

UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Going to War to Go to College: Student Veterans in Academic Contact Zones

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/53w1x78w>

Author

Moore, Ellen

Publication Date

2014

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

**Going to War to Go to College:
Students Veterans in Academic Contact Zones**

By

Ellen Moore

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor in Philosophy

in

Social and Cultural Studies in Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Jean Lave, Chair

Glynda Hull

Gillian Hart

Wendy Brown

Spring 2014

Abstract

Going to War to Go To College: Student Veterans in Academic *Contact Zones*

By

Ellen Moore

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Jean Lave, Chair

In the current all-volunteer U.S. military, many low-income recruits enlist for educational benefits. Yet many veterans find that their military training and combat experience complicate their ability to function in civilian schools; many drop out. Extensive research explores military training methods and outcomes of the G.I. Bill, yet little has been written about site-specific intersections of military and civilian pedagogies and cultures on college campuses. Moreover, there has been little written about how the presence of student veterans on contemporary campuses affects public discourse about U.S. involvement in foreign wars. This dissertation contests one often-cited explanation for low veteran success rates in college: that civilian campuses are anti-military, and by extension, hostile to veterans. Using Lave's analysis of situated learning and Pratt's notion of 'contact zones', and drawing upon Gramsci's concept of 'common sense', this dissertation explores the experiences of U.S. Iraq and Afghanistan war veterans on two California college campuses. It follows student veterans as their previous military socialization comes into contact and conflict with civilian academic, student and cultural norms. Drawing on interviews, observation of classes and everyday practice of veteran support NGOs, the dissertation shows that conflicting pedagogical and cultural norms and practices, rather than ostensible hostility towards veterans, impede veterans' success in higher education. There is little evidence to support the claim that contemporary college campuses show anti-veteran bias; indeed, framing campuses as hostile to veterans and conflating veteran support with support for U.S. wars produces a *militarized common sense*. Militarized common sense is a worldview based on the assumptions that war is a natural and necessary aspect of maintaining and protecting nationhood; that military priorities are more important than non-military ones; and that war veterans should serve as positive public symbols and proxies for U.S. military projects and wars. Acceptance of these common-sense understandings has the effect of silencing debate and dissent about the wars on campuses. The trope of the anti-military campus, while not reflective of contemporary reality, is rooted in historic narratives about the Vietnam War, and when veteran support programs are embedded in a context of uncritical esteem for the military, veteran support becomes a social force that organizes and regulates public discourse about the wars. Through the creation of *discourses of care* for student veterans, which simultaneously frame veterans as victims of discrimination and as heroes deserving of

public valorization, campuses promote programs that conflate support for the veteran with uncritical support for the institution of the military, which has the effect of silencing debate on campus about contemporary military conflicts. This dissertation reveals some of the unintended consequences of these discourses of care. Campus veteran support efforts that conflate support for veterans with support for the military may be counter-productive to veterans, their teachers and classmates, because they tend to preclude candid discussions about the U.S. military and U.S. wars, which can heighten the cultural divide between civilians and military members. Moreover, for many veterans, these enforced silences, coupled with heroic narratives about past and current wars, increase the cognitive dissonance between veterans' lived military experience and their campus lives, which in turn can negatively affect their success in college.

Dedication

To Charlie, Josie and Maya, with love.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Origin Story	1
Situated militarism	5
Militarist Hegemony	6
Banal Militarism, Gendered Nationalism	7
Combat Trauma	8
Research Goals, Questions and Methods.....	9
Ethnographic Method.....	11
Research Settings: Rural Community College and Urban University	12
Halcón College	12
Northern University	13
Interviews	13
Participant recruitment process.....	15
Terminology	15
Overview of Chapters	17
Chapter 1: Basic Training: Making the Soldier, Militarizing the Civilian.....	21
Introduction	21
Basic Training: Pedagogies of Power and Domination	22
Role Dispossession: Unmaking the Civilian	24
Standardization through Ritualized Practice	31
Conclusion	37
Chapter 2: What They Bring with Them: The Imprint of Military Training on Student Veterans.....	38
Introduction	38
Pedagogical and Cultural Disjunctures.....	40
Divergent Practices—College and Military	40
Pedagogical Disjunctures: Kinesthetic and Abstract Learning Styles	41
Practical Competence and Theoretical Comprehension.....	44
Cultural Disjuncture: “Battle Buddies” and Individual Orientation	46
Explicit and Covert Formality and Hierarchy.....	49
Relations of Formality and Informality.....	51
Habituation to External Command and Independent Self-Regulation	52
Traumatic Response in the Classroom: Cody	56
Silences and Erasures: Compounding Alienation	62
Conclusion	65
Chapter 3: Campus Veteran Support Initiatives	66
Introduction	66
Services at the Sites.....	67
Services at NU: building on Transfer Student Services	71
Differential resources create differential outcomes.....	73
Veterans’ Services Based on Pro-military ‘Best Practices’	74
“Best Practices” of Veteran Support.....	77
Discourses of Military Superiority and the student veteran.....	78

Veterans' Services <i>In Situ</i>.....	80
Military identification in civilian support groups.....	82
A note about service providers	83
Class Veterans' Re-Entry to College.....	83
The Military-Civilian Divide.....	88
Conclusion	88
Chapter 4: Veteran Self-Help: Embracing, Re-creating and Contesting	
Gendered Military Relations.....	90
Introduction	90
The Imprint of Military Socialization	90
Adaptations of Military Socialization: Learned Discipline and Focus	91
College as "Mission"	91
The Function of Collective Social Bonds in Military Life	95
Conceptualizations of communal social bonds.....	96
Gendered Social Worlds	97
Institutional Production of Military Misogyny.....	101
Embracing, Re-creating, Disavowing or Contesting Gendered Military Relations	104
Grieving the Loss of Military Bonds	105
Replication of Military Structures and Relationships: Classroom and Career.....	105
Campus Veterans Clubs: School-based Military Networks.....	107
Halcón College Veterans Seek Each Other Out.....	110
Forming Social Bonds Apart from Campus Veterans Clubs	114
Distancing from Military Ideologies and Identities	115
Conclusion	123
Chapter 5: Educating the Educators: Academics Get Schooled at Ft. Knox	125
Introduction	125
Recruiting "influencers" in theory: the manuals and policies.....	127
Marketing the Military: From National Service to Contract Sales	127
Recruiting "influencers" in practice: Ft. Knox, KY	131
Background: ROTC and the Vietnam Era	132
The Discursive Role of Rank.....	135
Embedded practice, embedded identities	136
Pedagogies of Participation and Non-participation.....	141
Militarism and Spectacle.....	142
War-making without War.....	144
Colonel's Leadership Panel: "The Ask"	146
Chapter 6: Spectral Wars and the Myth of the Anti-Military Campus	150
Introduction	150
Background: The Specter of Vietnam	151
Remediation of the manufactured problem: production of Militarized Common	
Sense.....	166
Creating 'Safe Spaces' for Militarism.....	166
Specific interventions to create "Veteran Friendly" Campuses	174
Veterans' Day, Los Olmos College.....	177
Conclusion	183
Chapter 7: "Thank you for your Service": Gratitude and its Discontents	185
Introduction	185

Veterans Perspectives.....	186
"Thank You For Your Service"	201
Conclusion	204
Conclusion	206
Dissertation in Review.....	207
Finding: Against Stereotypes.....	209
Methods Revisited.....	209
Summary, Epistemological Concerns and Topics for Further Study.....	210
Concluding Thoughts.....	212
Bibliography	214

Preface

A true war story is never moral. It does not instruct, nor encourage virtue, nor suggest models of proper human behavior, nor restrain men from doing things men have always done. If a story seems moral, do not believe it. If at the end of a war story you feel uplifted, or if you feel that some small bit of rectitude has been salvaged from the larger waste, then you have been made the victim of a very old and terrible lie.

-Tim O'Brien¹

My interest in war, peace and pedagogies of violence goes back several decades. In the mid-1980s I lived in Nicaragua. At the time, the country was engaged in a protracted counterinsurgency war. Demonstrating the innately perspective nature of conflict, people in the United States knew the conflict as the 'Contra War,' while the Nicaraguans called it the "U.S. War of Aggression." This was before the White House policymakers were calling war-time foreign policy objectives 'regime change,' but that was the goal: to overthrow the Sandinista government by funding, training and arming rebel groups calling themselves counterrevolutionaries, or 'Contras.'

I worked as a translator for a news service, and lived in Managua, away from the front lines of fighting, but those of us living in the capital city experienced the war in the constant shortages of food, medicine, water and electricity and the occasional urban bombing. We felt the war most acutely when our friends and loved ones were killed or injured. As a civilian and a foreigner living in a country at war, I began to think about the enduring effects of the violence of war on civilian populations and on the soldiers who fight.

Working at a news agency, I saw firsthand how ideology shapes the way civilians understand wars. Part of my job was to translate stories about Nicaragua written by journalists living far away from daily realities of combat. Translating foreigners' descriptions of life in Nicaragua, I was struck by the ways that foreign journalists portrayed the conflict: their descriptions were at times unrecognizable, almost as if these journalists were writing about a different planet than the one on which we in Nicaragua lived. This taught me how easy it is for war to be made abstract and mystified through ideology, and that distance from the daily experience of war and the consequential materiality of death, injury and destruction, makes it very difficult to tell an accurate story about war. The experience also taught me that this consequential materiality is difficult to translate. But I also learned that we ignore the task of translation at our peril—if we allow wars to continue without feeling or understanding the human consequences to those on all sides of the conflict, then we as a nation will not pay attention enough to evaluate the stakes involved in waging war.

Working as a journalist, I also saw how ideology was deployed for the sake of trying to gain support for, or stifle dissent against the war. Then-President Reagan praised the Contras as "Freedom Fighters," but to most Nicaraguans, they were U.S.- supported

¹ The Things They Carried 2009:66

invaders who burned hospitals, killed teachers, and bombed homes. I began to think about what and how people --and societies—learn through war, and about how people understand that experience after the shooting stops. I wrote this dissertation for these reasons: to try to understand the effects of war on those most intimately involved in fighting: the soldiers. I also chose to write this dissertation to understand the social and cultural processes involved in building consent for current wars, despite widespread opposition. How is the hegemony built and maintained? How does militarization operate on individuals and within society? Thus, in this dissertation I attempt to do several things: I look at how and what people learn in the transition from being civilians to becoming combatants, and in their transitions back to being civilians again. I look at how societies learn to support wars an effort to support those who fight them, and I seek to introduce complexity into what is often seen as a simple gesture of support: honoring and thanking soldiers for their service. In doing so, I ask that we carefully consider what it is that we are honoring, and to what our gratitude refers.

Acknowledgements

The act of writing a dissertation can be a solitary effort, but the dissertation project itself is in no way an individual endeavor. I would not have been able to complete this project had it not been for the many people who offered me support, inspiration, mentoring and advice over these long years. There are so many people who contributed to this work; it is difficult to find the words to adequately acknowledge them.

First of all, I need to thank the veterans who participated in this study and without whom this dissertation would not exist. I thank them for trusting me with their stories, and for sharing their experience, their accomplishments and their conflicts. I can't name them personally, but I am grateful for their generosity of spirit; and for showing me that service, honor, sacrifice and courage can and do take many forms. I was inspired and moved by our conversations, and by their sense of service that included, and extended beyond active duty in the U.S. Military. Many chose to speak with me because they wanted their experience to benefit other veterans; I hope for that as well. Even if we may arrive at different conclusions, I have done my best to be faithful to their stories.

My gratitude also goes to the college instructors and staff who participated in this research. Their diligent work on behalf of veterans' education was both impressive and inspiring.

I have been privileged to have on my dissertation committee some of the finest critical scholars around. I am especially grateful for the ongoing and steadfast guidance of my advisor, Jean Lave. Her belief in this project never wavered, even when others, including myself, doubted. Her intellectual leadership and vision about what it means to be a critical scholar has guided this dissertation at every turn. I am grateful to her for offering me an intellectual home and a workspace at the Slow Science Institute. Our walking discussions-- about research in general and about my research in particular -- that took place in and around the neighborhoods of West Berkeley, helped me to sort through questions and dilemmas. Many thanks go to Gillian Hart for helping me to understand processes of articulation, and for highlighting the enduring relevance of Gramsci's work. Her seminar, *Critical Ethnographies in an Age of Neoliberalism* has informed my scholarship and my understanding of the world in fundamental ways. I am deeply indebted to Wendy Brown for encouraging me to push past easy formulations and to strive for analysis that reflect the complicated -- and complicating -- humanity of all those involved in this study. Her comments helped me to clarify my thoughts and pushed me toward a more rigorous engagement with contradictions. Thanks to Glynda Hull, for graciously joining my committee and providing crucial support, moral, intellectual and administrative, at critical moments.

I am grateful for having been able to learn from some wonderful teachers at UC Berkeley. Amanda Lashaw taught me how to study Education through the lens of critical theory, and gave me the theoretical foundation to do this work. Her deep engagement with critical scholarship serves as a model for my own work. I was fortunate to be able to learn from Patricia Baquedano López, who helped me to understand the primary importance of language, and taught me how to trace narratives within the spoken word. I began to become an ethnographer in her class.

I am indebted to John Hurst and Ingrid Seyer-Ochi for inviting me into the UC Berkeley School of Education and for giving me a home there for my first years. I want

to thank Ingrid Seyer-Ochi for serving as my advisor from 2006 to 2011, and for guiding me through my first years of graduate school. I admire her commitment to equitable education policies, and learned many important lessons from her.

My graduate studies, research and writing were made possible with assistance from several foundations and institutions. I received funding for my studies through the Toto Foundation, the U.C. Berkeley Graduate Division Summer Grant Award and the Dean's Normative Time Fellowship. A dissertation fellowship from the Jack Kent Cooke Foundation gave me the opportunity to spend a year solely devoted to writing my dissertation. I am particularly grateful to Barbara Schmertz at the Cooke Foundation for her support and encouragement, as well as her humor and perspective. My sincere thanks also go to the U.S. Army ROTC for hosting me as a researcher at the Community Leader/Educator visit at Fort Knox.

Deepest gratitude goes to my mentors and colleagues at the Center for Research on Social Change (CRSC) Graduate Fellows Program, from which I received not only financial assistance but incalculable academic support and mentorship. It is not an exaggeration to say that my two-year CRSC fellowship made the difference between my finishing and not finishing this dissertation. My profound and enduring thanks go to mentors Christine Trost, Deborah Freedman Lustig and David Minkus for their extensive feedback and patient support; and for reading draft after draft, as I struggled to find my academic voice. With their guidance, I have learned to inhabit my academic self. Thanks also to my 2011-2013 cohorts of CRSC Fellows: Margo Mahan, Ricardo Huerta Niño, Erica Mitsako Boas, Hector Fernando Burga, Ryan Shelby. My arguments were strengthened through their critical feedback, and my spirits were buoyed by their supportive camaraderie. My work benefited greatly from this space of respectful critique created by Deborah, David and Christine.

I am deeply grateful to Ron Williams: an extraordinary teacher, mentor and advisor. Ron gave me a role model of the kind practitioner I hope to become. His wisdom, humanity and commitment to all students served as a source of inspiration during my years at UC Berkeley. This is my hope: that all students should be so lucky to have a teacher/advisor like Ron, and that all teachers/advisors should be so committed to their students.

Students at UC Berkeley have taught me important lessons, as classmates and companions on this path. Thanks to Jenny Greenberg and Ali Bond for their insights and exploration of our respective militarisms; to Liz Boner for helping me to hone my ideas as they developed-- from the insecure early years through the more confident later ones.

I have been extremely fortunate to have gone through this process with the fellow graduate students in my dissertation writing group. My thanks to Cecilia Lucas for the daily phone calls that helped to keep me on track during the writing summer of 2012. Her compassionate voice still echoes in my head. To Chela Delgado, whose incisive critique and expansive humor always served to remind us all what is truly up. To Nirali Jani, whose humanity could warm even the coldest realities of graduate school. To Kimberly Vinall, whose grasp of discourse analysis deepened enriched all of our work. To Tadashi Dozono, whose thoughtful and measured comments brought important perspectives to our discussions. To Becky Tarlau, my friend and comrade. Becky's commitment to social justice education -- her principled solidarity, with all that that entailed: participating in demonstrations, elections, strikes; informing us about conjunctural

analyses, *misticas* and parties (both political and social); all while writing a dissertation--was a defining part of my graduate school experience. Thanks to her technological solidarity for teaching me how to comply with formatting standards. I learned much from our entire writing group. This dissertation is the result of our collective process.

I sincerely appreciate my colleagues at the Slow Science Institute: Jean Lave, Cheryl Holtzmeyer, Mike Dwyer and Janaki Srinivasan for their interdisciplinary curiosity, their critical engagement, and for practicing slow science in a fast science world.

Many people outside of my world at UC Berkeley helped me to complete this project. I owe an immense debt of gratitude to my sister-in-law, Sally Fairfax, for showing me the way back into academia, and for her support throughout these many years. Without her encouragement I would never have had the confidence to apply to graduate school; and I am at this point today because of her guidance and encouragement. I am grateful for Sally's willingness to work with my steep learning curve, and for her generous editorial guidance, especially on my early, most imperfect drafts. Her incisive feedback and provocative questions pushed me to be more precise in my thinking and my writing.

Thanks to Kirsten Irgens-Moller for her longstanding friendship, for her crystal-clear political insights and humanist orientation, and of particular salience to this project: for her accompaniment on the road trip to Fort Irwin. Thanks to Bart Shulman, who spent many, many hours setting up my computer system and talking me through technology glitches; and for rescuing my dissertation from computer purgatory on multiple occasions.

I am grateful to my father, James G. Moore, and my siblings: Mary, Jim, Monica, Martha, Peter, Chris, Philip, David and Bill. Their love and support, which was always in the background, became manifest at decisive moments throughout these many years in graduate school. Their love took many forms: statistics tutoring, reading and commenting on chapters, support for transcription and field work, tech support; childcare and meals at crucial moments, soaks in hot pools, celebratory soirees and many, many other gestures of felicitation or commiseration, as needed. These family members, more than anyone, know how far I have travelled to get here. I am grateful to my mother Mary E. Moore, for her love, generosity, compassion and intellectual curiosity, all of which deeply influenced my childhood and will forever inform my work. I am glad that she knew I would get here one day, even if she couldn't be here to see it.

Finally, and primarily: To my partner Charlie and our daughters Josie and Maya: thank you for reminding me, every day and in countless ways, that knowledge production is important, but that family is forever. Thank you for being the foundation from which all of my work emanates.

Introduction

Origin Story

Six years ago, I began this research into the experiences of war veterans in college as a way to examine the widely-held belief that U.S. military service is a route to upward social mobility, an equalizer of economic opportunity and guarantor of higher education.

² Since the passage in 1944 of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly known as the GI Bill, which paid for World War II veterans' post-service education, many Americans have viewed military service as an opportunity for those in lower income sectors to gain access to higher education and economic advancement. World War II veterans, welcomed home as heroes and hailed as the "Greatest Generation," were beneficiaries of one of the Federal government's biggest wealth redistribution initiatives in history.³ The dominant narrative of the GI Bill history in popular and scholarly literature builds on WWII veterans' personal success stories and reinforces a reverence for WW II soldiers returning victorious from "The Good War" to receive their rightful rewards. Based on the concept of veteran exceptionalism (the fact that veterans deserved these benefits over other citizens) and shaped by the understanding of social welfare promoted by New Deal, the GI Bill provided social supports, including housing, education and health care, intended to lay the foundation for a socially-engaged citizen.⁴ The Bill provided special benefits to members of the armed forces who "have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems."⁵ These narratives suture the GI Bill to the perception of the United States as the land of opportunity where deserving soldiers can realize the American Dream of social mobility, and military service as the means and method of preparing young (male) Americans to achieve that dream.⁶

This dominant story--that military service is a democratizing economic force that prepares young recruits to succeed in college--positions military training as a process much like a factory: by instilling values of discipline, patriotism, heroism in combat, duty and citizenship, military service turns unformed young boys into college-bound men. In this narrative, war is both catalyst and crucible for shaping the national, as well as the

² With the end of the Iraq War, 45,000 troops have returned to a U.S. economy marked by recession and high unemployment. With the anticipated end of the war in Afghanistan, many more are expected to leave the military and enter college. Because military recruiters today aggressively target poor and working class high school students, promising that military training and experience will pay for, and prepare them to go to college, many recruits enlist for education funding.

³ Frydl 2009:10

⁴ Frydl 2009:37

⁵ Statement of President Franklin D. Roosevelt on enacting the original GI Bill 6/22/44 . Reprinted on the US Dept. of Veteran's Affairs Website.

⁶ Altschuler & Blumin 2009: 4 The original GI Bill was seen by some as a "Marshall Plan" for returning soldiers, as some critics in the United States questioned the rebuilding of Japan and Germany, if it didn't also include investing in U.S. soldiers.

individual character: it whips recruits into shape so that irrespective of their state at entry they will leave military service prepared to succeed in college, and subsequently, in life.⁷

However, the reality is far more complex, and the results are not as promised: when I began this study in 2008, 96 percent of all recruits had signed up for GI Bill educational benefits upon enlistment. Yet less than eight percent of those had followed through with using their benefits post-service. (Williamson 2008).⁸ While this number has changed significantly over the past six years,⁹ I began this dissertation to explore the reasons behind these statistics, and to understand what might pose obstacles to the success of war veterans in college.

To find out why war veterans were not able to redeem recruitment promises of college funding, I first looked to the Adult Education literature on war veterans in college. Within this literature, I found three broad explanations for low veteran success rates in higher education: Some argued that those who volunteer for the military are simply not prepared for college from the outset; a variation on the position that those who enlist in the military tend not to be “college material” (Bouffard, 2005; Grubb et al., 2003). There is a partial truth in this claim: most current recruits come from poor and working-class backgrounds and typically choose military enlistment as an alternative to low-wage jobs or unemployment, rather than college. However, military recruiters promise college education as a benefit of the military contract, which implies the

⁷ Many scholars, including Bennett (1996) Mettler (2000) and Humes (2006) give glowing, uncritical accounts of the legislation, arguing that the GI Bill had a lasting positive effect on the social and economic class landscape of the United States. For a fuller, critical discussion of perceptions and affordances of the GI Bill, see Frydl (2009) *The GI Bill*. Cambridge University Press. A good example of scholarship that actively constructs this hegemonic narrative is the U.S. Defense Dept. publication *When Dreams Came True: the GI Bill and the Making of Modern America* by Michael J. Bennett (1996.) For a less jingoistic assertion of this argument, see Bouffard’s *The Military as a Bridging Environment in Criminal Careers: Differential Outcomes of the Military Experience*. (2005)

⁸ See Williamson’s (2008) Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America report “A New GI Bill: Rewarding Our Troops, Rebuilding Our Military.” Moreover, the report found that 30 percent of veterans do not use their educational benefits at all.

⁹ Accurate data on the postsecondary academic enrollment and outcomes contemporary student veterans have been difficult to find. There has been much controversy about this statistic about low utilization of GI Bill benefits, and critics (such as the advocacy group Student Veterans of America) note that inconsistent methods of data collection have led to confusion about the enrollment and completion rates of student veterans in higher education. The latest data are both more comprehensive and more encouraging than those reported in 2008. A 2014 joint study by Student Veterans of America and the U.S. Veterans’ Administration indicates that the college completion rate of veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars in the period of 2009-2013 (when the current, more comprehensive “Post 9/11” iteration of the GI Bill was in effect) are 51.7 percent (Cate 2014). Despite the criticisms of methodologies, it is clear that more student veterans are taking advantage of GI Bill benefits and are subsequently graduating in this latter period. I believe that this can be attributed, in large part, to the following reasons: 1) the Post 9/11 GI Bill offers more money for housing, books and tuition than the previous post-Vietnam Montgomery GI Bill, making college a more attractive option for veterans; and 2) previous studies were done during the pre-recession period of 2001-2007, when civilian jobs for returning veterans were relatively plentiful, making paid employment rather than college a more attractive option for veterans, and 3) concern about low veteran success in college – based largely on the stark and contested numbers—has encouraged colleges to provide support services for veterans, many of which have successfully increased student veteran retention and graduation rates (Cate 2014). The combination of increased education benefits and decreased civilian employment opportunities has led to increasing enrollment; campus veteran support services (such as tutoring, disability accommodations, and priority registration) have led to greater retention and completion rates.

assumption that service members will be able to take advantage of that benefit after discharge.¹⁰

A second explanation for low veteran success in college is that combat leads to durable symptoms of trauma that interfere with reintegration in civilian classrooms (Cantrell & Dean 2007, Armstrong et al. 2006, Tick 2005, Hoge et al., 2004). While many veterans of all wars return from combat with symptoms of post-traumatic stress, historically this has not proven to be a significant or large-scale impediment in war veterans' success in college. A third explanation, widely cited in campus student affairs literature, claims that civilian college campuses are unfriendly to the U.S. Military, and that this drives military veterans away (Briggs 2012; Holloway 2009; Lederman 2008; Lewis 2008; DiRaimo et al 2008; Boulton 2005; Byman 2007; Bunting 2005; Roth-Douquet & Shaeffer 2005).

These explanations are inadequate, separately and collectively, for the following reasons: the first two are stereotypic and stigmatizing, in that they locate the educational problem within the individual veteran, and assume intellectual and emotional deficits among low-income military recruits. The third explanation is troubling, in part, because it places the locus of the problem on a pair of unsupported assumptions: that civilian college campuses are anti-military, and that all veterans are pro-military. Moreover, my research has found these assumptions to be untrue: I found that even campuses famous for campaigns against the Vietnam War are currently quite friendly toward military veterans, and more importantly, that many war veterans are highly ambivalent about the institutional U.S. military and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. And yet the trope of the anti-military college campus persists, despite ample evidence to the contrary. Thus I decided to broaden my scope of inquiry to try to figure out why this story endures, and this has led me to focus on disciplining processes and militarizing effects of veteran support discourse on college campuses.

This dissertation has two specific objectives: First, it examines how veterans returning from the Iraq and Afghanistan wars understand, negotiate and make sense of their combat experience in the context of civilian colleges. Second, it probes the effects of programs and services currently developed by administrators, student affairs officers and civilian supporters that are intended to facilitate veterans' success in college. These processes, the individual experience of veterans on campus and the broader campus treatment of the military, inform and are informed by each other through a combination of daily practices and institutional discourses.

**** *

College campuses are typically seen as spaces of critique and dissent, yet as we enter the thirteenth year of the widely unpopular wars in the Middle East (collectively known as the Global War on Terror, or GWOT), on college campuses the silence about the wars is deafening. Civilians in the United States hear very little about the war, yet

¹⁰ Moreover, the American ideal of democratic participation and social mobility rests on the presumption that education acts as a social equalizer in our society. Also, there is ample evidence in the field of higher education that class background does not determine success or failure in college; indeed, there are innumerable examples of academic success of students from low-income families, as there are examples of failure of students from high-income families.

signs of military presence are ubiquitous, and increasingly visible in many aspects of daily life (Becker and Schulz 2011). While some signs of militarism are new, such as “crime-fighting” drones patrolling U.S. skies; some are commonplace to the point of unremarkable: faux-tank Hummer vehicles in suburban subdivisions, kindergarteners carrying camouflage-patterned backpacks to school, and the Homeland Security *dispositif* marking everyday life in U.S. airports, government buildings, hospitals, electronic communications, mass media and entertainment. This dissertation argues that beyond these obvious manifestations of militarism our social world is also deeply militarized in ways that are little-seen and unnoticed, which seep into daily consciousness and produce what I am calling a *militarized common sense* (Gramsci 1971) of inchoate and embedded, naturalized attitudes and beliefs. I define militarized common sense as a widely accepted worldview based on the following assumptions: that war is a natural and necessary aspect of maintaining and protecting nationhood; that military priorities are more important than non-military ones; and that war veterans should serve as positive public symbols and proxies for U.S. military projects and wars. One effect of militarized common sense is to naturalize military valorization on college campuses. My research looks at the mechanisms through which militarized common sense is produced, and in the process, I interrogate everyday militarism as a social force and organizing mechanism that regulates and normalizes discourse. This requires that the interests of the individual soldier be framed as inseparable from the interests of the institutional military and its projects.

