diversity in its ranks, the CF has directed that all personnel are to be treated the same in relation to matters of sexual conduct. Park observes that that direction has the effect of overlooking the real

differences that define homo, hetero and bisexualities. Paradoxically, in accepting homosexuals, the CF has deliberately erased them as different. This choice has meant that the Canadian military has not had to face sexual diversity in its ranks in any meaningful way. But while there is more chance of conflict in a diverse workforce, there is also a greater potential for creativity and growth.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, in treating all personnel the same, the CF cannot treat them equally. While 'equality' and 'sameness' are often used synonymously, they are different concepts.<sup>11</sup> For instance, if I have to care for an elephant and a mouse, it is not 'equal' treatment to give them both a piece of cheese. The elephant would starve, the mouse flourish. Homo and heterosexual recruits do not enter the CF with the same backgrounds or challenges. Treating them equally would acknowledge their real differences. Since 1996, the Department of National Defence has promoted awareness of all harassment, including that based on sexual orientation.<sup>12</sup> The course material describes the negative impact that anti-homosexual practices can have on those targeted. (Of course, the negative impact is exactly what the harassers would have intended.) Homosexuals thus enter military discourse negatively, as people not to harass. The CF has not yet moved towards a positive appreciation of homosexuality.

The Department of National Defence is not unique in its begrudging tolerance of sexual difference. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick draws our attention to the reaction of state institutions and professional bodies to the existence of homosexuality and its effects on individuals.

... the number of persons or institutions by whom the existence of gay people is treated as a precious desideratum, a needed condition of life, is small. The presiding asymmetry of value assignment between hetero and homo goes unchallenged everywhere: advice on how to help your kids turn out gay, not to mention your students, your parishioners, your

therapy clients, or your military subordinates, is less ubiquitous than you might think.<sup>13</sup>

In surveying the literature on sexual orientation and sub-group formation, I will imagine a CF that does indeed envisage a workforce where diverse sexual orientations (along with all other social differences) are not tolerated or accepted, but appreciated. This environment might be beyond the conceptual grasp of many within the CF. However, a historical perspective assures us that, whatever the shape of the year 2020, there will be some currently-serving members who will not fit into it.

Why should the CF study sexual orientation as a factor in group formation within its ranks? At the present time, it shows an embarrassing lack of curiosity on the subject. For instance, in November of 2002, the gay weekly publication *Toronto Xtra* asked LtCol Mary Romanow, Director of Human Rights and Employment Equity for DND, for a report on the status of gay and lesbian servicemembers. She explained that the reason that there was no backlash to lifting the ban in 1992 was that “[o]bviously, the troops were ready to go there.” Barbara Theobalds, Communications Director for the Canadian Forces Ombudsman reported that the fact that there had been only three complaints to her office since 1998 testifies to the acceptance of homosexuality throughout the CF.<sup>14</sup> However, three months later, when the same reporter asked LtCol Romanow if he could speak to some gay servicemen and women who would be serving in the anticipated war with Iraq, he was told that “to single a person out based on sexual orientation would be inappropriate.”<sup>15</sup> It is not unreasonable to ask why servicemembers are not singling themselves out. Are the impediments to disclosing their sexual orientation self-imposed, a result of social pressures, or both?

It is instructive, in the light of LtCol Romanow's discretion, to witness the instances when soldiers do disclose their sexual orientation voluntarily. In 1998, Rifleman Davin Hoekstra of the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada came out as gay in his unit through the medium of a national gay periodical. Hoekstra had been socialised into the military as a cadet at the same time that he was quietly reconciling himself with his homosexual orientation. After a summer at the Area Training Centre in Meaford, Ontario, Hoekstra felt caught between the horns of a dilemma: "I had spent so much time and so much energy coming to terms with who I was as a gay man. Then I went [to Meaford] and had to create another persona – a macho, straight, one-of-the-guys kind of thing. There was always that burden, what if someone *does* find out." Coming out was a way to go through the horns of his dilemma and to exercise control over his life. He speculated that his own predicament was not unique: "I know exactly why there are so many people in the military closet ... I know exactly where they're coming from. It's the fear of all the work and pride being for nothing, becoming known as the 'Military Fag' instead of plain Rifleman Hoekstra."<sup>16</sup>

Hoekstra clearly outlines the problem of disclosure facing gays and lesbians. Since heterosexuality is an unmarked category, straight people are never reduced to their sexual interests. Unmarked men and women reveal their sexuality, casually and innocuously, in discussions of their spouses, dates, boyfriends or girlfriends. As psychologist Gregory Herek notes, none of these relations are understood in everyday social interaction as primarily sexual. However, since everyone is presumed to be heterosexual, any information to the contrary can only be received as an intimate disclosure.<sup>17</sup> As such, those who do disclose their homosexual orientation risk being reduced to that fact. For

instance, 'wife', 'husband', 'boyfriend', 'girlfriend' are understood primarily in social, not sexual, terms. However, there are no equivalent terms by which homosexual relations can be understood in a heterocentric culture. To avoid being reduced to a sexual stereotype (let alone subjecting oneself to physical or psychic abuse) it would appear to be wiser to simply guard the secret of one's homosexual orientation. However, keeping one's sexual orientation private can require considerable energy. Herek identifies various strategies commonly used by those who are committed to passing as a non-stigmatised person: "These strategies include *discretion* (i.e., refraining from disclosing personal information to others), *concealment* (actively preventing others from acquiring information about oneself), and *fabrication* (deliberately providing false information about oneself to others ...)." <sup>18</sup> Concealment burdens stigmatised servicemembers with concerns unrelated to their military performance, although perhaps central to their military identity. Moreover, non-disclosure can result in a strained social environment, since those protecting their sexual identity do not engage in what are commonly considered friendly and innocuous discussions about their lives. So, the choices for homosexual men and women are not promising in a military environment that does not actively promote sexual diversity.

Like Rifleman Hoekstra, Trevor Hanagan had been a cadet as a teenager and then joined the Elgin Regiment as a medic. He says that in 1992, his Commanding Officer announced that "there was new legislation governing sexual harassment, and it included sexual orientation." Hanagan stepped forward and said that he was gay: "I thought, *Yes! It's legal now!* ... And then, I thought *I'm dead.*" He describes the difference that coming out made in his unit: "People went from conversing with me to not conversing with me. I

think I preferred being called names. Once zero tolerance was in place, no one would look at me.” Hanagan’s gay friend in the unit overheard senior NCOs planning to attack him, saying, “Don’t fuck around with zero tolerance ... if you want to do something, make sure no one’s around.” One night in London three men from his unit drove past him. One recognized him and they turned and chased him through the streets: “They were shouting, ‘*We’re gonna fuckin’ get you! You’re fucking dead!*’ I didn’t want to lead them to my home. I’d never felt ... *hunted* before. I remember thinking, we weren’t in uniform. This could really *happen*.” When he returned to the unit he remained the object of ominous glares from his comrades. Too uncomfortable to continue, he stopped attending his Reserve unit and was classified Non-Effective Strength.<sup>19</sup>

