This an excerpt of a book chapter by CMR President Elaine Donnelly titled "Defending the Culture of the Military," **published in May 2010 by the Air Force University Press as part of a book titled** *Attitudes Are Not Free: Thinking Deeply about Diversity in the U.S. Armed Forces*. **Footnotes are in sequence but different from the original text, which begins on page 249. The chapter is available at http://books.google.com/books?id=-5FnvJEclewC&lpg=PP1&pg=PA249#v=onepage&q&f=false.**

Speculation About Willingness to Serve.

A July 2008 Palm Center report advocating repeal of the 1993 law, signed by a study group of four retired general and flag officers, suggested that possible personnel losses were not the group's primary concern.[i] In Finding Five of the document, the panel conceded that an estimated 4,000 military personnel would be lost to the service if the law were repealed. The report also claimed, with no credible support, that the loss would be "a wash in terms of recruiting and retention" because 4,000 gays and lesbians would enlist to take their places.

The study group's estimates were based on responses to a survey question in the same Zogby poll that the Palm Center commissioned and paid for in late 2006. Finding Five cited responses to Zogby question 27 suggesting that if gays and lesbians had been allowed to serve openly in the military, 2 percent of potential recruits—about 4,000 presumably heterosexual military men and women—probably would have declined enlistment in the past 14 years. Then the study group claimed without support that the 4,000 losses would be "canceled out" by 4,000 gays and lesbians likely to enlist in their places.

The estimate of potential losses, however, was miscalculated. The percentage of military people identified by Zogby in survey question 27 was not 2 percent; it was 10 percent, five times greater, with 13 percent undecided. Taking those percentages and estimates at face value, that means 20,000 people would have declined to join the military since 1994, or 32,000 men and women if half of Zogby's undecided group was factored in.[ii]

Yet another estimate came from Dr. Aaron Belkin, director of the Palm Center, who submitted to the House Armed Services Committee a brief statement claiming that if the law were repealed, 41,000 new recruits would join the military.[iii] If 10 times more than the Palm Center's own study group's 4,000 figure was good, why not pick another number—any number—to make the estimate even better?

Belkin's statement quoted Gary D. Gates, PhD, whose statement filed with the House Armed Services Committee used the same 41,000 figure and cited his own speculative claim that 65,000 homosexuals are currently serving in the military.[iv] Gates was the author of a September 2004 report published by the Urban Institute, titled *Gay Men and Lesbians in the U.S. Military: Estimates from Census 2000*.[v]

The 24-page Gates Report included several tables of numbers regarding military service rates, age, gender, and other factors. It concluded, "Estimates suggest that more than 36,000 gay

men and lesbians are serving in active duty, representing 2.5 percent of active-duty personnel. When the guard and reserve are included, nearly 65,000 men and women in uniform are likely gay or lesbian, accounting for 2.8 percent of military personnel."[vi]

The Gates Report was widely described as definitive, even though many of the numbers used to calculate percentages of gays in the military were based on speculation derived from several social science sources as well as the 2000 Decennial Census. The document stated that same-sex couples living in the same household are "commonly understood to be primarily gay and lesbian couples even though the census does not ask any questions about sexual orientation, sexual behavior, or sexual attraction (three common ways used to identify gay men and lesbians in surveys)."[vii]

This is one of several caveats in the Gates Report, including this observation: "Prevalence estimates of the proportion of men and women in the United States who are gay or lesbian drawn from samples that can be used to make nationally representative estimates are rare."[viii]

Using a statistical method called the Bayes Rule, author Gates added up speculative figures regarding different military communities (active duty, guard, and reserve) to come up with the 65,000 figure. Paul Winfree, a policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation Center for Data Analysis, has described the Bayes Rule or Bayes Theorem as "basically a calculation of the probability of an event occurring subject to certain known priors."[ix] Statisticians use the Bayes Rule as a formula to determine probability when relevant factors are known with certainty.[x]

The Gates Report calculated the number of gays and lesbians in the military by using estimated figures derived from the 2000 Census. Winfree noted that the Bayes Rule methodology used in the Gates Report was standard, but the resulting estimate was only as good as other estimates made using the 2000 Decennial Census. (A judgment on those figures was beyond the scope of his review.)

Given the element of speculation throughout, it is an overstatement to describe it as an objective presentation of "real numbers."[xi] It is not possible to determine the accuracy of estimates used in the Gates Report, which was prepared in consultation with the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military (now the Palm Center) and the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network.

Even if there were 65,000 homosexuals serving discreetly in the military, it would not follow that the time has come to repeal the 1993 law. Homosexualists are not seeking the right to serve discreetly in the military. The goal is unrestricted acceptance of professed sexual minorities in the military, regardless of the consequences.

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[i]. *Report of the General/Flag Officers' Study Group*, Michael D. Palm Center, July 2008. The document claimed that the four retired officers "devoted particular and extensive effort" to the study of published works submitted by named "invited experts" who disagree with the Palm Center's views. There are no footnotes referring to opposing views that this author and others gave or recommended to the panel in response to a letter from the project co-coordinator, Brant Shalikashvili, whose father served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

ii. Ibid., Finding 5, 8. The prospect of losing thousands of personnel apparently did not disturb the Palm Center study group because, they said, the military would become more "diverse" as a result. So much for concerns about recruiting, retention, or other factors associated with military necessity.

iii. Dr. Aaron Belkin, written testimony submitted to the Military Personnel Subcommittee, Committee on the Armed Services, US House of Representatives, Hearing on "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Review, 23 July 2008, 2.

iv. Gary J. Gates, testimony on "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," submitted to US House of Representatives, Armed Services Committee, Military Personnel Subcommittee, 23 July 2008, 2.

v. Gary J. Gates, PhD, the Urban Institute, *Gay Men and Lesbians in the US Military: Estimates from Census 2000*, 26 September 2004. Dr. Gates is now a senior research fellow with the progressive Williams Institute at the UCLA Law School, Los Angeles, CA.

vi. Ibid., iii.

vii. Ibid., 1.

viii. Ibid., 2.

ix. Paul Winfree, policy analyst, Center for Data Analysis, Heritage Foundation, e-mail correspondence with the author, 19 February 2009.

x. Mr. Winfree agreed that proper use of the formula could be demonstrated with a bag of multicolored M&M candies. If a researcher knows the total number of candies and the number in each color group, the Bayes Rule can be applied as a formula to determine the probability that a child reaching into the bag will pick out a particular color.

xi. Joanne Kimberlin, "Study Finds 65,000 Gay Men, Women in the Military," *Virginian-Pilot*, 21 October 2004.