This research traces the effects of the war on student veterans, and the effects of military discourse on the institutions in which veterans enroll. It finds that, just as civilians learn to become soldiers and adapt to military life, veterans also must learn to become college students by adapting to civilian academic norms and practices. Moreover, the presence of student veterans also transforms the institutional practices and discourse of college campuses, as institutional initiatives designed to welcome veterans to college in fact end up welcoming military viewpoints and suppressing debate about the war in the collegiate environment. By showing both how soldiers are trained to perform in military milieus and how campus institutions are transformed by the presence of military veterans, this dissertation argues that militarization of common sense on college campuses has the effect of narrowing and suppressing our relationship to war.

In this dissertation I show that significant disconnects and inconsistencies in the processes of making and unmaking the soldier, coupled with combat trauma, can profoundly complicate veterans’ ability to redeem the educational promises offered at recruitment. Moreover, some efforts to support veterans on campus rely on heroic narratives that contradict soldiers’ experience of actually fighting in wars, and that this contributes to veterans’ feelings of alienation from civilian classmates and instructors. These unintended consequences suggest that veteran support efforts on civilian campuses, while well-intentioned, are in some cases counter-productive to veterans and their teachers and classmates. When campus student services and veterans’ clubs conflate support for veterans with support for the military and by extension, support for contemporary wars, this tends to preclude candid discussions about the wars. Moreover, for many veterans, enforced silences and heroic narratives about the wars may increase cognitive dissonance between their lived military experience and their campus lives, which in turn can negatively affect their attempts at college.

This multi-sited study builds on interdisciplinary literature on nationalism and militarism, social practice and trauma theories. My theoretical framework is informed by scholarship on learning and identity as a social practice, and by theories of critical discourse. I use these bodies of literature to bridge the following areas of analysis: structural, historical, ideological, the personal and the relational.

What follows is an overview of my theoretical framework and research methods. Part I contains a brief overview of key theoretical concepts and definitions. Part II follows with a discussion of my research questions and methods, including a description of research sites and participants. This chapter concludes with brief discussion of methodological limitations, challenges and implications of researcher positionality.

Theoretical Frameworks

Situated militarism

The U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have brought about a re-emergence of discussion of “empire,” “militarism,” and “militarization.” Yet the terms “militarism” and “militarization” are often left undefined, or are defined very differently by different scholars. While it is common to think about the U.S. Armed Forces primarily in relation to the extreme context of war, this dissertation argues our social world is deeply militarized in ways that are little- noticed and seep into daily consciousness to produce what I am calling a *militarized common sense* of embedded and naturalized attitudes and beliefs.

Martin Shaw (1991) observed that militarism develops not only in times when war-making ideology is strong, but also more generally, when military relations affect social relations and practices. In past times of war, military glorification served as a rallying cry for specific geopolitical conflicts; in these contemporary times of unseen yet perpetual wars, military valorization surrounds us like the air we breathe: assumed, taken for granted in its omnipresence; as a force that is protective, necessary and invisible. To paraphrase Matthew Sparke (2007), speaking about the Global South, I argue that militarism is “everywhere but always somewhere”. I situate the effects of militarism in multiple sites within the field of Education, exploring mechanisms through which militarized common sense is produced: in individual soldiers, in supporters of military veterans, and in academic institutions in which veterans enroll as students. This requires the examination of everyday militarism as social practice.

Scholarly notions of militarism and militarization are contested and multifaceted. Lesley Merryfinch (1981) observed, “like electricity, ‘militarism’ can best be described by its effects. When military goals, values and apparatus increasingly dominate a state’s culture, politics and economy, militarism is on the rise”.¹¹ Michael Mann (2003: 16-17), broadens the concept of militarism beyond a narrow focus on military institutions to refer to “a set of attitudes and social practices which regard war and the preparation for war as a normal and desirable social activity”.¹² Thus, militarization involves embedding military priorities into the civilian sphere; this entails not merely a shift in public consciousness and attitude but of social practices (Mann 1987:35-36.) Similarly, Edward P. Thompson warned

¹¹ Lesley Merryfinch, ‘Militarism’, in Chapkis, Wendy (ed.), *Loaded Questions: Women in the Militaries*, Amsterdam: Transnational Institute, 1981, p.9. (cited in Cock 2004:2)

¹² Cited in Shaw (1991:7)

against an overly- narrow focus on concepts such as “the military- industrial complex”, because this “suggests that (militarism) is confined in a known and limited place: it may threaten to push forward, but it can be restrained, contamination does not extend through the whole societal body” (1982:21-22). Writing during the Cold War, Thompson observed, “the USA the USSR do not have military-industrial complexes: they are such complexes”¹³.

Cynthia Enloe describes militarization as “a step-by-step process by which a person or a thing (such as an institution) gradually becomes controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well- being on militaristic ideas. The more militarization transforms an individual or a society, the more that individual or society comes to imagine military needs and militaristic presumptions to be not only valuable but normal.” (2000:3). Finally, Peter Kraska offers us a straightforward working definition for the two concepts: “Militarism is a cultural pattern of beliefs and values supporting war and militarization that comes to dominate a society. Militarization the preparation for that activity” (2001:15).

But beyond these definitions and frameworks, the question remains: what social processes allow militarist cultural patterns of beliefs and values to take hold and become dominant, particularly at a time when the country is engaged in a series of unpopular wars?

Militarist Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci (1971) wrote about periods of conservative entrenchment as periods when dominant logics, assumptions and attitudes become “permanently consolidated, organized ideologically, and exalted lyrically” (118) and that they become embedded in daily practices and relations. By tracing ways in which militarist logics, assumptions and attitudes become consolidated through college programs, organized ideologically through ‘best practice’ literature, and exalted lyrically in valorizing discourse that conflates those who fight wars with the military mission; this dissertation explores the construction of unstated but operative alliances between military projects and the academy.

A robust historical and contemporary body of scholarship documents direct and indirect influences by the US military in higher education (Noble 1977; Franklin 2001; Price 2008, 2010; Kraska 2001; Gonzalez 2010; Graham 2010). This scholarship traces the ways in which military projects are directly advanced on college campuses through research and development grants, funding of research institutes, establishment of military training facilities on campuses, and recruitment of social and physical scientists to assist in counterinsurgency strategies. My research looks at similar sites through a different lens, by examining ways that militarism operates through knowledge systems, educative social and cultural practices, and everyday discourse. I understand militarist ideology as a set of ideas rooted in the material, a unified vision of an assumed “natural” order which universalizes dominant rule, aspirations and culture, and is given practical meaning in civil and political society.

¹³ Cited Cock: (2004:2)

Banal Militarism, Gendered Nationalism

My work builds on theories of nationalism and militarism as hegemonic, symbiotic and co-constructed processes (Gramsci 1971, Cohen 1985). Through this lens, goals of nationhood and military culture involve imagining a past and present (Anderson 1983) inventing traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) and symbolically constructing community (Cohen 1985). These social processes are facilitated by the promotion of *banal militarism*,¹⁴ that which reproduces unspoken assumptions, conflating the interests of the nation and its people with the interests of the military. This occurs in everyday practices and rituals, for example, through public expressions of gratitude such as the oft-used phrase “Thank you for your service.” The phrase “Our soldiers are fighting for our freedoms” show that official rationale of the current wars produce affiliations and unities of interests among and between the civilian subject, the military subject and the goals of the nation state. Thus, the articulation of overtly militarist projects (such as waging war with the intent to impose new, U.S.-sanctioned regimes) with the everyday ideological habits, symbols discourse and practice surrounding veteran support enable and facilitate the production of militarized common sense on college campuses and in the broader civil society.

Military, nation and state are gendered male institutions (Kirk & Okazawa-Rey 1998/2010, Nagel 1998, Acker 1990, Enloe 1983, 1990, 2007; Nagel 1998; Oliver 2007). Enloe (1990) writes that nationalism and militarism typically spring from “masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope.”¹⁵ Because it is not possible to study military practices without also understanding the male perspectives that have shaped the institutional and informal conventions, my work will explore military practices as both shaping and shaped by gendered ideologies.¹⁶

Social Practice: Context, Activity, Identity

Contemporary scholars of social practice theory (Lave & Wenger 1991, Holland & Lave 2001, McDermott 1996 Chaiklin 1996/2002) provide theoretical frameworks for my analysis of military and civilian academic learning practices. Their work departs from conventional theories of learning and schooling, which view knowledge and forms of knowledge transmission as separable from the context in which they are taught and learned (views promoted, for example, by Ravitch 1983, and Zambo and Zambo 2008, among others). In contrast, theories of situated activity assert that “de-contextualized” learning does not exist, and that *all* learning takes place socially and relationally; that it occurs deeply embedded in cultural contexts and is mediated by practice.¹⁷ Learning

¹⁴ I base this concept on Billig’s (1995) idea of “banal nationalism,” or manifestations of nationalist ideology in daily life. Billig explores the way symbols: national flags in classrooms, metaphors of warfare and ‘freedom’ are used in everyday contexts (such as sports events, children’s clothing, television advertising, department store sales) to create an imagined solidarity with the national project, and to promote the conflation of the interest of the nation-state with that of its citizenry.

¹⁵ Enloe 1990:45. See also Kirk & Okazawa-Rey 1998/2007 and Catherine Lutz 2004. Writing about the U.S. military, Lutz notes that “there is no workplace more supportive of a masculine identity centered on power, control, and violence.”(pp.17-18.)

¹⁶ Contemporary scholarship in the fields of Sociology, Anthropology and Human Geography help us to recognize that gender is multi-variate and not fully encompassed in a simple a male-female binary, for this study I consciously adopt the static and reified typologies of the U.S. military, by using the dichotomous categories of “male” and “female” for gender.

¹⁷ Chaikin and Lave 1996: 17

depends implicitly on the heterogeneity of community culture, participants, their motives and their meanings of events, and crucially, on the material circumstances in which they are located. That is, social practice takes place within an existing social order inscribed in sets of social arrangements; and that the conduct of daily life is shaped and guided by these existing social arrangements (Dreier 2008). My work aligns with these socio-cultural educational theorists in that I understand meaning as co-constructed in relations between activity systems and persons acting (Engeström 1987; 1999 and Lave 1990). This view of the social origins of learning requires special attention to issues of power and the organization of environments in which learning occurs, and lends itself to a study of hierarchic disciplinary institutions, such as those comprising the US Armed Forces.¹⁸

Combat Trauma

Research that attempts to interpret the experience of former soldiers must incorporate an understanding of the effects of combat stress in cognitive, social and emotional lives of ex-military. Since the American Psychiatric Association first officially recognized post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual in 1980, discussion and treatment of PTSD has tended to focus on the trauma associated with threats to soldiers' lives and safety. However, there is a growing body of scholarly and treatment literature devoted to the idea of *moral injury*, or the psychological trauma resulting from being a wartime *perpetrator* of violence. (Lifton 1973, Grossman 1995, Sherman 2010, Guttman and Lutz 2010). Recent research that theorizes the psychological effects of combat trauma in terms of moral injury (Shay 2002, Maguen & Litz, 2012), suggests that trauma arising from being both victim and perpetrator of violence contribute to the unprecedented rates of suicide of former and current military members. (Hautzinger and Scandlyn 2013).^{19, 20}

Answers to questions about the psychological sequelae of war have real-life consequences for veterans, their families and communities. The U.S. Veterans Administration estimates that since 2003, more than 6,000 ex-military members commit suicide every year. This number does not include suicide attempts; VA clinics report more than 1,000 attempted suicides per month.²¹ Statistics are similarly striking for active military members: U.S. Department of Defense statistics show that over the past 11 years, more U.S. active military personnel have taken their own lives than have died in combat in either of the Iraq or Afghanistan wars. While I did not go into this research with the

¹⁸ Colleges and universities are also hierarchic and disciplinary institutions, although the disciplinary features are less overt and recognizable than those of the military.

¹⁹ Shay's (2002) framing of moral injury is becoming increasingly adopted by treatment programs in the Veterans Administration, yet this concept tends to refer to psychological conflicts individual soldiers feel when the demands of combat require that they violate their personal ethical or religious moral codes. However, the moral injury framework adopted by the VA does not allow for a questioning of the rationale for specific wars or a questioning of the overall military mission. My research finds that this individual focus of moral injury does not encourage healing from war trauma to take place from a position of actively opposing the wars.

²⁰ U.S. Dept. of Veteran Affairs data show that veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan wars are two and a half times as likely to commit suicide as people the same age with no military experience. (cited in Glantz, 'After Service, Veteran Deaths Surge' *New York Times*, 10/17/10: 29A)

²¹ see Aaron Glantz, "The Truth about Veteran Suicides" *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 5/8/08. and DOD statistics cited in Cunningham, "A Sign of Empire Pathology," [1/29/10] *Global Research Bulletin*, Centre for Research on Globalization, and in Altman "Military Suicide rates surge" [10/10/10] *Tampa Tribune*.

intention of studying military suicides, I found that the subject came up repeatedly in veterans' communities. My work finds that traces of war violence continue to surface in veterans' post-military lives, as I examine ways in which they make meaning out of this experience.

Scholarship that focuses on the socio-cultural effects of collective trauma on communities shows that well-functioning surrounding socio-cultural structures of the survivors act as a buffer for some of the disruptive consequences of collective trauma (Erikson 1976). Freud (1982) found that endemic stress differs from acute stress in that it is characterized by "continuous and manifold changes, demands, threats or deprivations... embedded in daily life."²² This socio-cultural perspective emphasizes the enduring nature of the traumatic symptoms and why traumatic stress continues to pose problems for combat veterans' reintegration into civilian life. Cultural anthropologists Ilana Feldman (2007), Begonia Artexaga (2001) and Allen Feldman (1997, 2005) examine connections between trauma, violence and political community, demonstrating that traumas produced by wars and repression are inscribed and re-inscribed into everyday narratives. Susan J. Brison (1999) writes that the undoing of the self in trauma involves a radical disruption of memory, a severing of past from present and typically an inability to envision the future, and that a primary task of the trauma survivor is to find ways to reconstruct themselves and carry on with reconfigured lives. Following Brison, I analyze ways in which combat experience is understood and framed in the soldiers' post-military life.²³

Research Goals, Questions and Methods

If, as Gramsci said, the role of the intellectual is to examine and critique established common sense, to pull from the jumble of disparate conceptions a coherent understanding of relations of domination and subordination (1971a:421), then it is important to understand ways that ideology is lived and practiced in daily life. To do this I link "little narratives to big ones" (Rowe et al. 2002). That is, by telling the stories of returning veterans in civilian schools, grounded in their lived experience of the human consequences of militarism and war, (or what Gramsci might call "good sense"), I seek

²² Fried 1985: 56

²³ In *Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self*, Brison explores the role of trauma narratives, what she labels "speech acts of memory" in re-making the self. She argues that working through, or re-mastering traumatic memory involves a shift from viewing the object of another's speech or other expressive behavior to being the subject of one's own. The act of bearing witness to the trauma facilitates this shift, not only by transforming traumatic memory into a coherent narrative which can then be integrated into the survivor's sense of self and worldview, but also by reintegrating the survivor into a community. Brison writes that trauma research supports a view of the self as fundamentally relational, and notes the multiform and fluctuating nature of memory. Memories of trauma are experienced by the survivor as inflicted, not chosen. In contrast, narrative memory or narrating memories to others, is a chosen act, and thus allows survivors to gain more control over the subjective experience of the trauma. "Narrative memory is not passively endured," she writes, "rather it is an act on the part of the narrator, a speech act that diffuses traumatic memory, giving shape and a temporal order to the events recalled, establishing more control over their recalling, and helping the survivor to remake the self."

to provide a window into larger social processes, such as how the State is able to I analyze methods through which soldiers are trained in obedience and reflexive action and inculcated in a mission-oriented fraternity²⁴ of warriors. Following that, I examine how these daily military practices translate in veterans' subsequent lives as civilian students.

Because I seek to study processes of militarization on individual, group and institutional levels, I focus on multiple sites of learning. To study the militarization of the individual subject, I analyze learning processes in basic training, where civilians learn to become soldiers. To understand social, cultural and pedagogical experiences of student veterans on civilian campuses, I looked at their experiences in civilian college classrooms and in campus social organizations. To understand the effects of veteran support discourse on campuses and surrounding communities, I looked at campus veteran support initiatives and community support groups for veterans. These three separate- but- related research goals were guided by three sets of questions:

1. What practices, rituals and processes combine to teach civilians how to be soldiers? In what ways are soldiers discursively produced through military training and combat?
2. What practices, rituals, discourses and processes combine to teach soldiers to return to being civilians, and veterans to become students? In what ways are practices and identities learned in the military applied or not applied in civilian educational settings, and to what effect?
3. In what ways do veteran support efforts and relationships between campus (veteran advocates, college staff and administrators, academic instructors) and non-campus (Department of Defense) actors shape discourse about the military on campus and affect campus discourse about the wars? What are the broader implications of these academic –military relationships?

This dissertation addresses these questions by exploring experiences and identities produced through changing relations, and intersections of civilian, military and student practices, and by focusing on processes and practices that socially make and unmake soldiers at different points in the process: in soldiers' military training and in their post-military return to civilian life and college education. I examine socio-cultural processes of military training including participation, inculcation, sense-making, legitimation and de-legitimation occurring in contexts of cross-border violence, racialized and masculinized nationalism, and look at the educative role that combat- related physical and emotional trauma plays in returning soldiers' lives.

²⁴ I argue this for both male and female recruits. I view the institutional U.S. military as so profoundly gendered masculine in traditions, rituals, training, identity, practice, and the project of war itself (Enloe 1990, 2007; Nagel 1998, Oliver 2007, Silva 2008) that it is not possible to talk about a universalized military subject (or 'soldier') without discussing military practices as both shaping and shaped by gendered ideologies (Enloe 1990:45; see also Kirk & Okazawa-Rey 2007 and Lutz 2004). For these reasons, I consider female recruits to be joining a fraternity; one that constructs them as permanent and immutable transgressors because of their gender. While I found ample evidence of this in my research, this is not the focus of this dissertation.

Ethnographic Method

Laura Nader (1997) writes about the daunting task of tracing less-visible way in which complex systems of power operate, and calls for investigation into environments where individuals conduct their daily lives within systems designed, operated and maintained by the institutionally powerful. This type of inquiry is well-suited to the ethnographic method, and particularly to ethnographies of power, because it requires that the researcher represent the complexities of the personal experience without losing sight of the broader connections between the social and the individual. Ethnographic observation can be used to identify processes through which institutional power is exercised and normalized in the *ostensibly* dichotomous social- theoretical interplay between social structure and individual agency.²⁵ Ethnographies of power require the examination of unequal relations to be able to identify what Nader calls *controlling processes*—the mechanisms through which ideas are taken up by individuals and institutions and become accepted relations of power.

With similar rationale, Lutz (2006) calls for the necessity of “ethnographies of empire”, saying that Anthropology’s ethnographic tradition of person-centered contextual analysis allows us to examine the processes through which imperial power is configured, reconfigured, maintained and reinforced. If, as Lutz argues, “empire is in the details,” then it is important to examine how militarized sensibilities are fostered and take root through lived, daily interactions. I situate my work within this tradition, in that my research looks at the production of militarized common sense as evidenced in quotidian ways, such as the ways individuals learn to subsume comply with commands from superiors, and in ways that campuses vie for the designation of “Military-Friendly”²⁶ through trainings, meetings, classroom practice, programs, funding, and the like. This is the study of an unofficial knowledge production; knowledge that is assumed and naturalized rather than officially quantified. To understand the way militarism operates culturally in daily life requires studying multiple sites and relations between active agents and institutions.

To examine ways in which the institutional military teaches rationale and practices, I observed combat trainings at Ft. Irwin, California and participated in training exercises at Ft. Knox, Kentucky. I contrasted my experience with a close study of Army training manuals. To understand how college campuses are responding to recently returned war veterans, I spent two years in classrooms, meetings and with school administrators and service providers. I attended approximately 75 public and private veteran support events. To understand the effects of veteran support initiatives from the veterans’ perspectives, I spent over 200 hours conducting open-ended, semi-structured interviews on college campuses, in cafes and in veterans’ homes, but also hanging out socially in bars, at formal campus events and at conferences. (see pp.12-14 for a fuller discussion of the interview process.) I also analyzed communication within online

²⁵ Generally, I find dichotomizing structure/agency frameworks reductive and unhelpful, as they tend to reify idealized poles while eliding the complex, mutually- constitutive and shifting subjective relations within social/ideological structures.

²⁶ The website “G.I. Jobs.com” maintains and promotes a list of schools designated as “military friendly.” The criteria by which campuses qualify for this designation varies, but it generally means that there are staff, funding, and supportive services dedicated to military veterans on campus, and that there is a difficult-to-quantify atmosphere of respect for former service members on campus. Every year since 2009 to the present, NU has been named by G.I. Jobs.com as one of the “Top 50 Military Friendly Schools.”

military groups and networks. Using the above methods, my study examines social and cultural processes of veteran re-entry in civilian colleges. It does not address specific measures for veteran success rates in college; instead it looks at processes of training and enculturation, examining norms and practices of military and civilian institutions.

Research Settings: Rural Community College and Urban University

The majority of the ethnographic research for this dissertation was conducted at two sites in California: a community college in a rural agricultural valley town and an elite university in a cosmopolitan urban area. These two sites illustrated different, but related processes: The rural community college ('Halcón College')²⁷ exemplifies the typical point of entry into higher education for veterans, most of whom need academic preparation before transferring to four-year colleges. Because nine out of ten student veterans begin their post-service college careers at a community college,²⁸ it makes sense to study community college as an entry point, the initial contact zone between the military and post-secondary education. Halcón Community College is located in a majority Chicano/Latino agricultural town that has been hard-hit by economic recession; in this respect, it is typical of many towns from which the majority of military recruits are drawn during times of war. (National Priorities Project 2001-2010; Kelycamp 2006,2007; Asch et al. 2009). Community colleges offer generative institutional contrasts to military learning in that these open-access colleges serve as sites where civilian norms are inculcated; they are social spaces in which returning veterans can learn about conduct in the adult civilian world, and where they learn to think critically and function as an autonomous members of society. Many of these intended lessons about civilian adulthood directly contrast to the intended lessons of basic training, in which soldiers learn to follow without question explicit orders, subsume individual identities to group affiliation, to impute hostile motives from large sectors of civilian populations, and to exist on a constant affective state of alert.

Data from the top-tier university ('Northern University' or NU) show the inculcation of cultural/academic norms at an elite institution. For many, NU represents a best-case academic scenario for returning veterans. Nevertheless, for many veterans transferring into Northern University, the clash between military and civilian academic and cultural norms is very pronounced.

The following section briefly describes the two research sites, my interview process and an overview of research participants and participant recruitment process.

Halcón College

Halcón Community College is located on the outskirts of Orchard Valley (population 50,660), a former agricultural hub in Central California's Coastal Region. Orchard Valley is currently in transition away from agriculture and toward housing subdivisions and big-box outlet stores. Large swaths of stone fruit orchards and root vegetable farms were paved over for housing tracts in the 1960's, a development pattern that accelerated during the real estate boom of the 1990s and early 2000s. However, in 2010, skeletal, abandoned half-built housing developments mark the towns' adjacent

²⁷ All names of colleges, towns, and people are pseudonyms.

²⁸ The latest and most accurate numbers available on this subject come from a March 2014 report by the Student Veterans of America, which states that 89.7 percent of Iraq and Afghanistan Wars veterans begin their post-secondary, post-service education at community colleges. (Cate: 2014)

country roads, serving as reminders of the recent housing bust and failed economies of expansion. Latinos constitute 58% (U.S. Census 2010) of Orchard Valley's population. Manufacturing and business services have declined during the past five years, as electrical assembly jobs have declined precipitously since the early 2000s. Retail low-wage sales jobs are common, as big box outlet stores are major employers. There are at least six migrant worker camps run by private parties for profit, indicating that agricultural labor is still a major source of employment in Orchard Valley.

Northern University

Promotional materials for Northern University describe the campus as home to top scholars, accomplished writers, star athletes, and prize-winning scientists.²⁹ NU has a reputation as one of the country's foremost research universities, and admission is highly competitive. It is located in Baldwin Bay, a cosmopolitan and densely populated city with population of 115,000 and a reputation for liberal leanings and antipathy towards military projects and militarism in general. The Northern University campus has become nearly synonymous with progressive and anti-war activism. Yet various military support organizations have designated the university one of the nation's top "Military Friendly Schools," and NU boasts of having the oldest continuous ROTC program in the state. It is expensive to live near NU: the university is located within a metropolitan area with one of the highest concentrations of wealth in the country, which is a factor in the high cost of living for students.

Interviews

Interview questions were designed to learn about what and how people learn in the military and through participation in war, as well as how that knowledge intersects with civilian schooling. I conducted in-depth interviews with 50 male and female student veterans who, at the time of the interviews, were currently enrolled in or had previously attempted college. Participants spent between 1.5 and 10 hours speaking with me (some over the course of multiple interviews). The average length of each interview was approximately two hours. I also conducted formal interviews with eight college instructors (two University and six community college professors) and with three student services administrators (one at the university and two at the community college).

I used open-ended, semi-structured interviews to learn how military training and practice shaped veterans identities. These formal interviews were conducted in veterans' homes or in campus buildings (libraries, student centers, offices or coffee shops); informal conversations took place in bars, during backyard barbeques, at parties, public events, in college hallways, or in classrooms. I spent five months as a participant/observer in a re-entry class for NU veterans and attended a civilian history class at Halcón College. The semi-structured veteran interviews included questions about participants' background and motivations for enlisting, military training practices (focusing on the introductory period of Basic Training), and their experiences in civilian colleges.

To learn how veterans negotiate their newly-civilianized lives in college, I observed campus veterans' club meetings, troop support events and social gatherings. For the descriptions of basic training pedagogies and experiences, I relied on participant self-

²⁹ Northern University promotional materials, retrieved 9/30/11

report, but I cross-referenced this information by studying pedagogies elaborated in Department of Defense training manuals.

Participants

Culturally, the practice of soldiering in the U.S. military is highly racialized (white) and gendered (male). Even as the current all-volunteer armed forces rely increasingly on racial and ethnic minority male and female recruits and consciously and explicitly portrays itself as race and gender neutral, recent scholarship confirms that the social construction of whiteness and hegemonic masculinity is infused throughout military practice.³⁰ Because it is not possible to study military practices without also understanding the male perspectives that have shaped the institutional and informal conventions, my work will explore military practices as both shaping and shaped by gendered ideologies.³¹

I have included biographical background, according to participants' self-report—which identifies them by gender, and racial background. Because this research also addresses claims of voluntary military service as a route to social mobility, I have also included a discussion of participants' class background.

I interviewed 50 military veterans (29 male and 15 female) who participated in the campaigns 'Operation Enduring Freedom' (Afghanistan) or 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' (Iraq), or who had been stationed internationally as part of the worldwide U.S. military initiative, the "Global War on Terror". Because a prioritized subject of my research is the effect of war trauma on veterans' subsequent college experience, I sought participants who had participated in combat, however, I did not exclusively seek participants with explicitly combat-identified military occupational specialties (MOS), such as infantry, explosives specialists, or combat engineers. My assumption is that in conditions of insurgency and counter-insurgency warfare, anyone (U.S. military personnel or civilian nationals) in zones of conflict can be and are subject to combat-related violence. Because I was also interested in everyday military practice, unrelated to combat, I did not exclude participants who had never served in overseas zones of conflict.