According to his gay friend in the unit, three of the ten soldiers who had threatened Hanagan were themselves homosexual. Without identifying them, the friend warned that he would send a list of the ‘gay’ soldiers in the unit to Ottawa if Hanagan were attacked. How should we understand the evidence that a gay soldier used the threat of blackmail against three closeted homosexual comrades to keep them from attacking an openly gay man? What lessons can we learn from Hanagan’s ordeal? First, clearly it would be inadequate to theorise the problem of ‘homophobia’ in military environments in terms of a binary opposition based on sexual orientation. The problem cannot be constructed in terms of the intolerance of straight men and women to gay men and lesbians. The concept of homophobia must be unpacked to see what is inside. Second, all of the actors in this episode were men. Is there evidence that homosexual women in the CF face similar abuse? That question will lead me to enquire into the connections between anti-gay violence and sexism. Third, the evidence of Hanagan reveals that the actual attack against



him was not the cause of his withdrawal from his Reserve unit. His exclusion from the group at the social level was the more immediate reason for his departure. I will discuss that outcome in the context of the literature on the relation of subgroups to unit cohesion and effectiveness. Finally, I will present the final resolution to Hanagan's ordeal in the context of leadership in the CF.

### **'Homophobia'**

'Homophobia' has emerged in North American society as the favoured term to designate anti-homosexual attitudes. 'Homophobia' was coined by Weinberg during the early years of the gay liberation movement when a key political goal was to force the American Psychiatric Association (APA) to remove homosexuality from its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM). 'Homophobia' turned the disease of homosexuality on its head: thereafter, the irrational fear of homosexuality would become the sickness that had previously been occupied by same-sex sexuality. So, a political requirement at a particular historical moment gave birth to the concept of 'homophobia.' Over the subsequent years, it has come to designate all anti-homosexual activity and sentiment. However, suggesting that anti-homosexuality is fundamentally an individual, irrational fear impedes a more expansive analysis. In contrast, 'heterosexism' suggests the process by which heterosexual behaviour is actively promoted at various state and cultural levels at the expense of other sexualities. 'Heterocentrism' designates the cultural invisibility of homosexualities. In many current Canadian military environments, heterocentrism is the preferred condition. Where homosexuality is not tabled as an option, or is subtly ridiculed

or ignored, there is little need to exclude it actively. Similarly, without an incident to trigger it, homophobia is as buried and invisible as racism in an all-white army.

Heterosexism and homophobia are apparently absent from 'successfully' heterocentric cultures, and actually absent from pluralist ones. The fact that there have been only three complaints of homosexual harassment in the CF since 1998 is evidence of either the success of the institution in creating a pluralist military culture or the efficacy of the suppression of sexual differences.

Gregory Herek noted the limitations of the term 'homophobia' in a 1984 book entitled, paradoxically, *Homophobia*.<sup>20</sup> He offered three possible sources of attitudes towards homosexual people: those based on experience, symbolism and defensive mechanisms. A substantial literature addresses how people form attitudes about individuals belonging to minority groups on the basis of personal contact. The contact hypothesis assumes that there is a direct relationship between favourable attitudes and personal interaction with members of a minority.<sup>21</sup> For instance, the gay and lesbian movement promotes 'coming out' as a method of discrediting stereotypes. While there is evidence that it is somewhat effective, it has also been observed that people tend to see members of minorities according to pre-existing stereotypes. In other words, if they know that someone is lesbian, they may 'see' in her evidence that supports their concept of a lesbian.<sup>22</sup> Attitudes towards gay and lesbian people based on experience can exist alongside defensive or symbolic attitudes.

Symbolic attitudes are formed outside of contact with individuals from the subgroup and are stereotypes. Stereotypical judgements are based on issues unrelated to an individual's identifying characteristic. 'Black men are good athletes' or 'black men are

criminals' are examples of a positive and a negative stereotype.<sup>23</sup> The CF have been central in Canadian history to the construction of symbolic attitudes towards homosexuals, especially gay men. Throughout the Cold War, the DND persecuted gay and lesbian servicemembers as diseased and anti-social. Without evidence to support the claim, the military justified its exclusionary policies on the basis that homosexuals were threats to national security.<sup>24</sup> Of course, homosexuals *were* anti-social when they were excluded from group membership. Likewise, they were *potential* (although not actual) security risks when policies forced them into a closet to protect themselves from social and financial ruin. So pervasive were the military's manufactured stereotypes that many Canadians continue to be convinced of their accuracy. In a heterocentric environment, the importance of stereotypes regarding sexual outcasts is magnified. The CF has moved from defaming homosexual persons to a declaration that they are no different from other sexualised Canadians. In neither case did the CF actually ask homosexuals who they were. Nevertheless, today, homosexual servicemembers are saddled with the heavy burden of unattractive symbolic stereotypes authored, to a considerable degree, by the CF. Morally, the CF should be taking a leadership role in discrediting the misinformation it has propagated historically. Otherwise, servicemembers belonging to the sexual subgroup continue to pay at the interpersonal level for the institution's falsifications.

Scholars in various fields have highlighted the necessity that, within a significant strain of North American culture, 'real men' be heterosexual. While gay men may define themselves as masculine within their subculture, those constructions have no currency in mainstream North America. As I have showed, male team sports effectively exclude gay men from their ranks. Significantly, the same venue is often identified as a haven for

lesbian women. Many scholars understand the vulnerability of homosexual men to be a result of the modern construction of gender. Herek's notion of "heterosexual masculinity" is based on a binary principle of gender assignment: masculine men and feminine women occupy the only two legitimate genders. Since the masculine is *actively* sexually attracted to the feminine, there is only one possible sexuality.<sup>25</sup> Within this system, the attributes that comprise masculinity are more socially advantageous. As Peter Theodore and Susan Basow explain "while independence, success, and achievement are part of society's construct of masculinity, these culturally constructed values qualities remain absent from the construct of femininity."<sup>26</sup> Their research shows that homophobic attitudes are more common in men (college-aged students) who believe that masculinity is important and who also feel that they lack masculine qualities. They conclude that such men avoid situations in which their masculinity may be called into question.

Following from their conclusions, it is reasonable to assume that such men do seek out situations in which their masculinity is confirmed. In his detailed study of masculinism in American culture, James Gibson identifies military and paramilitary organisations as the focus for men who feel that they have been betrayed by a liberal state that has eroded their 'natural' rights in the name of equality of citizenship for non-whites, women and – most offensively – homosexuals.<sup>27</sup> A clear statement of this position comes from United States Marine General Robert Barrow explaining his opposition to women in the military: "When you get right down to it, you have to protect the manliness of war."<sup>28</sup> *Esprit de Corps* magazine, appealing to the ranks in the CF, has opposed, in venomous language, the inclusionary policy.<sup>29</sup> (Like the CF, it has more recently turned to silence on the subject, a perfect and effective heterocentricity.) Servicemembers in the CF who

construct their masculine identity through the military may experience dissonance when confronted with homosexual soldiers. If they intend to affirm their masculine (not gay) identity by membership in the military, and the military includes gay (not masculine) men, then either they must reconsider their masculinity or the gay element must be purged from the CF.

