

# Communists and Soldiers: Comparing Gendered Rhetoric in Different Crises

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## **Abstract**

The post-World War II era ushered in the beginning of Cold War politics. In this shifting political landscape, the United States government had to face accusations that some State Department employees were disloyal, as well as confront a shortage of troops to fight in potential conflicts arising from the Cold War. In this paper, I classify the former as a bureaucratic conflict and the latter as a military crisis. There has been considerable research conducted on how gender is used as a tool by politicians, but in this paper, I examine the differences in how gender operates in a bureaucratic crisis versus a military crisis. To investigate this, I categorize the rhetoric in two case studies based on which gender stereotypes they use. The first case study is the 1950 State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation hearings and attached investigation memoranda (henceforth known as the SDLI hearings and memoranda), where politicians and investigators discuss whether specific individuals may be communist. The second case study is the 1948 Women's Armed Services Integration Act hearings (henceforth known as the WAS hearings), where politicians, military leaders, and interest groups argue for the inclusion, exclusion, or limitation of women in permanent military corps. I then compare the ways each case study uses gender in their argument and find that gender is always a lens through which individuals make their case and that the way gender is used is inconsistent within and between crises. By understanding the ways in which gender operated inconsistently between different crises seventy years ago, we can recognize those same patterns in the political world today.

### **List of Relevant Acronyms**

*SDLI hearings*—1950 State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation hearings

*SDLI memoranda*—1950 State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation hearings

*WAS hearings*—1948 Women’s Armed Services Integration Act hearings

*WAC*—Women’s Army Corps (c. WWII)

*WAVE*— Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (Navy Corps c. WWII)

## Introduction

In the years following World War II, the United States was facing complex national security problems. Political conservatives were once again framing communism as a threat to the ideology and prosperity of the United States, while the U.S. military was trying to maintain a post-war occupying force and prepare for a future conflict with the Soviet Union. This was the beginning of a new era for the United States and can be used as model for how powerful individuals invoke gender during times of great change and immense fear. This time period is especially relevant because Cold War politics still have an effect today. To capture this complexity, I will be investigating the question: “How did gender operate in a bureaucratic crisis versus a military crisis during the late 1940’s and early 1950’s in the United States?”

This topic is important to study because women are often a group excluded from the dominant narrative of history. It is always essential to revisit history with less traditional perspectives in mind to get a fuller understanding of events. More importantly, this research can help to uncover how gendered rhetoric is used successfully by the government during times of fear. By understanding what kinds of rhetoric are deployed in different circumstances, specific tools to dismantle sexist language can be created. Furthermore, it allows us to examine *why* gendered rhetoric might be deployed a certain way, giving us insight into the ultimate agendas of governing officials and a more accurate understanding of how those in power thought about the roles women play in society. Understanding how gendered rhetoric operated different during different historical crises may help to understand how language may be employed during future times of crisis.

I plan to answer my question by building a working understanding of gender theory so that I can successfully identify gendered language in play. Using this background, I will examine two case studies: investigations of suspected communists in the State Department and congressional hearings on whether women should serve as a permanent part of the military. The first, an example of a bureaucratic crisis, will be the 1950 State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation hearings and attached investigation memoranda (henceforth known as the SDLI hearings and memoranda). The second case study, an example of a military crisis, will be the 1948 Women's Armed Services Integration Act hearings (henceforth known as the WAS hearings). I will analyze these two sets of documents by identifying the instances where women are specifically characterized differently than men, and then how these characteristics fit into the larger picture of stereotypes about women. Finally, I will compare the gendered language found in each set of documents and identify the similarities and differences between the two.

After analyzing and comparing these sets of documents, I find that similar gender stereotypes are found in each case study's arguments, but they are deployed to serve very different goals. Therefore, my research suggests that first of all, gender is always a lens that politicians and government workers use to argue their case, enabling them to also use gender as a tool for their own security agendas. Furthermore, the way gender is used as a tool varies between crises.

The literature that supports my research falls into four categories. Susan Brownmiller, Sandra Lee Bartky, Heidi Hartmann, Elisabeth Kelan, and Jaime Lester make up the texts from which I draw common gender stereotypes and provide my general gender theory background. Zachary Lechner, Michael Kimmel, and Mary Runte provide a more specific gendered

understanding of the time period I study. Cynthia Enloe, Andrew Feffer, and Linda Witt et al. make up a literature of how gender factors into warfare, while Landon Storrs details the specific interplay of gender and the Red Scare. All of the literature I draw on acknowledges gender as an ever-present lens, and most argue that gender is used as a political tool. However, the previous scholarship on this topic does not explore the similarities and differences in how that tool is used in different crises within the same country and same time period. By using a comparative approach, I examine the use of gender in two different crises and can begin to classify the inconsistencies present between the two.

### **A Postwar History of the Red Scare, Military Decisions, and Gender**

As tensions rose with the USSR, United States domestic politics and government employer practices started to reflect the situation and created the bureaucratic and military crises I study. In 1946, Republicans gained a majority in Congress for the first time since 1931.<sup>1</sup> Anticommunist hysteria, to which the United States had succumbed during the early 1920s, started to gain momentum again as the as the newly powerful conservative party circulated fearmongering propaganda.<sup>2</sup> Originally against the measure, Truman eventually signed Executive Order 9835, prescribing that “There shall be a loyalty investigation of every person entering the civilian employment of any department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government.”<sup>3</sup> It was on the authority of this order that members of the State

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<sup>1</sup> “Truman’s Loyalty Program,” Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, accessed November 12, 2017, <https://www.trumanlibrary.org/dbq/loyaltyprogram.php>.

<sup>2</sup> Landon Storrs, “Left-Feminism, the Consumer Movement, and Red Scare Politics in the United States, 1935-1960,” *Journal of Women’s History* 18, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 41.

<sup>3</sup> Exec. Order No. 9835, 3 C.F.R. 627-630 (1947), <https://congressional-proquest-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/congressional/docview/t67.d72.1947-eo-9835?accountid=14503>.

Department were investigated in 1947. SDLI hearings were later conducted using those investigation files in 1950 after Senator John McCarthy called into question the loyalty of 81 employees on the Senate floor.<sup>4</sup> In the midst of these investigations and hearings, deviance in performing gender identity was easily used to justify accusations of communist sympathies.

This anticommunist rhetoric also found a target in the social welfare programs and public works projects championed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt during the New Deal.<sup>5</sup> Women who were in power during the Roosevelt and Truman presidencies especially came under fire for being communist.<sup>6</sup> Because many women promoted policies such as national health insurance, public housing, and universal social security benefits, there was a campaign to label these kinds of policies and programs both feminine and communist—"pink."<sup>7</sup> Often, communist accusations discredited prominent left-feminists and their welfare proposals.<sup>8</sup> Storrs argues that direct result of this labeling was that a notable number of women came under investigation as part of the loyalty program.<sup>9</sup> As a result, feminist movements suffered a severe blow to women's rights advocacy due to a loss of prominent female leaders.<sup>10</sup> This case demonstrates the effectiveness with which gender was being used at the time to make a political argument.

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<sup>4</sup> *State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, 81<sup>st</sup> Cong. 6 (1950), <https://congressional-proquest-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/congressional/docview/t29.d30.hrg-1950-for-0007?accountid=14503>.

<sup>5</sup> Storrs, "Left-Feminism in the United States, 1935-1960," 41.

<sup>6</sup> Landon R. Y. Storrs, "Red Scare Politics and the Suppression of Popular Front Feminism: The Loyalty Investigation of Mary Dublin Keyserling," *Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (September 1, 2003): 518, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3659442>.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 523.

<sup>8</sup> Storrs, "Left-Feminism in the United States, 1935-1960," 42.

<sup>9</sup> Storrs, "Red Scare Politics and the Suppression of Popular Front Feminism," 518.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 524.

Global events in the late 1940's put pressure on the United States military to widen their recruitment to women and justify their decision. Although World War II had ended, the international situation was still tumultuous. Many United States military leaders, including future president and war veteran General Eisenhower, were observing the global state of affairs with apprehension.<sup>11</sup> The American people expected their troops to come immediately home, but it was necessary after victory that the United States maintain a temporary force to occupy the losing countries.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Israel had just declared independence and promptly came under attack by most of the Arab countries in the Middle East.<sup>13</sup> The perceived threat that was to shape American policy for the next forty years, however, was the growing strength of the USSR and the proliferation of communism. By the end of 1948, seven Eastern European countries, Albania, Bulgaria, Eastern Germany, Romania, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, had communist majority governments.<sup>14</sup> The city of Berlin itself was being divided into East and West.<sup>15</sup> In China, the communist armies of Mao Zedong were gaining control over large portions of the country.<sup>16</sup> The assessment of President Truman, General Eisenhower, and Navy Admiral Louis E. Denfeld was that there were too few male volunteers remaining in the U.S. military to adequately prepare for the global threats they anticipated.<sup>17</sup> During World War II, a bill had been passed to create military corps for women, but they specified that the corps

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<sup>11</sup> Linda Witt et al., eds., *A Defense Weapon Known to Be of Value: Servicewomen of the Korean War Era* (Hanover: University Press of New England in association with the Military Women's Press of the Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation, 2005): 15.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "Soviet Power in Eastern Europe," BBC, accessed November 12, 2017, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/history/mwh/ir2/sovietexpansionineasterneuroperev3.shtml>.

<sup>15</sup> Witt et al., 25.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

would be disbanded six months after the war's end.<sup>18</sup> The solution presented by these two military leaders was to propose the Women's Armed Service Integration Act, a bill that would create permanent voluntary women's military corps to avoid a vastly unpopular peacetime draft.<sup>19</sup> What ensued in 1948 were Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641, To Establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army, to Authorize the Enlistment and Appointment of Women in the Regular Navy and Marine Corps and the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve, and For Other Purposes. During these hearings, politicians, military leaders, and interest groups gathered to discuss the feasibility, rationale, and logistics of the bill, and always conversed with a gendered lens.

The wider context of gender in which these sets of documents were operating was shifting as well. Once the war was over, there was immediate backlash against women in the workplace. Recruitment of female employees had been viewed as temporary, and with men returning from war, there was a fear that lack of jobs would create another economic depression.<sup>20</sup> Because of this backlash, the same number of women were employed in 1950 as 1945, but they suffered lower pay and far less status and prestige.<sup>21</sup> In addition, married women were disqualified from unemployment insurance.<sup>22</sup> Anticommunist rhetoric was used as a tool to discredit women's labor rights. Without a war to fight but with the Soviet Union looming on the horizon, the patriotic call came for men to "fight for the 'American way of life'

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Mary Runte, "I Love Lucid: The Cold War, Feminism, And The Ideation Of The American Family" (Critical Management Studies Conference 3 'Cold War Stream', Lancaster, UK, 2003) 14.

<sup>21</sup> Witt et al., 17.

<sup>22</sup> Runte, 6 .

from their own hearths.”<sup>23</sup> Women’s role was to therefore maintain their hearths as a duty to their country.<sup>24</sup> Supporting an agenda for change, including advocacy for more inclusive policies for women, was deemed communist.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, overbearing women were perceived as similar to the United States’ portrayal of Soviet women: “tough, weathered, unattractive, and Unamerican.”<sup>26</sup>

Psychiatry had gained a formidable voice in American culture and also had something to say about overbearing women. In 1946, Edward A. Strecker, past president of the American Psychiatric Association and consultant to the Surgeon General of the U.S. Army, linked a failed masculinity to overprotective and domineering mothers.<sup>27</sup> He feared that this type of mother would make their sons weak, ineffectual, effeminate or even gay.<sup>28</sup> A “crisis” of masculinity was identified and linked to the numerous women who were employed during World War II, a move from a mainly agricultural and industrial community to white collar one, and the development of nuclear weapons.<sup>29</sup> In order to present a strong front, the United States began to rely more and more on masculine images in its campaign against the Soviet Union.<sup>30</sup> With a premium on masculinity, femininity was presented as a threat to the security of the nation if exhibited by men or “masculine” institutions.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Zachary J. Lechner, “‘We Have Certainly Saved Ourselves’: Popular Views of Masculinity during the Korean War, 1950–53,” *Comparative American Studies An International Journal* 12, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 319, <https://doi.org/10.1179/1477570014Z.00000000091>.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 320.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 317.

<sup>30</sup> Runte, 15.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

## Literature Review

While investigating the ways in which different crises affected gendered rhetoric, I draw on general gender theory literature, literature analyzing gender and the status of women at the time, literature examining women and the second Red Scare, and research on the intersection between gender and war. Each scholar provides insight into the ways gender is manifested in the world and some delve further into the use of gender as a political tool. I work at the intersection of these four bodies of literature and connect them. Furthermore, I examine the variations between the ways gender is used as a tool in crises, instead of only understanding its operation in one particular crisis.

### *Framework of General Gender Theory*

First of all, I examine Brownmiller, Bartky, Hartmann, Lester, and Kelan's work on how common stereotypes of women operate. This literature allows me to build a framework for identifying gendered rhetoric in context but does not directly relate to my case studies or explore the ways these stereotypes play out in more than one crisis. The widest survey of gender expectations comes from Brownmiller, who analyzes everything from dress to ambition in the context of what is considered "feminine."<sup>32</sup> Outside of the physical categorization of femininity Brownmiller conducts, she presents stereotypes of how women behave: women are influenceable, emotional, modest, and nurturing.<sup>33</sup> Brownmiller, however, writes in a very general sense and never goes into detail about the concrete interests these stereotypes serve. Bartky focuses more on the unequal share of emotional work that women are expected to

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<sup>32</sup> Susan Brownmiller, *Femininity* (New York: Linden Press/Simon & Schuster, 1984): 14-16.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

assume based on stereotypes of female caretaking.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, Bartky, like Brownmiller, writes from a broader perspective and uses hypotheticals instead of real-world examples to explore her theories. Hartmann tackles the issue of the patriarchy from a Marxist perspective and really delves into the ways in which gender norms are constructed to support patriarchal and capitalist power.<sup>35</sup> Hartmann's scholarship explores the idea that gender stereotypes are often used for political ends, but only applies her theory to the Industrial Revolution and the broader scope of capitalist society.<sup>36</sup> Lester focuses her work on how gender perceptions affect women in the workplace, using a case study of the experiences of community college faculty members.<sup>37</sup> While it is helpful to understand abstract gender concepts in a concrete setting, the singular case study of a community college faculty provides a very narrow context for showing how gender stereotypes operate. Kelan addresses historical gender stereotypes, especially the idea that women are considered to have more social skills and be more flexible, but also that they participate in a low paid, low status labor market.<sup>38</sup> While Kelan addresses how gender influences employees, she does not specifically characterize it as a tool, economic or political. This body of literature strongly demonstrates the various stereotypes of women that shape society but fails to identify the various ways gender is used as a tool.