Although I did not pre-screen participants for family educational level and socio-economic class, most come from family backgrounds that did not include college as an expected educational goal; all but four were among the first in their families to attend college. All (non-instructor or staff) veteran participants were between ages 23 and 33. They enlisted in the military for a variety of reasons: for access to job training and employment, for post-secondary education funding, and/or to get out of difficult or dangerous social situations (e.g. they were offered enlistment as an alternative to jail, they wanted to distance themselves from criminal involvement in their home towns, or they just didn't see any other available opportunities). All participants noted a lack of

³⁰ The US military claims to offer the template for a colorblind de-racialized America (for a prime example of this claim, see Moskos and Butler 2007: *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership And Racial Integration The Army Way.*). My work follows Sue (2004) and Madriaga (2005) in viewing the US Military as an institution thoroughly constituted in discourses of whiteness (Roediger 1991; Blatt and Roediger 1998; Ignatiev 1998) and ethnocentric monoculturalism (Sue 2004).³⁰

³¹ Contemporary scholarship in the fields of Sociology, Anthropology and Human Geography help us to recognize that gender is multi-variate and not fully encompassed in a simple a male-female binary, for this study I consciously adopt the static and reified typologies of the U.S. military, by using the dichotomous categories of "male" and "female" for gender.

economic opportunity in their pre-service lives as influencing their decision to enlist.³² Several (both female and male participants) came from military families and said they wanted to experience what their fathers, grandfathers, or brothers had been through. With the exception of one officer (who was commissioned after completing Reserve Officer Training Corps), all participants enlisted in the lowest ranks (E-1 or E-2 equivalents)³³.

Participant recruitment process

I recruited Northern University interview volunteers at Northern University Veterans' Club meetings. At Halcón College, I presented my research request in classes in which veterans were enrolled, and asked for volunteers. Other community college participants were referred by word of mouth from other student veterans or faculty.

Table 1. In-depth interviews: Iraq and Afghanistan War veteran-students by race, gender, site. N=50

	<u>Northern University</u>		<u>Community College*</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	21	6	12	11
White	14	5	6	3
Af. Am.	2	0	1	1
Asian-Pac. Is.	2	1	1	2
Hispanic	3	0	4	3
Nat. Am.	0	0	0	2
* Participants drawn principally from Halcón College, but also from 6 additional community colleges in Northern California				

Terminology

“A Marine is not a soldier... A soldier is a soldier. A Marine is a Marine.”³⁴

All participants in this study (excluding some instructors and staff) are active or former members of the Army. However, participants came from four U.S. military branches: Army, Navy, Marines and Air Force. While each branch of service promotes its own identifying nomenclature: Soldier (Army), Sailor (Navy), Marine (Marine Corps), Airman and Guardsman (used for both male and female Air Force and Coast Guard members, respectively),³⁵ I refer to participants using the generic term “soldier,” which has been used historically to mean “one engaged in military service” (Webster’s Dictionary 2011) or “who fights as part of an organized land-based armed force”

³² For example, one participant, having grown up amidst violence on the streets of his hometown, said that he enlisted (in December 2003, well after the Iraq war was underway) to help provide for his family. He explained his decision to go to war through cost/benefit lens: “I knew it there was a risk [of being killed in combat], but I always said, ‘if I die in the streets of Oakland, my mom’s not going to get anything. If I die in Iraq, my mom will get \$400,000.’ That’s a lot better.”

³³ E-1 is the first and lowest rank and pay grade for the US Army. ‘E’ signifies *Enlisted*, and E-1 is the most entry level Private rank; E-2 signifies Private Second Class (E-3 is Private First Class, etc.) Many of the NU veteran participants had left the military with the rank of E-5,(Sergeant) or E-6 (staff Sergeant). The Navy and Air Force rank designations have different names, but participants in this research enlisted with these entry level ranks.

³⁴ Anonymous poster on military website.

³⁵ No student veterans who had served in the Coast Guard were interviewed.

(American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language 2004). I have chosen to use this term for its inclusivity and because it stresses a practice-based, institutional relationship with the US Armed Forces, and because it avoids the military ideological naming practices that ascribe essentialized identities to members based on their branch of service.³⁶ I choose to use the word “soldier” rather than the branch- and gender-neutral, yet also ideologically- charged term ‘warrior,’ which is currently favored by the U.S. Armed Forces as the contemporary term for military members.

Methodological challenges and dilemmas: researcher positionality

Feminist scholarship, cultural studies and critical theory indicate the multiple ways in which the researcher’s subjectivity is shaped by and shapes the subject of study,³⁷ and there are clear epistemological challenges to doing research within communities of which one is not a member.³⁸ As an outsider to military culture(s) I saw my job as trying to understand and analyze how cultural dispositions are lived in participants’ military and post-military academic lives. I use specific illustrations and extensive quotations in an effort to reflect as accurately as possible veterans’ experience and perspective. It could be argued that the resources at my disposal: observation, interview and participation (as an outsider) might be inadequate to this task. However, I also relied on scholarly and popular literature (particularly war memoirs), popular films, and the corrective critique of those popular films by veterans themselves.

I came into this research prepared for the possibility that my position as a white, middle-aged, university- trained civilian woman might influence -- positively or negatively (and I assumed negatively)-- military participants’ decision to talk to me. I wondered if my civilian status might lead some veterans to be less forthcoming in their responses in formal interviews and informal social gatherings. As a *situated other* (Lykes 1997) I have attempted to mitigate this situation with demonstrations of my sincere commitment to this project coupled with persistent endurance. In hopes that people might become accustomed to and accepting of my presence: I attended every meeting possible, answered every question about my research project whenever asked³⁹, accepted every social invitation, and joined, by invitation, an online community of veterans. While it is likely that my outsider position has influenced interactions with participants, I believe that my outside status also allows me a lens through which to ‘make strange’ (and visible) dispositions and practices not often contemplated by civilians, and that social

³⁶ Some examples of these essentialized identities: the Marines (“The Few , The Proud, the Marines”) are promoted as the most elite fighting forces to be tougher, more committed and braver than other military members. Members of the Army have the reputation of being the “work-horses” of the military (said by members of the Air Force and Navy to “work harder, not smarter” than members of other branches. Members of the Navy and Air Force have the reputation of being smarter, more intellectually rigorous and technologically skilled than members of other branches.

³⁷ Studying cultural practices from the outside presents particular challenges, but as anthropologist and Army Captain Alexandra Jaffee (1997) notes, there are also challenges involved in attempting to produce an ethnography while positioned within a ‘total system’ (Goffman 1961) such as the military. Jaffee found that she was unable to write an ethnography of her military experience because she was unable to experience her civilian and military identities as separate when she was inside the totalizing discourse of her military environment.

³⁸ See for example Barbara DuBois (1983,) Lila Abu-Lughod (1993,2002) Alexandra Jaffee (1997).

³⁹ While I fully answered all questions from participants about the process of this research, I could not give a full account of my findings, because my dissertation was not yet written and my analysis was still incomplete.

distance might enable a different type of critical examination than that which might be produced by institutional insiders.

Overview of Chapters

The production of *militarized common sense* occurs on different levels: there are overt processes through which individual soldiers become socialized in militarism through explicit pedagogies, in the context of training and war. There are also more subtle ways that we are all trained to support military projects. My dissertation begins by exploring explicit techniques of military training and moves to examine the techniques of “soft” or “banal militarism” embedded in campus discourse about military veterans and the wars.

Chapter One: “Basic Training: Making the Soldier, Militarizing the Civilian” analyzes the processes through which recruits learn to become identified with the military institution, mission and with fellow soldiers, by analyzing pedagogical techniques of Basic Training, which include isolation and separation, regimentation, enforced group practice, racialized and gendered group identification, enforcement of hierarchy, naturalization of violence. Military training involves specifically embodied rituals: breathing exercises, call and response techniques, reward and punishment systems and gestures of hierarchal relations; through these embodied disciplinary practices, recruits learn to shed previous self-definition as civilian individuals and learn to identify as members of a military corpus. (Foucault 1977, Lande 2007) Military enculturation requires the tasks of defining community, setting boundaries and articulating a national character, history and a normative vision of the way things ‘should be’. Creating a unified worldview happens through the invocation of rituals and daily practices and with active participation of members of the community (Gramsci 1971, Hall 1988; Rose 1999). Examining what and how recruits learn to become soldiers offers a window into processes of militarization of the civilian subject; these learning processes inform and are informed by broader discourses of war, patriotism and service.

In this study, my information about soldiers’ experiences in Basic Training comes from interviews with veterans from four of the five branches of the US Armed Forces (the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines. My observational material comes from observing combat training exercises at one Army base, and participant observation of conditioning and team-building exercises at the U.S. Army Base at Ft. Knox. This does not allow me to speak to military training processes on bases outside of the US,

Chapter Two: “What They Bring with Them: The Imprint of Military Training on Student Veterans” demonstrates that the process of militarizing soldiers does not end when their time in the military ends; and that the highly situated lessons of military training are transposed in civilian academic settings. This chapter argues that both the military and civilian college are educative environments designed to inculcate specific practices and ways of being in the world. I analyze these distinct educative spaces as *contact zones*, or spaces of difference and contestation where disparate cultures meet, engage, and struggle with each other (Pratt 1991). Documenting the experience of recently-returned war veterans in college, I show that conflicting pedagogical and cultural expectations and practices create a disjunctive experience for student veterans, and that these disjunctures carry over into veterans’ college experience in ways that may interfere with their ability to learn in college.

Chapters Three and Four look at more subtle manifestations of militarization embedded in the institutional practices and programs designed to support veterans on college campuses. Chapter Three: “Campus Veteran Support Initiatives” examines campus initiatives designed and carried out by administration and staff, and explores how military-inflected relations are reproduced in campus-generated programs designed to help veterans. This chapter examines how banal militarism becomes naturalized on campuses by looking at ideological substructures of support programs for student veterans. Educational initiatives designed to help returning veterans promote an exceptionalist version of the veteran student: more disciplined, dedicated and serious (and by implication, more deserving) than his/her civilian counterparts. These initiatives illustrate ways that campuses vie for the designation of being a “Military-Friendly” campus through trainings, meetings, classroom practice and campus-wide events. This chapter lays the foundation for my subsequent claim that these diverse forms of militarism engendered through campus veteran support programs not only tend to preclude debate and discussion about the wars, but it can have the unintended effect of alienating the very veterans these programs were designed to help.

While Chapter Three deals with support programs generated by the institutional campus apparatus, Chapter Four: “Veteran Self Help: Embracing, Re-creating and Contesting Gendered Military Relations” examines diverse strategies created by veterans to adapt to post-military life as college students. These strategies include efforts to sustain and re-create military bonds, as well as efforts to distance themselves from military relationships and ideologies. This chapter discusses various manifestations of social bonds forged in military training and through the experience of combat, and looks at how these bonds are maintained and utilized to re-create militarized socialization on college campuses. It also examines limitations, exclusions and contradictions entailed in those same bonds, by exploring how gender relations are reproduced through masculinist ideologies, codified and enforced through cultural practices based on male supremacy. Because military-based relationships form the foundation for support initiatives like veterans’ clubs and classes, it is important to analyze the affective nature of military bonds, how the nature and manifestation of these bonds differs for male and female soldiers. This chapter argues that military social bonds both reproduce and contest the imprint of militarized socialization on college campuses.

The thesis behind chapters Three and Four is that both campus-generated and veteran-generated support efforts contribute to the production of militarized common sense. However, veteran-generated efforts-- because they are informed by the real-world experience of participation in actual wars-- not only support, but also *contest* militarized common sense. Whereas campus-generated efforts depend more on ideological foundations (which tend to mystify), rather than lived experience (which tends to de-mystify) produces and reifies militarized common sense, rather than contests it.

Chapter Five: “Educating the Educators: Academics Get Schooled at Ft. Knox” notes that the U.S. military has a long historical involvement in higher education. (Price 2010, Gonzalez 2012, Bennett 2014), through U.S. Department of Defense research grants, scholarships, and recruitment of civilian academics for counterinsurgency interventions (Cahill 2008, Enloe 2010; Stavrianakis & Selby 2012). However, with the ascendance of the Homeland Security State, relationships between the Armed Forces and higher education have become both better funded and viewed as more accepted and a

more acceptable part of the academic landscape (Gonzalez 2010). Attempts to gain influence on contemporary college campuses include educational visits to military bases in which college faculty and staff enact military training exercises. This chapter examines one such visit, the Community Leader/ Educator visit to observe the “Operation Bold Leader” training designed to promote the benefits of having ROTC programs on campuses. The visit to the Operation Bold Leader training represents a prime vantage point from which to observe the production of militarized common sense on civilian campuses, because it fosters identification with the military through processes that include: 1) embedding academics in contrived military situations having participants perform military training exercises and 2) by portraying the military mission as essentially humanitarian, while obscuring its direct relationship to war-making. Despite the stated purpose of this training as solely informational, in effect this visit serves to enlist academics to promote military perspectives and interests on civilian college campuses, thereby paving and solidifying military inroads into civilian colleges.

Chapter Six: “Spectral Wars and the Myth of the ‘Anti-Military Campus’” brings together findings of the previous chapters to demonstrate how militarized common sense is produced through everyday efforts to support veterans on college campuses. This chapter argues that military valorization and the accompanying silencing of campus debate about war, is produced by pre-emptively declaring civilian college faculty and students hostile to the military, and by extension, to veterans.

Pro-military (and tacitly pro-war) veteran support is framed as the answer to a particular construction of a problem: that civilian colleges, in general, are anti-military. While the characterization of campus hostility towards veterans is inaccurate, this ostensible hostility provides the rationale to enlist faculty, administrators and students in a social project that aims to amend an apocryphal history of anti-veteran abuse. This strategic narrative engenders support for the military and its projects not through overt coercion, but through a *discourse of care* for veterans, who are positioned simultaneously as underrepresented minorities, victims of trauma and heroic figures. This formulation lays the foundation to remediate the ‘problem of anti-veteran campuses’ by increasing military displays and pro-military discourse that ultimately represent and serve the interest of the militarized State.

In this chapter, the concept of *articulation* helps to explain the processes through which militarized common sense is produced. Hegemony can be constructed through what Stuart Hall (1986) calls *articulation*, through which social relations, attitudes and beliefs form part of broader societal forces that produce collective practices. The concept of articulation, often associated with Althusser (1970), has been taken up and re-worked by Hall (1980, 1986) and Gillian Hart (2007, 2013) to mean newly-created relations of linkages and affectivity between relatively autonomous social, cultural and economic elements. These autonomous (and sometimes disparate) elements—such as discourses of militarism, social inclusion, civil rights, and veteran support—are structured as an ideological unity, in turn become a social force that both defines and produces social meanings and practices. These practices include positioning veterans as underrepresented minorities and using ideological discourses (for example, using the language and political strategies adapted from LGBT and immigrant rights movements), which allow for the creation of programs that valorize and celebrate military projects on campuses. By positioning veterans as simultaneously victimized by and superior to the civilian

population, support for student veterans becomes conflated with support for military projects.

Hall argues that articulation is different than Marx's concept of false consciousness—for example, the idea that working class people come to accept bourgeois rule by being ideologically duped into accepting illusions⁴⁰-- in that articulation is a process of active co-construction. Articulation is the process through which people come to embrace new ideas when certain notions combine or “articulate” with concepts with which they are familiar. Articulation creates new forms of common sense, which does the work of maintaining military hegemony.

Chapter Seven: “‘Thank you for your Service’: Gratitude and its Discontents.” Lessons learned through military service can have important implications for veterans' identities and social trajectories. Using extended excerpts from interview with veterans, this chapter explores some of the unintended consequences of support initiatives that rely on uncritical esteem for the military and societal silence about the current wars.

By focusing on educative aspects of military activities; pedagogies of warfare and practices of schooling, this dissertation explores links between military training and civilian education. Tracing the effects of wartime military experience on ex-soldiers' academic lives provides a more complex understanding of the gap between recruitment promises and their contestable fulfillment.

When veterans return home and enroll in college, they bring the war, which is inscribed in their bodies and consciousness, into civilian college, a space that is generally assumed to be non-militarized. This research finds that civilian institutional spaces, and particularly civilian colleges, are not, in fact, non-militarized. They are simply militarized in a different way

⁴⁰ Marx (“The German Ideology” 1846/1978: 50-52). See also Hall 1986:43

Chapter 1: Basic Training: Making the Soldier, Militarizing the Civilian

Introduction

Military training and acculturation, which at first glance might seem to entail obvious and direct processes of knowledge transmission, is actually a complex educative process of learning and unlearning norms, practices and identities. This chapter looks at how civilians are trained to be soldiers within the socio-pedagogical space of basic training. I argue that basic training represents a ‘contact zone’ (Pratt 1991) between civilian recruits and their military trainers who are charged with erasing recruits’ pre-existing habits and norms through methods of domination and subordination (Grossman 1995). Grossman & DeGaetano (1999) argue that operant conditioning, or stimulant-response training exerts total control over the bodies and minds of recruits. However, this process is rife with antagonisms and contestation. Simultaneous to unmaking the civilian, the soldier identity is formed through the processes of indoctrination into military codes, rituals, and norms and practices. This is achieved in part by applying a pedagogical process intended to build intra-group bonds of mutual dependence through team-building exercises.

Contrary to Grossman, I argue that military training, despite taking place within contexts of a *total institution* (Goffman 1961) does not simply produce compliant subjects or automaton-like agents of warfare. Because military and combat experience is conflictive and contradictory, it transforms identities, practices and subjectivities in ways that are also contradictory and fluid, rather than fixed. This chapter shows the intimate relation between the military systems of knowledge, corporeal practices of military training, and pedagogies that codify techniques and practices for the exercise of social control and domination (Goffman 1961, Foucault 1977). Subsequent chapters will explore what happens when these learned practices and subjectivities come into contact with civilian college norms and practices.

In examining processes and pedagogies involved in training civilians to become soldiers, this chapter lays the groundwork for my argument: that enduring effects of military training and combat experiences—and not a campus culture that is hostile to military veterans—contribute to veterans’ difficulties in college. Drawing on in-depth interviews with recent veterans, I explore the recruits’ processes of meaning-making within this explicit process of inculcation and militarization, and follow soldiers’ attempts to understand, comply with, and resist military commands.

Moving from military and civilian roles is a complex process of learning, unlearning and relearning norms, identities, social roles, and ideologies. While many aspects of ex-soldiers’ military training (eg. learned discipline, physical fitness, task identification and the ability to complete tasks) have transferred positively into their post-military lives, some of the same techniques and methods used to train soldiers to become expert practitioners of combat and military occupation, (de-personalization; the use of force and humiliation for the purpose of domination; suppression of emotional affect; dichotomous worldview of good allies and evil enemies) produce feelings of alienation

from civilian society, impeding soldiers' re-integration into civilian life and lead to difficulties in civilian schools.

Part I of this chapter outlines conceptual frameworks I use to analyze the educative processes of basic training in the context of an institutional system that exerts a totalizing (yet not absolutely total) control over the newcomer recruits. Individual recruits learn, through specific educational techniques, to function as a group, obey commands and acquire the skills necessary to become proficient soldiers. Through these embodied disciplinary practices, recruits learn to shed their previous self-identification as civilians and instead to identify as members of a military corpus (Foucault 1977, Lande 2007). Military social relations are reified through daily practices and occur within the military *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977), or sets of internalized dispositions that lead veterans to respond to their environments in militarily-structured ways even after they have left the institutional military.

Basic Training: Pedagogies of Power and Domination

Initial Military Training (IMT) provides an orderly transition from civilian to military life. It is the first step to transforming volunteers into Soldiers. It teaches Soldiers the tasks and supporting skills and knowledge needed to be proficient in required skills at the first unit of assignment. Initial entry training produces technically and tactically competent Soldiers who exemplify Army Values, live the Warrior Ethos and are prepared to take their place in the ranks of the Army.

-U.S. Army Training Manual (AR)350-1, sec.3-24⁴¹

The first point of initiation for new recruits, officially referred to in military training manuals as Initial Military Training (IMT), begins with what is commonly known as Basic Training or Boot Camp, the duration of which varies by military branch from 8 to 12 weeks.⁴² The above quotations from the U.S. Army Training Manual offers the institutional perspective regarding the intent of Basic Training, which focuses on the training outcome: Basic Training is intended to teach new recruits the tasks and skills needed to be proficient in the job of soldiering.

The intention as described in the training manual sounds very structured and straightforward: to provide “an orderly transition from civilian to military life.” But

⁴¹ Initial Military Training (from “Initial Military Training and Warrior Transition Course” of Army Training Manual (AR)350-1, sec.3-24. Basic training for each Branch of Service: Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines and Coast Guard, is carried out slightly differently, but this chapter will concentrate on Basic Training as carried out by the Army, as a prototypical basic training experience, because it is the largest branch of the military, and the branch in which the majority of my interview respondents served.

⁴² All active duty Army soldiers and officers must go through this process, with the exception of certain Specialty Branch Officers (MDs in the Army Medical Dept.; Legal; Judge Advocates; Religious: “Chaplain Corps officers do not participate in BT due to the extensive rifle marksmanship, weapons familiarization, and combatives training conducted in the course. The mission of the Chaplain Corps as noncombatants is considerably different than the mission of other officers thus requiring a different training philosophy, consisting of the following courses in progression: four weeks of Chaplain Initial Military Training (which contains all of the non-combatives type training that is conducted in BOLC II) followed by Chaplain BOLC (CH-BOLC) consisting of three phases of functional training (9 weeks total). Chaplains accessioned on active duty (AD) who have successfully completed Chaplain Initial Military Training and CH-BOLC Phase I within 5 years while serving as a Chaplain Candidate should only attend CH-BOLC Phase II and Phase III.” (AR 350-65)

beyond simply giving recruits the skills to become “technically and tactically competent Soldiers,” the goal is to inculcate new recruits and instill in them military values and traditions by teaching them to “exemplify Army Values⁴³, live the Warrior Ethos” by embodying the fundamental teachings of military doctrine.⁴⁴

Basic training represent a spatial/temporal and practice relationship between civilian recruits and their military trainers: it is the first point at which civilian individuals become military subjects through disciplinary spatial structures, temporal rhythms and body movements. It is well-documented in popular, academic, and military literature that military training involves pedagogical processes intended to create group identity by dismantling new recruits’ individual, civilian orientation through sustained sleep deprivation, depersonalization, humiliation, physical exertion, and ideological indoctrination (Grossman 1995; Cantrell and Dean 2005). Simultaneous to unmaking the civilian, the soldier identity is formed through the processes of indoctrination into military codes, rituals, and norms. This is achieved in part by subjecting recruits to taxing physical and emotional trials, and applying a pedagogical process intended to build intra-group bonds of mutual dependence. This pedagogical process is based on what Belkin (2012) calls *military masculinity*, or a set of beliefs, practices and attributes that can enable recruits (both male and female) to “claim authority on the basis of affirmative relationships with the military or with military ideas”(3).

Basic training is about physical, mental, emotional and cultural conditioning. It provides an introductory experience of how to manage relationships between the (transitional) civilian individual and the militarized group. Soldiers become expert at managing the relationship between individual and group by submitting to authority based on rank. This type of training has both immediate and longer-term consequences in that it facilitates inculcation into the norms of the institution, and it can facilitate survival in combat. However, this expertise, or mode of behaving lingers after soldiers leave the battlefield. The following sections look at how these skills are taught and developed, while Chapter Two will examine what happens when soldiers leave the military with this institutionalized skill set and enter civilian classrooms.

Basic training is designed to create bodies that are physically fit, and to orient new soldiers to military norms, combat techniques, operation of arms, and to an allegiance to nation and command structure. While Army training manuals describe basic training as an “orderly transition” away from civilian life to that of the military, from the soldiers’ perspective this process is not an orderly transition, but rather, chaotic and disruptive and inherently violent. The words of former Northern University graduate student and Gulf War Veteran Jonathan gesture towards the violence involved in erasing the civilian identity and replacing it with a military one:

In the first four weeks of bootcamp, every single thing that you took as real – about your cultural reality and your identity – is not just called into question, but is raised and then erased. Norms about *everything*. Your norms about violence, about conduct, about role

⁴³ The Army Core Values, according to Army Doctrine, are: Loyalty, Duty, Respect, Selfless Service, Honor, Integrity, Personal Courage.

⁴⁴ The Warrior Ethos: “I will always place the mission first. I will never accept defeat. I will never quit. I will never leave a fallen comrade” is contained within the Soldier’s Creed, an oath that Soldiers recite daily in training. The Soldier’s Creed and Warrior Ethos are fundamental to Army Values, as outlined in military doctrine.

certainty, about moral reward. All the way down to spatial proximity between people. Every single one of those things is redone. And then your new identity is rewarded continually, for a longer period of time.

Sociologist Erving Goffman (1961) wrote extensively about how individuals learn to inhabit institutional roles by studying inmates in large, disciplinary institutions, or what he called *total institutions*: prisons, mental asylums, military barracks and boarding schools. Goffman used the word ‘total’ not simply to refer to the comprehensive ways in which the institution organizes all activities—working, eating, sleeping, socializing—but also to refer to strategies by which the institution becomes part of the inner life of residents. Goffman identified processes (among them what he called *role dispossession* and *identity trimming*, to be discussed below) to describe how individuals are produced as institutional subjects. The following section uses Goffman’s theory of institutionalization to analyze specific pedagogical methods of Basic Training. Based on recent veterans’ memories of the experience, I examine the various ways in which the training is used to militarize new (civilian) recruits, inculcating in them military habits and norms through bodily practices and disciplinary techniques.

Role Dispossession: Unmaking the Civilian

The process of *role dispossession* (Goffman 1961), or shedding one’s civilian habits and identity, begins as soon as recruits physically enter the control of the military. For many recruits, this process begins when they board the bus taking them to their training base. Several veterans I spoke with remembered this bus trip as a defining moment: of leaving their civilian ‘before’ phase and entering their military ‘after.’ Several specifically mentioned the bus as a kind of portal into an alternative world in which polite conventions of civilian society were abruptly replaced by rigidly-enforced norms and customs. This radical transformation in social relations was made clear to them by a sudden change in their drill instructors’ demeanor. Halcón College student Abel noted:

I remember getting to the airport not knowing what to expect. And I’ll never forget the drill sergeant. He was, I guess you could say, bi-polar (laughs)... When we were out in the airport he was very nice, like he said ‘ok, just sit over there.’ Then he was walking us outside and putting us on the bus, and as soon as the bus left, then -- *Drill Sergeant*. It turned out that’s because he couldn’t yell at us in public, in front of civilians; so [in the airport] he was all like: ‘oh, ok, you can stand over here’, because he’s not going to scream ‘get your ass over here!’ in front of civilians.

Abel said that his drill instructor’s courteous attitude, which he realized had been on display exclusively for civilian audiences, evaporated as soon as they boarded the bus and were out of the public eye. He said this was his first realization that he was in a situation over which he had no control:

It wasn’t until [the drill instructor] got on the bus that we realized [what we had gotten into], and then from that point on it was just constant, constant yelling-type deal. Of course all 60 of us were like “what the hell are we doing here?” (laughs)

Similarly, Northern University student Jessica remembers this distinct switch, when the transport bus served as the site of abrupt transition from her known civilian world (when she was not yet “really in the military”) into the unknown military world of Boot Camp:

I don't think anybody forgets [the moment of transition]. From the first moment you're there, you're “in-processing,” so you're standing in long lines. That's not really the action part, right? This is before you're really in the military. You're buying your equipment and your supplies, standing in tons and tons of lines, filling out forms, going to briefings. Then all of a sudden you get onto a bus one day. They tell you to put your head down. This is when it starts getting real. You put your head down, and you're going on a bus ride. Then they just start yelling at you like, ‘Get yourself out, get out!’ Then you go out there [on the base.] You're like, ‘Where the hell am I?’ And you just run wherever you run to. It's not even organized. It's like mad chaos.