Social identity theory provides a framework to interpret the process that governs much of the range of attitudes towards male homosexuals in the CF. Individuals understand themselves in terms of their membership in certain groups. They are motivated in this process of “self-categorisation” to imagine their own group affiliation as superior to the those who do not belong. This cognitive process creates an unattractive, or less attractive, “out-group”: a social category that must remain outside of their group in order to protect the integrity of their “in-group” and, consequently, their sense of individual worth. However, Tajfel described social interactions as fitting along a spectrum from interpersonal to intergroup. As Turner explains: “At the ‘intergroup extreme’ all of the behaviour of two or more individuals towards each other is determined by their membership of different social groups or categories (i.e., by group affiliations and loyalties to the exclusion of individual characteristics and interpersonal relationships).”<sup>30</sup> Conversely, interpersonal interactions are determined by individual characteristics and overlook the social groups to which the individuals are affiliated. Since homosexuality is a master category of social interaction within a military setting, it can be predicted that homosexuals will not be considered as individuals, but as instances of a stigmatised out-group.<sup>31</sup>

While there is no study comparable to Gibson's to explore the relationships between masculinity and militarism in Canada, the presence of known gay men can arouse violent passions among the ranks in the CF. The evidence places the relations between members of the heterosexual ingroup and the individual gay man at the intergroup extreme of the social interaction spectrum. In the 1980s, Mike Larkin was an infantryman, and heterosexual, when he witnessed the following incident:

There was a guy who had gone out drinking with his buddies and ended up getting totally trashed with his best friend, the guy he had hooked up with in the first or second week of basic training at Cornwallis. They slept in the same tent, shared food, talked about everything. He ended up telling his buddy that he was gay. The next morning they found him near the latrines. He'd had the shit kicked out of him. He had broken bones, missing teeth, a fractured cheek. He was a mess. And he'd had a broomstick shoved up his ass. The whole base knew about it.<sup>32</sup>

Donna Winslow's anthropological work, prepared for the Somalia Commission, is one of the rare studies of Canada's infantry culture. Defensive homophobia was a constant theme in the Airborne culture. The violence that Larkin witnessed in the 1980s in an infantry regiment was magnified in the Airborne in the 1990s. The soldiers helped her to understand the need for anti-homosexual violence in their culture. Lending credence to Herek's construct of heterosexual masculinity, one soldier explained, "We can't accept homosexuality because it represent weakness." Another soldier helped to underline how heterosexual masculinity can slide into overt misogyny:

At one point, someone made me realize that there was homosexual behaviour among the men. But we're so homophobic that when we get free time, we go out and get ourselves a woman, just to prove that we're not homosexual. When we go out, the woman becomes a machine, an object that we'd use as much as possible, and talk about as much as possible because afterwards there won't be any women around. ... If you have this borderline [homosexual] behaviour and don't go out and

get a woman, someone will start a rumor. If they start a rumor, you find yourself with broken legs. Really physically broken.<sup>33</sup>

Winslow's work reveals the connections between anti-gay attitudes and sexism. The danger of homophobic masculinism (Herek's heterosexual masculinity) is that women are reduced to instruments to prove male heterosexual prowess. The rash of rapes of American servicewomen by American male soldiers during the 1991 Gulf War points to one of the dangers of a force founded on heterosexual masculinity.<sup>34</sup>

## **Gender**

Do women enter the discussion of anti-homosexual attitudes only as sexual objects used to validate the masculine identity of some male soldiers? How are lesbian soldiers and officers affected by homophobia? Not surprisingly, given the importance of gender identity to anti-homosexual attitudes, lesbian servicemembers face a different challenge than gay soldiers in military settings. Shawn Burn has studied the use of anti-gay language among a sample of American college students. Nominally straight male college students commonly refer to each other in terms meant to impugn each other's manliness, such as 'fag,' 'queer,' and 'gay.' She found that approximately half of the men who used such language were not strongly anti-homosexual. Nevertheless, this heterosexist practice contributed to a hostile environment for gay students. (In this instance, and throughout the article, I use 'gay' and 'lesbian' to denote those who accept – either willingly or not – their homosexual desires.) The derision is “most common in young male cultures and is specific to male homosexuality.” This is consistent with an analysis that understands

sexuality as a way of enforcing gender standards. Burn notes that a “corresponding analogue does not appear to be common in female friendship culture. In other words, female friendship groups are not inclined to regularly refer to and derogate female homosexuality. Nor do they typically tease each other by casting aspersions on each others’ sexual orientation, as male heterosexuals often do.”<sup>35</sup>

By naming each other ‘fag,’ young men accuse one another of being ‘not men.’ By their failure to fulfil the promise of their birth as males, ‘fags’ are positioned as especially pitiable. However, since females were never expected to assume the privilege of male citizenship, they cannot be subjected to an equivalent derision. Women are already ‘not men.’ However, this does not mean that lesbian servicemembers escape censure. Gender and sexuality are defined through each other. Analysts who attempt to focus on one of the constructs in isolation risk losing sight of the other’s machinations. For instance, the decision in 1973 by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) to delete homosexuality from its next DSM (DSM-III, 1980) has been publicised as a triumph of the gay liberation movement and a watershed in the social acceptance of homosexuality. However, Eve Sedgwick has perceptively noted that as homosexuality was thrown out of the front door of the APA, a new diagnosis was quietly ushered in through the back: “Gender Identity Disorder of Childhood.” Sedgwick highlights the differential application of the diagnosis between boys and girls:

A girl gets this pathologizing label only in the rare case of asserting that she actually is anatomically male (e.g., ‘that she has, or will grow, a penis’) while a boy can be treated for Gender Identity Disorder of Childhood if he merely asserts ‘that it would be better not to have a penis’ – *or*, alternatively, if he displays a ‘preoccupation with female stereotypical activities as manifested by a preference for either cross-dressing or simulating female attire, or by a compelling desire to participate in the games and pastimes of girls.’<sup>36</sup>



In other words, who would *want* to be a woman? This art of slipping between sexuality and gender in order to regulate the differences between the sexes is part of “the overarching, hygienic Western fantasy of a world without any more homosexuals in it.” The web of gender and sexuality must be carefully unravelled to see how the realisation of that project is being attempted in the CF.