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<sup>34</sup> Sandra Lee Bartky, *Femininity and Domination* (New York: Routledge, 1990): 102.

<sup>35</sup> Heidi Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," *Capital and Class* 3, no. 2 (July 1, 1979): 22.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Jaime Lester, "Performing Gender in the Workplace: Gender Socialization, Power, and Identity Among Women Faculty Members," *Community College Review; Raleigh* 35, no. 4 (April 2008): 277–305.

<sup>38</sup> Elisabeth Kelan, *Performing Gender at Work* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 2-3.

## *Gender After World War II: Shifting Masculinity and Gender Roles*

Scholars Lechner, Kimmel, and Runte focus the scope of their research on gender during the 1940's and 50's and provide a specific context for how gender stereotypes operated during the post-World War II era. Lechner investigates masculinity through middlebrow media during the Korean War and includes the prevalent blame of "moms" for men's masculine shortcomings in his argument.<sup>39</sup> He argues that gender was serving a specific purpose for national identity but focuses more on a monolithic pop culture narrative instead of accounting for the numerous ways gender interacted with politics. Kimmel also focuses on an exploration of gender during the post-war period by investigating the changes that masculinity underwent and the increased rigidity of gender norms.<sup>40</sup> Kimmel analyzes the politicization of gender, especially by Senator McCarthy during the Red Scare, but he is more focused on its effect on the American population instead of the political motivation McCarthy had for using gender as a tool. Runte's work specifically emphasizes women's role in the labor market during the time and outlines the exploitation of women's labor and femininity for national security agendas.<sup>41</sup> This is one of the clearest arguments for gender as a political tool and shows that when the government's needs shifted, so did the narrative about women's labor. However, Runte's research is narrowly focused on labor and does not explore the other ways that gender could be used to further a political goal. The literature analyzing post-war manifestations of gender classifies events and

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<sup>39</sup> Lechner, 316.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006): 147-153.

<sup>41</sup> Runte, 6.

cultural developments with gender and politics in mind but does not analyze the use of gender across a wider spectrum of crises.

### *Red Scare Attacks on Women*

Storrs has conducted prolific work on gender during the Red Scare. She argues that the type of feminism that the New Deal era saw could have flourished into something more powerful if the some of the more influential women involved in those movements had not been accused of communism and summoned to hearings.<sup>42</sup> Storrs' research frames gender as a tool to undermine a certain political movement, but provides a very specific context for the work that gender accomplishes. It is not clear what the use of gender by politicians would look like outside of this crisis.

### *Cultural Militarization, Masculinity, and the Role of Women in Warfare*

Feffer, Wit et al., and Enloe take a more specific look at gender concerning the Cold War and militarization. Feffer links gender to national security when he explores the way normative and deviant masculinity was constructed to further national security interests during the George W. Bush Administration and earlier.<sup>43</sup> Gender as a political tool is key to his argument, but he does not consider how a narrative of gender might be constructed in a different crisis. Enloe argues that governments use masculinity as a tool to militarize, but the ways in which this is conducted vary based on time period and culture.<sup>44</sup> In addition, Enloe (1993) maintains that

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<sup>42</sup> Storrs, "Red Scare Politics and the Suppression of Popular Front Feminism," 518.

<sup>43</sup> Andrew Feffer, *W's Masculine Pseudo-Democracy: Brothers-in-Arms, Suicide Bombers, and the Culture of Life*, W Stands for Women: How the George Bush Presidency Shaped a New Politics of Gender (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007): 88

<sup>44</sup> Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkely, CA: Universtity of California Press, 1993): 74.

women must always take a lesser role when masculinized militarization occurs.<sup>45</sup> She does not investigate how gender is used in nonmilitary situations to promote political goals, or how masculinity might be used within the same period and culture in different ways. Witt et al. argues that after World War II, more bodies were needed to make the military efficient, and that women were considered candidates to fill those positions out of necessity.<sup>46</sup> Their research, however, focuses less on how women were framed as useful to the military and more on the fight for women's participation.

In the existing literature, gender is considered a lens for looking at the world, and often as a tool to further certain goals. However, it does not examine how gender operates as a tool in different crises. My research will connect all four of these bodies of literature in order to analyze how gender as a tool varies with different ambitions and crises.

## **Materials**

### *Description of Case Studies*

The first case study I chose represents a bureaucratic crisis. This case study is composed of two documents. The first document is classified as part of the State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation and transcribes "Hearings Before A Subcommittee of the Committee of Foreign Relations...pursuant to S. Res. 231: A Resolution to Investigate Whether There Are Employees in the State Department Disloyal to the United States."<sup>47</sup> These hearings will henceforth be known as the SDLI hearings. They took place from March to June of 1950 and

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>46</sup> Witt et al., 14-17.

<sup>47</sup> S., *State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation*, 1.

were held as a result of an address to Congress by Senator Joseph McCarthy on February 20 and 22, 1950 accusing 81 State Department employees of disloyalty and communist activity.<sup>48</sup> These hearings investigate whether there were State Department employees who had communist sympathies. The second document in this case study is a letter from Deputy Attorney General Peyton Ford to Senator Millard E. Tydings written on June 16th, 1950, and was included in the Appendix for the hearings.<sup>49</sup> This letter contains memoranda summarizing data from the loyalty files of 108 members of the State Department and was provided to the subcommittee members.<sup>50</sup> However, these memoranda were originally assembled in 1947 by investigators for a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations of the Eightieth Congress.<sup>51</sup> The loyalty files contain evidence that State Department employees were sympathetic to communism. They are referred to by number only and not by name, since that information was confidential and may still be. However, the gender of the subjects is still present, which is an important variable in my study. Subjects are both male and female. These memoranda will henceforth be referred to as the SDLI memoranda. The documents themselves were taken from the ProQuest Congressional database of Legislative & Executive Publications.

The second case study I chose represents a military crisis. The hearings that make up this case study are entitled “Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641, To Establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army, To Authorize the Enlistment and Appointment of Women in

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<sup>48</sup> S., *State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation*, 1-2

<sup>49</sup> *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, 81st Cong. 2 (1950). <https://congressional-proquest-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/congressional/docview/t29.d30.hrg-1950-for-0008?accountid=14503>, 1770.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 1771.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 1770.

the Regular Navy and Marine Corps and the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve, and for Other Purposes.”<sup>52</sup> These hearings took place from February to March of 1948 and are comprised of testimonies from politicians, military leaders, and interest groups arguing for the inclusion, exclusion or limitation of permanent women’s military corps proposed by the Women’s Armed Services Integration Act. These documents will hereafter be referred to as the WAS hearings. Of those twenty-six witnesses who gave testimonials, only three were women. The roles held by these women were Captain Assistant to Chief of Naval Personnel/Director of the Women's Reserve, Colonel/Director of the Women’s Army Corps, and national co-chairwoman of the Women's Committee to Oppose Conscription.<sup>53</sup> One out of three women present were civilians, while only 7% of men testifying were civilians. This hearing is located in the ProQuest Congressional database of Legislative & Executive Publications.

### *Justification of Case Studies*

Gender is present in the rhetoric of both of the case studies, so I am able to compare them. In addition, although the legislation to establish permanent women’s military corps was drafted in 1946, the bill went through several iterations of hearings in 1947 and 1948, including being tabled for a time.<sup>54</sup> The final version passed on June 12<sup>th</sup> of 1948.<sup>55</sup> The hearings I am looking at in this case study document some of the last discussions about the Women’s Armed

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<sup>52</sup> *Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641, To Establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army, To Authorize the Enlistment and Appointment of Women in the Regular Navy and Marine Corps and the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve, and for Other Purposes: Hearing before a Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Forces, 80<sup>th</sup> Cong. 1, (1948)*, <https://congressional-proquest-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/congressional/docview/t29.d30.hrg-1948-ash-0006?accountid=14503>.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 5563-5747.

<sup>54</sup> Witt et al., 19-25.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*.

Services Integration Act that took place before the bill passed in its final version. I chose the later hearings because law makers and other constituents had begun to take the bill seriously, evident from the testimonies of eleven generals and admirals and its eventual passage.<sup>56</sup> With bigger stakes, those involved used every tool at their disposal, including gendered rhetoric.

These case studies were also chosen because they were compiled during the same timeframe. The SDLI hearings took place during the spring of 1950, and the investigators compiled memoranda on State Department employees in the year of 1947. The WAS hearings occurred during February and March of 1948. Altogether, these documents were generated within three years of each other. Thus, the investigations and the hearings were under similar cultural, social, and political pressures, in so far as time period was concerned.

Geographically, the investigations and the hearings also took place in Washington D.C., negating any affects that location would have had on the case studies. While men are responsible for most of the rhetoric I am analyzing, there is gendered rhetoric present in the women's WAS hearing testimonies as well. Therefore, I will include an analysis of rhetoric regardless of who was speaking or writing.

### **Methodology**

In order to investigate how gender operated in a bureaucratic and a military crisis during the early Cold War, I draw on literature analyzing gender during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and general gender theory. This foundation helps me to identify gendered rhetoric. In particular, I determine where women are being described differently than men or held to different

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<sup>56</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5563-5747.

standards. Then I use this same literature to establish a framework of gender stereotypes and classify rhetoric based on the stereotype it uses to make an argument. This stereotype framework establishes that women are seen as: irrational, sensitive/feelings-based, caretakers, slow to anger, lacking in ambition, economically dependent, fragile, flexible, small in size, refined, civilized, domestic, unthreatening, and generally inferior to men. A more nuanced description of these stereotypes will be included in the analysis section as they pertain to the arguments being made.

While gendered rhetoric is present in both case studies, the purpose of each case study is very different. The SDLI hearings and memoranda investigate whether individual people are communists, so I analyze rhetoric in this case study by assessing how gender is used to frame an employee as deviant and therefore disloyal. For this set of documents, I create a frame of reference for what was deviant based on gender at the beginning of the section. The purpose of the WAS hearings is to discuss women's role in the military, so I analyze how gender is used to advocate including, excluding, or limiting permanent women's military corps.

Once I have identified the gender stereotypes used in the arguments made in the SDLI hearings and investigations and the WAS hearings, I will compare how gender was used in both cases.

## Gendered Deviancy in the Loyalty Investigations

### *The Serpent and Red James Bond: Identifying Inconsistencies*

Known only by the number 78 in the files recording her investigation, much time and energy have been devoted to her case. She is criminal of the worst kind—a traitor to her country.<sup>57</sup> For years now, she has been in the shadows, slyly manipulating information to reflect her twisted communistic ideology.<sup>58</sup> She terrorizes anyone who isn't already under her spell, and insidiously works to place her spies in positions of trust in her organization.<sup>59</sup> She's clever and conniving, and these traits have served her well in her bid for power.<sup>60</sup>

Haldore Hanson is also under investigation for betraying his country. Though he is thought to be a premier expert on Chinese affairs and one of the smoothest talkers in Washington, he has been consumed with a mission to communize the world.<sup>61</sup> He is no Judas—he truly believes that communism is to the benefit of all men.<sup>62</sup> This is the sad tale of an ingenious man who worked his way up from a penniless magazine operator to one of the cleverest engineers of our foreign policy.<sup>63</sup> Like many of his kind, he places “his people” in key positions to consolidate power.<sup>64</sup> On the wrong side, a man of his standing and talents is one of the greatest threats to our country.

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<sup>57</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix*, 1798.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 1798.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation*, 74-82

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 79

In the late 1940s, these two individuals were accused of similar things. Both impressively intelligent, they used their gifts and position to spread an ideology they believed in and aid likeminded others. Yet, their stories are told very differently by investigators. This suggests that they were not being judged on an equal playing field—and possibly that gender had something to do with it. In addition to these two examples, I investigate the cases of many other State Department employees to understand how gender operated in the State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation hearings and attached investigation memoranda (SDLI hearings and memoranda). The SDLI hearings were held in 1950 after Senator Joseph McCarthy accused members of the State Department of communist activity, and the SDLI memoranda contain supplemental information gathered by earlier investigations into these cases. Consequently, I classify these documents as a bureaucratic crisis.

Andrew Feffer argues that when national security is involved, politicians often construct a narrative that culture as well as people need to be protected.<sup>65</sup> When threatening individuals deviate from often-gendered cultural standards, people in power justify the perception that they are a threat by grounding their argument in gender stereotypes.<sup>66</sup> By identifying when different evidence is used to accuse men and women, I can determine what was considered deviant for each gender. Consequently, the way men and women were seen as threats varies by what was considered deviant for men and for women. That is to say, those who exhibit deviant behavior for their gender are more likely to have that behavior used as evidence of the threat they pose to national security. In this way, gender becomes a tool for arguing that an

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<sup>65</sup> Feffer, 88.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 91-93.

individual is dangerous. In the following chapter, I will first identify when the rhetoric of evidence accusing a man of communism differs from the rhetoric of evidence accusing a woman of communism concerning mental illness, sexual promiscuity, excess, sexuality, intelligence, and ambition. Then, I will show how these differences are grounded in gender stereotypes and represent the discrepancies in what is considered deviant for men and women. I argue that linking gender deviancy to national security is a tool used by politicians and government workers to further their own interests. While there are definite distinctions between the framing of deviant men and women, even the rhetoric characterizing women is not always consistent. Therefore, the ways that gender deviance is used as a tool is not uniform, even in characterizing people of the same gender.

Figure 1.1 gives a visual representation of what was considered deviant for men and women at the time within a gender stereotype framework, which may be referenced while reading the descriptions and analysis of deviant behavior and national security.

Deviant Men	Deviant Women	Normal Men	Normal Women
Unintelligent	Intelligent/Manipulative	Intelligent/Rational	Irrational/Emotional
Weak	Aggressive/Ambitious	Ambitious	Obedient
Homosexual	Promiscuous	Promiscuous	Nurturing
Untrustworthy/Lacking Integrity	Excessive/Out of control	Honorable	Composed

Figure 1.1

*The Threat of a Promiscuous Woman: Blackmail and Bad Mothering*

SDLI memoranda characterize the promiscuity of women as a deviant and a security threat, while promiscuous men are normalized. Gender plays into this distinction of deviance because women would be easier to blackmail as the “irrational” sex.<sup>67</sup>

In the SDLI memoranda, women’s promiscuity as evidence against them is found regarding No. 48 and No. 86. No 48 is described as “a member of a heavy drinking group with loose morals.”<sup>68</sup> She appears to have a reputation in her neighborhood as being a heavy drinker and promiscuous.”<sup>69</sup> In the memorandum, it notes that besides her “loose morals” and equal

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<sup>67</sup> Brownmiller, 207.