In the liminal space of “in-processing,” Jessica was the subject of bureaucratic coding and standardizing procedures: standing in lines for equipment, briefings and forms. These activities, part of what Goffman calls *identity-trimming*, function to code and shape recruits into a subject more easily processed by the military administrative apparatus. For Jessica, the excruciatingly slow lines and boring briefings led up to what she calls the “action part,” when she became “really in the military.”

On base, *role dispossession* and *identity trimming* continue when recruits are stripped of personal possessions: phones, electronic devices and cigarettes. They are no longer called by their full name, but are referred by their last name and their rank.⁴⁵ At the base, recruits remain isolated; separated from the civilian world for the purpose of orienting to their new roles. For the period of basic training (typically six weeks, but variable depending on the branch of service) recruits are not allowed to leave the base. They don't have access to civilian newspapers or media influences, they are contained in a controlled and monitored environment 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Recruits interact with primarily each other and their drill instructor; this separation shields new soldiers from the influence of civilian family and friends to allow for an undiluted experience of indoctrination. This separation is re-enforced by restricting access to contact from family and friends. Northern University student Mark, who did his basic training at a Naval Base in San Diego, said that new recruits were punished for receiving mail and ‘contraband’ treats from family and friends. For infractions, punishment included humiliation for the individual, and forced physical exercise for the group. This de-contextualized group punishment for individual infractions is what Goffman calls the ‘disruption between actor and act.’ Mark recalled:

⁴⁵ While it is official policy to refer to recruits by last name and rank, drill instructors routinely bestow on recruits derogatory nicknames based on perceived physical, characterological or performance flaws. For example, NU student and Navy veteran Mark recounted how he got his nickname in basic training as punishment for smiling in the lunch line: “You always had to have a blank look on your face, but when I was going through the [dining hall] line, the lunch ladies would be like: ‘hey honey, how you doing, you want some grits today?’” So I'd just give her a little smile and go ‘yes ma'am’ and for that little smile the drill instructor slapped my tray from out of my hand and yelled ‘What the hell you doing smiling? Is this a joke to you?!?’ And you just had to stand at attention, take all this stuff. He nicknamed me “smiley”—he'd be like “hey smiley, come over here and do this.” You could never smile or do anything.” (Interview 9/15/10)

People would get candy or something like that [in the mail], and [instructors] would just dump it all in the trash. There was this rule that, if you got mail, [the recruit] would have to read it out loud to everyone, while the whole class had to do push-ups for the whole time he was reading it. So it was really like this huge humiliation, and you actually started resenting the people who got mail from their families.

With the act of publically dumping contents of “care packages” sent from home, instructors performed the separation of the recruit from their former family-affiliated civilian selves. Group punishment teaches group members to ostracize the person who has insufficiently severed ties with civilian life. Veterans said they came to resent the individual who was the identified reason for group punishment, and would give hostile treatment to the recruit deemed deficient.

Imposition of degrading postures, stances, and deference patterns

To learn to function within the strict institutional hierarchies, new recruits are required to adopt deferential stances and postures, and thus establishing their position of inferiority and subservience. Recruits must request permission from superiors to speak, to enter and exit rooms, to move. Abel, who left the Army with the rank of Master Sergeant after eight years and three combat tours, viewed the authoritarian training style through a normative lens of one who had accepted this style as rational and necessary:

They tell you when you go to the bathroom, they tell you when to eat, they tell you when to sleep, how to sleep, how to eat, how to sit down. This makes a lot of sense-- if you're talking 60 people coming in, there's 60 different personalities, 60 different ways of doing things, and you can't have that. Being part of the military, you have to have a structure, you have to have a certain set way. And so my understanding is that they are going to break you down completely, strip away your identity, but then they're going to rebuild you with your identity intact, but as a soldier, with a certain way of doing things.

Lande (2007) notes that soldiers learn to navigate daily activities and social relationships through their bodies' movements and processes. Learning to inhabit an institution requires learning quotidian functions in culturally specific ways. This process makes the body an essential foundation of the military domain. As Lande notes, in the process of militarization, when the civilian becomes a soldier “the body not only takes on new meanings (as a ‘weapon,’ ‘vehicle,’ and ‘protective armor’) and value (physical performance as a principle of hierarchy), it is lived differently and thus changes form.” (96). All respondents said that military training was effective for them because it incorporated military habits into daily practice with structured, didactic, and practical pedagogies designed to help newcomers master new skills. (Lave 1998)

Northern University student Mark, who was getting a Master's Degree in Education, spoke about basic training instruction as indoctrination and operant conditioning designed to produce reflexive action. He said that military pedagogy purposefully employed methods of infantilization as a means to teach subordination through re-training in the most mundane daily functions: “The first week is the indoctrination phase. That week you are the lowest of the low, you don't know anything, they teach you how to talk, how to walk, how to eat, everything.” Through corporeal,

practical activity in the military milieu, this instruction not only inculcates obedience, but also serves as behavioral patterning and training for combat performance. Mark described how learning to drink a glass of water at mealtime became a de facto rifle drill:

When you grab the glass in chow hall, you're told to shoot your arm straight out and put it down. You have to maintain the 'thousand yard stare' [staring into the distance, not responding to stimuli] while you do this. They make you do this to brainwash you, but it's also to teach you the motions you'd perform for the rifle drill. It goes hand in hand. When you eat, you do the motions of the rifle drill, and when you do the rifle drill and marching, it's to teach you to unquestioningly follow orders.

Through constant repetition, daily activities like eating and drinking become linked with combat skills and habits of obedience. But beyond habituating physical movements, recruits are psychologically trained to accept their subordinate position as "the lowest of the low."

In concert with training the body to respond habitually, military pedagogy also trains the mind to respond reflexively, through rote memorization. Army veteran, Erica, an NU student and former journalist for the Military publication "Stars & Stripes," said that one of the most salient lessons she learned in military training was the realization that enlisted soldiers were trained in a way that would help them succeed in the process that enables promotion up the enlisted ranks. Thus, enlisted members were taught mostly by rote memorization of regulations and procedures, what Erica called being trained "not to think":⁴⁶

The standards for promotion are you have to study to go before a board, and you're asked all these very specific questions. You're given the questions and the answers, and most people study by writing out flashcards. They say you need to know where to find the answer, so you need to memorize where all of the answers are in the field manuals, and know which field manual to go to.

Erica said that having to memorize what business management literature calls "low-context" details⁴⁷ (Guffey, 2010) was intended to inculcate obedience and to keep recruits from critically analyzing military policies:

I feel the reason that enlisted members are given all this stuff to memorize in this way is because it keeps them from asking questions. Because when your brain is full of basically what amounts to trivia, and you're not using all of this information on a daily basis. When you're filling your brain with that, you're

⁴⁶ Erica distinguished between the training of enlisted ranks and commissioned officers. She stressed that commissioned officers, unlike enlisted recruits were indeed "taught to think," in that in military academies officer candidates receive academic training concurrently with military training.

⁴⁷ In business management literature, "Low-context" learning is characterized by: 1) One source of information is used to develop knowledge; 2) Thinking is inductive, proceeds from specific to general; 3) focus is on detail rather than 'big picture'; 4) Learning occurs by following explicit directions and explanations of others; 5) Speed is valued. How efficiently something is learned is important. (Guffey 2010.)

making it too busy to think about what's actually going on. You're being trained to spout information and to follow orders. You are being trained to answer to people.

Erica said that she had a problem with being trained “not to think” because it clashed with her journalism training, which had taught her to be curious, inquisitive and analytical:

That [rote memorization and uncritical obedience] was something that I could not really buy into because A) I wasn't very good at memorizing and B) I didn't see the point. So that didn't work well for me. Also, that didn't work well for me because I was not very good at following orders without asking ‘why?’ I was a journalist, so it was my nature, and my training to ask questions. Of course, it was my other [military] training to *not* ask questions at all, just to say ‘hooah!’⁴⁸

Learning to follow orders without question also requires that recruits accept as normal and necessary relations of dominance and subordination. Military pedagogies are designed to inculcate deference to authority through a combination of direct force and disciplinary coercion, to shape what Foucault (1979) describes as “docile bodies.” Basic training begins with overt control over recruits’ bodies, movements, dress, and speech and communication with the outside world, enforced by fear, intimidation and the threat of physical violence. Northern University student Connor said that the deferential posture he was required to adopt was one of the things he remembered most vividly about his first day of basic training:

They put you there, all lined up and then the drill sergeants would all come out in a pack. And they would just [psychologically] rip everyone to shreds. You're in PT [physical training] clothes, a short sleeve shirt and these running shorts, and you're up against the drill sergeants who are wearing combat boots, the full combat uniform. They have the duty belt, and the hat, and all those symbols of power and authority over you, and so you're conscious of your physically lower status. You're just like this peon, this little ant scurrying around, trying not to get run over by people.

As the newcomer, Connor's memories of basic training were centered on how power relations are enacted and embodied: uniformed drill sergeants coming at new recruits like wild animals (“in a pack and hey would just rip everyone to shreds”). He spoke of the powerlessness he felt (“like a little ant scurrying around”), vulnerable in gym shorts and t-shirts and trying to avoid getting run over by other soldiers and the more powerful drill sergeants fortified by combat gear.

Over time, this type of domination through discipline renders the individual body self-governing and obedient to military norms. Because all living, working and training exercises are conducted in groups, every move is observed by the group, and each activity is broken down into minute segments, which are subjected to regulations and judgments by superiors. Disciplinary coercion through surveillance does not replace direct force, but rather augments it. Lucas (2013) notes the educative effects of this type of Foucauldian disciplinary power: “[D]isciplinary techniques separate each body as an individual unit of analysis whose behavior (often taking place within strict time-tables)

⁴⁸ “Hooah!” is the Army battle cry, used interchangeably to signal greetings, farewells, consent, hostility, enthusiasm, or to assert a challenge.

can be surveilled, assessed, ranked, and judged in comparison to others.”⁴⁹ Trainings conducted in high pressure conditions have the effect of showcasing the incompetence of the trainees, and all mistakes and doubts are on full view and subject to criticism and punishment.

The goal of this type of training from a skills-perspective is to train recruits to perform under pressure. The effect of this type of training in terms of social behavior is that it teaches recruits to avoid shame and humiliation by not being noticed, by not stepping out of line, by “flying under the radar.”⁵⁰ Connor spoke about one of his experiences in basic training that serves as an illustration of this concept:

I remember I was just so stressed out, and having a horrible time just trying to unlock my combination lock. God, I just could not do it! And I had the drill sergeant standing there yelling ‘hurry up, we’re all waiting on you!’ And then they make everyone do push-ups, because you can’t do your stuff right. It’s that responsibility, that you’re killing the whole group [by your incompetence].

Connor’s failed attempts to complete the most minimal task of unlocking his combination lock resulted in his exposure to the group as incompetent -- someone who couldn’t “do stuff right” under pressure. This produced a situation in which Connor was made to feel responsible for metaphorically “killing” the entire group, because everyone was punished by doing push-ups for Connor’s inability to perform a simple task.⁵¹ Because recruits are not able to physically remove themselves from the training situation, they cannot shield themselves from superiors’ demands, verbal assaults and physical punishment. This creates a relationship of powerlessness on the part of the subordinate towards the superior, and by extension towards the institution.

Basic training creates an environment of total control over participants and involves specifically embodied rituals: breathing exercises, call-and-response techniques, a reward and punishment system, and gestures of hierarchal relations (such as saluting; march-and-parade commands). Recruits are subject to regulation of minute details of activity and conduct that under normal circumstances are left to individual judgment and planning. Verbal deference forces recruits into undignified verbal postures, and soldiers are trained to comply with orders accompanied by name-calling and physical intimidation. Connor went on to note:

⁴⁹ Lucas (2013) dissertation: *Decolonizing the White Colonizer?*

⁵⁰ The phrase ‘flying under the radar’ was often mentioned in interviews when subjects spoke about their military experience, particularly in basic training, where a highly prized skill was the ability to get by through virtue of being unnoticed. For example, Army veteran Erica described the difficulty of having to manage both the physical challenge of fitness training and the psychological challenge of withstanding the name-calling: “Of course, the physical challenge became enough that I wasn’t focusing on the psychological challenge. My main thing was I just always wanted to stay under the radar. I wasn’t that good at [basic training], because there were a lot of the physical challenges that I wasn’t that good at. I wasn’t a really fast runner, I couldn’t do 100 push-ups in a minute, and I kept getting injured-- fell off the monkey bars, or ‘horizontal cross-fitness bars’ and sprained my ankle. But of course I felt like I had to keep going.”

⁵¹ In the Army’s basic training, this practice of forced physical activity as punishment is known colloquially as getting “smoked,” and is a typical form of group punishment for infractions committed by an individual member.

[T]he drill sergeants are just these big ass muscle-bound guys, they got their Smokey Bear hats, and they get up like right in your face-- I mean, they're just cussing and screaming, they're so close to you that they're spitting in your face and they'll hit you with their hat as they're talking to you.

Through these introductory processes, individual civilians are ranked, classified and standardized; their behavior constantly evaluated in terms of conformity or deviation, and deviation results in punishment. As basic training progresses, correction ceases to be the sole purview of the drill sergeant, but turns all recruits into “supervisors, perpetually supervised,” (Foucault 1979: 177) as peers become the enforcers of military norms through supportive counsel and informal mentorship, but also through scapegoating and physical violence. Belkin (2012) notes that scapegoating has been a central element of American military culture because military masculinity’s unproblematic appearance has required the fear of failure to be projected onto outcasts, who are then blamed for contamination and excluded from the warrior community.⁵² Violence plays a normalizing function in the practice of hazing and ritualized punishment by peers meted as initiation rites or as correctives for deficiencies. Despite recent US Department of Defense efforts to curtail hazing, participants across branches reported that hazing remains common enough to be considered, informally, part of the ‘core curriculum’ of basic training. Marines, particularly, spoke about “fixing people” through violence. It was spoken about as almost a duty to fix those deviating from the military norm, and one’s duty to accept violence involved becoming ‘fixed’ as inevitable, or fated. As NU student Mitchell said:

I remember in boot camp, getting hazed-- I'd be angry. I'd say, "I don't deserve this, I didn't do anything wrong," but then later I found out it didn't matter [what I thought or did] so there was an acceptance. I guess a sense of fate, too, that things are how they are. I think that's what I learned, it's a sense of fate.

This lesson-- to accept and submit to relations of power and domination as “fate,” and to accept one’s powerlessness to challenge authority or to change unjust situations-- can serve to naturalize relations of domination.⁵³ On several occasions I heard about peer-administered punishment, when a recruit in need of “fixing” would be taken to an isolated location and beaten by several soldiers. Keilani, a former Marine and student at Halcón College said that she experienced ritualized injurious physical force by peers (although she did not identify it as violence) administered in a celebratory fashion when she got promoted to the rank of Sergeant. Describing an initiation ritual that sounded reminiscent of being “beaten-in” by a gang, Keilani said she did not recognize this initiation practice as hazing, but rather saw it as natural -- “just an old tradition that happens”:

When we got promoted we used to go down the line and get punched or pinned. [It was] just an old tradition that happens. I mean, it was an initiation that was expected. And no

⁵² Belkin (2012:5)

⁵³ In subsequent chapters I will show how this self-governing reluctance to challenge authority can be seen on campuses, in veterans clubs and organizations, and that for some veterans, this learned behavior has the effect of maintaining their military discipline and mindset. For other student veterans, these military behaviors and ways of thinking are transformed by contact with civilian students and faculty.

one ever thought it was considered to be hazing. But it's gotten so bad in the Marine Corps where it happens all the time, like, blanket parties.

A “blanket party” according to Keilani, is one intervention administered when a recruit is deemed deficient and in need of fixing: recruits would sneak up on a fellow recruit, restrain and beat him with bars of soap or other objects wrapped in blankets. (This type of hazing almost always involved male victims; punishment for females in need of “fixing” was usually sexual rather than physical violence. (See Chapter Three.)

Standardization through Ritualized Practice

The basis for training standardization is executing training using approved Army standards. While ensuring tasks are performed to Army standards, commanders encourage trainers to exercise initiative and to create realistic and challenging conditions for training within the context of mission, enemy, terrain, troops, time, civilian considerations.

--Army AR 350 1-19 (9)

Training “within the context of mission, enemy, terrain, troops, time, civilian considerations” means that soldiers must be training not only in the daily rituals of military life, but also in specific skills of combat. Command compliance is a fundamental in combat situations, and so in basic training infantry soldiers learn to obey orders without question. They also learn, through repetition and operant conditioning, to shoot to kill. Grossman (1995) argues that the main reason the U.S. military must train soldiers to respond reflexively rather than consciously is because human beings have a powerful innate aversion to killing their own kind, and soldiers must be conditioned, through repetitive training, to overcome this aversion. Grossman identified and analyzed operant conditioning techniques used by the U.S. military specifically designed to desensitize combatants to the act of killing another human being. According to Grossman, military research shows that infantry soldiers in World Wars I and II would shoot, intentionally missing enemy combatants in whom they could recognize humanity. Thus the science of military training became devoted to developing rifle drills that would disconnect the act of shooting from conscious cognition. This begins with exercises linking everyday movement (like eating and drinking) with rifle drills, and offering rewards for high kill rates in life-like simulated target practices. Through these simulations, combatants are trained to react to targets rather than respond emotionally or intellectually to the task of killing. Along with behavioral modification techniques comes ideological training: soldiers are taught through everyday practices -- marching cadences, jokes and daily banter -- that their designated enemies are sub-human. The combination of explicit training and everyday practices creates a curriculum intended to dehumanize those enemies whom soldiers will be required to kill.

Beyond teaching soldiers to function in a hierarchal bureaucracy and to habituate conditioned reflexes for combat, basic training employs ritualized behavior as a way of instilling adherence to a social order. The tasks of military enculturation -- standardizing physical performance, defining community, and articulating a national character -- center around creating an accepted normative view of the world. Rituals serve to both initiate

and integrate the individual into a social order, through daily relationships and in ritualized collective events; these define and bind the social group into a cohesive unit, serving as affirmations of collective commitment, and encourage obedience to the defined rules of the group (Durkheim 1893/1997). Northern University student and Army veteran Connor said that rituals surrounding uniforms and standing in formation were the primary practices responsible for teaching him to obey orders and giving him a sense of group identity:

Formations and uniform--that was something we'd do every single day. You have to be in the exact same uniform as everyone else. It doesn't matter how cold or how hot it is, how inappropriate wearing that jacket or not wearing that jacket is, everyone is standing there with you and you *will* look like everyone else and you *will* stand in that formation and if you don't, the consequences are very serious and immediate. (Speaker's emphasis.)

One of the first lessons learned by new recruits is that they should no longer consider themselves individuals guided by self-interest, but that they are part of a unified corpus. Connor used the concepts of "formations and uniforms" as shorthand to describe the ways he learned to follow orders and act as part of a group. He noted that it is crucial for everybody to look the same, stand the same way, regardless of external environmental conditions. Soldiers learn that even in extreme cases, continuity must be maintained. In blazing heat, one still wears the heavy jacket and stands at attention ("you *will* look like everyone else and you *will* stand in that formation"); this teaches soldiers not to vary performance in response to external circumstances. This exercise is designed to demonstrate that it is more important to maintain undeviating consistency with the group than to be physically comfortable or dressed appropriately for the weather. Moreover, participation requires that members redefine their understanding of what is appropriate: 'appropriate' comes to mean whatever the drill sergeant orders, no matter how apparently arbitrary the command. Group members become disciplined to submit to arbitrary orders (for example, wearing heavy uniforms in extreme heat, or the practice of "raking rocks"⁵⁴). Thus, it is not that one wears the uniform simply to look like everyone else, or simply to maintain continuity in formal military contexts. The behavioral lesson is that one maintains the continuity *especially* when it is environmentally inappropriate to do so. Changing circumstances are irrelevant; the point is that continuity must be maintained through unquestioning compliance.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Several veteran participants in my research spoke about the job assignment of "raking rocks" in which they had to rake the area around their combat base-- terrain consisting of sand and rocks-- for no apparent reason. This was not necessarily a punitive assignment, but rather a "make-work" task designed to maintain discipline and prevent boredom in times of low activity.

⁵⁵ The difference between civilian and military practice becomes clear in this case: In the civilian society, the salient aspect in the decision against wearing a heavy uniform in hot weather is that it is too hot to wear heavy clothes. But in learning to be a soldier, the salient aspect about wearing a heavy uniform in hot weather is *precisely* that it is too hot to wear heavy clothes. Soldiers wear heavy uniforms in apparently inappropriate conditions because they are trained that this discipline signals respect for authority, and because it teaches them through discipline to endure difficult circumstances. Moreover, procedural adherence conditions soldier to be able to function in chaotic conditions of combat without having to stop to evaluate a course of action (See page 29).

Soldiers are taught to tie authority and respect to names and rank, which are signaled visually and corporeally by the uniform. Halcón College student Brett, an Army veteran of two tours of Iraq, spoke at length about the importance of hierarchic distinctions of rank to the instillation of military discipline. Because Brett currently spends his summers on Army bases working as a basic training drill Sergeant, he is in charge of not only wearing the uniform, but teaching its significance to new recruits.

Brett noted that one of the first lessons he teaches new soldiers is one he learned early in basic training: that the uniform serves to mark formalized hierarchic relations. Putting on the uniform signals the switch from civilian relationships, which de-emphasize hierarchy and value informality:

Brett: Going from civilian to military, it's tough, because you're used to saying: 'hey Bob, hey Joe.' In the Army you have to snap back to Sgt. So-and-So; 'Yes Sir; No Sir.' But even on active duty, once you're off hours and you're out on the streets, you would usually call people by last names. But once you get back into uniform and you're on-duty, it's rank and last name, or 'Sir.'

EM: Is it hard to keep that straight?

B: No, not really. As soon as you put your uniform on, it kind of snaps in, but sometimes it'll slip. Like my senior NCO (non-commissioned officer), his first name is Guillermo, we usually call him G outside of work, but sometimes [on-duty] we'll slip and say 'Hey G!... oops, dang.' But if it consistently goes like that and we see a pattern of it, then our form of disciplinary action will step in.

The act of putting on the uniform signals a relational shift in role and identity--when military discipline and respect for hierarchal relations "snaps in" and is performed. Consciousness is compartmentalized and tied to practice, and the uniform signals how relations are negotiated through shifting circumstances. Wearing the uniform answers the questions: Which world am I in now? Which vocabulary and forms of address do I use? In which rituals am I engaged? For Brett, the uniform also signifies a professional identity that causes him to take things "more seriously." He continued:

As soon as I put on the uniform you take things a lot more seriously -- it's a professional thing. You don't want to make an ass of yourself with the uniform on, you're held to a higher standard. When I put on the uniform, anyone I talk to, it's going to be: name and rank. If it's an officer, it's going to be 'sir' or 'ma'am'; 'gentlemen, ladies'; based on professionalism, and respect. Even when I'm not wearing the uniform [in the civilian world] it's going to be the same thing, because people know that I am in the military, I'm not going to make an ass of myself, I'm going to be professional courteous, and disciplined when I'm talking to others.⁵⁶

Within the total institution of the military, the uniform code forms part of authoritative discourse (Bakhtin 1981, 1994) that exerts power and control over the recruits' actions. For soldiers, the overarching lesson of basic training is that military discourse is unquestionable; that military hierarchy and custom cannot be challenged it on its own

⁵⁶ However, despite Brett's emphatic stance claiming public professionalism by all uniformed members of the military, there is evidence that not all active-duty soldiers and veterans are similarly constrained in their public and private behavior.

terms. While this does not mean that soldiers always obey the rules, participation in military training gives recruits a dichotomous choice: they can reject the military discourse or buy into it. But they cannot challenge the internal logic, rules and hierarchy of the institution. To do so necessarily puts transgressors in a position of marginality. In effect, one marginalizes oneself by refusing to comply with a superior's commands. Connor spoke about what happens to people who fail to keep discipline and break formation by failing to stand at attention with the group: "In formation, everyone is standing there, and if they see you walk away, it's a huge black mark against you. You don't want to be that one guy who walks in front of 100 or more people." When Connor says that no one wants to be "that one guy" who marginalizes himself by stepping out of line, he acknowledges the powerful governing force of group compliance. The processes of peer surveillance, ranked judgment, corrective measures, and rewards are central to maintaining established norms. Compliance is also fostered by "making the slightest departures from correct behavior subject to punishment," or what Foucault calls the *micro-physics* of power.⁵⁷

Connor's comment indicates that shame and humiliation are key motivating forces in maintaining soldiers' compliance. Shame is attached to acting as an individual within the group; breaking rank is seen as an assertion of individuality, which in turn is a betrayal of the group. This was made very clear in Connor's narrative, when he described what happens to the one who steps out of formation:

[Drill instructors] would always say: 'Oh, so you want to be an *individual*?' It was like a jingle. We heard it since basic training: (sneering, taking on the voice and demeanor of the Drill Instructor) 'Pvt. So-and-so wants to be an *individual*. Everyone go and do push ups now, because *this* guy wants to be an *individual*. Rules don't apply to him. Everyone else has to do it, but he's *special*.' (Speaker's emphasis)

The above comment illustrates how shame is inextricably linked to the concept of the individual; individuality was shown to be something that was both shameful and punishable. The term "individual" here becomes an epithet deployed as both a social and behavioral corrective. This public act of shaming is also linked to a process of self- and group valorization and superiority which advances the position that soldiers, as individuals and as a group, are morally and physically superior to civilians by virtue of their association with the military (Belkin 2012).

Instructors gain compliance by publicly shaming individuals for failing to act up to group standards. An equally important message is that the failings of the transgressor will have repercussions for the group: Everyone, even those soldiers who obey commands, would be made to do push-ups because of one person's desire to "be an individual." The infraction of individualism is met with collective punishment, which raises the social stakes and heightens the contrast between a compliant group member and the renegade individual.⁵⁸ Repetition and public display, coupled with group punishment for offenders, combined to create powerful incentives to follow orders and act as a group, which in turn solidifies group identity and casts individual thinking and action as anti-social and negative. When the drill instructor accuses the soldier of acting

⁵⁷ Foucault 1979: 178

⁵⁸ Group punishment for individual infractions, or what Goffman calls the *disruption of the usual relationship between an individual actor and his acts* (1961:35), is yet another feature of disciplinary practices within the total institution.

individually, he is accusing the soldier of asserting a status that is superior to others in his group, of seeking to be “special” and better than the others. In the context of the group, individuality is an unwarranted claim of privilege that disregards the needs of the group. This rejection of individual needs can serve to both enhance and inhibit veterans’ success in college (See Chapter Two).

The fact that the drill instructor’s taunt was “like a jingle” demonstrates that this repetitive slogan became woven into everyday life, the affirmation of a culture in which acting as an individual is both worthy of humiliation and a punishable offense. Through repetition, the message of group supremacy becomes integral to one’s consciousness and worldview—it becomes normalized within one’s repertoire of reactions and the idea that to act as an individual is shameful is constantly reinforced.

Pedagogies of Detail

Much of basic training focuses on mastering the fine points, the small components of daily life: how the uniform is put together, the details of cleaning and maintaining weaponry, or the ritualized minutiae of daily life on the base. This pedagogy of detail helps to establish the soldiers’ habitus. Ritualized attention to detail produces what Bourdieu (1987) calls the *ontological complicity* of “cognition without consciousness” and “intention without intentionality,” through which soldiers learn to perform in combat without dwelling on the ‘bigger picture’ consequences. Adherence to procedural details—such as those involved in making beds or folding underwear to exact specifications – trains recruits to be able to function in chaotic combat situations, without thinking about the actual activities in which they are engaged, such as shooting at people and avoiding being shot. In addition to serving as a focusing technique, attention to detail becomes a habit and a way of instilling the kind of cognition without consciousness that allows soldiers to both accept military rationale without questioning it, and to respond in combat without dwelling on the implications of their actions.