As I have shown, male soldiers attempt to enforce gender standards through the medium of sexual orientation. By purging gay men from their presence, they imagine themselves to have eliminated ‘weakness,’ or femininity. If a homosexual man represents the feminine, what does a homosexual woman signify? As in other male-dominated environments, military women enter a world in which the desired attributes are already defined as masculine. Since gender performance can be a signifier of sexual orientation, effective military women can also risk being labelled lesbian. As Captain Guy Richardson observed in the American case: “I thank God every day that I’m a male Marine in this male Marine Corps ... If a woman Marine is a little too friendly, she’s a slut. If she doesn’t smile at all, she’s a dyke.”<sup>37</sup> Only in an environment which truly welcomes differences in sexual orientation would such a label be innocuous. As we have seen, heterosexual masculinity not only requires that men live up to the privilege of male status, but that men and women occupy the two options in a binary system. This leaves military women very little room to manoeuvre. As Michelle Benecke and Kirstin Dodge argue: “Servicewomen in non-traditional jobs expend an enormous amount of energy seeking to walk the fine line between effective competence and non-threatening femininity.” To be too feminine would be to “risk being considered inferior or incompetent.”<sup>38</sup>

Many women invest a great amount of energy in avoiding the label of lesbian. Sexuality and gender are policed through a number of social institutions and state bodies. Moreover, the CF are operating in a society which has infused homosexuality with unattractive connotations. The residue of those slanders can effectively tarnish a competent serviceman or woman. While gay men can arouse a particularly fierce response, women are already seen by many, and sometimes themselves, as interlopers in the male world of the military. To be saddled with the label of lesbian, and all of its baggage, may be too burdensome to withstand.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, both men and women who are marked as homosexual risk having the totality of their lives reduced to the fact of their sexual desires.

We have seen that male soldiers will go to extreme lengths in order to avoid being marked as gay: doing violence to themselves (psychologically) and others (physically). If women have reason to avoid the label of lesbian, how do they alter their behaviour to accomplish that? Just as men will behave in extremely aggressive ways to convince their comrades that they are part of the group of real men, some women will go to extreme lengths to prove their femininity. Fear of being labelled lesbian also can put strains on relationships between women in the forces. However, women who enlist in the military in order to prove that they are capable of success in a man's world and on men's terms may be careful that those 'masculine' qualities that they want to demonstrate not be read by others as a sign of sexual perversion.<sup>40</sup> When such women are in positions of authority, they may be reluctant to support subordinates in issues that deal with homosexual harassment for fear of marking themselves in the process. Thus, the fear of

being labelled homosexual can impact upon the ability of women and men to demonstrate leadership in the area of homosexual harassment.

## **Cohesion**

Since the United States Armed Forces excludes openly homosexual personnel on the basis of their presumed harmful effect on cohesion, there has been much interest among American scholars in testing the validity of that claim theoretically. The scholarship that has been generated in response to the American policy could be helpful in exploring the issue of subgroup dynamics in the CF. Theoretical models have been constructed through which the experiences of actual sexually-diverse units can be tested. The Americans are unable to undertake the research within their own forces precisely because acknowledged gays and lesbians are not allowed to serve. However, some of the models that have been proposed suggest that openly homosexual servicemembers could have a significant impact on unit cohesion. The CF could now determine whether those models have actually been realised since 1992.

Most of the literature in reference to the American policy debate has been subtly biased towards underplaying (or overplaying) the negative results of the open integration of homosexuals. It is difficult to find the calm in the eye of the politically-charged storm over the American ban on acknowledged homosexuals. Rigorous work on the effect of homosexuals on unit cohesion tends to discount the issue of *esprit de corps*. For instance, political scientist Elizabeth Kier and the RAND Institute's 1993 policy assessment for the American military both very carefully consider the concept of cohesion.<sup>41</sup> Both question

the two arguments upon which the American military bases its position: that homosexuals would disrupt cohesion and that cohesive units are more effective. By drawing on the insights from decades of research into cohesion in military, social and sports groups, they are able to show that there is, at best, a modest correlation between group performance and cohesion. Moreover, the direction of causality is unclear. Whether cohesive groups are more effective or effective groups are more cohesive is difficult to determine. Secondly, by distinguishing between social and task cohesion, they show that socially cohesive groups may actually be detrimental to performance. Groups that are committed to task completion may not be comprised of socially cohesive members.

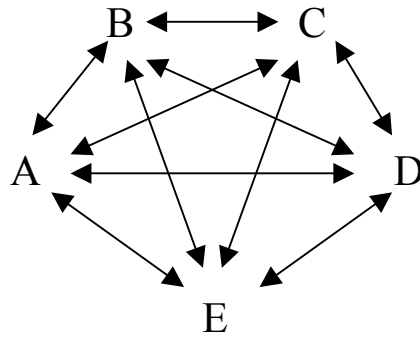
Cohesion is a complex concept that has been forced to do much cultural work. Frederick Manning's distinction among morale, cohesion and esprit de corps all commonly go by the generic name of cohesion.<sup>42</sup> Esprit de corps is the phenomenon that binds people together in the absence of personal contact and operates at the level of an army or regiment. Any group of people ideologically and emotionally committed to the CF will have a measure of esprit de corps. Cohesion is the result of the bonds that hold a particular group together. (RAND and Kier both focus on unit cohesion.) Morale measures the level of commitment of an individual soldier to his or her unit. It is sometimes used to denote the sum of that commitment throughout a population. By focussing on task cohesion, Kier casts military service as a job. However, many critics of the CF, such as Allan English and Joe Sharpe, argue that military service should be understood as a vocation.<sup>43</sup> However, if the CF want to promote military service as a vocation, they have to determine its content. As a vocation, military service will draw upon particular historical traditions. If those are already constructed as masculine and

heterosexual, then the CF will be laying the foundation for internal conflict with a pluralist policy.<sup>44</sup>

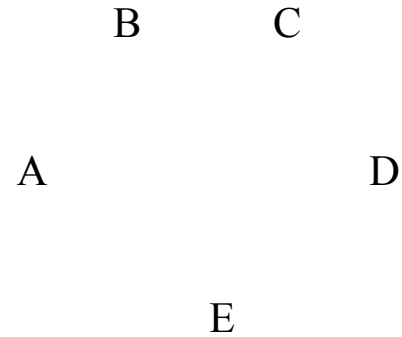
The concept of esprit de corps will be central in defining military service as a vocation. Soldiers do not know all of the other members of their regiment, but they feel a bond with them. They do not know the members of their service who have died for the country, but are encouraged to identify with them nonetheless. Those moments when the CF have been able to construct a vision of military service and sacrifice to the country, and thus create the esprit de corps upon which a concept of vocation can rest, are void of references to homosexuality. Arguably the military's most public self-presentation in recent years was the dedication of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Ottawa in May of 2000. The Governor-General spoke at length about whom the Unknown Soldier might have been, touching upon every possible variable in order to include as much of the nation as possible. She did not mention the possibility that he may have been homosexual.<sup>45</sup> We may not know who the Unknown Soldier was, but many people are quite sure who he was not. Whether the Governor-General did not consider the possibility that he was homosexual or deliberately avoided the reference, the "symbol of all sacrifice" for the nation was defined as heterosexual. Not all contributions have been welcome. However, any attempt to include homosexuals at the unit level must be matched at the institutional level.