<sup>68</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix*, 1787.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

loyalty to Poland after serving in their military, she had excellent character references.<sup>70</sup>

However, the compiler of the memoranda notes this case to be an “appointment to an important position from the security standpoint without prior investigation.”<sup>71</sup> This indicates that a women’s promiscuity counted as evidence to not employ her. In No. 86’s file, the individual’s reputation is described as “lurid, that she was a leading light in the America First Movement, was a Nazi sympathizer and active in a Falange Movement.”<sup>72</sup> The last three items reflect a fascist ideology instead of a communist one. The only other condemning factor in this six-line memoranda is a “lurid” reputation, indicating a sensational and unrestrained character.

However, men’s files do not include similar evidence that promiscuity makes them a threat. Even though men’s files account for 80 of the SDLI memoranda, while women’s files account for 28, the only memorandum mentioning anything sexual regarding a male employee is present in No. 97’s file. In this file, it notes that the individual had a “domineering personality and having some question as to his integrity,” as well as a “disagreeable personality and his being a poor administrator.”<sup>73</sup> It is only at the end of the fourth paragraph that the file mentions “improper advances to girls in the OPA Office.”<sup>74</sup>

The SDLI memoranda mention homosexuality as a trait that could be used as blackmail material and possibly create a security threat.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, it makes sense that promiscuity could be a risk for the same reason. Following this line of thought, promiscuity should be an

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 1786

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 1801.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 1805.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 1796.

issue for men as well. However, the only time a man is characterized as inappropriately sexual is when No. 97 makes “improper advances” to women who work *in his office*. Because they work with him, revealing state secrets would likely be reduced, in comparison to promiscuous action outside the office. Promiscuity outside the office is never mentioned in a man’s case. Although, once again, there is limited evidence with sexual promiscuity present in only two of the women’s cases, it is notable when compared to the lack of any mention in the men’s cases. Men may have been omitted from this issue of sexual promiscuity due to the idea that men were considered more “rational” and less emotional than women.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, a promiscuous woman could have been considered more of a risk than a promiscuous man, since men would make better decisions about their partners. Besides considering women more of a security threat for gendered reasons, it should be noted that promiscuity was deviant behavior in women, since there was strong societal expectation to be mothers and caretakers.<sup>77</sup> Sexual behavior without desire for a family clearly runs counter to that and may have influenced the inclusion of promiscuity as evidence in some of these cases.

*“Homosexuality” as Depraved and Threatening in Men and Nonexistent in Women*

Like promiscuity, the SDLI memoranda note that “that homosexuals are regarded as security risks inasmuch as they are obviously easy blackmail victims.”<sup>78</sup> However, women are never described as homosexuals, suggesting that homosexuality was deviant and a security threat for men and not for women.

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<sup>76</sup> Brownmiller, 207.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 228.

<sup>78</sup> S., *State Department Investigation Appendix*, 1796.

While not extremely frequent, several SDLI memoranda note men as homosexual. For example, No. 10 “has homosexual tendencies and made suicide attempts...” in addition to being an “undesirable employee because of moral depravity...”<sup>79</sup> While the kind of moral depravity is not mentioned, it can be implied it stems from this individual’s sexual preferences, evidenced by the statement that someone witnessed “an incident of perversion.”<sup>80</sup> No. 73 is characterized as having “the reputation among homosexuals as being homosexual...” and that he frequents “homosexual parties, associates with homosexuals and is ‘undoubtedly homosexual’.”<sup>81</sup> It is in this file that the investigators note the security threats and blackmail opportunities that could arise with a ‘homosexual’ in the State Department (noted earlier in this paragraph).<sup>82</sup> In each of these cases, there is no other evidence besides one mention of disorderly conduct. However, the inverse of the promiscuity trend emerges when cases of “homosexuality” arise. No woman is noted as a being “homosexual” in the SDLI memoranda or the SDLI hearings.

The discussion of homosexuality in the SDLI memoranda is gendered in several ways. First of all, the omission of women showing “homosexual” traits reflects the argument by Rich that lesbians are rendered invisible by most cultural forces as a way to enforce the coupling of men with women and male power.<sup>83</sup> Secondly, besides posing a security threat through blackmail, the inclusion of homosexuality as heavily weighted evidence in the argument that an individual was a communist sympathizer may have been a result of the links McCarthy and

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 1777.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 1778.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 1796.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Adrienne Rich, “Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence,” *Women: Sex and Sexuality* 5, no. 4 (Summer 1980): 27-33.

others drew between communism and homosexuality.<sup>84</sup> McCarthy made it plain that in the communist witch hunt he was looking for “pinks, punks, and perverts.”<sup>85</sup> Moreover, in this period, overbearing women were blamed for making their sons gay.<sup>86</sup> So not only were men who were considered more “effeminate” linked to communism, but women were blamed for the creation of a potential communist. The memoranda use these gender stereotypes to argue that homosexual men are deviant and a security risk.

*Discrepancies in the Treatment of Mental Illness: Mad Genius or Just Crazy?*

Based on the SDLI memoranda summarizing State Department employee investigations concerning men, mental illness never seems to be a non-negotiable factor in their termination of services. Although discussing of mental illness is only present in one file of a female subject, it should be noted that her case is treated much differently than the men’s. I argue that her mental illness is framed as deviant and therefore strong evidence against her while the men’s mental illness is framed as an inconvenience because of the existing stereotype that women should be composed.<sup>87</sup>

For example, State Department employee No. 19 is described as “a brilliant linguist, but a psychopathic case, and unfit for teaching though possibly quite satisfactory on linguistic research.”<sup>88</sup> The redeeming quality, in this case, is the subject’s exemplary work in a field, even though he is diagnosed as a psychopath. The mental illness was also not the only evidence

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<sup>84</sup> Kimmel, 156.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>87</sup> Brownmiller, 210.

<sup>88</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix*, 1780.

against him. Another man, No. 20, is considered “rather unstable...” and that “He, his sister and father all apparently spent time in mental hospitals.”<sup>89</sup> Despite this, and other evidence against him, the investigators determined that there was “no justification for continuing this investigation.”<sup>90</sup> No. 80 mentions in passing that “His file reflects that he received a draft classification of 4-F because of psychoneurosis,” and yet never comments that the psychoneurosis would influence his employment status in any way.<sup>91</sup> The memorandum focuses much more on the other reasons he may be influenced by communism. The most negative effect that mental illness has on a male employee can be seen in No. 50 and No. 108. In No. 50’s case, the memoranda notes that “if the subject is having another mental breakdown [File reveals he did at one time]... Place before Committee as security hazard-possible break and embarrassment if Congress gets on this.”<sup>92</sup> The mental illness was only mentioned after many other pieces of evidence. No. 108 was “diagnosed as possessing a ‘psychopathic personality’ ...although in a certain number of cases, there is an improvement with maturity the lack of constitutional stability always makes such individuals a poor risk for a responsible position.”<sup>93</sup> In his diagnosis, it mentions that this individual has some sort of hope for “improvement,” and is mentioned as the very last reason this man should be terminated (although according to previous record he was not.)

When the employee with mental illness is female, the SDLI memoranda discuss her differently. No. 16 is described as “a psychopathic case, [has] a personnel problem, and has

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 1799.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 1787

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

been an unsatisfactory employee in other places where employed.”<sup>94</sup> In this case, the mental illness and “personnel problems” are the *only* pieces of evidence against her, and no redeeming qualities are listed. This case seems to point to a possible double standard between men and women, though it is difficult to verify with other cases since her case is the only one that mentions a woman experiencing mental illness.

Brownmiller argues that rage and lack of control are typically discouraged in women, so a mental illness resulting in unwanted loss of composure may be framed as deviant for a woman.<sup>95</sup> The investigators who compiled the SDLI memoranda use gender in their argument by emphasizing this women’s mental illness as deviant and therefore evidence of communism based on the stereotypes that women should be composed.

*Excessive Women and Strong Men: Inconsistency in the Deviance of Communist Beliefs*

In general, the SDLI memoranda are more likely to describe women more frequently as being “too much.” Because this language is never seen in rhetoric around men, it seems as though investigators could have drawn on the stereotypes that women should always composed to argue that excessive women are deviant.<sup>96</sup>

An example of this can be seen in the case of No. 3, characterized as “oversympathetic to communism” (italics mine.)<sup>97</sup> No. 61 is described as having an “unnecessary close association with the visiting Russian delegates” and that “there was nothing wrong with her thinking but

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 1779

<sup>95</sup> Brownmiller, 210.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix*, 1772.

that she was merely *too* vigorous in her beliefs.”<sup>98</sup> In the files of No. 65, she is described as “wrapped up in Communism.”<sup>99</sup>

In describing men, language indicating an excess is rarely used. Instead of using “oversympathetic,” as in the case of No. 3, No. 2 is described as “very friendly and sympathetic toward Harry Bridges and strongly opposed moves to deport him.”<sup>100</sup> No. 53 is only “allegedly sympathetic to the Communist cause.”<sup>101</sup> No. 5 has “strong Communist sympathies,” while No. 43 is “very outspoken and fanatical” and No. 44 is a “strong sympathizer.”<sup>102</sup> No. 94 and his wife are both “very procommunitistic.”<sup>103</sup> No. 77’s file notes that he “strongly supported the appointment of C-23, a strong pro-Communist, to an OIC Post in Belgrade.”<sup>104</sup> While there is certainly a negative aspect to all of these accusations, words such as “over” and “too” are never used to indicate they’ve overreached some limit. In fact, the word “strong” appears multiple times in association with men, but never with women except No. 78, who is already characterized as violating the ideal image of a woman.

Looking at the language of excess used to describe women in context, possible explanations of the inconsistencies present between men and women line up with Brownmiller’s argument. Even though women are assumed to be emotional, according to Brownmiller, the perfect woman should possess a sweet disposition, modesty, and never

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 1792.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 1793.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 1771.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 1788.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 1772, 1785.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 1803.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 1797.

exhibit anger.<sup>105</sup> Excesses of unwomanly emotion were frowned upon, possibly explaining why the passion women brought to their communist ideology was labeled deviant and threatening.

*Female Intelligence is Threatening; Male Intelligence is Misapplied*

Intelligence is a criterion that is also considered differently in the cases of men and women. Both intelligence and lack of it are used as evidence for communist leanings in the SDLI hearings and memoranda. It is not necessarily whether men are only talked about as intelligent while women are talked about as unintelligent, but whether intelligence is considered a security threat. When male suspects are unintelligent, the documents frame them negatively and as deviant, and when male suspects are intelligent, there is a positive and normalized frame. Women's intelligence, on the other hand, is never mentioned unless she demonstrates "unnatural" intelligence and she is subsequently framed as a risk because of her intelligence.

No. 5's lack of intelligence is noted several times, yet also seems to be linked to an objectionable, deviant character. For example, a professor at the University of California stated "I would not trust him either. (Subject) was a radical. He was a mediocre student.... There is something about him that arouses my intuition and that causes me to be afraid of his outside connections."<sup>106</sup> A report mentioned in the memorandum "states that a State Department official who knew the subject in China as well as here, said the subject's work was below par; that he is a mediocre, dull and slow-thinking individual, and that he is the only man in the Government he knows of whom he would speak unfavorably. Another State Department

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<sup>105</sup> Brownmiller, 210-225.

<sup>106</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix*, 1773.

official said he 'considers subject weak as to ability, common sense and public relations.'" <sup>107</sup>

According to this evidence, the investigators not only portrayed this man as unintelligent, but deviant as well.

Described by the Passport Division as not "politically dangerous-merely a fool," a Foreign Service inspector believes No. 9 to be "pedantic, tedious, conceited, impractical, pompous man who would enjoy the pleasures of the Right, but popularity with the Left."<sup>108</sup> Therefore, No 9 is a fool but also is deviant in his behavior by lacking the toughness and common sense associated with men. There is something wrong with the character of No. 89 as well as his wits according to the memorandum's statement that he "has a poor personality and is 'very slow,'"<sup>109</sup> Similarly, No. 97's file contained "derogatory information concerning his personality and ability."<sup>110</sup> It goes further in discussing the deviancy: "Two other associates confirmed the statement as to the subject's disagreeable personality and his being a poor administrator. Still another associate said the subject promised him he would get the informant a promotion in OPA if the informant helped obtain a commission in the Armed Services for the subject through the informant's relatives who had high positions in the Armed Forces."<sup>111</sup> This statement suggests a lack of honorable masculinity. No. 96's intelligence is also tied up in his lack of masculine integrity, evidenced by the statement, "He stated that he was maintaining a "B" average and the reason for his leaving was due to a misunderstanding with regard to prelegal requirements. The CSA investigation disclosed that (subject) was disqualified from this

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 1774."

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 1775-1777.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 1802.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 1805.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

law school in May, 1934, for poor scholarship.”<sup>112</sup> Poor scholarship and deviant *criminal* behavior are linked in No. 108’s case when the memorandum lists reasons he may be a poor employee: “His arrest in 1935 for passing three worthless checks totaling \$100.00. 2. His “no” answer to Question 28 on Form 57 (this is a question regarding whether applicant has been convicted of any criminal offenses). 3. His dismissal from a Missouri college. 4. His alleged failure to make restitution to that Missouri college of funds advanced to him for which he gave a note. 5. His giving of a worthless check to a Tulane University Professor in 1934.”<sup>113</sup>

When intelligence is noted in a man, it is framed as normal and even with positive connotations. During the 1950 hearing about whether there was evidence enough to investigate State Department employees, Senator McCarthy describes one of the subjects, Haldore Hanson. He notes his intelligence with the phrase “This is not a dupe. Here is one of the cleverest, one of the smoothest men we have in the State Department.”<sup>114</sup> Moreover, there are positive connotations to his intelligence when McCarthy notes that he is “a man with a mission—a mission to communize the world—a man whose energy and intelligence, coupled with a burning all-consuming mission, has raised him by his own bootstraps from a penniless operator of a Communist magazine in Peiping in the middle thirties, to one of the architects of our foreign policy in the State department today.”<sup>115</sup> It’s not necessarily that Hanson’s intelligence is a threat in this situation, but that he is fixated on the wrong ideology. This is understood when McCarthy describes him demonstrating “a disturbing amount of hero-

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 1804.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 1809.