Northern University student Jessica said that what and how she learned in basic training laid the groundwork for creating this new consciousness:

For the first couple of days it was just a lot of screaming, yelling, and briefings. They are teaching you how to fold your underwear. They are teaching you how to set up your locker. They teach you how to make a bed. They teach you how to clean a rifle, how to check it out, how to hold it, how to shine your boots. Attention to detail. These are the fundamental things you learn in basic, but I think it really does carry through. So attention to detail and also just doing the best job you can do and not being afraid to fail. Like I said, in basic training, they break you down. You are going to fail, all the time, all the time, all the time.

By memorizing procedures and following habituated patterns, instilled through both punitive methods of shaming (screaming, yelling) and didactic training (briefings), Jessica and her fellow soldiers were taught to react to instead of thinking about the implications that arise in the chaotic situations of combat. Moreover, built into this pedagogy was the recognition that performance failure in the early stages was an integral and necessary part of the learning process (“You are going to fail, all the time, all the time, all the time.”) For NU student Jordan, boot camp felt like “controlled chaos” intended to destabilize recruits and teach them to function under the stress of combat. He echoed many other veterans in considering basic training as a form of theater:

[Basic Training was] controlled chaos. The drill instructors, their job foremost, is to be actors and to play a role. You're on stage, too, and you're a part of the act, but it's really not about you. It's not pleasant, and that's the point of it. But they really are trying to show you something that is chaotic, where you are out of your element. They try and make everyone out of their element. The drill instructor's job is to disorient everyone, to create chaos, so everyone is destabilized and out of their familiar surroundings.

In Jordan's view, the purpose of this performative, destabilizing pedagogy of "making everyone out of their element" is intended to teach people to function instinctively in combat ("when things are crazy") in order to avoid the potentially life-endangering consequences that may result from stopping to consider possible contingencies in every course of action. The reason for training soldiers to react reflexively rather than reflectively is because in combat situations soldiers' survival depends on habituated action. Jordan explains:

You have to learn to function in chaos, because [in combat] you're going to face chaos. [In war] there's a problem, and it's a shitty situation. When it devolves into different and even shittier situations, as it inevitably will, we [Marines] are called in to fix it.

As Jordan notes, the combat environment is fundamentally unstable, and often deteriorates quickly and uncontrollably. One method through which soldiers are trained to function in chaotic situations is by learning the habit of paying meticulous attention to details, through activities like shining boots for hours or grooming the uniform. Concentrating intently on precise, granular specifics of a particular task allows recruits to tune out extraneous thoughts and focus on reacting reflexively to disorganized battlefield situations. As Jordan explains:

They made us do what seems like really ridiculous things, like shine our boots and make sure that there are no threads sticking out of any part of our uniform, to the point of pulling at every seam and burning them away. Staying up late at night to iron our uniforms. This comes back to the idea of attention to detail, and this is a phrase that's repeated over and over and over again. It worked. It really annoyed me and I thought, "There's no point. I can pay attention to something if I want to." But the point is not to be able to pay attention to something only when you want to. It's to pay attention to something whether or not you're thinking about wanting to. In that regard, that's helpful, in some situations. When you're in that [combat] situation, those details are sometimes the difference between a good day and a bad day.

"A good day" as Jordan implied, was a day when there were fewer deaths and injuries in combat, and "a bad day" was one where the battlefield chaos produced especially deadly outcomes for fellow soldiers or civilian non-combatants. Jordan noted that the same skills he learned in basic training that were useful in combat became a liability when he returned to civilian life, and to college:

[Paying attention to detail] was important, and it's something that I've only come to appreciate in respect after thinking a lot about it, because it's not even something I thought about when I went through [combat]. It wasn't like, "Gee,

I'm really glad I paid so close attention, because if I wasn't polishing my boots so well in boot camp, then I wouldn't be able to pay so good of attention here [in combat]." That's not what went through my mind. I was just consumed with this task at hand, and that's what I did. But as a civilian [in school], that's not necessarily a very useful skill. In fact, I feel my brain being overwhelmed.

Jordan's observation -- that in civilian life and college he could feel his "brain being overwhelmed" by too many details -- was echoed by several of the veterans with whom I spoke, who said that their need to focus on environmental details became a problem for them when they re-entered civilian classrooms. This feeling of being overwhelmed is but one example of the imprint of military training-- which is subsequently forged corporeally and psychologically in combat--that veterans carry with them into college classrooms. In the following chapter, these issues will be explored at length.

Conclusion

Military social relations are reified through daily practices and occur within the military habitus or sets of internalized dispositions (Bourdieu 1977). Through pedagogies of depersonalization, shame and humiliation, and a-contextual attention to detail, military training is designed to produce reflexive action rather than reflective contemplation, and results in "cognition without consciousness" (Bourdieu 1987) that allow soldiers to react, rather than reflect on their actions in chaotic situations of war. The inculcation of military norms and practices leads many veterans to respond to their environments in militarily-structured ways even after they have left the institutional military. In the following chapters, we will see how soldiers trained in pedagogies of warfare carry certain practices, assumptions, beliefs and expectations (sometimes consciously, but more often unconsciously) with them into college classrooms.

Chapter 2: What They Bring with Them: The Imprint of Military Training on Student Veterans

One day I'm a soldier; four days later I'm sitting in the back of a community college classroom, and I realize that none of the people in this room gave a shit about what I thought was important: what I thought was a good reason to be honest, what I thought was true, what I thought was worth caring about—they couldn't give a fuck.

— Jonathan, Northern University

Introduction

Soldiers' militarization does not end when their time in the military ends; veterans carry with them onto civilian college campuses military conceptions of time, comportment, jurisdiction, demeanor, social relations, prerogative and duty. We saw in the previous chapter that basic training represents a highly orchestrated transition from the civilian to the military *habitus*; a structured program of cultivation and guidance intended to militarize the civilian subject. As chaotic as the experience of basic training might have felt to the recruits, the training itself followed a fixed curriculum, and all recruits were expected to learn the same standards and practices. Recruits lived, ate, socialized, and trained together according to set schedules; life in the total institution was intended to regulate habits and teach compliance.

Participants' stories of basic training took on familiar patterns and dealt with recurring themes: the bus ride, the shock of initial encounters of culture clash, navigating living arrangements and social interdependence, and the gradual settling into familiar and predictable routines. The routines of basic training described by the veterans helped me to identify patterns of soldiers' lives on the military base.⁵⁹

However, when soldiers leave the institutional military, there is no corresponding intentional process to *re-civilianize* soldiers, no formal process to disengage from the institutional practice and prepare them to return to participate as individuals in civilian society.⁶⁰ Upon discharge, most soldiers return to their former heterogeneous worlds and must readjust on their own to civilian habits and identities they had previously worked hard to shed. Community college represents one of the first institutional points of re-entry, a where military training comes in contact and conflict with civilian academic

⁵⁹ The set program of basic training allowed for patterns to emerge, without falling into schematics: veteran participants recalled intensely and complexly personal reactions to their military initiation in basic training.

⁶⁰ The closest thing I saw to this type of military –to- civilian transitional process were weekend encounters, called Yellow Ribbon Events, held for National Guard Soldiers returning from deployment in Iraq and Afghanistan. Returning combatants and their families are invited to a series of workshops, panel discussions, and theatrical presentations intended to ease the transition back into civilian life. Soldiers are given information about effects of combat on mental health (including information on PTSD and self-medication with drugs and alcohol.) These periodic encounters are only available to soldiers of the Army National Guard or about 28 percent of US soldiers who fought in Iraq and Afghanistan.

customs. This chapter examines experiences of veterans' transition into college, paying particular attention to these points of conflicting practices.

One of the first points of disjuncture is when they leave the military and are confronted with what some veterans described as the "chaos" of the civilian world: where their lives are configured individually and separately from each other. Many, especially at the community colleges, travelled long distances to come to school.⁶¹ Because of this, it was hard for me to follow them throughout their daily lives, and most of the contact we had took place in and around the colleges they attended. I met with some participants in their homes, in classrooms, bars and coffee shops, but the topic of conversation most often centered on their "school lives," and I did not focus on their re-civilianized daily lives outside of school.

As noted previously, some military advocates argue that veterans struggle in college because student and faculty create an anti-military environment that drives veterans away. This chapter presents an alternative explanation. It argues that differences in military and civilian cultural and pedagogical norms and practices create barriers to learning for veterans when they return to civilian classrooms, and that these differences, or *disjunctures*, coupled with veterans' experience of war trauma and a silencing of discussion about the wars, complicate veterans' attempts to succeed in college. In this chapter I analyze veterans' experiences moving from the military into college classrooms and in doing so, I will identify real factors that both support and impede their success.

This chapter lays the foundation for my argument that the framing of campuses as insufficiently welcoming toward the military is both empirically untrue and that the promulgation of this trope has an inhibiting effect on open campus debate. Moreover I argue that an atmosphere of uncritical esteem for the military requires suppression of critique about military missions and the wars, while also obscuring the problematic consequences of combat felt by veterans. I argue in this chapter that this silence about the wars hurts, rather than helps veterans.

For student veterans, Halcón College and Northern University represent two contact zones, each presenting distinct pedagogical, cultural, structural and social disjunctures. There are significant disconnects and inconsistencies in the process of militarizing the civilian and civilianizing the soldier; these disjunctures, coupled with the experience of war trauma and the erasure of discussion about the human costs of war complicate veterans' ability to make the transition to civilian college. In order to understand the experience of veterans in college I conducted extensive interviews with active duty and military veterans (across branches) currently enrolled in colleges, as well as community college instructors and professors who teach veterans.

Part I of this chapter identifies specific disjunctive points of conflicting norms and practices and traces the effects of those conflicts on veterans' abilities to function in college. Part II examines the effects of combat trauma on veterans' ability to function in

⁶¹ This often had to do with housing costs. If veterans enrolled in a college located in a county with a relatively high cost of living, their VA housing stipend would be based on the more expensive housing market. However, it was common practice to find housing in a surrounding counties with lower costs of living. Thus many veterans would enroll in Halcón College, which was close to exurban commute areas, but would live in small towns one or two counties away. While this provided extra income from the higher housing stipend, for some this meant driving commute of several hours a day.

the classroom through a detailed analysis of the experience of one student veteran. Part III brings together the preceding discussions about disjunctures and war trauma by examining ways in which student veterans' feel their war experience is rendered invisible in civilian classrooms. I found that a failure to openly discuss the complex, contradictory thoughts and feelings soldiers have about the wars produces a social and emotional *erasure* of the human cost of war (where veterans identify as both victim and perpetrator of violence) which can exacerbate problems caused by the disjunctures.

Pedagogical and Cultural Disjunctures

The previous chapter discussed Basic Training as a type of *contact zone*, a social space of collision and contestation in which civilians are trained, socialized and acculturated to become soldiers. For many returning veterans, civilian college represents yet another contact zone, but unlike Basic Training, veterans entering college receive no explicit instructions on how to function within that institution. While the common perception is that the civilian academy is a space of free, unrestricted intellectual activity, in actuality, colleges are similarly regulated, albeit less overtly and to a lesser degree (Jaffee 1995). As in the military, academic disciplinary practices are inculcated, enacted and enforced by a hierarchic ranking system and gendered practices of privilege and expectation. Also as in the military, success or failure is determined by performance of 'correct training' (Foucault 1977) and adherence to traditions, conventions, and rank (Jaffee 1995). Thus, when veterans join civilian campuses, they are moving from one regulated social space to another. But the rules of the academy are much less explicit, and the norms of these two institutions are in some cases diametrically opposed. The following sections explore how the learning practices of basic training interact and contrast with the practices of civilian college.

Divergent Practices—College and Military

Switching from military and civilian roles entails a complex process of learning, unlearning and relearning norms, identities, social roles, and ideologies. While some aspects of ex-soldiers' military training (i.e., learned discipline, physical fitness, task identification and follow-through) have transferred positively into their post-military lives, some of the same techniques and methods used to train soldiers to become expert practitioners of combat and military occupation (e.g., de-personalization, the use of force and humiliation for the purpose of domination, suppression of emotional affect, dichotomous worldview of good allies and evil enemies, excessive attention to detail) produce feelings of alienation from civilian society, impeding soldiers' re-integration into civilian life and leading to difficulties in civilian schools.

Military and academic environments operate with divergent logics, traditions, and missions. Everyday practices of military institutions are based on a command structure and involve disciplinary procedures, rituals, and the *raison d'être* to create warriors prepared to carry out military missions. Everyday practices in academic institutions are significantly different. The obvious emphasis on the ability to read, comprehend and synthesize academic texts, and to write in academic English masks more profound and competing cultural differences between military and civilian cultural practices, understanding and identities. They include expectations about command structure and hierarchy, discipline, comradeship and collective effort, in a context where most of their

academic colleagues have no intimate knowledge of the veterans' experience. As I will show below, the pedagogical and cultural disjunctures between these institutions complicate the path from military to college. In most instances, I found that these disjunctures, and not ostensible hostility from civilians towards the military, were key factors in veterans' difficulty in college.

In attempting to present a bounded portrait of veterans' experience, there is a danger of losing the full sense of the diversity of thought, personality, motivations, needs, opinions, and political orientations represented in the population of veterans who participated in this study. Just as the population of college students represents a wide diversity of backgrounds, aptitudes, opinions and beliefs, so do military veterans. Because this study began as an exploration of obstacles faced by veterans in college, I devote most of my analysis to challenges faced by veterans in school, rather than the many successes that veterans have achieved in the academic. My focus on challenges and obstacles is in no way intended to imply that most veterans are not and cannot be successful in college.

Below I discuss veterans' transition from the military milieu into college, drawing heavily on their conceptualizations, expressed in interviews. I also draw from a written survey taken in a veterans-only class at Northern University. Because there was no similar veteran's-only class offered at Halcón College, Halcón student veterans did not have the same opportunity to express their thoughts in the same medium. However, I analyzed participants' responses based on patterns that emerged from more than 150 hours of transcribed interviews at both campuses.

Veteran participants tended to frame military and civilian differences as dichotomous: they spoke about 'hands-on' vs. abstract learning; competency based vs. comprehension based instruction; structured vs. unstructured time and assignments; explicit vs. covert hierarchy; formal vs. informal dress; and group vs. individual orientation. However, it is clear from their descriptions that their experience is not bound by simple dichotomies, but rather the transition into civilian college is a complex and contradictory process, experienced by individual veterans in diverse ways.

Pedagogical Disjunctures: Kinesthetic and Abstract Learning Styles

How is it that I can get through all this stuff—throwing grenades and firing rifles, but I can't get through community college?

—Evie, Halcón College

While the program of basic training is standardized, it relies on personal contact, as well as kinesthetic, and "hands-on" pedagogies, with intense emphasis placed on the relation between trainer and trainees. Participants recalled the smallest details about their drill instructors: name, voice, mannerisms—with intensely negative or positive affect (usually negative, but sometimes both). Because all military recruits today train as if they are going to be deployed into combat zones --and many will be-- participants said that their learning processes felt very immediate and applicable to life or death situations. This expectation of immediacy and intensity created a feeling of disconnection for them when they entered college, where many experienced the content and process of learning

as passive, abstract, without context, and occurring in slow motion. Veterans said they were unaccustomed to the expectations of civilian classrooms, where they were asked to absorb facts and concepts without being called on to immediately demonstrate the practical application of their newly acquired knowledge.

The experience of Halcón College student Evie illustrates this. When we met in 2010, Evie was making her second attempt at college—she had begun once before, right after leaving the Army, but had dropped out after failing her classes. Over coffee in an Orchard Valley coffee shop, Evie talked about her reasons for joining the Army. She grew up in a working-class neighborhood in South Tucson, Arizona, in a family where going to college was neither an expectation nor a financial possibility. Her parents, recent immigrants from Mexico, could not pay for college, so after high school Evie joined the Army because “there was no other option to get out” of her neighborhood and her social situation:

We didn’t have money to go right into school, my dad was a laborer, and my mom didn’t work. So we didn’t have a lot of money. The recruiters come to the high school in your senior year and they say “hey, we’ll give you this, that, money for school, and you get to travel all over the world,” and it sounds good.

Evie was interested in Medicine and enlisted as an Army medic. She was sent twice to Iraq to work in field hospitals. After leaving the Army, Evie enrolled in college, intending to continue her education in the medical field, but failed out the first semester. After her highly physical experience in Iraq, she said it was difficult to learn when she couldn’t perceive any practical application to her coursework. She felt overwhelmed at the new set of skills demanded in her academic environment, and she struggled with the sedentary learning conditions of college:

There wasn’t any hands on—it was all out of a textbook. There was nothing that got us out of the chairs, or anything like that. That was so frustrating—I couldn’t learn like that... I just didn’t have any confidence that I was good at any of that type of thing—like having to sit down and read a book and look for these little clues, and like study techniques, things like that—and how to read a textbook and follow it, or take notes, that type of thing. It was too much.

Evie noted a sharp contrast between applied, adrenaline-filled training exercises, where failure to master a procedure could have fatal consequences, and the sedentary, extended accumulation of knowledge (the relevance of which she could rarely discern) involved in academic study. She said that her inability to master what she considered the basic skills of being a student (sitting still in a chair, decoding academic texts, and participating in discussions) made her feel incompetent. She felt like a failure at college, and did not believe she could succeed in an academic environment. She sought to regain a sense of competence by returning to a more familiar learning environment; she ended up re-enlisting in the Army and is currently on active duty status.⁶²

Evie had become accustomed to learning in the military training milieu, where corporeal, practical activity served as behavioral patterning for combat performance. In contrast, her civilian college stressed abstract and deliberative learning that was conception-based rather than action-based. Skill sets that were prioritized for emergency

⁶² Evie re-enlisted in the Army Reserves, but she also recently applied for and was accepted into a highly competitive university Physician’s Assistant program, which she will enter after her tour is finished.

medical care in war zones had become highly evolved, while her deliberative cognitive and analytic skills had not become similarly developed or practiced.

In the collegiate academic environment, student veterans feel that they are expected to problematize established knowledges, theories, and beliefs. This type of measured intellectual practice is antithetical to the reflex-driven response required on the battlefield. The clash of these norms has ramifications for veterans after they leave the military and enter civilian colleges. While some veterans embrace the new discipline of critical thinking, for many, like Evie, it was a disorienting experience that led to feelings of incompetence.

That's what made me have low confidence—because I was like “how is this that I can get through all this stuff—throwing grenades and firing rifles, but I can't get through community college?” I mean, some people don't even show up to class and they graduate with their degree. It really was like torture—it really was, 'cause I felt so incompetent.

Evie's description of her feelings of incompetence in college echoed her description of her feelings of incompetence in basic training. But for Evie, (and for most of the veterans I spoke with), the fact that their incompetence was shared made those feelings tolerable. Because the entire cohort of recruits felt similarly disoriented and inept, they were less likely to experience failings as individual. In college, Evie was surrounded by students who were adept at figuring out the unwritten rules, expectations and codes governing college life; including those who had figured out how to graduate “without even showing up to class.”

Participants spoke about being expected in college to push beyond rote acceptance of established knowledge, interrogate meanings and to develop their own analyses of complex issues. In some sense, the unofficial job of the college student is “question orders.” College students are asked to make connections among and between diverse perspectives, finding commonality and contrast. This was difficult for another Halcón College student and Iraq War veteran Julio, who was raised in rural Central California. Julio also enlisted in the Army in hopes of getting skills and a job that would lead to financial security. Julio's family, second generation immigrants from Mexico, went through periods of homelessness, and his unstable housing situation made it difficult for him to attend school regularly. After leaving the Army, Julio worked in retail jobs, but ultimately enrolled in college, he said, because he wanted to challenge himself, and because he needed to use his GI Bill benefits as income to support himself. When asked to name the hardest thing about being in college, he said simply, “elaborating.” When asked to elaborate, he continued:

You know: scholarly sources, doing the research. Like [the teacher asks] ‘What do you think of China?’ [I say] ‘I think China is a good country.’ [She says] ‘What else do you think?’ (pauses)... It's like trying to get in too deep—having to break apart, break apart, break apart. It's hard for me—I can't do it.

Julio was asked by instructors to do what he found most difficult: to delve into a subject, weigh and formulate new perspectives, and engage in the fine-grained work of constructing and contesting arguments. But for Julio, having to “break apart, break apart, break apart” was a painstaking process, neither gratifying nor interesting to him after his

experience conducting ground transport convoys through combat zones in Iraq. When we spoke he was at the point of dropping out of school:

If I get a job I'm not going to finish school. I'm done with whatever I have. I don't even care if I have to pay it back-- then I'm just going to have to pay it.⁶³ But I'm not interested anymore, because I don't have time for a bachelor's or master's. I don't have time for a thousand word essay. I don't have time for the research. I just don't. I'm a hands-on person. I like to go experience stuff. I don't like to be in one spot for too long. And half the people in the military, I'm going to have to say, are just like me.

Class and cultural issues clearly surface in Julio's story. In contrast to many of his Halcón classmates, Julio did not grow up on a life path that contemplated or prepared him for college. As with many working class community college students, (civilian and military), Julio entered Halcón College with little (and some would say with insufficient) academic preparation. Julio admits he had never been an avid student, so it might be reasonable to assume that his current discomfort with college work predates his experience in the military. Moreover, Julio acknowledged that he is not intrinsically motivated to get a college education. But it is not possible to know if Julio would have a different experience in community college had he been given more academic and social support. When he said he is "a hands-on person" he seemed to be attributing this quality to an essential part of who he is, and not to his training. When he said that he is the type of person who responds to experiential learning rather than abstract inquiry, and extended this essential quality to other military personnel ("half the people in the military... are just like me"), Julio expressed a belief that seems to reinforce the common stereotype that there are separate categories of people: those who are "college material" and those who are meant for the military.

Practical Competence and Theoretical Comprehension

When you're here in community college and you're learning about anthropology or history, biology, what have you, it's harder to see how that translates to real life, so I think that's why some [veterans] have a hard time taking it seriously.

-Brad, Baldwin City College and Northern University

One problem noted by student veterans is they may view the content of their college classes as lacking practical applicability; and this can make it difficult for them to take seriously the need to learn course content. In the following section I discuss the experience of two Northern University student veterans: Grant and Brad. Grant, the son of white working class parents, a bus driver and a secretary, grew up in upstate New York. He attended a nearby suburban community college, transferring to NU to major in Engineering. Grant said that he enlisted in the Army for college funding; noting that after graduating from high school he lacked both the money and the directed focus he needed to continue his education:

I knew I wanted to go to college eventually, but didn't know what I wanted to do right then. My brother [who was in the Army] was talking about how he threw grenades-- he was living in Germany, and I thought that was cool. I wanted to be cool like him. But I

⁶³ The rules of the GI Bill education benefits stipulate that veterans are only responsible to repay the VA for tuition costs if they withdraw from classes after the official withdrawal date. Veterans are not required to graduate from any institution. It is unclear from Julio's statements whether he understood that graduation was not a requirement for GI Bill education benefits.

think the major reason I enlisted was college. I actually have to pat myself on the back, 'cause they offered me the choice of a straight up [enlistment] bonus -- \$3,000 cash in hand -- or an additional, like, a ton of money for college, on top of the GI Bill, which I took, and I paid a "kicker," so I was definitely thinking about school afterwards. I was thinking about throwing grenades and being cool, but I definitely was also thinking about school.

The GI Bill "Kicker" (officially known as the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps College Funds) is offered by the DOD through each service branch as part of an enlistment or reenlistment bonus. It is an additional amount of money that increases a veteran's basic monthly GI Bill education stipend by as much as \$950 a month. Offered as an alternative to a cash signing bonus, recruits who opt for the kicker and pay into this "buy-up" program (as Grant did) demonstrate the intention of attending college with enhanced GI Bill education funding. Grant was proud that he had clearly demonstrated his commitment to go to college by foregoing signing bonus cash.

Grant said that during military training, he was most engaged in learning practical combat skills for deployments. He was drawn to first aid training because he knew that knowledge of skills like first aid or bomb detection could save lives during combat. Grant said that he became unable to separate the process of learning from the ultimate use of that knowledge, saying that, for example, when he was learning to apply a tourniquet he could not help but think about the conditions under which he might have to use that knowledge:

I remember the first aid training. I really took it seriously, just in case I needed to apply a tourniquet on somebody. I really took my time learning it and I'd ask questions off to the side. I was an active learner when it came to the first aid stuff. And when it came to the bomb stuff, to the finding bombs, they had one hundred percent of my attention when they were talking about this.

[Studying in college] is not as riveting, because I probably don't consider this stuff as being [similarly] real. The sense of urgency is what I don't feel as much now. If I don't know this stuff, it's going to be alright, I can go look it up in a book....so that kind of took the wind out of my sails a little bit—but I still get good grades.

Grant's words echo those of other veterans in my study, and demonstrate the perceived divide between the active process of learning potentially life-saving course content, and the less-riveting, less-"real" content found in college textbooks.

Similarly, Northern University student Brad said that it was much easier for him to take seriously his military competence-based training. Brad grew up in rural Minnesota and was homeschooled by his fundamentalist Christian parents. When his parents refused to enroll him in public school, Brad taught himself by reading every book he could find. Brad describes himself as naturally curious, and having an analytical nature. He has done well as a Sociology major at NU, but said that after he left the Army he had a rough transition to community college, in part because he was used being able to identify immediately the practical application of knowledge in "real world" situations:

In the military, [training] is taken pretty seriously: like when you're shot, you're shot; when you're dead, you're dead. It's very clear that this [infantry] education

is useful. [Soldiers] recognize that what we're learning has a real world translation that we can recognize. And in [civilian] school, it's not readily apparent how learning the sum of all x over x bar-- statistics, or whatever, applies to anything. Especially with abstract things. In the military we learn abstract things as well: like radio wave propagation. But I guess you could say that that has a very functional element too, because it helps you learn how to intercept signals better. In the military it's very easy to see that education is practical. And when you're here in community college and you're learning about anthropology or history, biology, what have you, it's harder to see how that translates to real life, so I think that's why some people have a hard time taking it seriously.

Cultural Disjuncture: "Battle Buddies" and Individual Orientation

If you see someone obviously make a mistake or if they have the potential to make a mistake, get 'em out of that situation, help 'em out, because if they go down, you're gonna go down.

-Abel, Halcón College

One of the biggest disjunctures reported by veterans in entering civilian schools was the stark change from the collective practice and common goals of the military to the individualized practice of the civilian student. Student veterans in community college settings spoke of the financial burden of taking care of civilian living expenses, having given up the subsidized housing, food, and medical care provided in the military. After living in the "Army bubble" (described by one Halcón student-veteran as a self-contained biosphere in which all necessities were provided), veterans are on their own when they leave the military, and success or failure in school is their personal responsibility. For recently returned veterans trained to affiliate as a group member and retain a communal identity, this disjuncture, coupled with the harsh financial realities of a recession economy, proves daunting. More significantly, most veterans with whom I spoke reported feeling alienated from larger social processes of individualism, interpersonal competition and self-focus, and they viewed civilian students as representative of those processes. Many participants saw their classmates as overly preoccupied with individual desires and personal well-being, which represents a grotesque inversion of the collective ethos they had learned in the military. This feeling leads to estrangement from their civilian classmates, and it is often articulated in the remark that civilian life "doesn't feel real." As Northern University, student Grant said:

When I got back, I just didn't feel like anything was real, and I still have that problem. Things were very tangible in the Army—you do this because if you don't, somebody can get hurt, or die. So you have to just get over yourself because what's going on is so much bigger than you. Then you get to the civilian world, and it's all about your feelings and what do you want to do, and you learn all this stuff in school and then you graduate and maybe you don't even use it, so it's just a very fake world. So it's kind of hard to get motivated sometimes. (Speaker's emphasis.)

Halcón College student Cody felt a similar alienation from the individualism he saw in civilian life. He struggled with depression and feeling lost in school, without a sense of purpose to guide him and his buddies to whom he felt accountable:

I almost can't function as a civilian any more. I could do really well in the military-- I had a purpose then. I don't see [my purpose in civilian life] as clearly as I did when I was in the military. I had a job, I was relied on, I was important to somebody because [fellow soldiers] relied on me. Now, what's my purpose, other than to myself? I rely on myself now, and only myself, and nobody relies on me but me. I would say that was my motivation in the military, you never want to let anybody down. I guess I lost a sense of purpose when I left the military, so I do think that I was better in the military than I am as a civilian.