The RAND assessment shrewdly considered the effect that open homosexuals would have on unit cohesion. The framework that RAND devised for the study of the integration of sexual minorities could be helpful to CF researchers. The RAND report hypothesised four possible ways that the presence of known homosexuals could influence

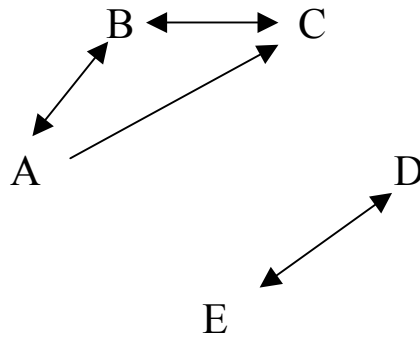
unit cohesion. They offered the following (slightly modified) schema in which lines represent the positive bonds between pairs of individuals in a five-person unit.<sup>46</sup>



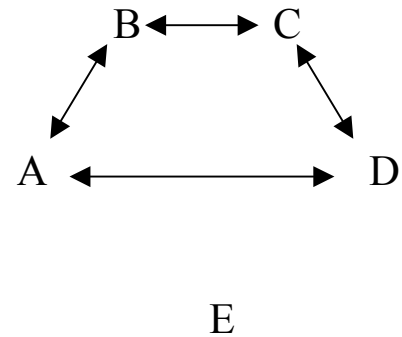
**1. Social Cohesion**



**2. Anarchy**



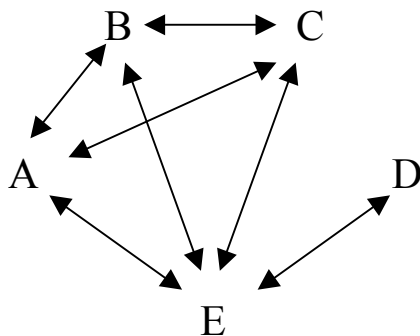
**3. Factionalism**



**4. Ostracism**

The more lines that exist, the stronger the overall measure of cohesion in the unit. Arrows represent the direction of the bond. It is possible that some lines of support move in one direction only. For instance, in diagram 3, A supports and likes C, but C does not like A. These schema are simplifications in that they stop time and assume that the four different outcomes are distinct. In fact, it is possible that units, like individuals, evolve and develop over time. Those individuals whose attitudes were based on stereotypes of homosexuals could initially reject a homosexual comrade, but change their attitude after contact. The

attacks that the Airborne soldiers and Private Larkin recounted of driving out homosexual comrades through physical violence or intimidation follow the Ostracism pattern of model 4. There are different forms of ostracism. The violence of the Airborne Regiment soldiers is distinct from the shunning that Hanagan finally experienced. In its final outcome, Hanagan's experience with the Elgin Regiment is reflected by both the Factionalism and Ostracism models: when his gay friend protected him from the aggressive soldiers, their bonds held while the others formed another faction. However, his friend's bonds with the other group members remained intact, although perhaps renegotiated in the light of his defence of Hanagan. So, in this case, the factionalist model would be better represented by the following schema:



### **5. Elgin Regiment Experience Partial Ostracism/Factionalism**

In fact, the exclusion of the homosexual offender seems to have had the effect of strengthening the bonds among the remaining soldiers who united in their defence of the honour of the group. Therefore, as predicted by the RAND report, the severing of the bonds with the homosexual may have increased overall unit cohesion. However, the

question that military leaders must now consider is whether the bonds that ensue from the exclusion of an effective soldier should be seen as *positive* or *negative* cohesion.

As various studies have demonstrated, social cohesion sometimes interferes with group performance.<sup>47</sup> Beyond that consideration, how groups succeed can be as important as whether they succeed. There may be many ways to reach the goal of cohesiveness in military units. To bond members together by the exclusion of an otherwise effective soldier might create a force that is, ultimately, in opposition to the ideals of the nation.<sup>48</sup> Hitler, for instance, argued that hatred was the most potent unifying force, and he made effective use of it.<sup>49</sup> A strain of the literature on leadership and charisma cautions against embracing charismatic leaders who achieve a destructive cohesion.<sup>50</sup>

## **Leadership**

Arla Day et al. describe four conditions which facilitate the integration of a diverse workforce: individuals from the in- and out-groups must share goals, there should “be frequent and numerous equal-status contact among people that must occur under and produce rewarding conditions for those who cooperate and foster interdependence” and a “perceived similarity, familiarity, and personal liking among organizational members”. Finally, effective leadership is “integral to the implementation of a diverse workforce.” Since the second and third conditions can be undermined by the unwillingness of the ingroup members to even associate with avowed homosexuals in some military



environments, the most important factor in the successful integration of gays and lesbians must depend heavily upon leadership.<sup>51</sup>

A primary objective for the CF leadership would be to determine whether the five proposed models actually represent the totality of possible intergroup dynamics in units including homosexual servicemembers. A number of important issues could be addressed through such an inquiry. For instance, has contact changed attitudes of straight-identified servicemembers? If so, in what direction? Has there been a correlation between symbolic attitudes and behaviour towards homosexuals? Has contact reinforced or challenged stereotypes? What are the opposing forces that act on homosexuals to come out or to stay in the military closet? What is the cost and benefit of each? How important is the specific environment in determining the action taken? What is the difference in the experience of men and women? What changes have taken place in the ethos of the CF as a result of lifting the ban in 1992?

Where homophobia exists, it should not be understood as a problem that touches only the marked homosexual subgroup. Certainly physical violence, the deliberate ostracism of avowed homosexuals, and a heterocentric climate take the gravest toll on the gay and lesbian element of the CF. Research based on anonymous self-reporting in 1986 and 1991 concluded that 3.5 % of the CF was bisexual or homosexual.<sup>52</sup> Given that the military is an especially difficult environment in which to 'come out,' even at a personal level, that figure represents the minimum number of servicemembers directly affected. However, the informal enforcement of strict gender and sexual roles affects every servicemember. Research into the dynamics of subgroups formed on the basis of sexual orientation should equally consider those members who remain in the ingroup, unmarked

by sexuality. A number of commentators have turned the focus onto the effect of anti-gay attitudes on the majority.<sup>53</sup> The need of some men to disavow ‘feminine’ attributes in order to maintain a masculine identity may have consequences that are, in the long run, disadvantageous to both male and female servicemembers and the CF. Apart from homophobic and sexist violence, are there other harmful effects of masculine heterosexuality?

Hanagan’s story allows us to consider the role of leadership at the command and institutional levels. Two years after his experience of being chased through the streets of London and ostracised by the Elgin Regiment, he attempted to re-enlist. Since his classification was impeding his re-enlistment, he applied to have it changed. In that process, his former CO asked him why he had stopped attending and Hanagan revealed his experience of being harassed. His CO suggested that he press charges against the aggressors and Hanagan agreed. The three, “top soldiers, very professional in work and skills”, according to Hanagan, pleaded guilty and were reprimanded. His discharge status was changed and he was eligible to re-enlist. However, he was advised against joining the Elgin Regiment which he would find, he was told, a “hostile environment.” Disappointed, he joined another regiment. However, “[a] lot of the guys in the new regiment had heard of the case” and he eventually decided that there was no place for him in the CF:

I would have liked to make it a career. Even though the harassment thing worked out in my favour, when I was told that returning to the Elgins wasn’t recommended, I wondered what was accomplished. I didn’t feel welcome. Everything was second-rate after that. The military was tarnished for me. It seems silly, but I loved it. It provided order for my chaos. Even now, I’d love to go back. But I couldn’t.<sup>54</sup>

The support of the CO would seem to have been a demonstration of solid leadership at the unit level. He showed personal sympathy towards Hanagan and demonstrated an

understanding of his grievance. Moreover, the institution provided the leadership necessary to redress the grievance. So at two levels of command, the CF demonstrated leadership. What were the results of the sort of leadership that was available to resolve the Hanagan's predicament? How should the resolution be interpreted? Who won?