<sup>114</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation*, 74.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 82.

worship for the No. 1 and No. 2 Communist leaders in the Far East today.”<sup>116</sup> Hero-worship indicates, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, that Hanson is displaying a kind of excessive and uncritical admiration, causing judgement flaws and misapplied intelligence.<sup>117</sup>

Owen Lattimore, another communist suspect, is described very similarly: “Lattimore was not a dupe who joined these communist front organizations by mistake. He was one of the allegedly respectable men who got some actually responsible men on this list.”<sup>118</sup> His intelligence is noted along with his aptitude in the quote “Lattimore was not only a consultant but one of the principal architects of our Far Eastern policy. This man is one of the State Department's outstanding experts on problems dealing with the Far East and has been for a number of years.”<sup>119</sup> In this case, intelligence is framed as normal and positive. However, if one looks outside the discussion of the senators into a letter written about Lattimore, it describes him as “doubtless well-informed on many Asiatic matters, but unfortunately, if we are to take his written words as an index of his knowledge of China’s Reds, he is very badly misinformed about the true color of that most important body of individuals and their whole way of acting.”<sup>120</sup> This failure of judgement is mentioned again later: “And if all that isn't enough to make Uncle Sam suspect that Owen Lattimore is making a fool out of himself in the interests of world communism, the expert goes much further.”<sup>121</sup> Both Hanson and Lattimore are well

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 76

<sup>117</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “hero-worship,” accessed April 10, 2018, <http://www.oed.com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/view/Entry/327943?rskey=zFNbKP&result=2#eid>.

<sup>118</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation*, 103.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 99.

known for their intelligence and aptitude—it is the misinformation that makes them threats, just as it is unintelligence that made the other men threats.

In every single SDLI memorandum besides No. 78, unintelligence is never mentioned in conjunction to evidence of a woman's deviance. In fact, lack of wit in a woman is described in No. 6 as a commonplace contingency to plan for, saying she is "no more of a security risk than many others she has come into contact with if kept under proper supervision."<sup>122</sup> The use of "proper" suggests the need to supervise a woman is normal and to be expected. There isn't any obvious threat from a woman being unintelligent. Several senators also take this view in the SDLI hearings when discussing the case of Judge Dorothy Kenyon, a woman who McCarthy accused of joining 28 communist front organizations. Senator McMahon voices the opinion that "This is said with no reference to this Kenyon woman, whom I never heard of before in my life, but there are some naive people in the country, too, that will join any old thing that comes along," suggesting that he thinks Kenyon may fall into the category of normal female naivety.<sup>123</sup> McCarthy strongly objects when he declares "Someone so naive is a bad security risk, so naive that they would sponsor 28."<sup>124</sup> However, he later maintains that Kenyon is dangerous and deviant because she was fully aware of what she was doing, not because she was ignorant: "It is inconceivable that this woman could collaborate with a score of organizations dedicated to the overthrow of our form of government by force and violence, participate in their activities, lend her name to their nefarious purposes and be ignorant of the whole sordid and un-American

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<sup>122</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix*, 1774.

<sup>123</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation*, 31.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

aspect of their work.”<sup>125</sup> While Hanson was engaging in misguided hero worship and Lattimore was misinformed, Kenyon’s knowledge and intelligence itself is a security threat.

Kenyon is one of several women who are framed as deviant and a security risk based on their intelligence. Esther Caukin Brunauer, who is investigated in the 1950 hearings, is described in a similar way to Hanson, that she is “not...a dupe. You have an intelligent woman who makes an excellent appearance and excellent impression.”<sup>126</sup> The evidence against Hanson is 11 pages long, in comparison to Brunauer’s 4. Yet, it is Brunauer instead of Hanson whom Senator McCarthy thinks “definitely should be the very first case.”<sup>127</sup> No. 78 has more about her written than any other individual featured in the memoranda, and her intelligence appears to be critical in her guilt as well. As an employee of the International Broadcasting Division of the Office of Information and Educational Exchange, No. 78 is accused of changing the broadcast material to support communist beliefs.<sup>128</sup> In this endeavor, she is described as the “spearhead and dominant leader of” a group of people who conduct “themselves in a most clever and insidious way.”<sup>129</sup> In addition, when discussing No. 78, “The informant further stated that it appears that through her extreme intelligence and cleverness, the subject is the center of this group,” and that it was difficult to get information condemning the subject or others involved because of “her clever and insidious way of operating.”<sup>130</sup> In these cases, intelligence itself in a woman is

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix*, 1798.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 1810

deviant and therefore framed as a security threat instead of as a tool lent to a misguided ideology.

Throughout the SDLI memoranda and hearings, a statement of a man's unintelligence is far more common than a woman's unintelligence. As stated before, men were considered to be the more "rational" sex, as compared to feelings-based women.<sup>131</sup> While "rational" doesn't necessarily correspond to "smart," there may have been a higher standard for men to exercise common sense. A foolish man may have been considered straying from the masculine ideal and therefore have been expected to engage in more deviant behavior, such as embracing communism. In the memoranda, a lack of intelligence is also somewhat associated with weakness or a lack of masculine honor, other deviant behavior characterized by Lechner that may have been seen as a threat.<sup>132</sup> Conversely, when a man is intelligent, it is considered a positive thing, based on ideals of masculinity. Blame for espousing communist ideas is placed on applying intelligence to misguided thoughts. In women's cases, lack of intelligence as an explanation for communist behavior is only mentioned once, in a hypothetical way. There may have been an expectation that women would more easily be tricked or influenced by communism due to their natures. In these cases, intelligence itself in a woman is deviant and therefore framed as a security threat instead of as a tool lent to a misguided ideology. This makes sense when considering irrationality was identified as normal for women and cleverness as more deviant.

### *Stereotypes of Ambition Create Gendered Deviance*

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<sup>131</sup> Brownmiller, 210.

<sup>132</sup> Lechner, 316.

Agency and ambition exhibited by women is much more likely to be used as evidence that they are a threat. This may be because women's stereotypical submissive role is consistently enforced.<sup>133</sup> For example, No. 82's file notes that "the subject married a United States soldier stationed in Bulgaria, who was uneducated and of no background though she has money, furs, and jewelry. Upon her arrival in this country, according to informant, she immediately began trying to associate herself with the State Department."<sup>134</sup> Besides using intelligence to support communism, No. 78 also exhibits leadership traits that are consistently framed negatively. In the page and a half memorandum plus five-page appendix specifically about her (she is the only subject that received an appendix), No. 78 is reported to be overly powerful. For example, No. 78 "has very powerful connections in Washington and is constantly backed up in \* \* \* decisions whether it regards the protection of (subject's) personnel scheduled for dismissal for inefficiency or infractions of rules or whether it involves anyone who dares to question (subject's) instructions."<sup>135</sup> In addition, the file includes information on manipulating others in support of her power-hungry agenda: "He added that it appears that subject No. 79 is very much under the influence of subject, backing her up in everything, including her attempts to get rid of personnel (even some not employed under her supervision) who dare to disagree with her."<sup>136</sup> She is also framed as aggressive, with informants claiming they were "a victim of frequent attacks by her," sincerely loyal workers are either "'terrorized' by subject or are very apprehensive and bewildered," and that she was "attacking people who

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<sup>133</sup> Lester, 298.

<sup>134</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix*, 1800.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 1799.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 1810.

question any of her instructions or who just don't belong to her crowd, and through attempting to replace the latter category with her 'own people.'"<sup>137</sup>

Men with similar characteristics are not treated the same in this collection of investigations. Most notably, Haldore Hanson, mentioned earlier, engages in the same behavior as No. 78: "you will find that most of these men with the same type of background, his unusual background, attempt to get in positions where they are directing the assignment of personnel. If they can direct the proper personnel in the proper place, it gives them complete control, of course, of the program."<sup>138</sup> While the word "unusual" is used to denote Hanson's deviancy, it is evident from the text that his actions exhibit fairly typical behavior. This isn't noted at all in the case of No. 78 when she tries to promote "her 'own people.'"

One man's agency is framed negatively. No. 67 is described as "hard to handle, and the reason he was sent to Siberia was to get him out of Washington where he persisted in going over the heads of his immediate superiors to get assignments of his choice."<sup>139</sup> This, however, is the only time his attitude is mentioned, compared to the multiple times No. 78's aggressive personality is mentioned in her file and her appendix. In the case of No. 81, he is described as a "very aggressive leader of the Local of the American Newspaper Guild," but no more is said on the inappropriateness of his leadership style etc.<sup>140</sup> Lastly, No. 97 is described as having a "domineering personality."<sup>141</sup> This is never mentioned again in the file, and no further detail about it is given. Taken together, these specific memoranda can be considered evidence to

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 1811-1812.

<sup>138</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation*, 79.

<sup>139</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation Appendix*, 1793.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 1800.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 1805.

show that a woman in a leadership role in regards to communism is expounded upon and much more negatively portrayed than men in communistic leadership roles.

The backlash associated with women who are ambitious or show agency in their communist support is consistent with Brownmiller's argument that ambition in woman is unattractive and the opposite of her accepted motherly duties.<sup>142</sup> It also reaffirms Lester's argument that women are often reprimanded for challenging authority.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, Lechner, Kimmel, and Runte discuss the negativity associated with overbearing women and mothers, especially in how they could corrupt their sons. In the 1950's, ambitious equaled overbearing and therefore a deviant security risk in this case.

In the categories of mental illness, sexual promiscuity, excess, sexuality, intelligence, and ambition, the rhetoric used to describe the evidence a woman is communist is different than the rhetoric used to describe the evidence a man is communist. By examining the SDLI memoranda and hearings ordered to investigate whether there were communist sympathizers in the State Department, I found evidence that mental illness carries much more weight as evidence in a women's case than a men's case, sexually promiscuous women are seen as more of a threat due to blackmail susceptibility, and women are characterized as excessive when engaging in the same behaviors that are normalized in men. Furthermore, gay men are a threat but not lesbian women, and intelligence or ambition in a "communist" woman is condemned while in men it is neutral or celebrated information. These differences show that deviance for men and women is based on the stereotypes of their gender. When politicians and

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<sup>142</sup> Brownmiller, 228.

<sup>143</sup> Lester, 298.

investigators use deviance as evidence of communism, gender becomes operative in the argument that these State Department employees are a threat to national security. However, what is considered deviant is not consistent. For example, when women are passionate about communism, they are considered excessive and deviating from the norm of modest good humor. However, when women use their intelligence to advocate communism, they defy the “irrational” norm and are also labeled deviant. This suggests that within this specific crisis, gender is a tool used at the whim of powerful people to support whatever argument they want. In the next section, I will look at the use of gender during a military crisis.

## Gender Use to Argue Women's Role in the Military

In the previous section, I concluded that deviant behavior is constructed using gender stereotypes, and that this deviant behavior is used as evidence in a bureaucratic crisis when politicians and government workers began to accuse State Department employees of communism. In this section, I will examine how gender operated in a military crisis— the 1948 Women's Armed Services Integration Act hearings (WAS hearings). The purpose of these hearings was to determine whether to include permanent women's corps in the United States military and, if included, the details of their establishment. In the WAS hearings, I also find a difference in the way women are characterized compared to men. However, it is not in how women are considered deviant based on their specific "gender" characteristics, but how women uniquely *as women* would be an asset to the military, should have their role limited in the military, or should be kept out of the military altogether. These testimonials use gender in their arguments in the context of career aptitude, leadership, combat, maturity, family, physical attributes, expense, masculinity, and American exceptionalism. In each of these sections, I determine how the arguments draw on existing gender stereotypes to make the case that women should participate, be barred from, or have limited participation in the military based on their unique traits and characteristics as women. However, one testimonial will sometimes use conflicting stereotypes of gender to make their argument and opposing arguments will often use the same gender stereotype. This suggests that gender is a tool for these politicians, military leaders, and interest groups, instead of consistent evidence.

### *Stereotypes of Women's Career Aptitudes Applied to Servicewomen*

The idea that women are better at certain types of work is used by those who wish to include, exclude, and limit women in the military. I will first show how those in support of women joining the military generally mentioned that they thought servicewomen were an asset because they were women, and then move on to justifications of inclusion, exclusion, and limitation based on women's natural skillsets, temperament, and physical abilities. I will then discuss in greater depth the arguments that drew on female career aptitude to explicitly and implicitly place limits on servicewomen or cast them in a supporting role.

A general example of using this justification in support of the bill can be seen in General Omar N. Bradley, Chief of Staff's statement when he says that "Many of them [the women] are doing jobs then can do much better than men" and "All the officers on my staff wanted to get these people because they said they could do the work of two of the men that we had."<sup>144</sup> Mr. Andrews also said "you are unable to get replacements for the work which these women in certain situations do better than a man could. There is no question about that in my mind."<sup>145</sup> Vice Admiral A. W. Radford, Chief of Naval Operations has an opinion along the same line: "Long experience both in civil life and in the Navy has shown conclusively that there are certain billets that a woman can fill better than the average man. It is simply a case of the intelligent utilization of manpower so that the individual is fitted into the job for which he is adapted and which he likes and not into one where the reverse is true."<sup>146</sup> Mr. Vinson agrees, saying that "In

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<sup>144</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5587.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 5565.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 5586.

a great many instances it was far better than the job performed by the male in certain kinds of work”<sup>147</sup>

Often, military leaders maintained that women are better at certain jobs due to their natural skillsets. Being a “caretaker” is identified as one area women have specific skills. Rear Admiral H.L. Pugh, Deputy Surgeon General US Navy, stated that “It has been found that WAVE members of the Hospital Corps are superior to enlisted men in connection with medical care and hospitalization of women and children who are actual dependents of naval personnel, pursuant to existing law.”<sup>148</sup> With a special investment in religious life, Major General Luther D. Miller, Chief of Chaplains also agreed saying that “Early in the war we realized that to offer a practical program of spiritual welfare work we needed women. With the organization of the Women's Army Corps we found the needed skills and the natural interest that such assignments demand,” and “The capacity for service, the natural interest in religious activities, the patience, the devotion to the sick--in short, the characteristics of the women of America--are exemplified by our WACs.”<sup>149</sup>

Another skillset that women are identified as having is in food service. Two congressmen on the committee especially ascribe to the idea that women often excel in specific culinary endeavors. Mr. Johnson of California wonders “I never could understand why you continued to use the men for cooks,” while Mr. Vinson clarifies that “Women can only cook

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 5641.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 5583.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 5614.

small meals.”<sup>150</sup> Similarly, Mr. Johnson also asks “In most officer clubs they have women as waiters. Why could they not do so in the Army?”<sup>151</sup>

Those against the bill also use the argument that women have skills in certain areas. Following the same idea that women are skilled at caretaking, James Finucane, Associate Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of war argues “It would not be good social planning on the part of this Congress to erect another competitor for the services of trained young women in our society, when schools are' overloaded-for lack of teachers-with crowded classes.”<sup>152</sup> More generally, Mrs. Alexander Stewart, National Co-Chairman of the Women’s Committee to Oppose Conscription, agrees when she says “We have criticized these countries for stressing the military rather than the creative uses of women's time and talents.”<sup>153</sup>

Besides skillsets, those who argue women are better at certain jobs also justify this by citing women’s unique temperament. This temperament can apparently grant women more patience and enthusiasm for detail oriented and tedious work. Rear Admiral W.A. Buck, Chief of Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, Naval Department, says that “In most of the duties mentioned above, women are at least as able as men. In many of the detailed tasks required to assure the necessary flow of accouterments of war to the operating areas, they are more adept. In performance of work which consists of a repetitive and, therefore, monotonous task they are more capable, since they tire less easily and retain enthusiasm for that type work longer than do male personnel.”<sup>154</sup> Rear Admiral Earl E. Stone, Chief of Naval Communications,

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 5592.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 5741.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 5746.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 5584.

states that women are “particularly well fitted for the above types of work. They are loyal, capable, patient, and painstaking. They are security-minded. In work requiring manual dexterity and in long-continued performance of routine exacting tasks, they are equal to or superior to males.”<sup>155</sup> General Omar N. Bradley, Chief of Staff, is in agreement as well, saying “In certain types they do much better than the men, because you do not have enough men to do clerical work, and filing work, and work that is more or less tedious around an office.”<sup>156</sup> General Hoyt S. Vanderberg, Vice Chief of Staff, United States Airforce, has a similar opinion: “As research assistants their patience and attention to detail made women especially valuable.”<sup>157</sup> Lt. Gen. W. S. Paul, Director of Personnel and General Staff said that “In certain military Jobs such as communications, detailed accounting, photo interpretation, jobs requiring manual dexterity and patience, women can be used with superior results.”<sup>158</sup> General Jacob L. Danvers, Commanding General, Army Ground Forces, also supports this idea by saying “It was tedious work, but undeliverable mail was reduced to an absolute minimum by the efforts of these WACs.”<sup>159</sup> Vice Admiral A. W. Radford, Vice Chief of Naval Operations argues along similar lines, saying that “They were alert, dependable, conscientious, and untiring, even in jobs of highly tedious and repetitive nature.”<sup>160</sup>

Even when not conducting tedious work, the perceived attitude and efficiency of women in the military was used to argue in favor of this bill. For example, according to Admiral

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 5585.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 5590.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 5599.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 5609.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 5616.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 5586.