In addition to trying to function as an autonomous civilian in college, Cody mourned the loss of his military identity, and the “better” military version of himself. The personal sense of grief that came from the loss of collective affiliation and group identity was the most common sentiment expressed by veterans I interviewed. Many veterans identified a lack of shared values as a primary reason that they disliked relating to civilians and only wanted to be around other veterans. This aversion led many student veterans to avoid general campus activities. Veterans referred nostalgically to the intensity of their military experience, where living in life-or-death circumstances heightened their sense of purpose, their sense of competence and their awareness of being alive. Many spoke about their combatant identity as the best version of themselves.⁶⁴ When they return to civilian life, veterans reported missing the intensity of war, and felt disconnected from the ‘unreal’ civilian world. Many spoke about losing their edge; material excess in the United States creates an ease of daily life that mutes what they considered their best selves, forged through conditions of hardship. Grant explained:

When people get out of the army, they say they'll go off to do bigger and better things, but that's just not the case. I just think: I'll never be better than that. I'll never be more important than that. I think that's where the reality thing comes in: when you see what civilians care about, you think ‘this isn't real—this is such a fake world.’

The psychological consequences of military combat trauma often include feelings of alienation, isolation and the accompanying belief that civilians will not be able to understand the soldiers' experience, and some student veterans talk about their experience with this as an unbridgeable divide. When I heard veterans talk about their alienation from civilians in the company of other military members: in school veterans club meetings, veterans- only classes, at bars and in social media forums, there was often a tone of superiority, if not contempt for individualistic civilians. However, in one-on-

⁶⁴ This sense of nostalgia is by no means exclusive to military combat veterans. I have documented similar responses by veterans of U.S. social movements, particularly Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam War activists and activists who participated in national liberation solidarity movements of the 1960s, 70s and 80s. In all cases it seems connected to the loss of the feeling of having a consequential role in world or national events, the loss of feeling that one's life was in service of a greater cause, and/or the loss of the intense adrenaline rush that comes from participating in confrontations. (Moore 2009: “Art, Politics and Education: Ideological Becoming of Solidarity Activists,” Unpublished paper)

one interviews, away from the social performance of the military role, student veterans talked about this social dislocation less antagonistically; and almost wistfully. What I heard most commonly from veterans was that they missed the camaraderie and support of their military teammates.

Soldiers support each other as they navigate and comply with the externally-imposed time and activity structures of the military. When veterans return to civilian schools, it is up to them to figure out class enrollment, schedules and requirements on their own, with neither the explicit orders of a command hierarchy, nor the support of fellow soldiers.

This disjuncture between a group and individual orientation can be illustrated by considering the role of the “battle buddy.” Early in basic training, every recruit is assigned a *battle buddy*: a fellow soldier with whom one is mutually responsible for keeping on schedule, on track, and out of danger. In military training and operations, logistics are supremely important; meetings, meals, transportation and training all require coordinated movement. The “battle buddy” structure of mutual accountability is integral to the military habitus and has a practical application: on bases and in the field of combat, plans and schedules change, often at the last minute. Changes in schedule are transmitted and coordinated through a chain of command; if plans change and the soldier is not in communication with a battle buddy, unit, or chain of command, then the soldier doesn’t know where to go. On an operational level, this may hold up the rest of the unit, possibly exposing the soldier and others to danger and threatening the military mission. On a social level, deviation from the group dynamic means one’s place in the social order is lost. If you aren’t part of a group and don’t have a battle buddy to make sure you are where you are supposed to be and on time, you become disconnected from the system’s structure.

Abel, a student veteran at Halcón College, noted that military practice encourages mutual responsibility for learners:

I think [the military] teaches you camaraderie and team work, where you always had to teach your buddy. If you see someone obviously make a mistake or if they could have the potential to make a mistake, get ‘em out of that situation, you know, help ‘em out, because if they go down, you’re gonna go down. It’s that weakest link thing. You’re only as strong as your weakest link—that’s how it was, that’s what it teaches you.

Halcón student veteran Mitchell echoed these sentiments, adding that he realized the life-or-death stakes involved in military relationships while learning infantry skills in basic training:

Something happened half way through basic training where everyone started to realize that, "Hey, this is your man to the left and right. If you don't help him, then he's going to get you killed or you're going to get him killed." They beat it into us, not physically beat it into us, but through mental drills and whatnot.

When student veterans arrive at college they are expected to make decisions about their individual educational trajectories driven by internalized self-motivation.

Explicit and Covert Formality and Hierarchy

You have to know your role. In the Army, the teacher's the teacher. That's the boss. Some kids at community college will give lip or not take teachers seriously or not listen, or pack up early, and things like that—that would just not happen in the Army.

-Grant, Northern University

Military socialization has a unifying goal of transforming diverse recruits into a disciplined group trained to respond to authority and demands of rank and hierarchy. This contrasts with the generalized informality of civilian colleges, where the student-teacher hierarchy tends to be less pronounced. Informality is especially notable in community colleges, where many students tend to be older (often older than their instructors) and come with more life experience. Conflicts that arise around issues of respect and authority can tell us about the ways these differences are negotiated by veterans, civilian students, and teachers in civilian college environments. Small, daily conflicts on campus can arise from misaligned cultural norms between instructors and student veterans, even when both sides are attempting to demonstrate respect.

For many veterans trained in strict hierarchal respect for authority, the civilian instructor represents a higher-ranking authority figure. However, this perspective is not always shared with civilian instructors. For example, when Evie's instructor tried to mitigate hierarchal relations between teacher and student by asking Evie to address her by her first name, Evie refused. Evie said that she felt this would be disrespectful of the instructor and of her military training. In this conflict, both sides believed they were promoting a position of mutual respect, but they were coming from opposing cultural reference points:

My instructor told me 'Don't call me ma'am. Call me Rachel.' And I said 'I won't call you Rachel,' because I consider her my superior and that applies wherever I'm at. That's one of those disciplines that won't ever leave me, and that's important to me; that's very, very important to me.

In this instance, both parties were attempting to signal respect within an imposed hierarchy. The instructor sought to reject hierarchic norms and signal respect to Evie by insisting on being called by her first name, while Evie held to her training in military practices of respect for rank by refusing to treat her professional superior as a peer. In Evie's view, she was signaling respect by using the honorific "ma'am" even though this meant that she refused to comply with the instructor's wishes (or in military terms, a direct order):

[Instructor] Halpern was probably just as offended as I was that I refused to call her what she wanted me to call her. I think at that point it does become a battle of your morals vs. their morals, or whatever the case may be, but I still call her R. Halpern because I don't find it comfortable to call her Rachel.

Evie resolved the conflict of cultural norms by choosing to honor a disciplinary practice that had become an important part of her identity (one that 'won't ever leave' her). She refers to the instructor (to this day, even now that she is no longer a student at Halcón College) as R. Halpern. This is an everyday example of ingrained military social habits

resisting and overriding the expectations of a civilian instructor, but it also illustrates one way that military habitus is enacted at civilian educational sites. And unlike Evie, who showed flexibility in being able to find a mode of address that upheld her commitment to hierarchy, some veterans are not able to easily conform to a social/academic system with which they have similar disagreements.

Relationships of subordination soldiers learn in basic training can carry over into civilian classrooms, and many veterans become angry when civilian classmates don't adopt the same position of respect for authority. Northern University student Mitch said that when he started at community college it was difficult to keep his temper in class when he perceived disrespect by classmates towards instructors. He said that his military training led him to feel personally offended when civilian students held side conversations during lectures at his (pre-transfer⁶⁵) community college. In this case, Mitch identified with the instructor and took public umbrage on her behalf. Mitch said that this had negative effects for his relationships with fellow students, because he appeared to classmates as short-tempered and perhaps unstable.⁶⁶ He noted, however, that keeping quiet also exacted a personal emotional toll:

A couple of times I would stand up in class and go "It's really rude when you disrespect (the instructor's) time like this. It's rude to me. It's rude to your professor." I'd say things like that, but not that often. Mostly I'd just sit there and get mad in my own head and just get madder and madder.

The issue of perceived disrespect was more pronounced among veterans at the community college level. Veterans at NU referred to civilian student behavior they considered disrespectful in their pre-transfer experience, while implying that the culture at NU was more respectful toward professors. However, perceived lack of defined social roles and universal behavioral norms continually came up as a problem for student veterans on both campuses. For some, like Northern University student Grant, the problem stems from a lack of clearly defined roles in civilian schools.

You have to know your role. In the Army, the teacher's the teacher. That's the boss. Some kids at community college-- you don't see it here [at NU]-- will give lip or not take teachers seriously or not listen, or pack up early, and things like that—that would just not happen in the Army. I still don't pack up early. I think it's very disrespectful. That's carried over for me.

Halcón College student Martin blamed the campus administration for tolerating poor student behavior in the classroom. He said that he felt disrespected by the younger students' behavior, and by extension, by the administration and instructors who tolerate that behavior:

I'm here to learn. I sometimes just can't tune it out because they're so young, they're so stupid, they're always texting, they're talking to their friends or they're

⁶⁵ "Pre-transfer" refers to the period of community college enrollment, prior to transferring to NU or another four-year university.

⁶⁶ Community college instructors I interviewed said that outbursts like Mitch's can have a de-stabilizing effect on the class, are unnerving to class members and instructors, and are more disruptive than the precipitating circumstance of students talking during lectures. (reported in observed instructor trainings and interviews with instructors LH, LD, FL, RW)

passing notes. I really don't understand what the campus expects from people like that.

Northern University student Ricardo got into clashes with civilian students at his community college in Los Angeles. Having just been discharged from the Navy following a deployment to Iraq, Ricardo felt personally offended by what he perceived as fellow students' disrespectful behavior toward the instructors. He responded to this perceived disrespect as if he were still in the military, and fantasized about addressing his classmates in the manner of a drill instructor:

I would sit in the front to learn the lessons, but hearing people talk in the background there were times when I wanted to get up and say [to them] "Get up!" Or if people were sleeping, I wanted to tell them to go to the back of the room and stand up.⁶⁷ In one of my speech classes I was able to say that—I told them all they were dirtbags. It allowed me to speak how I felt about the class. It was great—I told them: 'You, sit up straight. And you—stop texting.'

Relations of Formality and Informality

One thing that hit me was, there were too many colors. I was so used to brown, or green, grey or blue, and now everyone was wearing different things and everyone is yelling and talking, and I wasn't used to that.

-Ricardo, Northern University

Some veterans said they found the generalized informality of community college distracting after the strictly enforced behavioral norms they adhered to in the military. For many veterans on college campuses, this presents a particular bind: they arrive on campus with life experiences that are outside the norm of most civilian students; war-time experience can have maturing effects on people (soldiers are said to "grow-up fast" in war zones). Veterans come to campus having matured in asymmetrical, situationally-specific ways; they often feel that they have more life experience than the instructors and certainly than the other students. Student veterans on college campuses must learn to interact with classmates with widely varying attitudes and beliefs. However, while there is much explicit instruction in military training on how to become a homogenous force, to follow orders and comply with uniformity, there is little, if any direct instruction on how to live in a socially heterogeneous civilian campus environment. This makes it more difficult for student veterans to know how to bridge these divides.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ This is a typical disciplinary response in the military: if a soldier is found not to be sufficiently attentive, s/he is made to stand in the front or the back of the room, as a form of public punishment.

⁶⁸ A commonly stated goal of post-secondary education is to teach students to critically examine opinions and data from multiple points of view. Morson (2004) argues that this is a critical function of schools saying, "We live in a world of enormous cultural diversity, and the various languages and points of view of students have become a fact that cannot be ignored. Teachers need to enter in dialogue with those points of view and to help students do the same. For difference may best be understood not as an obstacle but as an opportunity." (317) However, formal curricula designed to foster teamwork and appreciation for cultural diversity on most community college campuses is scarce to non-existent. At NU, curricula specifically designed to teach respect for and understanding of cultural differences tend to be concentrated in required AC

Northern University student Ricardo said that the shift to a civilian campus felt chaotic after the strict behavioral and dress codes he learned in the military. He said he felt disoriented by the diversity of clothing styles, expressions and overall lack of apparent structure. He experienced his post-military college campus as disorderly after what he felt was the limited social, political and personal fashion chromatic scale to which he had been accustomed in the Army. Ricardo identified this problem of college transition as one of “too many colors”:

[Coming to college] was tough in the sense that it was chaos—every single day. One thing that hit me was there were too many colors. I was so used to brown, or green, grey or blue, and now everyone was wearing different things and everyone is yelling and talking, and I wasn’t used to that. It was tough—I didn’t understand these kids. I would sit in the front, so I really wouldn’t see much action, it was just the instructor and I. In one class I tried sitting in the back—but it affected my performance, I couldn’t concentrate.

For Ricardo, as for other veterans, the inability to adapt to college life had impeded their success and can result in their dropping out. However, Ricardo made the transition to community college and ultimately transferred to Northern University. He said that by the time he arrived at Northern University, he was ready to embrace the diversity he had previously found so disruptive and disorienting.

[Northern University] is much better than I expected. I thought this was going to be a crazy regime of studying, books, when I walked through the gates and I saw all these clubs, and protests every other day. [But now I think] “yeah, I can say I don’t like this. I don’t agree with that. I don’t agree with this.” I find myself more and more being able to talk about how I feel about different subjects out loud. And that’s something I know I couldn’t have done [in a more homogenous institution].

Ricardo’s experience of discovering his ability to embrace and express his opinions out loud, of metaphorically “finding his voice” was not uncommon among the veterans I interviewed, but many veterans become discouraged before reaching that point, dropping out of college without making it past the initial obstacles. Moreover, later chapters address social forces, both on campus and in veterans’ broader social world that work to constrain this kind of open expression that may be interpreted as unpatriotic or insufficiently supportive of authority figures.

Habituation to External Command and Independent Self-Regulation

In the Army, you don’t really think for yourself, you just do what you’re told, so you don’t really grow as a person. Instead of my dad telling me what to do, it was my First Sergeant.

- Yesenia, Fulton Community College

Moving through the civilian and soldier roles, identities and practices is an uneven and contradictory process. The previous section addresses some ways in which military experience, and particularly combat experience can have maturing effects on

(American Cultures) courses; every undergraduate must take at least one 3-unit AC course to graduate. This requirement does not exist at community colleges.

people. However, military training can produce opposite effects as well. In military training, ideologies can become embodied practices, as soldiers are trained to follow orders through ritual, repetition, and punitive behavioral modification. These ideological practices become deeply rooted when soldiers are put in situations of extreme danger, because their safety depends on their following orders, rules and norms.

Off the battlefield, the imperative of following orders was enforced by the threat of administrative punishment; but disobeying orders might have more lethal consequences in combat. In many soldiers this creates a conditioned reliance on imposed rules and structure. Many veterans spoke about the difficulty of moving from externally imposed military time and activity structures to the self-regulation and internal structure required of college students. Brett, a Halcón College student and Army veteran, said:

Throughout your military career you're told by your chain of command exactly every minute what to do and when to do it. In civilian school, it's really up to you to go out there and figure out how to do stuff—no one's telling you to do it, no one's giving you a 4 a.m. wake up call to get up and go to school. I think that was the biggest hurdle for me.

This difficulty adjusting to individualized civilian schedules was noted far more frequently in conversations with community college students, but only rarely with the Northern University students. I believe this can be explained by two main factors: First, for many veterans community college is their first point of entry into the civilian post-secondary educational system. Their previous experience with schooling was either attending high school, where they were not expected to act as autonomous adults, or community college satellite campuses on or near military bases, where they were still subject to the structured discipline of military schedules. Thus, civilian community college represents an institutional contact zone—it is these veterans' first encounter with the demands and logics of the adult civilian educational system. New student veterans must learn to negotiate this system while simultaneously learning how to function as a non-affiliated adult in the civilian world. Many are learning how to be students while simultaneously learning how to navigate the daily demands of civilian adulthood: shopping, cooking, renting apartments, finding jobs, and getting medical care.

Habituation to external command response posed a problem for Army veteran Yesenia when she wanted to enroll in college after leaving the military. She had joined the Army with the intent of leaving her childhood home to be independent from her overbearing father, a veteran of the Vietnam War who ran their home like an Army base. Yesenia said she joined the Army because “I wanted to ‘Be all I could be’⁶⁹; travel, get paid, get the college money, make something of myself, and get out of town.” Although she spoke about the desire to go to college as being a prime motivation for enlisting, Yesenia struggled to adapt in community college, because she was unable to identify what courses she wanted to take. When I last spoke with her, Yesenia had recently transferred to a four-year state college, but she continues to have trouble choosing an academic major:

In the Army, you don't really think for yourself, you just do what you're told, so you don't really grow as a person. Instead of my dad telling me what to do, it was

⁶⁹ Here she alludes to the slogan “Be All You Can Be,” the official Army recruitment slogan in 2000, when Yesenia enlisted.

my First Sergeant. Or Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam became my dad. And when I got out it was like— ok, now what do I do? What am I going to study at school? I changed my major like 10 times. Now I have to hurry and finish my degree—but what do I study? I'd go around asking people what I should study. I want somebody tell me what to do! I'm still trying to figure this out-- I'm going back to school now and I still don't know what I want to study—why can't I figure out what I like?

Because her GI Bill benefits pay for only a limited time in school, Yesenia felt that her indecision cost her crucial time that she needed to finish: the clock on her GI Bill benefits has been ticking since she entered college. Yesenia attributes her indecisiveness about personal choices to being habituated to following orders.

Class Contradictions

I hate the snobby kids that are here, the ignorant kids, kids who just think they know everything. I guess I don't really like civilians.

-Brett, Halcón College

The issue of who fights in wars and why is important because it addresses what many assert (Janowitz & Moskos 1974, Appy 1999, Mariscal 2004, Kleycamp 2006, the National Priorities Project 2009) is the underlying class bias of an all-volunteer military during times of war: low-income recruits are disproportionately represented in the troops deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan. The idea of a 'poverty draft' is downplayed by proponents of the all-volunteer military, but by the DOD's own statistics, the majority of recruits come from poor and working class families, and increasingly, people of color. While 86% of lower enlisted ranks are white, that number changes when different incentives are offered.⁷⁰ The theme of socio-economic class repeatedly surfaced in interviews with veteran participants in this study, the majority of whom came from working class backgrounds and would not have been able to pay for college without the GI Bill.

For example, Northern University student Oscar grew up in a high-poverty, high-crime neighborhood in a major urban area in Northern California. The son of recent immigrants from Mexico, Oscar said he knew that he did not want to follow the path of his older brother, who was deeply involved in selling drugs. Oscar grew up witnessing and participating in street violence. He enlisted in the Marine Corps after the U.S. invaded Iraq in 2003, but he said that he wasn't particularly drawn to the fighting, and that the war didn't have a major influence on his decision to join. Rather, it was a combination of wanting to escape family problems and the lure of financial incentives (including signing bonuses and the promise of college funding) that led him to go to war. He said that enlistment offered him a way to disrupt the road on which he saw himself travelling that would likely end up with either his incarceration or his death:

⁷⁰ A US Department of Defense report notes that since 2000, Black enlistments in the Army have falling precipitously, while Hispanic representation has increased. Kleycamp argues that the decline has to do with the fact that in war time, the social and economic advantages of a career in the military are outweighed by the risk of death, and that in general, Black Americans are less likely to enlist to fight in contested wars. Mariscal (2004) argues that the rise in Latino/a enlistment in the same time period has to do with the social and economic incentives offered, which are especially attractive to recent immigrants, who are offered, in addition to signing bonuses and death benefits, expedited paths to citizenship under the DREAM act. (eg. 4th of July Naturalization ceremony).

Growing up in this city, there was a huge potential of passing away at any given moment. I knew it was a risk [to enlist in war time] but I wasn't too worried about it. I knew if I die in the streets, my mom's not going to get anything. If I die in Iraq, my mom will get \$400,000. It's a lot better.

Oscar's high school teachers never encouraged him to think about college, in fact they actively steered him away from that possibility, predicting that he would not do well. With neither his teachers nor his family expecting him to go to college, Oscar never pictured himself being successful at school, much less a top-tier university like NU:

I grew up around here, but I never knew the prestige NU carried. I was very ignorant. I didn't know the difference between a community college, state, and a university. I didn't have any idea what was going on. I just remember my teachers telling me that I would never amount to anything.

Oscar's self-perception as "ignorant" was reinforced by the teachers who operated within the only school milieu he knew.⁷¹ While Oscar said he often felt awkward and out of place around younger civilian students who were born and bred for college, other veterans expressed disdain for civilians, whom they saw as privileged, spoiled and selfish. This was echoed by Halcón College student Evie, who said it was difficult for her to adapt to the disparity in life experience, and the implications of age difference and socioeconomic class:

...[G]oing to class as a 30 year old and sitting next to kids right out of high school, or the kids that are maybe a little more privileged; they're riding around in brand new cars and they show up to class in their pajamas, you know that type of thing. Seeing that, I was like "wow, are you kidding me? I mean, what's going *on* here?"

Evie highlighted the age difference (which for her signals other differences in life experience, socioeconomic class background and maturity) between herself and her fellow classmates. As do most of the veterans I've spoken with, she refers to her classmates as "kids," viewing many of them as infantile and spoiled. We can see this not only by her observation about the "brand new cars" they drive, but also because she notes that they wear the current college fashion: pajama (pants) to school. For someone who has been taught that identity and respect is tied to wearing a formal uniform, this represents a stark cultural clash.

Many veterans expressed resentment that civilian students led lives completely untouched by the hardships and sacrifices they, as combat veterans, had faced. This is the case with Brett, who grew up in a mixed-race (Columbian/White) working class family in Orchard Valley, near Halcón College. Currently a student at Halcón, Brett had done two combat tours in Iraq in the Army infantry before leaving to get a civilian education. He said it was difficult to relate to his fellow students, who did not recognize

⁷¹ As with many veterans who were once considered "not college bound," with support from staff and faculty, Oscar has done well at NU, and has gone on to internships in Washington D.C. and was given a fellowship to an Ivy League college.

his expertise, experience or authority. Brett felt that being in civilian college represented a move backward in his development:

I hate the snobby kids that are here, the ignorant kids, kids who just think they know everything. It's kind of like that high school scenario all over again, and I wasn't a big fan of high school, with the kids and drama. It's kind of annoying. I guess I don't really like civilians.

Brett's use of the term 'kids' to describe his community college classmates signaled his disdain for them, as it also signaled a separation from them. This process of self-imposed separation is similar to what Paul Willis (1977) referred to as *differentiation*, or the process whereby the "exchanges expected in the formal institutional paradigm are reinterpreted, separated and discriminated with respect to working class interests, feelings and meanings" (62).⁷² In Brett's case, interpersonal exchanges with civilian students were viewed through the lens of his class background, which he had re-coded as his military background. Unlike Oscar, who had accepted and identified with the label of "ignorant" because that was the message he got from teachers in high school, Brett considered civilian college students to be the ignorant ones, because he felt that their economic privilege had limited their life experience. Brett considered his classmates 'kids' even though he was the same age or only slightly older than most of them. As did other veterans in this study, Brett generalized his negative feelings about his classmates to all civilians, and came to the conclusion that he didn't like civilians. Brett's participation in the process of differentiation served as a form of resistance to integration into civilian society, which was represented by the college classroom. Subsequent chapters will explore some other consequences of this divide military/civilian divide.

Having discussed pedagogical and cultural disjunctures between military and civilian academic practice, I now turn to another issue faced by some war veterans in college classrooms: the psychological effects of war trauma.

Traumatic Response in the Classroom: Cody

In Iraq it was easy: just stay alive. Honestly, coming back here is a whole other war.

-Cody, Halcón College

One of the biggest challenges combat veterans face upon returning from war is that psychological mechanisms that helped keep them alive on the battlefield (emotional numbing or detachment, hypervigilance, or constantly being in a state of high alert) endure and become maladaptive outside of a combat setting. These enduring symptoms can form a psychological syndrome known as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

⁷² In Willis's study of working-class high school students in Britain, the working class students, or *lads* display contempt for their middle-class schoolmates, viewing them as the embodiment of individualist ideologies that serve to reproduce the lads' class position. While there are many interesting parallels to be drawn between Willis' lads and returning veterans viewed through the lens of Willis's theories about school as a site of both reproduction and cultural production, this will have to be explored in future papers.

(PTSD.) The symptoms of PTSD include: re-experiencing the traumatic event through intrusive, upsetting memories of the event (flashbacks); nightmares and intense physical reactions to reminders of the traumatic event. (pounding heart, rapid breathing, nausea, sweating.)⁷³ PTSD also includes symptoms of avoidance and emotional numbing such as inability to remember important aspects of the trauma, loss of interest in activities and life in general, and feeling detached from others and emotionally numb. Moreover, combat veterans suffering from PTSD also may experience symptoms of increased anxiety, including insomnia, irritability, difficulty concentrating and hypervigilance.⁷⁴ These symptoms can create difficulties for combat veterans returning to their home communities, including those who enter schools upon their return.⁷⁵

College is designed to be a space apart from the everyday working world, a separate space organized to minimize distractions and facilitate intellectual inquiry and analysis. But some veterans bring with them into college classrooms battlefield responses, such as hypervigilance, fear, paranoia, post-traumatic stress responses, and heightened sensory awareness of auditory and visual cues. In this section, I consider the experience of Halcón College student veteran Cody. Habits instilled by military training and psychologically forged in combat re-surfaced for Cody in civilian classrooms, and posed obstacles to his – and other-- veterans' success in college.

Cody grew up in a white, working class family Central California. He described himself as a 'rebellious' teen, who didn't get along with his parents in high school. Despite having "spectacular dreams and wants and goals in my life," which included going to college, he felt that his life stalled out after graduating from high school. Cody was arrested and convicted of drunk driving shortly after turning 18. While on probation, he worked two jobs that he characterized as "dead end": in a warehouse and in a retail skateboard store. Feeling that his life was "going nowhere," Cody joined the Navy in 2004 because he needed money to go to college, and because he wanted to "get the hell out of my situation," which included excessive drinking and intermittent periods of homelessness. Cody scored well on all of his Naval aptitude tests, earning scores that qualified for even the most selective naval occupation: nuclear engineer, special operations, or medic. He wanted to become a Navy corpsman (a medic), but because of his DUI conviction, he was only allowed to enlist as a yeoman, the lowest ranking administrative/clerical job.⁷⁶

Cody was assigned to guard and transport prisoners at Camp Bucca, the largest prison camp in Iraq. During his deployment to Iraq, Cody learned to pay attention to the smallest details, in order to detect potential attacks:

You get used to a certain lifestyle, especially in Iraq, where you're just on alert 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The habit gets drilled into you, and that habit becomes your lifestyle. Sometimes [life in a combat zone] was bad-- Baghdad was the worst. We were getting mortared left and right up there. The first day that we got to Baghdad a mortar went through somebody's pod and killed a guy.

⁷³ Diagnostic and Statistical Manual IV (DSM-IV) 2000:467

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Cantrell & Dean 2007:33

⁷⁶ Recruits are prohibited from working in a medical, nuclear, or any high-security job in the Navy if they have a history of drug or alcohol-related offense, within three years.

Through continued exposure to attacks, the sense of pervasive danger became ingrained in Cody's psychological make-up: vigilance began as a trained habit; over time it became a "lifestyle": a patterned response making up the fabric of his everyday life in Iraq. Eventually this perspective became ingrained in his psychological make-up-- what Cody called his "mindset" -- which carried over into all situations, even after leaving the war zone. Cody described living in a state of constant alert in Iraq, of feeling that an attack was imminent and inevitable. He said he learned to view anyone unfamiliar to him as a potential enemy capable of doing harm, and that to function he learned to "just do his job" and not think about consequences lest he "freak out" and become paralyzed with fear:

You just never knew. You always had [the possibility of getting killed] in the back of your head, but you just never thought about it, because if you thought about it, you'd just freak out. You're out there, it could happen, but you're going to die if you [freeze up and] don't do anything. If you freak out-- that's when you're going to get killed. If you can figure out how to put that behind you and just do your job, you have a lot better chance of surviving.