Hanagan's avowed homosexual orientation was the basis of the conflict that developed between himself and his comrades. Clearly, they did not want to serve with a gay man. The unit to which Hanagan was assigned upon re-enlistment was also unwelcoming. As a result, Hanagan was forced to resign from the CF against his wishes. The resolution of the conflict was clearly in favour of the ranks who opposed homosexuals in their midst. The process of redress against harassment and discrimination provided by the CF ultimately worked against Hanagan's inclusion. By defending himself, Hanagan exposed his aggressors to disciplinary measures which further alienated him from the group. The process also exposed the homophobic quality of the multiple bonds that resulted in overall cohesiveness within the Elgin Regiment. The CO and the institution were forced to choose sides and they both positioned themselves in favour of Hanagan. Hanagan, his CO and the CF all lost a battle of wills with the ranks. Not all of the ranks were homophobic, and some, as I have noted, were favourable to Hanagan's right to serve and be supported. However, the outcome clearly demonstrates that homophobia was hegemonic within the regiments involved in the case. The 'leadership' that prevailed in this instance was based not on any individual exercise of authority, but on the will of the group to self-determination. When power is exercised collectively by the group rather than the leaders in an organisation, there is a danger of 'groupthink' and conformity to undesirable or improper decisions.<sup>55</sup>

Ultimately, the military legal process cannot ensure a safe space for sexually stigmatised servicemembers. Even in those cases where actual violence or verbal abuse are used, the victim has to be willing to disclose his or her perceived sexual orientation in order to seek redress. However, as Hanagan's story suggests, the working environment will then have been even more strained than before. Since there is no way to legislate affability and consideration (outside of Wal-mart), a campaign of ostracism will usually be sufficient to exclude homosexuals. Under such circumstances, effective leadership at the unit level is the most promising way to integrate sexual differences. Since it is unlikely that all members of a unit would be willing to co-operate in the condemnation of a potential outcast, both emergent and sanctioned leaders could influence their comrades towards acceptance.

Daryl Henderson has argued for the importance of ensuring that the bonds that form cohesive military units be consonant with the goals and ideals of the nation. Katz and Miller, meanwhile, argue that policies in support of diversity must be seen to be in the best interest of the organisation.<sup>56</sup> How is it that the active support for bi and homosexual servicemembers could be seen as valuable for the Canadian military? First, the military would be able to project a more sympathetic public image. Second, a pluralist ethic could help the organisation in fulfilling its missions in diverse cultures throughout the world. A heterogeneous military culture would increase the CF's competence in peacekeeping missions throughout the world. Third, it may allow the CF to avoid operational problems that have arisen over the last decade. Evidence submitted to the Somalia Enquiry unequivocally demonstrated that the Airborne Regiment was socially organised within the construct of masculine heterosexuality as described by Herek. Since its soldiers were

drawn from the three permanent regiments in the forces, there is no reason to assume that the attitudes that they brought to the Airborne were anomalous within the CF. While they may have been excessive, it is likely that the Airborne did not represent a qualitatively unique culture within the forces. If their attitudes are indeed pervasive within the CF, it would be valuable to trace the effect that they may have on soldiers' experiences in the field.

The Croatia Board of Enquiry studied in detail “how the Canadian Forces and Canada care for the military personnel who are injured in the course of their duties.”<sup>57</sup> The Board was extremely helpful in bringing to light, in a highly sensitive and compassionate way, the suffering of a number of Canadian soldiers who served under UNPROFOR in the Balkans from 1992 to 1995. However, absent from the Board's recommendations and from the president's account of its experience is a concern that the gendered expectations of the male soldiers deployed to Croatia may have contributed to the stress that they experienced. Was there a difference in the incidence or intensity of Post Traumatic Stress disorder (PTSD) between the male and female personnel deployed to Croatia? Had their training prepared them for a role that frequently required patience (feminine) as opposed to aggression (masculine)? While these questions are not new, to study them in the context of masculine heterosexuality may inform issues of personnel selection and combat motivation in the modern CF. Ultimately, such an inquiry could improve the health and well-being of individual soldiers and the CF. Two recommendations of the BOI could be understood to open the way to such an analysis: number sixteen underlined the importance to “change attitudes and improve procedures across the Canadian Forces on mental and physical health issue and programs” and

number thirty-one argued for the need to “rebuild preventive medicine/health protection capability within the CF.”<sup>58</sup> Changing attitudes towards mental health among some soldiers might entail a reconsideration of the boundaries of acceptable masculine behaviour and identity. Heterosexual masculinity would not be a preferred subject position for male soldiers who are required to come to terms with their helplessness in a peacekeeping (or peacemaking) mission. Sexual orientation, as I have shown, is intimately bound to masculine identity.

BGen Sharpe, who presided over the Board, may have avoided what could have been seen as an inappropriate line of inquiry. Gender and sexual identities can be extremely private and guarded issues, for both straight- and gay-identified people. As General Colin Powell observed in relation to the possibility of homosexuals serving in the American military: “Sexual orientation is perhaps the most profound of human behavioural characteristics.”<sup>59</sup> If that is the case, what leadership competencies might be helpful in addressing sexual orientation when it arises as an issue? Sexual identities are not stable and unchanging phenomena. The reference cases of Hoekstra and Hanagan cited in this paper are instances of the well-documented process of ‘coming out.’ Since the CF involve themselves intimately in the adolescent years of cadets, they can be some of the few institutions with which young servicemembers maintain continuous contact throughout their years of sexual identity-formation. The military was central in both of their lives from childhood and was a source of stress, rather than support, when they chose to disclose their sexuality.

Leadership theorists suggest various qualities that could make it more likely that homosexual servicemen and women feel able to disclose their orientation. Bass identifies

a relevant quality of transformational leadership: “The individually considerate transformational leader must have a sense of his or her followers’ developmental needs and how the followers’ current wishes differ from each other.<sup>60</sup> A leader who wants to focus on establishing good relations and to show concern for his or her subordinates, which Greenberg calls “Considerate” leadership, may find that some of his or her subordinates want to focus on the task and make no disclosures.<sup>61</sup> However, such leaders can be accessible at the same time that they respect privacy. For instance, a closeted homosexual soldier who may need to disclose that he is HIV+ could be thankful for a leader who is sympathetic and non-judgmental.