Louis E. Denfeld, Chief of Naval Operations claims that “as women they have brought an efficiency and refinement to the service which we cannot afford, to lose. In addition, we need their highly developed sense of loyalty.”<sup>161</sup> The Chaplain’s Newsletter of October 1946, quoted by Major General Luther D. Miller, Chief of Chaplains, describes women serving in the military as “Neat in appearance, they look like soldiers. Cheerful, obedient, they act like soldiers.”<sup>162</sup> General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, Vice Chief of Staff for the United States Airforce also maintains that “Their duties were performed with an efficiency and patriotic zeal which reflected the highest credit on the women of America.”<sup>163</sup> “Vice Admiral A. W. Radford states too that “Their service was characterized by an exceptional spirit, morale, and devotion to duty.”<sup>164</sup> General Eisenhower agrees when he says that “The efficiency of a woman in the job that she is particularly fitted to fill is on the average far above that of the man. Moreover, you don’t get the men for it. That is a vital point about the thing, you do not get in the Army the numbers of men that can be your efficient filing clerks, your stenographers, your telephone centrals-they just do not come in.”<sup>165</sup> Temperament is also discussed by Admiral Louis E. Denfeld when he says “Not only were they equally efficient in many of the duties previously performed by men, but in certain types of work they proved to be more efficient and psychologically better fitted, notably in aviation specialties, in the Supply Corps, in communication and in the hospitals.”<sup>166</sup> Mr. James Forrestal, Secretary of Defense said that “They [women] have permitted us to make

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 5582.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 5615.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 5598.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 5586.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 5564.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 5581.

maximum use of available manpower, and in many types of work their efficiency has been proven to be higher than that of men.”

Occasionally, physical characteristics are used justify women working in specific areas. General Hoyt S. Vanderberg, Vice Chief of Staff, United States Airforce, has a similar opinion: “It has been demonstrated that there are many skills in which women are especially proficient. I cite as an example tower operator in the field of radio communication. It was found that a woman's voice generally reproduced more clearly over the air than a man's voice”<sup>167</sup> Delicacy was another prized physical characteristic of women. According to General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, Vice Chief of Staff for the United States Air Force, women excelled “in performing many other jobs of a like nature requiring a delicacy of touch.”<sup>168</sup>

According to many, the work that women excel in is the work they had done previously in war. For example, General Eisenhower is adamant about this when he maintains that women “are particularly qualified for special types of work. One of the things is aerial-photography interpretation. They are far better at it than men.”<sup>169</sup> Later in his statement, he reemphasizes this: “In tasks for which they are particularly suited WACs are more valuable than men, and fewer of them are required to perform a given amount of work. As telephone operators, clerks, stenographers and secretaries, as statisticians, interpreters of aerial photos, and as technicians for various types of hospital and other work their performance *was* and continues to be outstanding” (*italics mine.*)<sup>170</sup> Rear Admiral H.L. Pugh, Deputy Surgeon General US Navy, also

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 5599.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 5569.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 5572.

takes this position saying 'the bill will permit the Medical Department to use in peacetime, as well as in wartime, those skills and technical specialties in which women usually demonstrate greater aptitude."<sup>171</sup> General Jacob L Danvers, Commanding General, Army Ground Forces, also supports this idea by saying "we going to need more women, highly trained and skilled, to fill the more than 200 job categories our war experience has proved they handle ably-and and in certain cases, such as telephone operators and cryptographers, much better than men."<sup>172</sup> Mr. Johnson of California also contributes with his statement that "a woman's advice on administrative matters is frequently quite sound."<sup>173</sup>

While some still argue women are better at certain things than men, occasionally these people hint at the obvious limit to employing women. Lt. Gen. W. S. Paul, Director of Personnel and General Staff, said that "Practical study must be made in time of peace to explore the job fields to which the aptitudes and skills of women are adaptable."<sup>174</sup> General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, Vice Chief of Staff for the United States Airforce, agreed, saying "As we have them we can find more nearly the exact capacity and capability of their skills." The idea that there is a limit to feminine talents is continued by Lieutenant General W. S. Paul, Director of Personnel and Administration, General Staff, United States Army, when he said "We believe that 2 percent [of the existing army] will give us a minimum workable nucleus. that we can expand in time of emergency and at the same time will be adequate for research in the type of work in which we want to use them." <sup>175</sup> Mr. Johnson of California agrees that the kinds of work women

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 5583.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 5616.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 5568-5575, 5641.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 5609.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 5620.

can do need be restricted, asking “Do you define the limits of what their jurisdiction, you might say, will be?”<sup>176</sup> Admiral Louis E. Denfeld, Chief of Naval Operations, supports the need to understand limitations of women’s work too, saying that “Our knowledge of the value of women's services is not confined to any one specialized field. During the war they were employed in all the duties for which they were found qualified.”<sup>177</sup>

Conflicting with the general theme that woman are useful for their own sake and excel at some things more than men do is the idea that women can be used to accomplish the lesser tasks so there are more men for the important work—they fill a supportive role. This is expressed by Mr. Andrews, a congressman on the committee, when he says that “You are up against a situation where if the women left the job you would have to replace them with people whom you might better use somewhere else...”<sup>178</sup> Vice Admiral A. W. Radford, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, affirms this as well by saying that “manpower shortages made it mandatory to utilize women where practicable in order to release men for billets which they alone could fill.”<sup>179</sup> Captain Stickey expresses this most clearly when he says “I think almost every billet that we have could be occupied by a male officer, Mr. Van Zandt.”<sup>180</sup> According to General Jacob L. Danvers, Commanding General, Army Ground Forces, “With a WAC replacing a soldier in many of the jobs in supply, transportation, administration, finance, certain technical positions, the Medical Corps, and in research and development, there could be many thousands more soldiers available for field training in the combat arms.” Mr. Johnson of California also takes the

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 5574.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 5581.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 5565.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 5585.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 5689.

perspective that women are only there to support the male commanders, saying “Isn't that a frantic call from commanders, they want personnel, they are frantic, and would take anyone to fill the places?”<sup>181</sup> Lieutenant General W. S. Paul, Director of Personnel and Administration for the U.S. Army, also makes his opinion clear when he says “Then; if we can use more, we may call additional women to fill jobs to be done to release men for other things.”<sup>182</sup> General Paul and Congressman Johnson of California discuss how women are only needed when the supply of men falls short with the conversation: “Mr. Johnson: ‘What I want to know is this aren't you going to get your Army in the place where you have enough men to fill the jobs that are for men?’ General Paul: ‘I think so.’ Mr. Johnson of California: ‘Then you will not need those 29.’ General Paul: ‘Yes.’ Mr. Johnson of California.: ‘Why?’ General Paul: “For the future training of these women to go on in an emergency.”<sup>183</sup>

When the witnesses make the case that women have specific aptitudes that enables them to fill certain positions better than men, they are drawing on a long trend of stereotypes. Hartmann argues that job segregation of men and women, where women's jobs are concentrated in low status, low paying areas, is essential to the maintenance of the patriarchy and capitalism.<sup>184</sup> Usually, these low paying jobs reflect the sexual division of labor in the home: food preparation and service, cleaning, and caring for people.<sup>185</sup> The lower wages of women's work differentiate it as secondary to men's work.<sup>186</sup> By keeping women confined to certain jobs

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 5623.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 5676.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 5647.

<sup>184</sup> Hartmann, 22.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 26.

and keeping the wages for those jobs low, the likelihood that women must be economically dependent on men and even go back to wage-less household labor is increased.<sup>187</sup> Following that, men's power over women's labor is ensured.<sup>188</sup>

The idea that women naturally have skills that qualifies them for certain jobs is used in the argument to both include women and exclude them from the military. Bartky discusses the association of women with the skill of caretaking when she claims that the "ideal" woman should provide an unequally large share of emotional caregiving in a relationship.<sup>189</sup> This transfers to the public sphere, as according to Lester, women in her university faculty case study are expected to play a more nurturing, caretaking role, exhibiting interest in the emotional health of students.<sup>190</sup> Brownmiller touches on food service as well when she expresses the argument that nurturant labor such as "childcare, spouse care, cooking and feeding, soothing and patching...." is expected from women and seen as extraordinary or suspicious when exhibited in men.<sup>191</sup>

The idea that the temperament of women makes them more qualified for certain types of work is used to justify including women in certain positions in the military. Women stereotypically are better caregivers because they "naturally" exhibit characteristics mentioned by several witnesses such as patience, loyalty, and neatness.<sup>192</sup> Brownmiller discusses the refinement that women are assumed in this hearing to bring the armed forces when she

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Bartky, 102.

<sup>190</sup> Lester, 278.

<sup>191</sup> Brownmiller, 221-222.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

mentions that they have “a finer temperament in a more fragile vessel, a gentler nature.”<sup>193</sup>

She also discusses the problematization of anger in women that can be seen as the opposite of a positive attitude so valued in WACs.<sup>194</sup> Efficiency, too, is hinted at by Kelan when she discusses how even contemporary women are seen as more flexible.<sup>195</sup>

The fact that a woman’s voice could be heard more clearly over the radio is most likely based on pure practicality. However, the physical trait of delicacy equipping women for certain jobs lingers in the gender discourse. Brownmiller argues that a women’s smaller stature has been historically important in defining masculine versus feminine.<sup>196</sup> Slighthead during this period and beyond is a common stereotype for women’s beauty.<sup>197</sup> It makes sense, therefore, that if women were assumed to be more delicate, they would be better at certain jobs than larger individuals.

However, for many of the very specific roles, such as aerial photo interpretation, there does not seem to be any clear stereotypes to draw off. It is more likely that the specific technical roles stated are just the status quo roles women played during World War II, so they are the roles that commanders know women can perform. Eisenhower strongly hints at this when he claims that “As telephone operators, clerks, stenographers and secretaries, as statisticians, interpreters of aerial photos, and as technicians for various types of hospital and other work their performance *was* and continues to be outstanding” (italics mine.)<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Brownmiller 208.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 212.

<sup>195</sup> Kelan, 2-3.

<sup>196</sup> Brownmiller, 29.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>198</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5572.

The thread of women having limited abilities is telling of the of the stereotype at the root of sexism: that women are inferior to men.<sup>199</sup>

Women as caretakers is a stereotype that many testimonies in the WAS hearings use to cast women in a supporting role. According to Kimmel, the supportive woman was essential American attempt to reintegrate men after the war.<sup>200</sup> Many soldiers suffered from physical and psychological injuries, and women were expected to “placate their wounded men.”<sup>201</sup> Bartky also agrees even during peacetime, women often play the supporting role to their husbands bolstering confidence and feeding egos.<sup>202</sup>

By making sure that women were serving in military roles they were “best suited for,” witnesses were making an argument for how they wanted national security to function. However, even when witnesses called for the inclusion of women, the stereotypes about women’s career aptitudes usually required limitation of their role in some form.

### *Limiting Leadership: An Argument of Power and Rationality*

One of the clearest examples of gendered language in this document comes in the form of restricting female leadership. These limits were agreed on by most witnesses and are grounded in a history of women’s submission.

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<sup>199</sup> Bartky, 30-31.

<sup>200</sup> Kimmel, 148.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Bartky, 102.

The Army, Navy, and Airforce each include in their version of the bill a structural limitation on how far women can advance in the ranks. According to the Women's Armed Services Integration Act, "in the Women's Army Corps promotion list there shall be no officers in the permanent grade of colonel."<sup>203</sup> In the Navy version, "Women are not to be given permanent commission above the grade of commander. Provision is made for the detailing of one woman officer of the grade of lieutenant commander or commander to duty. In the Bureau of Naval Personnel as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel. It is proposed to give her the temporary rank of captain while so serving."<sup>204</sup> Similarly, Congressman Vinson and General Strother have a conversation detailing limitations on rank in the Air Force: "'Mr. Vinson: 'Let us break down your rank. Your top rank is a lieutenant colonel.' General Strother: 'Yes.' Mr. Vinson: 'That is your top permanent rank?' General Strother: 'Yes, sir.' Mr. Vinson: 'And the temporary rank of colonel will be held.' General Strother: 'One colonel.'"<sup>205</sup> The excuse given for the limitation in rank is, according to General Omar N. Bradley, Chief of Staff, that "Possibly, as I stated it was that these people will never command large units."<sup>206</sup> When asked why the top ranking officer in the WAC would be called Director and not Chief, General Paul says that "Most of those have a command status and the Director of WAC would not."<sup>207</sup> Even in ranks under this top ranking officer, General Bradley, Chief of Staff explains that the Women's Army

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<sup>203</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5649.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 5682.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 5721.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 5595.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 5630.