This 'mindset' or state of constant alert, is known in the psychological trauma field as 'hypervigilance' and is a symptom that commonly manifests in survivors of trauma. The mind continues to perceive threats even after the actual threat is no longer present. Cody's mind had become accustomed to anticipating assaults from unknown attackers, and he continued to respond to groups of unfamiliar people, including civilian classmates and instructors, as if they were potentially hostile enemy combatants. In Iraq "just doing his job" entailed being constantly on alert, and not dwelling on moral dilemmas or weighing potential consequences.

After he left the Navy and enrolled at Halcón College Cody found that concentrating too intently on details in his surroundings got in the way of his being able to function in a college classroom. At Halcón College, without other soldiers around him, Cody didn't know how to respond to this new environment and his civilian classmates:

How do you go from that mindset where you're waiting, you know something [violent] is going to happen, you just don't know when or how, or how bad it's going to be? You go from living that mindset for a year, where you knew who was who, and you knew the good guys and you kind of stuck together with those guys because you trusted those guys literally with your life. Now you take that group of guys, whose job is really to rely on each other, and you throw them out into the civilian life and say, "OK, here you go!"

Cody failed out his first semester at Halcón College, and he believes his hyper-vigilance was a primary reason. Sitting in classrooms in a state of high alert, surrounded by people unknown to him and constantly expecting to be attacked made it difficult for him to tolerate sitting in the college classroom, and nearly impossible for him to concentrate on the course material:

It was like, "OK, I have nobody watching my back." That's the mentality you come into school with. You're still on guard constantly. I think that's one of the reasons why I failed out: the fact that I got so focused on knowing what was going on around me. I could tell you the clothes people were wearing: to the shoes, to the socks, to how they did their hair. I knew who was who, and I measured everybody in every classroom. I knew where all the doors were. I knew any type of thing that I would need to know, because that's how I was trained to be, I had to figure it out. I knew who the biggest people [were], that [they] were threats to me in class and I kept an eye on them, [to make sure] that there was no threat.

Cody's capacity to focus intently on ambient details had been protective in a war zone, and had allowed him to do his job as a combatant. But this habit posed a barrier to learning when he returned to a college classroom, because he spent all of his energy studying classmates and anticipating an attack:

Cody: You just looked at people and paid attention to little things about them so that you had that upper edge so you knew what to expect.

EM: Who would you think might be a threat?

Cody: I wouldn't respond necessarily to any specific person, but I would respond to the threat, you know? Maybe it is the kid with the button down and the tie, who knows? He was low on my list of possible threats, so my eyes would go other places. Everybody would be on a [different threat] level, and it would be like -- OK, this guy's near the top, and this guy's down where the petite girls are. You know that you could flip them and they'd break a bone.

EM: So the thought is: if things turned, you'd be prepared?

Cody: Yeah, you're constantly (pauses)... I might not be calculating stuff out in my head, but I'm using more of my senses. My hearing has gone up because I'm focusing on listening to things, like I want to know that the door behind me is opening up. How is it opening up? Is it opening up really quick and fast? That tells me that, hey, this guy's coming in really hot and something might be going on. Is [the door] creeping open? Can I hear it creaking? OK, is this guy trying to pull a fast one on me or not? Is [the door] opening like normal, and is he just trying to walk through the door? Who knows? You're doing that and then you're paying attention to details of everything. OK, what time is it on the clock? Who knows what's going on, and at what time? What's going on with this guy over here? What's going on with this other guy over there? There's light projecting over there. What could I use as a defense mechanism? How heavy is this table? Oh, there's a fire extinguisher over there. You could use that on somebody. You're just looking, [thinking] "OK, if a bomb does go off, where would it explode?"

What Cody describes is a re-imagining of the battlefield; a transposition of the war onto his community college classroom. Although he could acknowledge in retrospect that his fellow students posed no actual physical threat, Cody spent most of his time in class trying to discern “who was who” and to detect potential threats. He could not concentrate because he was trying to track everything and everyone at once; he was constantly monitoring classmates and assessing imaginable threats. Cody’s focus on details created a situation where his brain constantly had to function “in multiple different directions” simultaneously, which made it difficult for him to track the instructor’s lecture:

You're constantly trying to think of possible situations that could happen. When most people are only thinking of what the teacher is saying, we [combat veterans] are trying to be proactive and think about all the situations that are going on. Not only are your senses heightened, but your brain is functioning in multiple different directions because you just don't know how severe [a potential threat] can be. It could be nothing or it could be a nuclear bomb. Who knows what it is, and you have to be ready for anything that could happen. Because if you're not thinking ahead, well, then they are. If they're thinking ahead then they have the upper hand on you... I've been trained to think and react in a certain way. How do you un-train that?

In the statement above, “they”—potential enemy combatants and the people who might cause harm—refer to Cody’s civilian classmates, and because each new class was populated by new and unfamiliar classmates, the college classroom felt unsafe to him.

Cody’s question: “How do you un-train that?” is a crucial one, and deserves careful attention, especially in an era when many young men and women have to go to war in order to go to college. But that is not the focus of my research. One could argue that the college classroom is an important social site for training veterans to re-integrate into civilian society, because it represents a space where students can develop intellectual and emotional understanding of their differences, and increase their capacity to critically evaluate and contrast diverse worldviews. However, this was not possible for Cody in his first semester in college. Unable to concentrate in class, he just gave up and failed all his classes:

C: You can't pay attention in class because you're too busy paying attention to everybody else. At home, I had insomnia for the longest time. I was exhausted but I just couldn't go to sleep because my mind would not stop turning. Even when I'm laying in bed, I'm thinking of tomorrow. I'm reevaluating what happened today and then I'm thinking about tomorrow and how can I make tomorrow better? When you do that every day all day all night, you get to the point where you're just beat. You're not paying attention in class, you're not really doing the work at home because you're just exhausted. Now I'm overwhelmed on a daily basis. So I just shut down. I just locked myself in my room pretty much.

EM: That was your first semester here?

C: That was about ten weeks into it, because I didn't go to my last six weeks. I just stopped going to class. I kind of just gave up. I was like "I just can't do this anymore." I'm so stressed out on a daily basis that I don't know how to live a normal life anymore. It was the point where every day I wished that I was over in Iraq. I still have those times, I still wish I was over there. I might be getting shot at or mortared or stabbed or whatever, but that's simpler than being here.

Cody felt overwhelmed, and cut himself off from others. He stopped going to class and didn't respond to his professor's email messages. He said he felt ashamed; that his inability to function in class was a "weakness." He couldn't face his instructors and couldn't give them a reason for his absence.

Feeling depressed, anxious, suffering from panic attacks, Cody tried to re-enlist to get sent back to Iraq. But instead he ended up at the Veterans Administration Emergency Room, where he was given medication and counseling. Cody said he felt frustrated, because he had enlisted in the Navy as a way to finance his college education only to find that the effects of his military service made it difficult for him to redeem the military's promise of education:

I can't even do the simplest thing like go to class and pay attention in class. But this is why I joined the military-- to go back to school. It's not like I'm not [going to class] because I don't want to do it. I want to do it. I sacrificed four and a half years of my life to go do this, and I'm not able to do it now?

I heard similar stories from other student veterans about the way combat trauma affected them in school. Veterans cope with the sequelae of traumatic stress in various ways and with varying success. I began to ask veterans what kind of strategies they used to deal with combat-related reactions. Northern University student Francisco said he had to figure out a way to deal with going to class with his condition of tinnitus, or chronic ringing in his ears.⁷⁷ As a result of repeated exposure to loud explosions, Francisco is now very sensitive to, and easily distracted by noise. He said he was distracted by "every little thing that's going on, every click of the clock ticking, someone slamming a door, or a chair moving-- I think, 'ok, well why did that happen so suddenly, what's going on out there?'"

Francisco learned to adapt to his new surroundings by wearing earplugs on campus to filter out unnecessary noise, and he developed other strategies to calm himself down before entering a classroom. For instance, he would arrive early to class, to give himself time to calm down and try to lower his heart rate and body temperature, which helped him to stay focused in class:

I kind of think about [calming down] before class, while I'm waiting. I'm always early, just kind of relaxing. Especially when it's hot, I want to

⁷⁷ Because roadside bombs are the weapons most commonly used in contemporary combat zones, tinnitus is one of the most common and enduring physical symptoms of combat trauma experienced by veterans of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

make sure that I'm not hot when I go into class, because then I'm just that much more agitated. I try to take notes as well as I can because then I'll focus on just the notes.

In the course of my research, I observed first hand traumatic stress reactions in some of the veterans with whom I spoke. For example, a primary place in which I conducted interviews with veterans was a small, windowless research office on the Northern University campus. Veterans walking ahead of me into the darkened room would noticeably recoil when I opened the door and they had to enter a pitch-black room. One veteran told me that the darkness reminded him of rooms he entered during military operations in Iraq. I quickly learned to warn veterans in advance that the room would be dark, and to enter the room first so that I could turn on lights. This small example represented a visual manifestation of the enduring effects of war trauma.

Silences and Erasures: Compounding Alienation

The previous sections have addressed problems for veterans resulting when their learned military norms and practices come into contact and conflict with civilian academic norms and practices. However, this is not the only problem that veterans face. The all-volunteer military has allowed the majority of U.S. civilians to live their lives untouched by the current wars. The fact that many college students are unaware of, or may be disinterested in, the current wars adds to feelings of alienation felt by many war veterans on civilian campuses. For some civilian students, the veterans' war experience is unknown and irrelevant. Other students feel uncomfortable bringing up the topic of the war or asking about veterans' experience because they are afraid of "saying the wrong thing," that might inadvertently offend veterans.⁷⁸ Whatever the reason for this silence, it creates an invisibility of veterans' actual wartime experience, and a social erasure. Chapter Six will discuss more extensively practices of erasure and their effects on student veterans. Here I offer some examples of how this invisibility functions to heighten the disjunctures experienced by returning student veterans.

Not only are veterans expected to shed their collective identity and adopt an individual one, but their military experience often becomes invisible in civilian classrooms. NU student Grant spoke about his frustration returning to school after a 16-month deployment leading a bomb-detection squad in Iraq. He said that civilian classmates were not interested in hearing about his experiences or opinions: "I'm kind of a wealth of knowledge about what's going on over there (in Iraq) and they (students) wouldn't ask me questions -- they didn't care. I thought I had some insight but nobody really cared about it." The knowledge that Grant had accumulated in one context (a body knowledge that he felt was central to his identity), was ignored in another context. Because there is a generalized silence about the wars on college campuses (and indeed, as discussed in Chapter Six, I argue that this silence is actively maintained) it is hard to know if Grant is correct in assuming that fellow students don't care, or if they are hesitant to ask him about it because they believe they shouldn't do so.

⁷⁸ This sentiment was reflected by civilian students, graduate student instructors and some professors.

Grant offered a specific example of this feeling of invisibility about his war experience: the incident took place in an English class at his former community college in the suburban outskirts of the San Francisco Bay Area. Students were assigned to choose a poem to read, and Grant found many of his classmates' chosen poems to be frivolous or unimportant. When it was his turn, he read a poem about the death of a soldier. The following quote illustrates some of his frustration with his civilian classmates, and his wish that they would understand the deadly realities of war:

I definitely remember saying in class 'this is really stupid'—we were reading poetry. I brought in the poem *Death of a Ball Turret Gunner*.⁷⁹ It's really graphic: basically this guy gets killed and they wash his body out (of his gunnery turret) with a hose. I read that poem because of how simple it was, and because there's no thought to when people get killed over there [in Iraq]. They make it out to be some heroic thing, but you just get blown up, and you're just dead, and that's just it. So I'm trying to tell everybody 'you think you're so important, but if any of you got hit by a car this morning, we would all still be in class here, learning today's lesson.' And maybe ten people in this world would care, like your parents, and some family and friends, and most of them will actually get over it within the year, and only some affected for a very long time. You know how... (pauses)...how insignificant you are. When they want you to be very significant, but you really don't matter.'

In reading this poem to the class, Grant was attempting to make his experience with death and war visible, to make *himself* visible in the civilian classroom. He was attempting to introduce the painful reality of war-- and the ephemerality of life-- into the consciousness of the students. For Grant, death in war is not "some heroic thing" as "they" (presumably U.S. society) would have the class believe, but simply, and brutally, the end of life. This quote demonstrates that for students like Grant, silence about the wars is a source of difficulty.

For many veterans, the distance between their military-identified world and the civilian student world is both self-imposed and socially constructed. NU student Kevin said he felt like an "outcast" when he first enrolled in community college:

Having tattoos and looking older, I felt like kind of an outcast, especially when I was first starting in school. I was in class with 16, 17, 18 year olds; I was only 24, but it was like a big jump. I didn't really get along with very many people. I just kind of did my own thing. I mean I just felt no connection with people. I tried to be friendly, but it was just (pauses)...nothing ever happened, connection-wise. Everything just dissipated...

⁷⁹*The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner* (Randall Jarrel 1945)

From my mother's sleep I fell into the State,
And I hunched in its belly till my wet fur froze.
Six miles from earth, loosed from the dream of life,
I woke to black flak and the nightmare fighters.
When I died they washed me out of the turret with a hose.

Like Kevin, veterans in classrooms may feel invisible, disregarded or “outcast” because they can’t bridge the experience gap between themselves and civilian students. However, for many student veterans, there is a dilemma: they know that they have different experiences from the rest of the student population, and veterans like Grant want that difference and their wartime experience recognized. But at the same time, others feel that aspects of their military experience are both painful, personally conflictive, and potentially controversial, and thus they may feel that sharing basic facts of their lives in a classroom represents a risk to their emotional health. Some veterans said that the most foundational experiences of their lives—being in the military and fighting in war—are precisely that which they cannot, or do not want to claim. This results in a process of self-erasure that can reinforce the distance between veterans and civilian students.

NU student Jordan’s experience illustrates tensions involved in integrating into the school milieu and interacting with other students. Jordan was also raised in a white working class family, on a farm in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountains. He listed several reasons for joining the Marines in 2003: He didn’t have money to attend college immediately after high school, he was looking for adventure, and he wanted to get out of his small home town. It was “a small town where everyone knows everyone, and that was cute and quaint. But I wanted to see the world,” he said. Jordan had applied to NU from his military outpost in Iraq, and learned that he’d been accepted while still in on active duty. Within days of being discharged from the Marines he began classes at NU, choosing Linguistics as his major. He said that he wanted to get into a field that was somehow related to the work he had done in Iraq as a military intelligence analyst and translator; something that would make use of his Arabic-speaking and comprehension skills.

Jordan had done two tours of Iraq working as a cryptologic linguist, where his job was to listen to intercepted messages, and determine who should be classified as an enemy and targeted for arrest or assassination. Jordan expressed deep conflicts about his participation in the war. In recognizing that his job was to secretly monitor Iraqis as they went through their daily lives, as they interacted in their places of work, in marketplaces, and in their homes with their children, Jordan said he felt “like a hunter” stalking human prey. He was not prepared to share these details about his background with new acquaintances in the classrooms at Northern University, but he quickly found that when other students discovered he was studying linguistics, they asked him the same introductory questions, including the *de rigueur* conversation- starter for linguistics majors: “What languages do you speak?” For Jordan, this inevitably led to unbidden conversations about his background:

Of course when I said I spoke Arabic, [students] wonder: how is it that I speak Arabic? I’m just some random white guy from California. I grew up in the sticks, and I speak Arabic. So I felt this burden: either I have to be deceptive, or I have to be honest. Unless I want to create some fictional story, I was having to go through this whole thing of explaining my story. So here’s all of this shit that I didn’t want to deal with that just comes with my major.

I didn’t know it was going to be emotionally such a burden to be some certain major. We say things like you’re not defined by your major. Bullshit. It depends.

Maybe (addressing interviewer) you're not [defined by your major], but I was, and it was overwhelming.

Jordan correctly pointed out that I, as a white female student of Education, could “pass” as an unremarkable member of that academic community, and thus avoid having to reveal my history or motivations for choosing my course of study. Jordan did not enjoy the same privilege. What was seen as an innocuous conversation-starter by his classmates would have forced Jordan to reveal his military history, a complicated and painful topic for him. This inhibited him from forming relationships with civilian students, as it both required a self-silencing and created a barrier to communication with his classmates. Whereas Grant, who seemed generally less troubled by his role in the war, was eager to be asked about his experience and recognized for his expertise, Jordan did not want to reveal his military past to fellow Arabic language students, many of whom were from the Middle East. Because Jordan could not manage this social dynamic, the situation became untenable and he dropped out of his Linguistics major, and dropped out of NU.⁸⁰

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that soldiers' militarized practice and identity travel with them into their post-military college settings. Having adjusted to military cultures and practice, many veterans find that behaviors that were essential to operating within institutional military life may become unhelpful in college. The clash of pedagogical and cultural norms and practices creates disjunctures that impede soldiers' re-integration into civilian life and present obstacles to their success in college.

Veterans leaving military life and entering college face multiple, simultaneous processes of learning, unlearning and relearning norms, identities and social norms, and this dissertation argues that the experiences of individual veterans in college deserve careful and serious consideration. The veterans' experiences detailed in this chapter point to the need for supportive services to ease the transition to college. The following chapter describes institutionally-based initiatives designed to facilitate veterans' transition to higher education, and explores some ways that conceptualizations of “the veteran” are ideologically produced and instrumentally deployed to support military projects. And thus, that some initiatives designed to support veterans in fact serve to promote military projects on campuses.

⁸⁰ As has happened with many other veterans, in this study and in general, Jordan later returned to college, finishing at a community college near his home town before returning to, and ultimately graduated from NU in 2013. In the following chapter I will discuss some of the responses of veterans and college personnel to issues of veteran drop-out, attrition and retention in college.

Chapter 3: Campus Veteran Support Initiatives

Introduction

“The returning veteran, even more than the usual college student, needs the best and most that can be offered,” wrote S.H. Kraines in 1945, about soldiers entering college after coming home from World War II.⁸¹ This sentiment echoes a widely-held belief in contemporary society: that civilian institutions, and particularly colleges, should repay a debt of sacrifice incurred by the nation for sending soldiers off to war. This belief has been the basis for numerous educational initiatives and programs designed to help veterans succeed in college.

With the end of the Iraq War, 45,000 troops have returned to a U.S. economy marked by recession and high unemployment. With the anticipated end of the war in Afghanistan, roughly two million service members from the combined wars will return home, and many are expected to enter college. As of 2012, more than 500,000 veterans of the current wars have enrolled in college. (Sanders 2012). While the number of contemporary veterans enrolling in college is rising, veterans still face difficulties in making the transition to into civilian social worlds, and to college.

The fact that many veterans are dropping out of college and not using their GI Bill education benefits has caused concern among educators and veterans advocates. This concern has generated a host of initiatives and a body of literature designed to help student veterans succeed, socially and academically, in college. The purpose of this chapter is to examine some of these educational initiatives designed to help student veterans in college. In doing so, it offers a window into some that military priorities become expressed in academic settings.

In Chapter 1, I examined processes of militarization at the level of the social production of the person by analyzing the overt processes through which individual recruits become socialized to the military through explicit pedagogies, in the habitus of training and war. Chapter 2 looked at the enduring effects of individual militarization and combat on student veterans’ transition to college. This chapter discusses institutionally- generated veteran support initiatives. It finds that while there are many useful programs that help veterans in their transition to college, some veterans may not want to utilize programs that reproduce military relations.

To understand how veteran support is carried out at Halcón College and Northern University, it is important to begin with a description of services offered to student veterans at the respective sites. Part I of this chapter gives a brief overview of veterans support services at the two different colleges. Part II begins with a review of contemporary “Best Practices” literature for veteran support on college campuses, which sets the standard for what is considered the most effective support programs. I intend to show that these *Best Practice* programs are developed within a discourse of military superiority, that is, an ideology through which veterans, by virtue of their affiliation with the U.S. Military are seen as exceptional and thus more deserving of respect and esteem than their civilian student counterparts. Part III of this chapter examines how some veteran support programs are based on explicit valorization of the military institution and

⁸¹ S. H. Kraines (1945) “The Veteran and Postwar Education” p.290

of military service, which contribute to the production and promotion of militarized common sense on campuses. As noted previously, I define militarized common sense as the commonly held belief that war is a natural and necessary aspect of maintaining and protecting nationhood, that military logics and practices are more important than non-military ones, and that war veterans and active duty soldiers should serve as positive public symbols and proxies for U.S. military projects and wars.

In subsequent chapters I will examine in detail how militarized common sense is produced and promoted through programs intended to support veterans. This chapter concludes with a discussion about the relationship between military superiority and the maintenance of divisions between civilians and the military. By looking at some of the ways that ‘soft militarism’ operates on college campuses, through institutional programs and through pedagogical practices, I will show that programs promoting military superiority these programs gain resonance, and can become collective “common sense” about the way the world operates.⁸²

Services at the Sites

This chapter focuses on colleges, not because I believe that college is the sole or primary site affected by discourses of militarism, but because college is the institution most closely associated with the educational promise of military recruitment. Moreover, college represents an institution with specific civilian norms: the course content and structure—ideally—is intended to educate students about how to conduct themselves in the adult world, to think critically and function as autonomous members of civilian society. The two sites of this study—an urban research university and a rural community college-- offer a study in contrasts, and as the following section describes, the contrasts extend to the resources available for veterans on each campus.

Differences and Commonalities

Both Halcón College and Northern University represent two pillars-- metaphorical bookends-- of the tiered California public system for higher education. As such, Halcón College and Northern University represent two environments with distinct pedagogical, cultural, structural, and social opportunities and constraints for military veterans.

Community colleges have historically served as the open-access portal into post-secondary education for those who are often not recognized as ‘college-bound’, including first-generation college students, low-income students, immigrant students, and older students returning to college. Public research universities serve as institutions for conferring advanced degrees and producing scholarship for academic publication. That these two institutions have distinct missions and disparate levels of funding informs this story. Differential resources have a strong bearing on support systems for student veterans, and discrepant funding is one manifestation of inequalitarian resources being allotted to California students. While I believe that problems arising from unequal funding deserves further study and remediation, it is not the focus of this chapter, nor of this dissertation. I will briefly touch on the issue of differential levels of funding in the following sections, as they relate to some of the broader social implications of how

⁸² Gramsci 1971:59

veterans' services are carried out on campuses. What follows is a brief description of existing veterans' services at each site, beginning with some differences and commonalities among support programs for veterans.

Typical of the multi-tier open access mission of California Community Colleges, Halcón offers academic courses intended to fulfill General Education requirements for transfer to a four year college or university, as well as vocational, what are now called "Gainful Employment" programs.⁸³ Northern University is a large research university with a majority undergraduate enrollment but which also offers a comprehensive doctoral graduate program, as well as numerous professional degrees.

Both Halcón College and Northern University employ designated staff to provide services to veterans on campus. Both campuses train a financial aid office staff member in the myriad rules and regulations of the GI Bill education benefits and designate that person to deal with veterans. In addition to the dedicated financial aid officer, Northern University also has an on-site *certifying official*, who acts as a liaison with the Veterans Administration to ensure all discharge papers are in order. These staff are in charge of authenticating student enrollment, and processing forms for Veterans' Administration claims. This role is crucial, in that it is the certifying officials who process the forms that ensures that the student veteran receives GI Bill funds, and they are the ones called upon to assist when --as happens often-- funds are delayed. Because much of the paperwork associated with the GI Bill education benefits comes with arcane specifications that are and unfamiliar to most civilian financial aid officers, these staff receive special training to work with the forms. In what is typical for under-funded community colleges, the designated financial aid staff person at Halcón College is not assigned to work with veterans on a full time basis, but does this job in addition to her primary job as a general financial aid officer. Both campuses offer benefits to veterans that include priority registration, priority hours for financial aid appointments, authorization for reduced course loads, and increased time to take exams.⁸⁴

However, despite some basic commonalities, the differences in veterans services offered at the two campuses are stark. Northern University, with its vastly greater resources (money, space, staff and the less-tangible yet salient resources of social prestige) has a much richer array of on-campus services available to veterans. The following section briefly discusses services specific to each campus:

Services at Halcón College

⁸³ "Gainful Employment programs include all programs at public and not-for-profit institutions that do not lead to a degree, that are not fully transferable to a bachelor's degree program or that are not considered to be basic skills or preparatory course work for enrollment in an eligible program." (source: Halcón College website)

⁸⁴ Programs benefitting veterans have been the subject of political interpretations. For example, many of these benefits (such as reduced course loads, priority course registration, and increased time for exams), began as an accommodation to disabled students, and veterans used to access them through the campus Disabled Students Services (DSS). But many veterans and veteran advocates objected to the fact that these benefits were routed through DSS. They particularly objected the "Disabled" designation, as that qualifier is an anathema to veterans who were not, or did not consider themselves disabled. The cause to de-link veterans services from Disabled Student Services became a rallying cry for veterans and their advocates (interview JD 10/9/11). Now many campuses have programs that explicitly offer this service to student veterans, without being associated with DSS.

One of the difficulties in trying to describe programs in within public educational institutions is that constant reductions in funding often result in programs that end up being provisional, and contingent on fluctuations of changing political economic shifts. Thus it is with veterans services at Halcón College.

Nationally, as in the State of California, the majority of U.S. military recruits come from rural towns like Orchard Valley and after discharge, the majority of veterans enter community colleges like Halcón. Nonetheless, in March 2010, when I first arrived at Halcón College and asked the Dean of Students where I could find the campus veterans club, I was met with a blank stare. Having observed veterans events, classes and meetings at several different college and university campuses, I had assumed that every campus had at least some kind of formal support organization for campus veterans. The Halcón College website had no mention of veteran services, nor any mention of student veterans. Campus Financial Aid officers had received some training on how to fill out the complex VA forms for registration, books and tuition reimbursement, but no one was officially designated as the veterans' contact. One staff member in the financial aid office seemed to have more familiarity with the forms and an interest in working with veterans; word-of-mouth spread among veterans that she was the person to they should attempt to contact.

In 2010, Halcón College offered none of the services that were becoming commonplace at other California campuses; there was no veterans club, nor a designated financial aid officer, and to the outside observer, no recognition that veterans comprised a part of the student body that might benefit from specialized attention. This meant that the Halcón College veterans were advocating for the school to create services from a starting point of offering nothing.

By the end of 2010, Halcón College veterans were beginning to advocate for services at the school. In November 2011, a small group of student veterans and the Dean of Disabled Students joined to create a campus veterans club. Their first official act was to convene a gathering to discuss the needs of campus veterans and ways to advocate for the establishment of a designated veterans-only space on campus, which they envisioned as a Veterans Resource Center, and for more services to veterans. At the group gathering, called "Veteran Student Voices" gathered in the Theater Department's auditorium and handed out a survey to asses veterans' needs (see table 3.1)

(Table 3.1)

<u>Veterans Resource Center Survey</u>	
Name: _____	Branch of Service: _____
Email: _____	
As a Veteran, would you be interested in an area dedicated specifically to assisting you in reaching your academic goals and helping you reintegrate? Yes _____ No _____	
If so, would you use any of the following:	
-Peer Tutoring?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Stress Reduction space?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Peer mentoring?	<input type="checkbox"/>

-Academic counseling?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Mental Health counseling?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Computer Lab?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-VA Vocational Rehabilitation counseling?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Assistance accessing VA forms and records?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-VA Health Benefits	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Financial Aid Counseling/Certification?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Readjustment Counseling?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Scholarship Information?	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Have any remarks, questions, ideas?	