## **Conclusion**

Heterosexual masculinity identifies a binary system of sexual and gender identities in which masculine men and feminine women offer the only two options. Since sexual natures are thought to be defined by masculine and feminine characteristics, there can be no room in the system for homosexualities. Many men form their masculine identity in relation to their military service. There is considerable evidence that male soldiers in the CF see the inclusion of homosexuals in the military as a fundamental threat to that identity. Lesbians, and women with masculine personality traits, can be discredited as sexual outcasts. Meanwhile, the military has accepted the right of homosexual servicemen and women to serve openly. It protects them against overt abuse and violence, but has not been shown to be ineffective in supporting stigmatised homosexual soldiers. It has not taken proactive steps to define military service in ways that could

accommodate homosexuals. To accomplish that, the CF would have to identify leadership practices, at both the institutional and unit levels, that would lay the foundation for a diverse workforce. Such a personnel strategy could positively impact Canada's ability to succeed in peacekeeping missions throughout the world.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Jeffrey Weeks *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain, from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Quartet Books, 1977); Gary Kinsman *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1996); Weeks, Jeffrey *Sexuality and its Discontents: Meanings, Myths and Modern Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1985); Miriam Catherine Smith *Lesbian and Gay Rights in Canada: Social Movements and Equality-seeking, 1971-1995* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Leila Rupp "Toward a Global History of Same-Sex Sexuality" *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 10, 2, April 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Didi Herman, *Didi Rights of Passage: Struggles for Lesbian & Gay Legal Equality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Janet Halley "The Politics of the Closet: Towards Equal Protection for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Identity" in Jonathan Goldberg ed. *Reclaiming Sodom* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> For instance, Craig A. Rimmerman ed. *Gay Rights, Military Wrongs: Political Perspectives on Lesbians and Gays in the Military* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1996); Wilbur Scott and Sandra Stanley, eds., *Gays and Lesbians in the Military: Issues, Concerns and Contrasts* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1994); Gregory Herek et al. *Out in Force: Sexual Orientation and the Military* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Marc Wolinsky and Kenneth Sherrill, eds. *Gays and the Military: Joseph Steffan versus the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Randy Shilts *Conduct Unbecoming: Lesbians and Gays in the U.S. Military* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); Mary Ann Humphries *My Country, My Right to Serve* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990).

<sup>4</sup> Aaron Belkin and Jason McNichol *Effects of the 1992 Lifting on Gay and Lesbian Service in the Canadian Forces: Appraising the Evidence* (San Diego: Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military, 2000).



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<sup>5</sup> Kirk Bohls and Mark Wangrin, "Athletes Revel in Being One of the Guys, Not One of the Gays" in Peter Donnelly, ed. *Taking Sport Seriously: Social Issues in Canadian Sport* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., 1997). Dave Kopay's experience of being ostracised in the NFL after he came out as gay is discussed. Toronto Maple Leaf coach Pat Burns is quoted discussing the problems an openly queer player would create for a hockey team. When Montreal Canadiens Stephane Richer, a fifty goal scorer, was rumoured to be gay, he was booed by 18,000 school children. "He desperately phoned newspapers and asked them to print that he was straight. He was subsequently traded." page 169. The place of sport in the construction of male identities in North America is discussed in D. Sabo, "Sport Patriarchy and Male Identity: New Questions about Men and Sports" *Arena Review*, 9, 2, 1985; Michael Messner, "The Meaning of Success: The Athletic Development and the Meaning of Male Identity" in Harry Brod, ed., *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1987); R. C. Townsend, "The Competitive Male as Loser" in D. Sabo and R. Runfola, eds., *Jock: Sports and Male Identity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> Frankfurt, K. "Countering a climate: Gay students. High School Magazine, 1999 May/June, pages 25-29, cited in Fraser E. Drover "The Characteristics of Victims of Bullying"; Murphy, Bianca Cody. "Educating Mental Health Professionals About Gay and Lesbian Issues." In *Coming Out of the Classroom Closet: Gay and Lesbian Students, Teachers and Curricula*, ed. Karen M. Harbeck (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1992).

<sup>7</sup> Brenda Irving, "The Gay Athlete," "The Sports Journal," cbc Radio, Jan 4, 1999.

<sup>8</sup> See especially *Esprit de Corps: The Canadian Military Then and Now* letters from the publisher and editor, September 1993, page 2; May 1994, page 1; August 1994, page 2.

<sup>9</sup> Rosemary Park "Opening the Canadian Forces to Gays and Lesbians" in Wilbur J. Scott and Sandra Carson Stanley, eds., *Gays and Lesbians in the Military: Issues, Concerns, and Contrasts* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1994), page 176.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Chemers, Stuart Oskamp and Mark Costanzo, eds. *Diversity in Organizations: New Perspectives for a Changing Workplace* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1995); the benefits and challenges resulting associated with a diverse workplace are summarised in Arla L. Day, Veronica Stinson, James Cameron, Victor M. Catano, "Leadership, groups, and diversity: Implications for organizational effectiveness," Department of Psychology, St. Mary's University.

<sup>11</sup> Joan Wallach Scott *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pages 167-177.

<sup>12</sup> Department of National Defence, Standards for Harassment and Racism Prevention (SHARP), (Ottawa, 1996).

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<sup>13</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick “How to Bring Your Kids Up Gay” in Michael Warner, editor *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), page 76.]

<sup>14</sup> Ian Mackenzie “Who’d want to tell? Policies can’t make it all easy for gay soldiers” *Toronto Xtra!* Nov 28 2002.

<sup>15</sup> Personal correspondence, February 21, 2003.

<sup>16</sup> Michael Rowe “Another Soldier’s Story” *Fab National* 9, Spring 1998, page 47.

<sup>17</sup> Gregory Herek “Why Tell If You’re Not Asked? Self-Disclosure, Intergroup Contact, and Heterosexuals’ Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men” in Gregory Herek et al. *Out in Force*.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., For the strategies of dealing with personal information, Herek cites E. Zerubavel “Personal information and social life” *Symbolic Interaction* 5, 1982, 97-109.

<sup>19</sup> *Fab* page 45.

<sup>20</sup> Gregory Herek “Beyond Homophobia”; A Social Psychological Perspective on Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men” in John deCecco ed. *Homophobia: An Overview* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1984).

<sup>21</sup> Marilyn B. Brewer and Norman Miller “Beyond the Contact Hypothesis: Theoretical Perspectives on Desegregation” in Norman Miller and Marilyn Brewer, eds. *Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation* (Orlando: Academic Press, Inc., 1984).

<sup>22</sup> John C. Turner “Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group” in Henri Tajfel ed. *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pages 28-33.

<sup>23</sup> There are various definitions of ‘stereotype.’ See Theodore Sarbin “The Deconstruction of Stereotypes: Homosexuals and Military Policy” in Gregory herek et al. *Out in Force*; D. Bar-Tal ed. *Stereotypes and Prejudice* (New York: Springer-verlag, 1989).