Corps bill “would provide that no more than 10 percent of the officers reached the grade of lieutenant colonel.”<sup>208</sup>

The Women’s Army Corps also has restrictions on promotion, as according to Colonel Halleran, “The same promotion regulations would apply to women as to men, with the exception of lieutenant colonelcy, which by selection would be to fill specified vacancies only.”<sup>209</sup> The Navy also has restrictions on promotion according to the conversation of Congressman Blandford and Captain Darden, Assistant Chief of Naval Personnel: “Mr. Blandford: ‘So, in effect, there is no accelerated promotion for the WAVE officer.’ Captain Darden: ‘Not in the sense that accelerated promotion for males is provided in Public Law.’”<sup>210</sup> First, Mr. Vinson asks Colonel Halleran, “command be exercised by the ranking officer, and if it happens to be a woman, can it be exercised by the woman?” and she responds “Sir, there is one limitation in this bill, and that is that the Secretary of the Army will specify the authority which any WAC officer might exert.”<sup>211</sup> Later, Colonel Halleran again explains that “Obviously, on a field artillery post, there would be no place for a woman in command. It has been spelled out so that the Secretary of the Army shall prescribe the military authority exercised by WAC officers, in order to put a limitation on their command functions,” so that the leadership of women can be limited further.<sup>212</sup>

Besides rank, leadership is also limited by age, evident in the conversation between Colonel Halleran and Congressman Blandford: “Mr. Blandford: ‘Am I correct in assuming that no

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 5587.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 5650.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 5696.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 5650.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 5959.

one over the age of 40 years could be appointed?’ Colonel Halleran: ‘That is right, and with the men it was up to age 47.’”<sup>213</sup>

Even on committees, women’s leadership is restricted. Regarding the board that selects officers for promotion, Captain Stickney maintains that “It will not be practical to have them all women, particularly at the beginning. I do not think we ever intend to have them all women, but there will be women on a board that is selecting women for promotion.”<sup>214</sup> Mr. Johnson of California asks “Will they have a place in the planning group; will the women have a place in that, where you formulate the plans to be used in the event of emergency, and so forth?” and Mr. Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, replies “I would doubt that, Mr. Johnson, except insofar as they were a purely clerical administrative relationship to such plans.”<sup>215</sup>

According to Colonel John P. Oliver, Legislative Officer of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, leadership is even more difficult to attain in the Reserves. He says that “We did not realize that by this law the Regular services have made it almost impossible for an officer of field grade in the Reserves ever to be called to duty or for a company grade officer in the Reserves ever to be promoted when on duty in time of emergency.”<sup>216</sup>

Besides the provisions in the law preventing women from rising above a certain command, the way individuals speak about woman and leadership is revealing. For example, Congressman Durham worries that women would be promoted more quickly: “I should think it

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 5674.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 5694.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 5574.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 5744.

would be faster, because you have a smaller number. It would put them in an advantageous position.”<sup>217</sup> Congressman Vinson is concerned that there were might be too many women in positions of power, even though female officers are a smaller percentage of the total woman’s corps than male officers of their corps: “It looked to me to be rather top-heavy.”<sup>218</sup> He soon expresses this sentiment again, saying “You don’t think you’re a little high in majors and colonels, lieutenant colonels?”<sup>219</sup> Later he says that “practically everybody will be promoted under this bill”<sup>220</sup> Mr. Vinson also seems to be concerned with reducing the prestige of rank when he says “You must not make the calculation on the rank of the Regular Army for the men. You must make it upon the responsibility and the assignment. You do not want to have a lieutenant colonel doing work that should be done by a lieutenant or being done by a captain. When a woman is a lieutenant colonel she must have that responsibility. If you do not give them responsibility you are cheapening the rank.”<sup>221</sup> It seems from this quote that Mr. Vinson doubts that there is enough leadership need in the Women’s Corps to necessitate that many officers without “cheapening” the rank. When the Air Force tries to compensate for the lack of permanent colonials by making the percentage of female lieutenant colonels higher than in the men’s corps, Mr. Vinson expresses outrage: “With an organization of only 400 officers, don’t you think 40 lieutenant colonels is out of line?”<sup>222</sup> General Eisenhower as well “would favor

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid., 5652.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 5637.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 5638.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 5695.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., 5638.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 5722.

some other type of promotion system” differing from men’s, though it is unclear whether that would restrict women.<sup>223</sup>

There is also concern about women being in charge of men when Congressman Short says “Mr. Bishop does not want these women running over your men.”<sup>224</sup> He then asks General Strother: “But for promotion, do they compete with male officers?” and General Strother responds: After they get on the one permanent list.”<sup>225</sup> While this is not necessarily expressed negatively, the question indicates that it is important to know whether men will have to compete with women.

Sometimes, the individuals participating in the hearing express flat-out disbelief in the abilities of women to lead. For example, Congressman Johnson of California says that “I mean, you would not, Mr. Vinson, obviously, make a five-star WAVE. I mean, there is some line of common sense where you would stop.”<sup>226</sup>

The backlash against women in power and the limitations put in place to restrict it reflect a wider trend. Of course, the deeper explanation for this is men’s desire to keep women in their power, and not the reverse.<sup>227</sup> Examples of women punished for attempting this reversal of power can be found in the literature. Lester describes how students challenged the authority of female faculty who didn’t perform traditional gender roles, as well as the reprimands female faculty experienced when they tried to question those higher up.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 5566.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 5723.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 5727.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 5579.

<sup>227</sup> Hartmann, 15.

<sup>228</sup> Lester, 193-198.

Similarly, Brownmiller describes the perception that ambition is the opposite of a woman's natural role as a mother.<sup>229</sup> If a woman became too ambitious, she was understood as overdominant, a characteristic that could lead to weak male offspring.<sup>230</sup> A concern that the military may have had was the perceived lack of rationality mentioned by Brownmiller.<sup>231</sup> By limiting the leadership of women, the military may have thought they were avoiding rash decisions made by women leaders and helping to preserve national security.

### *Women's Role in Masculinized Combat*

The possibility of women taking part in combat is both strongly condemned and assumed to be out of the question. In arguing against women in combat, stereotypes of weakness physical weakness come into play.<sup>232</sup> However, a larger theme of militarized masculinity may also have been used in the argument.<sup>233</sup>

When Congressman Vinson is questioning the need for a Regular Women's Military Corps he asks, "Then why, would it not be best-in view of the fact that they carry no fighting ability... a group with authority in the Secretary of National Defense to detail to each Department the number of women necessary to carry on the work in that Department?"<sup>234</sup> Mr. Vinson is very emphatic when limiting where women can serve: "If they are doing that work then you have to put some limitation in there, that they cannot be on combat missions."<sup>235</sup> He

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<sup>229</sup> Brownmiller, 229.

<sup>230</sup> Kimmel, 150.

<sup>231</sup> Brownmiller, 207.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>233</sup> Enloe, 89.

<sup>234</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5571.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 5712.

even disapproves of female officers being put anywhere close to active combat areas when he asks “Why not put them all in the staff! Why should any of them be in the line?”<sup>236</sup>

Those against women in combat also express themselves by maintaining that women shouldn’t be on any vehicle that may be a part of combat. For example, Congressman Van Zandt asks “In other words, we are safe in saying that the only sea duty that can be assigned WAVE officers other than medical, is for administrative purposes aboard hospital ships?” and Captain Darden replies “That is correct, sir.”<sup>237</sup> Mr. Vinson also seems quite adamant women will not be on military ships when he asks “Do you not think it would be quite helpful to the bill to write into the law that they cannot be ordered to sea duty? Of course, you will not have any sea duty, with reference to their promotion” and states that “Of course, you can serve at shore establishments, but they have no place at all on ships.”<sup>238</sup> He continues later with his amendment to the bill: “That they shall not be assigned to duty in aircraft while such aircraft are engaged in combat missions or on board combat vessels of the Navy,” and his desired revision to the amendment that he “would not want to restrict it to combatant vessels. Put down ‘serve in sea duty.’ You have auxiliary ships as well as combat ships. Just fix it so they cannot go to sea at all.”<sup>239</sup> He then decides “Why do you not write the amendment so it is positive?” and asks Colonel Halleran “You do not want to go to sea?”<sup>240</sup> She responds “No.” and

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 5687.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 5688.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 5689.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 5711.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 5711.

Mr. Vinson agrees, saying “Of course you do not. You see enough, anyhow, without going to sea.”<sup>241</sup>

Mr. Vinson expresses worries about women on aircrafts when he asks, “Are they going to be flying?” And General Strother responds “No, sir; except for the flight traffic clerks which we now have in the Air Transport Command.”<sup>242</sup> Further, Mr. Vinson asks, “Will there be officers that are assigned to flying duty and draw flight pay?” and General Strother responds “No, sir. That is not contemplated at all.”<sup>243</sup> Mr. Vinson then suggests “Let us go one step further: Why should they be assigned to any kind of aeronautical duty that pertains to flights?”<sup>244</sup>

While Congressman Durham seems a little more open to the idea of women on airplanes, he does say that they wouldn’t be “fighter pilots, of course.”<sup>245</sup> Congressman Cole agrees that “Of course WAVES never have sea duty.”<sup>246</sup>

Structurally, the bill provides for the fact that women will not be in combat. In regards to officer promotion, “Any requirement of sea or foreign service in grade prescribed by law for promotion shall not apply to the promotion of women officers of the Regular Navy.”<sup>247</sup> Captain Hancock explains that this is “Because the appropriate utilization of women officers in the Navy would require their assignment to sea and to foreign service only to a limited extent, it is felt

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 5711.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 5730.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., 5730.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., 5712.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., 5600.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., 5602.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., 5702.

that where those features are required for male officers for promotion they should not be applicable to women.”<sup>248</sup> Colonel Halleran confirms this, saying that “The women are set up on a separate promotion list because they cannot compete in all respects with the men. In other words, men have combat experience and training, in which the women would not compete. In all other spots they would. They are set on a separate promotion list so that the competition will be among women, rather than women with men.”<sup>249</sup>

According to Enloe, the exclusion of women from combat is largely based on government use of masculinity to fuel militarism, with women taking an ideologically important but lesser role.<sup>250</sup> She then talks about how combat is used as an “ideological instrument” to allow women to fill the need for personnel in the military while still maintaining the distinction between masculine and feminine (since masculinity has been so strongly linked to activating militarism).<sup>251</sup> Besides political use of combat, the perceived physical weakness of women discussed by Brownmiller may have also played into exclusion of women from fighting.<sup>252</sup> Outwardly, the United States military may have believed they were protecting the strength of their force by excluding women from combat, but inwardly, they may have been attempting to maintain the masculinized war machine.

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 5702.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 5648.

<sup>250</sup> Enloe, 89.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Brownmiller, 36.

### *Treating Women Like Children or Morally Superior*

When discussed in comparison to men, arguments limiting or excluding women from the military draw on the immaturity of women. These arguments that women are easily led astray are likely built on stereotypes of irrationality.<sup>253</sup> However, the opposite argument is made by those in support of women in the armed forces, and witnesses draw on stereotypes of women's natural refinement and civility.<sup>254</sup>

First of all, Admiral Willcutts belittles the possible conflict arising from nurses and female regular army volunteers having different standards of promotion etc., saying that "I do not anticipate it unless a petticoat war starts something."<sup>255</sup> General Eisenhower frames the desires of the women as insignificant when he says "By including them in the Regular Establishment, first you show that they are valuable, that you are perfectly delighted to get hold of them and make them a little corps of their own, and make them feel they do have something to look forward to in those few cases where I think they will stay with you for 30 years."<sup>256</sup> Mr. Johnson of California questions the importance the women's corps when he says "Why put in 'at the discretion of the President'? With a minor matter like this, he never overrules these people, and he hasn't the time to go into these minor matters."<sup>257</sup> Congressmen Short and Vinson imply the frivolity of women when they discuss how to incentivize women to join Women in the United States Air Force (WAF): "Mr. Short: 'Mr.

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<sup>253</sup> Brownmiller 208.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> H.R. *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5692.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., 5566.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 5633.

Vinson, all women like an airman.’ Mr. Vinson: ‘Of course they do. I am trying to find out what sale point they have.’”<sup>258</sup>

James Finucane, Associate Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, continues along the lines of female inability to resist sexual temptation, saying “It is of course perfectly obvious that the sequestration of large numbers of young women in post and barrack situations, where they are free from normal social surveillance and restraints, and where they are exposed to correspondingly increased temptations, is not the best calculated method of promoting what is called ‘conventional’ morality.”<sup>259</sup> He continues with the idea of easily misled women, but shifts his focus to the potential benefits of a women’s regular military corps: “We have no doubt also that they will be regarded as a useful institution by judges, social workers, and personal counselors, as a last resort for ‘difficult’ or ‘maladjusted’ girls.”<sup>260</sup> Mrs. Alexander Steward, National Co-Chairman of the Women’s Committee to Oppose Conscription, also takes up this idea with her argument that “The Army cannot supply the social and spiritual values that we expect our young women to develop. It will expose them to undue temptations without the normal social restraints that home, school, church, and community life give them.”<sup>261</sup> While unclear whether he is more worried about the influence of the men or the women, Congressman Johnson of California is clearly concerned about what might happen if men and women are intermingled, evidenced by his question “Of course, you expect to keep them separate and not intermingle them in units with men, do you not?”<sup>262</sup> General

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<sup>258</sup> Ibid., 5727.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 5738.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 5738.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 5746.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., 5574.

Eisenhower notes that he expected an issue of sexual temptation, but was proven wrong when he claims that “I thought a tremendous number of difficulties would occur, not only of an administrative nature, and, of course, there are bound to be a few of those when you incorporate women into a military organization, but I thought there would be others of a more personal type that would occur that would be real difficult to handle, that maybe we were exposing people to various types of temptation and other things that would get us into trouble. None of that occurred.”<sup>263</sup>

Mr. Finucane also maintains that others impose simplistic thinking onto women with his idea that “people will discriminate, among Methodists among the good and bad, but they do not do it with WACs. They think of a WAC as a character like the farmer's daughter, it is a subject for smoker card shows.”<sup>264</sup>

Mr. Finucane uses the reverse idea, that women are *more* morally upstanding than men, in his argument. For example, he says that “The survey which was conducted by two expert psychologists, G. W. Allport and P. E. Vernon, show that women want certain things out of life, which differ from the values sought by men. In this test, the women showed a distinctly greater preference for ethic, social, and religious values.”<sup>265</sup> Finucane uses this point to illustrate that women wouldn’t be able to seek those values in the army.<sup>266</sup> General Eisenhower, while he is arguing that women should be in the military, uses a similar tactic and endows women with a “better” moral compass: “Of course, we do not have any troubles with them of a disciplinary

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<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 5563-5564.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid., 5739.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

character, or any other kind. All we have had from these people is efficiency.”<sup>267</sup> He adds that “They [women] are very easily disciplined.”<sup>268</sup> Later, Eisenhower argues that “In the disciplinary field they were, throughout the war, a model for the Army,” and “More than this, their influence throughout the whole command was good. Carefully supervised, presenting a picture of model deportment and neatness, their presence was always reflected around a headquarters in improved conduct on the part of all.”<sup>269</sup> Major General Luther D. Miller, Chief of Chaplains, agrees, claiming that “Women In the Army have brought into the Army the same qualities that the presence of women brings into the factory, the shop, the office, or the classroom—a respect for the dignity of women and at high standard of courtesy, language, and conduct.”<sup>270</sup> In Chaplain Tavel’s letter supporting the bill, he argues that women “give them [services] the warmth and graciousness of home atmosphere.”

The idea that women are somehow less mature than men is reflected in the bill’s age limits. The bill states that “That no person shall be enlisted in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army who has not attained the age of eighteen years: And provided further, That no person under the age of twenty-one years shall be enlisted in such corps without the written consent of her parents or guardians, if any.”<sup>271</sup> This differs from the law for men, who have to have parental permission if joining at the age of 17, but can join without permission at 18.<sup>272</sup> Congressman Durham disagrees that women should even be allowed to join at 18, saying “I

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<sup>267</sup> Ibid., 5564.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 5569.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 5572.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 5613.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 5661.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 5662.

would like to offer an amendment: Take out the word 'eighteen' and insert the word 'twenty.'"<sup>273</sup> In defense of this amendment, Mr. Durham says that he proposed it "so we at least have somebody with education enough to become an officer. You want a certain number of girls at college level."<sup>274</sup> However, if this was accurate reasoning, men should also have an age limit of 21 so they could be at college level. In his discussion with Colonel Halleran, a female officer, Congressman Durham backs himself up further: "Mr. Durham: 'The difference in maturity between a man and woman is considerable.' Colonel Halleran: 'I think the woman is more mature at age 18 than a man.' Mr. Durham: 'I raised five girls and one boy. There is a difference. I think I have had enough experience to determine that point.'"

Hartmann believes that the idea of an irrational and overemotional woman has roots in the alignment of capitalism and the patriarchy.<sup>275</sup> She observes that the characteristics associated with capitalism and maleness—competition, individualism, and rationality—are often similar, leading to the argument that being irrational and emotional is a negative thing since it contradicts capitalism.<sup>276</sup> Brownmiller describes the expected sensitivity and overemotional equalities of women that many of these men use to discredit women's maturity, saying that that women are seen to be "tossed and buffeted on the high seas of emotion."<sup>277</sup> Bartky also discusses the perception of women as overemotional and explains it as compensation of lack of reciprocal emotional care in relationships.<sup>278</sup> Additionally, the

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 5662.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Hartmann, 28.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> Brownmiller, 208.

<sup>278</sup> Bartky, 102.

argument used by opponents of the bill that women as easily tempted likely has its roots in women being governed by excessive emotion instead of reason.

When witnesses argue the reverse, that women have superior moral fiber, this may be based in the concept of women as “civilizing.” Brownmiller, in her chapter on emotion, touches on women as a civilizing force and source of refinement.<sup>279</sup> Those who worried that women are immature or lack morality when isolated from social structure likely had concerns that the wild temptations of women would compromise the whole military force and national security, while those who thought women were naturally upstanding likely thought that an increase in moral fiber would improve the quality of the military.

*Protect the Family—Women as Caretakers, Men as Providers*

Many of the limitations put on women in this bill and the arguments against the bill stem out of the perceived role of women in the family.

The bill limits dependency on the women in military corps, saying that “the husbands of women officers and enlisted personnel of any of the Reserve components of the Army of the United States shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such personnel shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.”<sup>280</sup> According to Captain Hancock, “The determination of dependency is the same as that which was explained the other day by the Army for women. That is, the husband

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<sup>279</sup> Brownmiller, 208.

<sup>280</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5675.

must be mentally or physically incapacitated.”<sup>281</sup> Many congressmen strongly agree with this, including Mr. Johnson of California, who thinks that “it opens the door for wholesale support of husbands--the clause ‘shall not be considered dependent unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support’”<sup>282</sup> He seems to think some men could take advantage of the situation, saying “Nobody is quarreling with the disabled; but the shiftless ones, and those sort of people, are the ones I have in mind.”<sup>283</sup> Congressman Bishop questions the need for women to be employed in the place of men, arguing “Have you considered the great number of veterans unemployed in this country that might fill these jobs?”<sup>284</sup>

Colonel Halleran discusses the requirement that women be discharged when pregnant, explaining a provision as “inserted specifically to provide for discharge in case of pregnancy, to do it administratively.”<sup>285</sup> In fact, there were even specific rules restricting medical care for women once they got pregnant. According to Colonel Doan from the Surgeon General’s office, “if the [woman’s] disability arises, as a direct result of the pregnancy, that the woman will not be entitled to disability benefits. However, if there is a concurrent disability over and above anything which may have arisen as a result of the pregnancy, she will be entitled to disability benefits.”<sup>286</sup> Mr. Van Zandt agrees with this arrangement when he states that “I am thinking of the situation that can develop within the ranks, of having such a [pregnant] person around. It adds to the problem of maintenance or care, and many other things.”<sup>287</sup> When asked why

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid., 5713.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., 5677.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid., 5678.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid., 5593.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 5660.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., 5667.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 5667.

pregnant women could not just have temporary leave, Colonel Halleran explains that “As far as our women are concerned, they have to be a mobile group. If you have a woman with young children, she is not going to be able to move to the west coast when the Army needs her on the west coast.”<sup>288</sup> Reaffirming a mother’s inability to serve in the military, Colonel Halleran also mentions that “relative to the other dependencies, we are not admitting women who have children under age 18.”<sup>289</sup>

However, Congressman Bishop shows his support of family life in a different way when he says “In all seriousness, I cannot see why someone serving 12 years, as Mr. Vinson has said, and then being asked to leave the service because they are going to have a family, is justified.”<sup>290</sup> Others also show their approval of marriage and family, like when General Eisenhower is discussing the cost of the bill regarding retirement he says “The only possible administrative difficulty that I could see would be of any validity would be that of, let us say, future retirement of these people.... There will be few that will go through to their 30 years' service which entitled them to retirement. A few of the officers, yes, but they will certainly have earned their retirement by the time they get it. Ordinarily, the enlisted individual will come in and I believe after an enlistment or two enlistments they will ordinarily-and thank God-they will get married.”<sup>291</sup> Mr. Vinson also emphasizes the importance of marriage when he says “we should not put anything in the law which should cause them to hesitate getting married or to

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<sup>288</sup> Ibid., 5666.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., 5678.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., 5665.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid., 5564.

raise a family; on the contrary, we should encourage it.” and “There is nothing in this bill that prohibits a WAC from marrying?”<sup>292</sup>

Mrs. Alexander Steward, National Co-Chairman of the Women’s Committee to Oppose Conscription suggests the bill extends government power into the private sphere, saying “To follow such an emergency measure by establishing a permanent Women's Army Corps in peacetime would be setting a new precedent and would be laying the ground work for military control over another group of civilians, this time, women...” and that “The President's Commission on Universal Military Training makes the suggestion that it may be necessary to follow conscription of boys with conscription of girls.”<sup>293</sup>

Opponents of the bill also suggest it could ruin family life. According to Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmsted, Director of National Women's Committee To Oppose Conscription, this bill could ruin women for motherhood. She maintains that “It will prepare the way for permanent conscription of young girls and extend military indoctrination to our future mothers.”<sup>294</sup> Mr. Finucane, of the National Council for Prevention of War agrees, saying that “It is not good social planning for this Congress to form these young women in the way of the barracks life, at a time when the divorce courts and orphanages are crowded, because of the inability of thousands of women to live in the normal patterns of individual family life.”<sup>295</sup> He emphasizes this later with the statement “It would not be good social planning for this Congress to encourage' the formation of the future mothers of America in the mold of militarism.”<sup>296</sup> Mrs. Stewart of

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<sup>292</sup> Ibid., 5660-5667.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid., 5745.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., 5732.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., 5741.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid., 5741.

National Co-Chairman of the Women's Committee to Oppose Conscription has a similar argument: "The efforts to draw young girls into the WAC by glamorized advertisements will result in many going into these services when they ought to be preparing as teachers to meet the serious shortage in our educational program or planning for home and family life."<sup>297</sup> Mr. Ficucane goes so far as to suggest that women who serve may seem undesirable for marriage, saying "the fact that a woman today is 'dated,' that is to say, 'stamped with her age' by the fact of her service. Then there is the very subtle but very uncomfortable stigma, for most girls, of being known as a former WAC. Although all three of these young women whom I have in mind, led lives of irreproachable correctness, still they feel themselves smeared somewhat by the publicity given such persons as the WAC captain who stole the Hesse jewels, and the number of incidents carried in the tabloids about WACs in undignified situations."<sup>298</sup>

The bill's prevention of husbands' dependence on their wives except in the cases of physical or mental disability is an example of the idea that men should be able to provide for their families. Hartmann argues that during the Industrial Revolution, many unions were against the employment of women and children because it justified a lower wage for men (since they were only supporting themselves) and took their wives' attention away from being homemakers.<sup>299</sup> The idea of a man's family wage was introduced—one that would provide for a wife and children, so they wouldn't have to work.<sup>300</sup> This reaffirmed a woman's dependence on her husband and the power he had over her.<sup>301</sup> Men who were forbidden to depend on a

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid., 5746.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid., 5738.

<sup>299</sup> Hartmann, 20.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., 22.

military woman's salary is an example reinforcing the status quo that men should dominate economic power in a family.<sup>302</sup> The argument that veterans should have the jobs that the military is planning for women to fill also harks back to this. Besides economic power, Kimmel argues that masculinity was constructed in such a way during this time that fathers "embodied masculinity."<sup>303</sup> However, the consequences for failing to be a breadwinner and father was to be classified as gay, Communist, or a delinquent.<sup>304</sup> It follows, therefore, that a man's dependence on his wife was highly discouraged. Additionally, once the first signs of a family (ie. pregnancy) manifested themselves, women were expected to let fathers do their jobs and support their wives and children.

Discharge from the military after pregnancy and the forbidden recruitment of mothers with young children is supported by the stereotype that a women's main work is childrearing and everything else a is a pre-family diversion. Mothers who were anything but the picture of feminine nurturing could be considered domineering and a cause of gay and delinquent sons.<sup>305</sup> Brownmiller describes the perceived ultimate female characteristic as nurturance—a "love of children and a desire to bear them and rear them."<sup>306</sup>

If a women's main job to be a wife and mother, it stands to reason that most congressmen would like to encourage that, even when they also stay employed. Furthermore, if

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<sup>302</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>303</sup> Kimmel, 150..

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>306</sup> Brownmiller, 221.

this is the case, it makes sense to frame military recruitment of women as a direct threat to finding a suitable husband or to raising children well if one is against this bill.

### *Physical Attributes Blamed for the Specific Role of Women*

Perceived physical characteristics that justified limitations in the bill were likely based on stereotypical size and power discrepancies.<sup>307</sup>

Women couldn't work as cooks because according to General Bradley, Chief of Staff: "as Congressman Vinson has brought out, in cooking for large quantities you have considerable weights to lift around from the stove to the table, and so forth and women would usually have to call upon someone to lift those things, which would mean a man to do it."<sup>308</sup> It was also a justification for women to retire earlier, according to Congressman Bishop who said "'The men have to be 62, do they not ?' Captain Nunn: 'Yes; the women have to be retired at an earlier age.'"<sup>309</sup> Congressman Bishop confirms that specifically, "the ladies retire at 52."<sup>310</sup> Congressman Vinson shows concern for difficult physical requirements for service, asking "Won't your qualifications be merely a health qualification and not any particular degree of health that would enable you to do combat duty; and yet that is the standard you are prescribing here."<sup>311</sup> Congressman Van Zandt likewise worries that women are too delicate for the rough posts outside the United States, suggesting that "I would like to see written into this

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>308</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5592.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., 5709.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., 5723.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid., 5670.

legislation that no WAVE or WAC or Marinette should be sent beyond those areas [U.S. territorial limits] in times of war or in times of peace...except where the accommodations to house them and so forth, are available.”<sup>312</sup> Captain Stickney reinforces this point, stating that outside the continental United States, locations like Hawaii, Guam, the Canal Zone, Samoa, stations in China, and Alaska “about cover the places that we now have where it would be appropriate to send women.”<sup>313</sup> He also says that “in our planning one criterion that we use is: The place where we now have Regular Navy personnel to which dependents are entitled to go would be a guide.”<sup>314</sup> Captain Stickney and Congressman Van Zandt then discuss the importance of having a certain quality of arrangements for women: “Mr. Van Zandt: ‘In other words, the Army had the WACs pretty close to the front lines. Their living accommodations were not so good.’ Captain Stickney: ‘The only comment that I could make on that is: We intend to continue the careful selection of places and to make sure that there are adequate facilities...’”<sup>315</sup>

Besides physical restrictions, emotional delicacy in women is also noted. For example, a congressman, the Hon. Adam C. Powell, explains that during his promotion of an integration amendment he did “not press in the floor debate my amendment as vigorously as I should have, and will henceforth, because the opponents were the two gracious gentlewomen from Maine and Ohio.”<sup>316</sup> An overall delicacy is assumed with femininity when Mr. Finucane of the National Council for Prevention of War argues against the bill, saying “They are also unhappy in

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 5690.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid., 5688.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 5735.

a more intangible sense because they feel that somehow they have lost some of their essential femininity by abandoning, even for a time, the role traditionally assigned to and expected of them in our culture. There may be some ex- lady wrestlers or female stevedores who are immune to this encroaching sentiment of regret after an enlistment, but they are not typical women, within my acquaintance.”

Fragility is a strong argument in favor of limiting or eliminating women’s role in the military, and it is based on a long history of assumed “disparity in size and strength.”<sup>317</sup> Brownmiller comments that the lesser strength in women, artificially brought about historically with corsets or foot binding, was another sign of men’s power in comparison and the dependency of women on men.<sup>318</sup> The limitations in this bill and the discussion of women’s delicacy is a direct reflection of this stereotype.