<sup>24</sup> Kinsman, Gary and Patrizia Gentile “*In the Interests of the State*”: *The Anti-gay, Anti-lesbian national Security Campaign in Canada*, A Preliminary Research Report (Sudbury: Laurentian University, 1998); Gary Kinsman “‘Character Weaknesses’ and ‘Fruit Machines’: Towards an Analysis of The Anti-Homosexual Security Campaign in the Canadian Civil Service” *Labour/Le Travail* 35 (Spring 1995); Daniel Robinson and David Kimmel “The Queer Career of

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Homosexual Vetting in Cold War Canada” *Canadian Historical Review* 75, 3, 1994; John Sawatsky *Men in the Shadows* (Toronto, 1980).

<sup>25</sup> Gregory Herek “On Heterosexual Masculinity” *American Behavioral Scientist* 29, 1986, pp. 563-577. Other scholars have identified the same dynamic: Marshall, John, “Pansies, perverts and macho men: changing conceptions of male homosexuality” in Kenneth Plummer, ed., *The Making of the Modern Homosexual* (New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981); Rubin, Gayle “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality” in Carole S. Vance *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).

<sup>26</sup> Peter Theodore and Susan Basow “Heterosexual Masculinity and Homophobia: A Reaction to the Self?” *Journal of Homosexuality* 40, 2, 2000, page 32.

<sup>27</sup> Gibson, James William *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994).

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Patricia J Thomas and Marie D. Thomas, “Integration of Women in the Military: Parallels to the Progress of Homosexuals?” in Gregory Herek et al. *Out in Force*. Barbara Ehrenheit demonstrates that the notion that war is exclusively a man’s domain is historically inaccurate: *Blood Rights* (New York, 2000).

<sup>29</sup> *Esprit de Corps: The Canadian Military Then and Now* 4, 3, 1994, page 2.

<sup>30</sup> John Turner “Some Current Issues in Research on Social Identity and Self-categorization Theories” in Naomi Ellemers, Russell Spears and Bertjan Doosje eds. *Social Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), page 9.

<sup>31</sup> H. Becker *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: th Free Press, 1963).

<sup>32</sup> *Fab*, page 44.

<sup>33</sup> Donna Winslow “Rites of Passage and Group Bonding in the Canadian Airborne” *Armed Forces and Society* 25, 3, Spring 1999, page 445,6.

<sup>34</sup> Ann MacInnes “Romance Very Rare in the Trenches During Wartime” *Vanguard* 2, 3, pp. 24-25.

<sup>35</sup> Shawn Meghan Burn “Heterosexuals’ Use of ‘Fag’ and ‘Queer’ to Deride One Another: A Contributor to Heterosexism and Stigma” *Journal of Homosexuality* 40, 2, 2000, page 3.

<sup>36</sup> Sedgwick, page 71.

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<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Michelle M. Benecke and Kirstin S. Dodge “Lesbian Baiting as Sexual harassment” in Warren Blumenfeld *Homophobia: How We all Pay the Price* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, page 171.

<sup>39</sup> Suzanne Pharr *Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism* (Inverness, CA: Chardon Press, 1988).

<sup>40</sup> Judith Stiehm “The Military ban on Homosexuals and the Cyclops Effect” in Wilbur Scott and Sandra Stanley, *Gays and Lesbians in the Military*.

<sup>41</sup> National Defence Research Institute *Sexual Orientation and U.S. Military Personnel Policy: Options and Assessment* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1993) pp. 283-329; Kier, Elizabeth, “Homosexuals in the U.S. Military: Open Integration and Combat Effectiveness” in *International Security*, 23, 2, Fall 1998.

<sup>42</sup> Frederick Manning “Morale, Cohesion and Esprit de Corps” in Reuven Gal and David Mangelsdorff, eds. *Handbook of Military Psychology* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1991)

<sup>43</sup> Joe Sharpe and Allan English *Principles for Change in the Post-Cold War Command and Control of the Canadian Forces* (Winnipeg: Canadian Forces Training Material Production Centre, 2002), pp. 57-8.

<sup>44</sup> For an overview of CF personnel policy concerns, see Major Jeff Tasseron “Military Manning and the Revolution in Social Affairs” *Canadian Military Journal* Autumn 2001; on the dangers of continuing the tradition of the masculinist warrior, see Captain Thomas St Denis “The Dangerous Appeal of the Warrior” *Canadian Military Journal* Summer 2001, pp. 31-38.

<sup>45</sup> Reports of the event are available online in the CBC Archives:  
<http://cbc.ca/news/indepth/soldier>; <http://tv.cbc.ca/national/trans/T000528.html>.

<sup>46</sup> National Defence Research Institute, page 315.

<sup>47</sup> RAND, pp. 294-297; Stephen Wesbrook “The Potential for Military Disintegration” in Sam Sarkesian *Combat Effectiveness: Cohesion, Stress and the Volunteer Military* (Beverly Hills: SAGE, 1980).

<sup>48</sup> Henderson, William Darryl *Cohesion: The Human Element in Combat* (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1985).

<sup>49</sup> Kershaw, Ian *Hitler* (London: Longman, 1994).

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<sup>50</sup> Arla L. Day, Veronica Stinson, James Cameron, Victor M. Catano, “Leadership, groups, and diversity: Implications for organizational effectiveness.”

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Department of National Defence *Charter Task Force Final Report* (Ottawa, 1986); *Fab*, page 46.

<sup>53</sup> Warren Blumenfeld “Squeezed into Gender Envelopes”; Cooper Thompson “On Being Heterosexual in a Homophobic World”; Phillip Harper “Racism and Homophobia as Reflections on Their Perpetrators” in Warren Blumenfeld ed. *Homophobia: How We All Pay the Price* (Boston: Beacon Press books, 1992; Jonathan Ned Katz *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Dutton, 1995).

<sup>54</sup> *Fab*, pages 45-6.

<sup>55</sup> Bernard Bass *Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research and Managerial Applications* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), page 260-262.

<sup>56</sup> J. Katz and F. Miller “Coaching leaders through culture change” 1996, quoted in Arla Day et al. “Leadership, groups, and diversity: Implications for organizational effectiveness.”

<sup>57</sup> Joe Sharpe *Croatia Board of Inquiry: Leadership (and other) Lessons Learned* (Winnipeg: Canadian Forces training Materiel Production Centre, 2002), page 10.

<sup>58</sup> [http://www.dnd.ca/hr/boi/engraph/annexa\\_mar\\_02\\_e.asp](http://www.dnd.ca/hr/boi/engraph/annexa_mar_02_e.asp)

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Charles Moskos, Jr. “From Citizen’s Army to Social Laboratory” in Wilbur Scott and Sandra Stanley *Gays and Lesbians in the Military* pg 63.

<sup>60</sup> Bernard Bass *Handbook of Leadership*, page 118.

<sup>61</sup> J. Greenberg, R. Sales and F. Owens *Behaviour in Organizations* (Don Mills, Ont: Pearson Education Canada, Inc., 2000), discussed in Day et al. “Leadership, groups, and diversity: Implications for Organizational Effectiveness.”