#### *Are Women Cheap or Expensive? An Argument of Economics and Stereotypes*

Many of the discussions around women joining the military permanently center around costs. The argument about women costing more than men in an effort to bar them from the military is likely rooted in the stereotype that women lack common sense, while the argument about the cheap labor of women has its origins in the lower wages women were paid during the Industrial Revolution.<sup>319</sup>

Some worry that women will cost more than men. General Eisenhower is reassuring the subcommittee about the cost of retirement for women in the armed forces when he states “Of

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<sup>317</sup> Brownmiller, 29.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>319</sup> Hartmann, 20, 28.

course, I see no additional expense. The only thing I can possibly see is the additional few, a very few, that will go through to their 30 years and on to retirement.”<sup>320</sup> Later, when Congressman Bishop asks, “What will be the cost?” it is General Paul, Director of Personnel and Administration for the Army, that responds, saying that “The cost is no more than the cost for the men.”<sup>321</sup> Then, Congressman Johnson from California asks “As to these lieutenant colonels, will that affect the cost of it?” and General Paul must again respond “It doesn't affect the cost a bit.”<sup>322</sup> Congressman Vinson and Captain Stickney indirectly discuss the cost of retirement for ranking women when they have this conversation: “Mr. Vinson: ‘Of course, if you are rather generous with your spot promotions, it opens an opportunity so that when they do retire they will retire that rank.’ Captain Stickney: ‘There will be no spot promotions made that are not now in existence, Mr. Vinson.’ Mr. Vinson: Well, they are quite numerous now, are they not?”<sup>323</sup>

General Eisenhower also expresses the concern that women may not be worth the money spent on Universal Military Training (UMT), saying that before beginning one for women, “I would want to see exactly how much value I was going to get out of it as opposed to the money I am spending.”<sup>324</sup> Congressman Bishop is worried about spending more on women in service in general when he asks “In some of these places where you have four or five WACs, isn't it true that the cost to take care of those four or five WACs is as much as your cost for 400

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<sup>320</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5568 .

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, 5621.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, 5639.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, 5706.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, 5569.

men in that same place ?”<sup>325</sup> James Finucane of the National Council for Prevention of War actually uses price in his argument against the bill, saying that “It will cost more than an equal number of civilian women when the cost of feeding, clothing, paying, housing curing, furloughing, and pensioning is totaled. This special breed of soldier, with special-type uniforming and all the purchasing red tape that involves, special-type housing and all the red tape that involves, if all the costs are charged up to her-a far more expensive employee than the male soldier or civilian.”<sup>326</sup> Mrs. Alexander Stewart, National Co-Chairman of the Women’s Committee to Oppose Conscription also thinks women in service will be more expensive, saying that “If, as has been suggested the main purpose of the WAC and WAVES presumably is to fill office jobs such as stenographers and filing clerks, then these could be done by civilians much more efficiently and at much less cost to the taxpayer and/or as civil service appointees.”<sup>327</sup>

Women in fact, are allowed a larger stipend for clothing, shown in the conversation between Congressman Vinson, Captain Hancock, and Captain Darden: “Mr. Vinson: ‘How much clothing allowance is made now for the enlisted personnel of the WAVES?’ Captain Hancock: ‘Two hundred dollars-a lump sum payment.’ Mr. Vinson: ‘And that same amount is allowed for enlisted males?’ Captain Hancock: ‘No, sir.’ Mr. Vinson: ‘How much is allowed for enlisted males?’ Captain DARDEN. ‘\$124.50.’”<sup>328</sup>

Congressman Shafer, on the other hand, flat out says that women may be cheaper employees when he argues “With the civil service employees, you had the problem of time and

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid., 5596.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid., 5740.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid., 5746.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid., 5709.

a half for overtime. When 5 o'clock came they started to go home. But if you had this sort of a group you would get better work, and maybe cheaper work, in the long run, including all the benefits that they get."<sup>329</sup> Congressman Vinson wants to know if "when they are serving in the instruction field do they draw flight pay?" indicating that there may be another alternative where was possible to pay women less.<sup>330</sup>

The idea that women may be more expensive to house, clothe, etc., is likely based on the stereotype of women as high maintenance and less practical. Hartmann discusses how men are classified as rational and pragmatic, characteristics of capitalism and making money.<sup>331</sup> She argues women are perceived to the opposite, and so arguments where women are more expensive to maintain because of their irrational need for more could be effective in an argument.<sup>332</sup>

The opposite idea, that women may be cheaper to maintain in the military, is likely based on Industrial Revolution events. Factories and other wage labor industries in the United States began to employ women and children for lower pay than men during this period, especially since they were thought of as less likely to make trouble about an unfair wage.<sup>333</sup> In addition, women provided more labor, so it decreased wages for men anyway.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Ibid., 5570.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid., 5712.

<sup>331</sup> Hartmann, 28.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

<sup>333</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid.

*Animosity and Undermining Masculinity: The Gender Hierarchy*

When individuals criticize the bill, they often bring up the possible animosity against women in service. This argument is probably based on a conception that men who do not dominate women are weak.<sup>335</sup> Mr. Vinson, for example, worries that “You have places for 13,400 people. If you try to bring in 35,000 you will hear the cry all over the country that you have an Army of women and you have not enough men, you are filling your Army up with women.”<sup>336</sup> Congressman Andrews thinks that there might be “considerable, not antagonism, but antipathy to the thought of women generally being brought into the regular service-possibly in some services more than others.”<sup>337</sup> Congressman Van Zandt has concerns about antipathy in the ranks as well when he asks “What effect are WAVE officers going to have on officers who have been to sea and who feel that they are entitled to a billet on the beach, or ashore?”<sup>338</sup> James Finucane, Associate Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, uses the construct of masculinity to argue that there is a “A protective feeling toward women; and resentment of the myth that a WAC is, or ever can be, a real soldier.”<sup>339</sup>

Lechner argues that especially in the post-war period, media was presenting a crisis of masculinity.<sup>340</sup> The battlefield was a place that men could successfully demonstrate their masculinity but struggled to do so after the war.<sup>341</sup> Mental illness caused by World War II, including PTSD, was seen as weakness, and Edward Strecker, past president of the American

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<sup>335</sup> Lechner, 316.

<sup>336</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5624.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 5565.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 5688.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, 5740.

<sup>340</sup> Lechner, 316.

<sup>341</sup> Kimmel, 147.

Psychiatric Association, blamed it on moms who coddled their children.<sup>342</sup> It is understandably, then, that resentment of women taking the accepted place of a man could be a powerful counterargument in creating women's military corps.

*American Women Should Fit Certain Stereotypes To Be Patriotic*

Some of the arguments against the bill use comparisons to other countries to show the distastefulness of women in the military. This is based on a vaguely xenophobic idea that American women embodied true feminine virtue, especially in comparison to Soviet women.<sup>343</sup>

Mr. Finucane of the National Council for Prevention of war argues that the military will hurt the American women's feminine and delicate nature, saying "This militarization of the women of America will not be for the good for society, unless you conceive of the type of woman whom we are trying to develop as someone like the female-Russian sharp shooter."<sup>344</sup> Mrs. Alexander Stewart of the Women's Committee to Oppose Conscription claims that "We have rightly and justly criticized other countries, including Russia, for making women's service an integral part of the military forces."<sup>345</sup>

It's likely that this argument played on anxiety about the Soviet Union. The ideology that spread during World War II that women needed to contribute to the war effort to be patriots morphed after the war into the ideology of homemaking as patriotic and quintessentially American.<sup>346</sup> Becoming good housewives was part of fighting the battle for the "American" way

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<sup>342</sup> Lechner, 319.

<sup>343</sup> Runte, 15

<sup>344</sup> H.R., *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5741.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid., 5746.

<sup>346</sup> Runte, 13.

of life, the opposite of Soviet women who were seen as “tough, weathered, unattractive and masculine.”<sup>347</sup> The idea that women could become un-American and undesirable by participating in the military when it was patriotic for men to do so is an argument based purely on gender.

Testimonials in the WAS hearings to determine whether women should be a permanent part of the United States military use gender stereotypes in their argument that women should participate, be barred from, or have limited participation in the military. Whether it is the context of career aptitude, leadership, combat, immaturity, family, physical attributes, expense, masculinity, or American exceptionalism, these politicians, military leaders, and interest groups claim that characteristics that “define” women support their argument. Proponents and opponents of the bill both use the argument that women are suited to certain careers. The only difference is whether the skills, temperament, etc. make them more necessary for a military or civilian life. Leadership and combat are universally recognized as areas where women naturally cannot adequately participate, but testimonials argue that women are naturally more mature and therefore should be in the military, or less mature and therefore should be barred or limited in military participation. Participation in family life is identified as essential to women and is used to limit women’s participation in the military. Arguments using a woman’s physical attributes and how much she costs to maintain are used on both sides, while worries about undermining masculinity and modeling American women after foreigners and Soviets are concerns only to opponents. It is clear that whatever the argument, evidence linked to gender

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<sup>347</sup> Runte, 15.

is used to make the claim. Because there is no universal way gender shows up in these arguments, it seems to be a tool of political manipulation. In the next section, I will compare how gender operates in the bureaucratic crisis of the SDLI hearings to how it operates in the military crisis of the WAS hearings.

## **A Comparison of Gender as a Tool in Different Crises**

Gender operates distinctly in both a bureaucratic crisis and a military crisis taking place the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. In the first section of this paper, the bureaucratic crisis I examined was the 1950 State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation hearings and attached investigation memoranda (SDLI hearings and memoranda). The hearings were a response to the accusations of Senator McCarthy that there were communist sympathizers within the State Department, and the 108 memoranda were summarized of past employee investigations that acted as supplemental documents to these hearings.<sup>348</sup> The military crisis I studied was the 1948 Women's Armed Services Integration Act hearings (WAS hearings). These hearings sought to determine whether permanent military corps for women should be established and how it would be established.

In the SDLI hearings and memoranda, gendering is present because the rhetoric used in the evidence compiled for men is different than the rhetoric of evidence compiled for women. These differences reflect an inconsistency in what was considered deviant for men and women. Feffer argues that cultural deviance is often framed as threatening by powerful people.<sup>349</sup> Because deviance for men and women is described differently, the threats linked to this deviance are also different for men and women. Discrepancies in this deviance exist in the categories of mental illness, sexual promiscuity, excess, sexuality, intelligence, and ambition. Women are considered a communist threat based on deviant behavior that is not deviant in men, which makes gender operative in classifying national security threats.

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<sup>348</sup> S., *State Department Loyalty Investigation*, 6.

<sup>349</sup> Feffer, 91-93.

Gender operates in the WAS hearings in a different way. While the SDLI hearings and memoranda are concerned with being *internally* compromised by communist agents and the spread of communist spies and ideology, the WAS hearings seek to strengthen an organization (the U.S. military) to prepare for an outside threat. While testimonials are concerned about the military being compromised from within as well, this is less of a focus. As a result, testimonials present in the WAS hearings use gender to argue for including, excluding, or limiting women's participation in the military so that the United States military can be the best. These gendered arguments occur in the context of career aptitude, leadership, combat, maturity, family, physical attributes, expense, masculinity, and American exceptionalism.

Similarities exist between these two sets of documents, first of all, because they both contain arguments that depend on a gendered lens. The SDLI hearings and memoranda and the WAS hearings each ground their arguments in stereotypes about women. Politicians and investigators in the SDLI hearings use gender in a different way that politicians, military leaders, and interest groups do in the WAS hearings. In fact, the only two realms in which the same stereotypes are used for similar arguments is with respect to sexual promiscuity and immaturity, and leadership and ambition. The SDLI hearings and memoranda argue that sexual promiscuity in women endangers the State Department because of the threat of blackmail, while some testimonies in the WAS hearings claim that the immaturity of women and their sexual desires will lead the military to ruin. The SDLI hearings and WAS hearings both agree that women in leadership positions result in trouble. However, gender is used in inconsistent ways *within* the case studies, too. The fact that gendered arguments are not used consistently within and between case studies then suggests that arguments that are supported by gender

stereotypes are not rational. In these case studies, gender stereotypes seem to serve the argument of anyone who wishes to use it.

It should be noted that stereotypes of women I use in this thesis stem from the concept of an “ideal” woman, and this woman was white and upper class.<sup>350</sup> Therefore, the arguments that use gender stereotypes are only considering certain women. This is especially clear when talking about how women’s labor was discouraged—lower class women and women of color usually had to work out of necessity.<sup>351</sup> The opening up of the military to women on a permanent basis was likely an opening up to white women. In fact, the amendment “There shall be no discrimination or segregation on account of race, color, religion, or national origin in the appointment of officers, commissioned or warrant, or in original enlistments or reenlistments, or in the training and utilization of personnel selected under this Act” was brought forward three times, and three times rejected.<sup>352</sup> In the words of Hon. Adam C. Powell, United States Representative, it was absolutely necessary because at the time there was “still only one Negro nurse for 20,000 Negro men... It is really discrimination against Negro women rather than Negro people.”<sup>353</sup> Undoubtedly there was racism against black men as well, but it’s important to understand that in talking about women, the investigators, witnesses, and congressmen were likely not considering women of color.

Specific limitations of this research partly lie in the use of primary documents. First of all, the nature of seventy-year-old documents is that some are damaged, which was the case

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<sup>350</sup> Witt et al., 17.

<sup>351</sup> Runte, 5.

<sup>352</sup> H.R. *The Subcommittee Hearings on S. 1641*, 5603.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*, 5735.

with several pages of the WAS hearings. In addition, many of the documents surrounding the investigations of communists were and still are highly classified and difficult to find. This is part of the reason that most of the individuals in the SDLI chapter are referred to by number and not by name, and also why I haven't been able to do outside research on the specific individuals. Lastly, it is difficult to classify stereotypes of women because those notions constantly morph, and both researchers and the individuals in the documents have slightly different interpretations of how American society expects women to act. The categories I use are in line with previous scholarly research, but it is difficult to completely capture the cultural conception of the feminine.

In recent years, the same stereotypes about gender are still used to make different political arguments. McThomas and Tesler use Hillary Clinton's first campaign for president in 2008 as an example of the dislike female candidates face when appearing too strong.<sup>354</sup> Tough leaders threaten male control, so it is understandable that Clinton's bid for presidency inspired this kind of backlash.<sup>355</sup> However, in the 2016 presidential election, BBC reports that Trump attacked Clinton's candidacy by calling into question her strength and stamina.<sup>356</sup> These two attacks of the same candidate within eight years of each other both draw on perceptions of women as weak. However, one critiques Clinton for her failure to perform docility, while the other condemns her for not being strong enough. These two instances are an example of how,

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<sup>354</sup> Mary McThomas and Michael Tesler, "The Growing Influence of Gender Attitudes on Public Support for Hillary Clinton, 2008–2012," *Politics and Gender* 12, no. 1 (March 23, 2016): 28–49, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X15000562>.

<sup>355</sup> Hartmann, 6.

<sup>356</sup> Jessica Lussenhop, "Presidential Debate 2016: Four Ways Gender Played a Role," *BBC News*, September 27, 2016, sec. US Election 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2016-37481754>.

in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the same gender stereotype can be still be used in different arguments to further a political agenda. While the manipulation of gender to suit political goals has happened for at least seventy years, feminist movements and scholars have now equipped us to identify those instances within our own community and deconstruct them to reveal the ambition beneath.

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