A year and a half later, there was incipient, yet measurable progress to establish veterans services at Halcón. As of 2012, Halcón College had a veterans club that met informally every month, in which approximately 10 veterans (out of a total veteran enrollment of 193) participated on an ongoing basis, with approximately 20 more participating intermittently. A regional Veterans Clinic sent a mobile clinic ⁸⁵ to visit the campus on a bi-monthly basis. ⁸⁶

By 2013, the Halcón campus veterans club had grown to include four faculty members, approximately eight active student veterans, and one administrator, and veterans' services on the Halcón college campus existed in the form of one specially-trained financial aid officer working part-time processing veterans' paperwork. Eligible student veterans are able to receive tutoring, academic and technical support from the school's Extended Opportunity Programs and Services (EOPS), which are also available to

⁸⁵ The van, the size of a tractor-trailer, is laid out as a small version of a health clinic, with a reception/triage area to fill out enrollment forms and perform blood pressure tests. There is also an exam room, where a Nurse Practitioner conducts physical examinations. The van is staffed by male military veterans who act as intake workers and informal counselors, enrolling students into the VA medical system and scheduling their appointments. A Nurse Practitioner hired by the Veterans Clinic performs basic medical functions, like taking vital signs (blood pressure and oxygen level monitoring). Referrals for physician visits, blood tests, x-rays and prescription re-fills are offered. These basic services, while useful to some veterans on campus, do not take the place of comprehensive medical care; and the main objective of these campus visits is health education and outreach to engage student veterans in treatment.

⁸⁶ Veteran services at Halcón College continue to increase and evolve with time. As of May 2014, veterans and veterans' services have a much higher profile on campus: a photo of the Mobile Clinic is featured on the home page of the College website, along with links to a myriad of campus veterans' services, including the Mobile Clinic, the campus veterans' club, counseling services, VA forms, the Veterans' Council (an advisory body that advocates on behalf of veterans' to the school administration. There is also a link that provides answers to an array of frequently-asked questions about enrolling in community colleges, and transferring to four-year institutions.

the main population of Halcón students.⁸⁷ However, few veterans had enrolled in these services.⁸⁸

The Halcón veterans club had been given use of a small office space in the Theater Department building to serve as a peer-staffed Veterans' Service Center, to give student veterans on campus a veterans-only space to for to relax, and to offer and receive peer counseling. Many of the initiatives of the Halcón veterans club are self-funded. At a 2011 meeting of the veterans club held in a far outpost of Halcón College in the Administration of Justice (Police Sciences) offices, veterans explored ways to take their requests for support to the broader Orchard Valley Community. Club members and faculty supporters debated the relative merits of fundraising barbeques, donation drives among local businesses, and a virtual fund drive via the internet "Kickstarter" site, thus positioning themselves as social entrepreneurs attempting to crowd-source support for themselves as student veterans.

Services at NU: building on Transfer Student Services

As veterans at Halcón College were asking local grocery stores for food donations, veterans at Northern University assembled outside their veterans' office, planning their annual school-funded ski trip to Lake Tahoe. Veterans at NU benefit socially, financially and academically from their status as transfer students to the university. The vast majority of veterans who enroll as undergraduates at NU have transferred there from community colleges, which makes the population of student veterans at NU a subset of the school's transfer student population. Thus it is not possible to talk about the services for student veterans in college without talking about broader services for transfer students at NU. Most of the veteran support initiatives on the NU campus directly or indirectly come out of the Campus Transfer Center⁸⁹.

The Transfer Center is located in the NU Student Services Building, which also houses tutoring, psychological counseling offices, student service clubs, a LGBT resource center, and several student clubs. In the political economy of resource distribution at the University, the size and physical layout of the Transfer Center indicate a commitment by NU to students transferring from community colleges:⁹⁰ on this campus where office space is at a premium, the Transfer Center occupies the entire southern wing of the student services building.

Entering the Center, one gets the impression that this is an easy place for students to hang out. The entrance area doubles as a lounge, and is furnished with comfortable sofas and overstuffed chairs. Students, most of whom who are noticeably older than the

⁸⁷ The EOPS program is intended help increase the number of underrepresented (by race, socio-economic status or involvement in the foster care system) students in community colleges by providing counseling services, tutoring, workshops on stress management, nutrition, parenting; and transfer assistance to four-year colleges.

⁸⁸ I found that, for a variety of reasons, veterans were less likely to avail themselves of EOPS training and tutoring programs, perhaps because they were seen as remedial service programs historically tied to a discourse of Affirmative Action. Thus, these programs were at odds with an identification of the self-sufficient military student.

⁸⁹ The Center offers services to students transferring from community colleges, "re-entry" students (a classification meaning students who are 25 years, or older) and students who are parents.

⁹⁰ When California's Master Plan for Education established a tiered universal- access system, it mandated State Colleges and Universities to set aside upper division admission placements, and give priority in the admissions process to eligible California Community College transfer students.

18-22 year-old age range of many undergraduates, sit or lie on the couches, reading and talking to each other; some sleep. Cubicles along one wall provide semi-private spaces for drop in advising sessions. On the north wall there is a coffee maker and bank of computers available for student use. Half of the space is taken up by the Student Parent Program, where children's toys and books are strewn about on child- and adult-size tables.

The atmosphere of the Transfer Center emits an inclusive hominess that contrasts with Northern University's highly competitive, rigorous academic environment of meritocratic achievement. It has the funky, welcoming atmosphere of a well-used and well-loved community center. Behind the entrance a large conference room accommodates larger meetings, and beginning and end-of-semester parties. This large conference room serves- when it is not being used for official events- as an informal drop-in center for NU veterans, who gather there before and after classes to visit and hang out. Student veterans meet weekly for a brown-bag lunch together, where they compare notes on strategies on how to get into graduate school, what scholarships to apply for, and which classes are taught by⁹¹ what they call "veteran-friendly" professors.

Because many veterans and other transfer and re-entry (defined as age 25 years or older) students arrive at NU without the benefit of a rigorous college-preparatory educational background, the Transfer Center offers semester-long classes and brief workshops on how to function successfully at a research university. For many student veterans and other transfer students, this center becomes their home base at NU; and many have said that the academic support services offered by the transfer center allowed them to successfully graduate from NU.⁹²

The NU veterans club, established in 2004, has a permanent, dedicated office in a quiet corridor adjacent to the transfer student center. There is a state-of-the-art computer and ergonomically- supportive furniture. Comfortable chairs are placed throughout the office, which serves not only as a quiet place for veterans to do homework, but also as a peer-support drop-in center. Stacked against the walls are flats of bottled water, energy bars, soda and snacks for veterans who may drop in. In Fall 2011, there were approximately 300 veterans enrolled at NU; approximately 30-35 regularly attend Veterans' Club events.

Veterans services are financially underwritten by NU. The NU veterans' club is funded as a campus club, and other expenses, such as food and incidentals for beginning –of- semester welcome events are funded by special university grants. University funding is allocated for other events, such as campus wide Veterans' Day events, ceremonies and panel discussions. The local VFW also contributes money to veterans services on an ad-hoc basis.⁹³ Anchoring this comprehensive Veterans' Services Program is the Veterans

⁹¹ A professor who is known as "veteran- friendly" is one who actively demonstrates support for veterans on campus, either by publically welcoming them into class, or showing in some way that they support veterans. Some, but not all professors known as 'veteran friendly' talk about being veterans themselves, or have family members in the military.

⁹² This has been stated in end- of- semester evaluations from the course for the transfer students called "Adult Learners in Higher Education."

⁹³ For example, the day after a fire destroyed an apartment house next to the university, a VFW member arrived at the NU veterans' office, saying that he had heard that one of the displaced residents of the apartment was an NU student veteran. He said that his local VFW group wanted to donate the funds this student needed to help him relocate.

Services Coordinator, whom I will call Rick. Rick is a much-beloved staff member among NU transfer students in general, and for NU veterans, he is an advocate, a trusted counselor, a broker of campus resources, and a guide who helps them de-code the many unwritten rules of the elite university. Rick also acts as a liaison between the administrative apparatus of the University and of the Veterans Administration, and advocating within these bureaucracies for the NU veterans.

Veterans talk about Rick with what passes in their avuncular profane world as reverence, reflecting the deep and abiding respect and devotion that, by all accounts, is mutual. There is always a line of student veterans outside of Rick's office waiting to talk with him, and whenever an NU student veteran has a crisis, Rick is the person who is called to help out. Rick is the public face of NU veterans services, but he is also the trusted mentor, serving as advocate, offering supportive counseling and referrals to campus and community services.

Differential resources create differential outcomes

The extensive advising and mentoring – both formal and informal -- offered through the NU veterans club was much harder to find at Halcón College. For Halcón students like Brett (introduced in the previous chapter), who was working two retail jobs while going to school and spent summers as a drill instructor training new Army recruits, staying in school was difficult because he was having trouble figuring out a course of study. He had wanted to major in Spanish, the language of his Colombian father, but after taking some classes, he realized they were geared toward a degree in teaching Spanish language, something in which he had no interest. I spoke with Brett one year before the Halcón veterans club had its first meeting, when there was no talk on campus about supportive services or student veterans forming a campus club. Brett, who was planning on dropping out of school at the end of the semester without an Associate's degree, said that he wished he had been given guidance about which courses to take from a veteran who had successfully graduated from Halcón. When asked what might have helped him stay in school he said:

Talking to someone who's actually graduated, that's a vet, that can help provide a better guideline, because when I entered the military I didn't know what I wanted to do, then I came back [to community college] because I promised myself I'd earn that degree. Coming here I still kind of didn't really know what I wanted to do. The counselor was really great at helping me out, but it still didn't really define my path of where I wanted to go. But [it would be good to have] just somebody who knows more about the field and can give better, a better pathway, like 'if you were to take this [course], this one and this one,' as a vet going to school.

The kind of peer mentorship that Brett missed at Halcón College was abundantly available at Northern University, largely as a result of Rick's advocacy. There are clear differences in resources and veteran support programs at the two different colleges, and this is reflected in the veterans' experiences at the two sites. Those at Northern University reported that they felt, acted, self-identified and were seen differently at NU than they were at their respective community colleges, and there was a notable difference in how veterans at NU inhabited their academic identities, compared to their counterparts at Halcón College. Veterans' collegiate positions seemed more precarious at Halcón

College: of the 19 interviewed only 10 spoke about continuing on beyond an Associate's degree. Juggling part time jobs and families, these students struggled with a steeper academic and social learning curve that made it more difficult to stay in school. Many spoke about negotiating multiple part-time jobs, while also constantly weighing options about changing majors, classes, jobs; these options typically included dropping out of school. Halcón College students were more likely to drop out because of difficulties re-learning civilian and academic norms and practices, but also (in common with those in the general civilian community college student population) because they lacked social and financial support (Brint 2003). Moreover, as previously noted, veterans at Halcón College more commonly said that they felt socially invisible. The tendency to feel isolated, alienated and invisible was less common at Northern University, especially (and crucially) because there are veterans' clubs and special classes designed to orient returning vets to campus culture and practices.

The prestigious Northern University has a variety of programs and funds available to help student veterans adjust to university life. That NU student veterans did not report difficulties negotiating the individual focus of the civilian academy can be partially explained by the fact that to have transferred into the university, they must have acquired and mastered these complex skills; they must have completed all academic prerequisites with a sufficiently high grade point average, applied, and been accepted by a competitive university. It can also be explained by the fact that NU has a very strong veteran's group that provides mentoring and informal guidance. All student veterans I interviewed at NU had received extensive support and mentoring, either from civilian instructors, family members, partners, or veteran service organizations. All noted that without coaching and support geared specifically toward preparing them for the norms and demands of the university, they would not have made it to NU, and would not have been successful there.

At Northern University, academic enculturation for student veterans often takes place within a context of uncritical esteem for the military, which is reified in common practices (rituals at their gatherings, ground rules for interactions at meetings, jokes, and banter). The message that veterans are valued members of an elite institution was constantly reinforced by various faculty and staff, and many student veterans said that this message of meritocratic superiority resonated with their experience in the military. The following Part II explores some of the literature that informs the creation of veterans' services and that ground them in a discourses of military superiority, and why this might be problematic.

Veterans' Services Based on Pro-military 'Best Practices'

As argued previously, combat veterans entering college need and can benefit from specialized supportive services. Returning combat veterans have undergone intensively specialized training and many have had traumatic combat experiences that may present difficulties for learning in college classrooms. However, not all veterans feel a positive relationship to the U.S. military; and so for these veterans, programs that require uncritical esteem for the military may not offer effective support. Nonetheless, despite the diversity in views among veterans regarding the institutional U.S. military and the wars, much of the current "best practices" veteran support scholarship is based on the assertion that veterans require services imbued with pro-military ideologies and practices. The

following sections explore some of this literature and ideologies on which these types of veterans interventions are based. Subsequent chapters will explore the effects of forming veterans services that are contingent on support for the US military and the wars, and analyze its effect on veterans and more broadly, on campus discourse.

The Rise of the “Military Friendly” Campus

There is nothing new about the use of heroic narratives about soldiers to rally support for wars. Marc Grandstaff (2004) notes that even before the return of U.S. soldiers from World War II in 1945-46, popular magazine such as Life and the Saturday Evening Post prepared the nation to ready the heroes’ welcome by running full-page public service ads with rich narratives extolling the virtues of the returning soldier, to prepare civilian society with information about “who the soldier was, what he had endured and what the veteran came to expect upon his return.”⁹⁴

The treatment of GIs returning victorious from World War II set the standard by which veterans advocates after subsequent wars would gauge treatment of returning soldiers. However, unlike soldiers after World War II, veterans today return from multiple deployments to multiple conflicts, the rationale for which are highly contested and many of which do not enjoy widespread popular support. Despite the differences in rationale and public support for these two regional conflicts--World War II and the current Middle East Wars—I argue that contemporary veteran services are informed by a template of the World War II veteran, as well as by narratives of Vietnam War veteran.

Recent literature stresses the need to embed campus veteran services within a strategy to create campuses that are more “military friendly” (Shenk 2010) or “veteran-friendly” (Ackerman & DiRamio 2009). This literature argues for the need to create veteran-friendly campuses, arguing this necessity arises from a legacy of disrespect and neglect of Vietnam War veterans on college campuses during the last century, basing this argument on stories of civilian college campus hostility toward US military veterans:

In the 1960s and 1970s, many veterans of the U.S. armed forces, on returning home from Vietnam, discovered that their service was not honored. The war effort had lost popular support, anti-war protests were common, and the country was divided. As a nation, we were unable or unwilling to separate an unpopular war from those who had been sent to fight it. College campuses, often places where the protests were held, did not respond well to the needs of the veterans who became students.⁹⁵

There are multiple problems with basing the conceptualization of veterans’ services on a supposed historic antipathy between civilian colleges and military veterans. First is the assertion that a lack of popular support for the Vietnam War, extensive anti-war protests and a lack of consensus of the war rendered the nation “unable or unwilling to separate an unpopular war from those who had been sent to fight it.” This implies that opposition to the Vietnam War resulted in neglect of veterans’ educational needs on college campuses. The claim that campus protests against the Vietnam War dishonored military veterans, promotes the notion that opposition to US wars and support for veterans are incompatible. This position assumes that all military veterans actively support the U.S.

⁹⁴ Grandstaff 2004: 2

⁹⁵ Ackerman and DiRamio *Creating a Veteran-Friendly Campus: Strategies for Transition and Success* (2009: 1)

military and the wars; an assumption that my research shows to be incorrect. Moreover, this position implies that campus support for veterans must be predicated on the absence of dissent about wars.

The above-quoted article outlines the rationale behind creating veteran-friendly campuses, noting that, as in the 1960's, contemporary US soldiers are returning home and enrolling in college after fighting in unpopular wars. However the authors acknowledge that contemporary veterans are received positively: "While popular support for these [Middle East] wars is also an issue, society, including campuses, is responding in mostly positive ways to veterans of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan."⁹⁶ This denial of hostility towards veterans notwithstanding, this argument implies that contemporary campuses are insufficiently friendly to the military, and thus to veterans.⁹⁷ Thus, in fusing historical and contemporary tropes of soldiers as both reviled and heroic, services for contemporary veterans are conceived as correctives to historic (and apocryphal) dishonor against student veterans during the Vietnam War.

According to Kokken et al (2009), the term *veteran-friendly* "refers to marked efforts made by individual campuses to identify and remove barriers to the educational goals of veterans, to create smooth transitions from military life to college life, and to provide information about available benefits and services (in Ackerman & Diramio:45), but the 'best practices' literature promotes interventions that reach far beyond streamlining administrative procedures and providing information to veterans. Ford et al. (2009) include in their list of "Recommendations on How to Enhance the Success of Military Students" the creation of student veterans groups in conjunction with local military leaders and pro-military community groups such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW).⁹⁸ This literature also calls for the development of campus programs designed "to show appreciation for military service to the country. Examples include annual appreciation programs and campuswide events on Memorial Day, September 11, and Veterans' Day."⁹⁹ Ford et al. conclude:

It is the responsibility of campus leaders, including those in student affairs, to first act locally and then partner with military leaders to meet the unique needs of the increasing

⁹⁶ Ibid:1

⁹⁷ This Vietnam-era framing of veterans' needs has become part of the conventional wisdom—the *common sense*—that informs contemporary student affairs services. For example NAPSAs (Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education), a leading association of student affairs professionals, promotes a webinar on "Approaches to creating a Veteran-Friendly Campus" with the description: "Colleges did not respond well to the needs of military personnel who came to the campus following the Vietnam conflict. Using the lessons from that era, researchers and program planners have developed strategies for aiding student veterans and many campuses have in place initiatives designed to facilitate the transition students make when they leave campus for military service and when they return from service. Student affairs plays a crucial leadership role in preparing for, serving, and successfully graduating these students." (www.napsa.org retrieved 8/11/13) Presumably "lessons from that era" would include creating campuses that are more military friendly, and advising campus personnel that anti-war protests hurt veterans.

⁹⁸ Ford et al. recommend that campus staff: "Engage with military leaders, including retired personnel, to develop programs and services that meet the needs of active-duty students...Along these lines, the chief student affairs officer could appoint a task force of military students and student life personnel to collaborate with local Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) to create an SVA [Student Veterans of America] chapter on campus...It is helpful to note that veterans groups such as the VFW have been instrumental in the development and support of SVA chapters." (Ford et al., chapter 7 in Ackerman et al (2009: 67-68)

⁹⁹ Ibid: 68

population of students who are in the military.¹⁰⁰ Without the determined leadership of student affairs officers, it is unlikely that campus efforts will be as successful as they need to be to help repay these students for their service.

The authors of the above urges campus student affairs officers to “partner with military leaders” if they are to successfully do their job, which according to the authors, is to “help repay these students for their [military] service.” Many academics would disagree that repayment for military service should be the goal of college educators, arguing instead that their goal should be to provide an education for all students, civilians and military veterans alike. Moreover, scholars like Jorge Mariscal (2004) and Christian Appy (1993) argue that making a college education contingent on fighting a war is a transaction that no one should have to make. Nonetheless, the re-framing the mission of educating military veterans as one of honoring military service and repayment for sacrifice in war implies that educators should and do support wartime military service—and that military service is something for which colleges rightfully must now assume the debt of repayment.



photo: www.dbu.edu



photo: www.shorter.edu



photo: www.ccu.edu

“Best Practices” of Veteran Support

Much of the literature on veterans services is dominated by scholars and practitioners associated with the military (ex-military or currently working for the Veterans Administration or US Department of Defense) and emphasizes the role of military identities in veteran support service. (DiRamio 2008; Ackerman 2009; Herrmann et al. 2008, 2010; Armstrong 2010.) This literature argues that *best practices* of providing support for student veterans involves reinforcing student veterans’ military identities by incorporating military narratives into support programs, as well as promoting veterans as exemplars of military superiority on campuses (DiRamio 2008; Ackerman 2009; Herrmann et al. 2008, 2010; Armstrong 2010; Shenk 2010). This model of veteran support stresses a cultural competence component, through which campus administrators, staff and faculty can become sensitized to and about an (ostensibly unitary) military culture.¹⁰¹ A much-replicated model of this cultural

¹⁰⁰ Ibid :68 Ford et al. refer to “students who are in the military” implying that their recommendations are directed solely toward active-duty military members. However these recommendations are clearly intended for post-discharge student veterans, as well as the broader college campus (evidenced by repeated recommendations for military collaboration with Student Veterans of America, an organization which works primarily with post-discharge veterans and the call for campuswide military appreciation events).

¹⁰¹ American Council on Education report, Clarke and Coyner, 2013: 62

competence training includes familiarizing academic personnel in the outward accoutrement of military life -- uniforms, weaponry, classifications by branch of service, battle cries— (Thomas 2010) with the stated goal of engendering sensitivity and thus support for military priorities, traditions, and allegiances¹⁰². This model, (discussed in-depth in Chapter Six), is based on the rationale that familiarizing faculty with military norms, uniforms and weaponry will lead to a welcoming campus climate for veterans, who are presumed to hold pro-military allegiances.¹⁰³ Thus, following this line of logic, the best ways that campuses can demonstrate their support for veterans is by increasing military displays on campus.

These *best practice* programs are said to set the standard for veteran educational support (DiRamio 2008; Ackerman 2009, Armstrong 2010, Thomas 2010), and include strategies intended to create campuses that are *veteran-friendly* (or the original, and still widely- used alternative: *military-friendly*) campuses. However, because these support programs are based on the assumption that veterans universally hold pro-military views, then campuses are encouraged to develop veterans' support services within this framework. NU has received the designation of Military Friendly School from the publishing business Victory Media, which was created in 2001 and whose mission is encapsulated in the slogan: "Empowering the Military Community."¹⁰⁴ As the following chapters will make clear, initiatives to create *military friendly* campuses have the effect of valorizing military ideologies on campus; which in turn contributes to the production of militarized common sense.

Discourses of Military Superiority and the student veteran

"We call on the warrior to exemplify the qualities necessary to prosecute war— courage, loyalty and self-sacrifice. The Soldier, neglected and even shunned during peacetime, is suddenly held up as the exemplar of our highest ideals, the savior of the state. The Soldier is often whom we want to become, though secretly many of us, including most soldiers, know that we cannot match the ideal held out before us."

(Hedges 2003:10-11)

I have been using the term *military superiority* to describe an ideology through which veterans become proxy representatives of the US military project. Through this ideology, soldiers (and veterans) represent a unique and distinct subset of the rest of the civilian population; they are held as superior in physical prowess, in moral fiber, in civic spirit and engagement, and in the less tangible individual attributes like discipline, honor, and righteousness, and maturity. A fundamental underlying assumption in military superiority is that veterans are to be admired principally for their affiliation with the military, and more so than civilians, who are positioned within this ideology as weaker,

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ For a detailed description of these cultural competence trainings, see Chap. 4

¹⁰⁴ From the company website: "Victory Media's global media brands unite the military community of troops, veterans and their family members with content targeted to unique needs at critical military life stages. Through continuous research, our product development team strives to stay on the leading edge of military community issues. This mantra ensures the production of targeted media products, filled with original and user-generated content, which are widely consumed and influential within military circles." (<http://victorymedia.com>, ret. 1/6/14)

less civic minded and less disciplined. Thus veterans' moral, physical and civic superiority renders them deserving of greater respect than the rest of the population. Military superiority becomes a prominent social force throughout society, especially during times of war (Hedges 2003).

This ideological orientation can be found within the literature developed to guide the creation of services to student veterans. An example of what I am calling the *Best Practice* literature is a special edition of the journal *Insight into Student Services* (June 2010) entitled "What makes a Military Friendly Campus?" the director of veterans services for a Southern California State University employs the language of military superiority, embedded within a discourse of national sacrifice, to explain why veterans are tougher and more mature in ways that "set them apart from the non-veteran student."

Veterans are a complex group with a wide range of military experiences as they make the transition back into "the world." ...[E]very veteran has had the experience where she or he was pushed to the absolute limit of physical and/or mental endurance and still kept going, putting one foot in front of the other. This experience gives them a toughness and maturity that sets them apart from the non-veteran student.¹⁰⁵

It is undeniable that veterans are a complex group with a wide range of experiences. However, the above statement represents an essentialized selective representation of the effects of the military experience. There is much evidence to suggest that combat experience can also be a destabilizing experience, and in some cases it has been known to be quite damaging to soldiers (Glantz 2010, Shay 2003, Tick 2005, Grossman 1995, Lifton 1973) and there are deeply divided opinions among veterans about the effects--both maturing and developmentally inhibiting -- of military service. (See Chapter Two). It is notable that the qualities that are being celebrated: complexity, maturity, toughness gained from having lived through a wide range of experiences requiring physical endurance, seem to apply only to members of the military. Yet, as any college instructor can attest, many students, particularly at community colleges — older , re-entry students, immigrant students; many of whom have undergone grueling physical and emotional trials—possess similar qualities to those listed above. But it is membership in the military that renders these students exceptional, and deserving of exceptional valorization and support.

The discourse of military superiority on campuses is promoted not just by pro-military advocates; it is also taken up by some veterans themselves. Many veterans in this study viewed the narrative of military superiority as positive, because it heightened their self-esteem and helped them feel that they are better people than they were prior to their military service. However, the pervasive discourse of veteran superiority can act as a disservice to veterans who are seeking to come to campus wishing to interact with civilians; this discourse may create barriers between veterans and civilian students with whom they must learn to interact. NU student Oscar noted both the positive and negative social effects of having an identity of superiority drilled into him during his Marine Corps training:

¹⁰⁵ Mike MacCallum Ph.D. Long Beach City College in *iJournal: Insights into Student Services*

Oscar: You have this phrase that, you know, "you're a Marine now, you have higher standards than a regular civilian." That's something that I live by. I feel like I kind of bought into what the Marine Corps fed me, but it's OK, because it made me a better person.

EM: You say you bought into what they fed you. What is it that they fed you?

Oscar: The whole idea that you're better than the average person. That's something that, when you're in boot camp they're like, "oh, you're no longer a nasty civilian. You're a Marine now. You have higher standards." Right? It's something they keep constantly reminding you. Or like, "OK, that might be acceptable in the civilian world, but it's not acceptable here."

EM: How do you think that affects you, being with civilians, and studying with civilians?

Oscar: You start believing it. Sometimes it makes you look down on other people.¹⁰⁶

Veterans' Services *In Situ*

Military Masculinity as credentialed legitimacy

If a discourse of military superiority informs what services are appropriate, it also determines who should be eligible to offer support services to veterans. There is an assumption, or conventional wisdom among veteran support organizations that male service providers, and more specifically male veterans, are the most appropriate people to support the (normatively understood as male) veterans. In the course of my research, I observed that speakers addressing an audience of veterans would leverage both their masculinity and their military status when speaking to audiences of military veterans, and that these same speakers would de-emphasize or omit mention of their military status when speaking to civilian audiences. This happened with a psychologist, Dr. J., who specialized in treating veterans with war trauma, and who was an invited speaker to a class of student veterans on the NU campus. I had heard him speak previously to civilian educators at a cultural competence training to teach Community College instructors how to interact with veterans (discussed in more detail in Chapter 6). Dr. J. seemed to employ a dual strategy for audience engagement: introducing himself to the Community College instructors as a civilian psychologist (and specifically mentioning that he was not a member of the U.S. Military); while introducing himself to the veterans' class as a former Israeli Defense Force soldier, thus establishing credibility as a former combatant as well as an expert on psychological and physical trauma. Dr. J. told the group of student veterans that while he's never served in the US armed forces, he has "stayed in the green machine", meaning that he stayed in the military milieu by working with military servicemembers. At the training for civilian community college instructors, Dr. J. did not position himself as representing a military perspective, but instead consistently deferred to his co-presenter, a former U.S. Marine, on all experiential military matters. That he would introduce himself as former military to the of student veterans and not to the group of civilian educators seemed to reflect the calculation that the cultural capital and the

¹⁰⁶ Interview 2/6/12

credibility he gains in this room of veterans would serve him to introduce himself as military.

Presumably, this differential deployment of signifiers is intended to establish credibility as a military comrade with student veterans, while also establishing himself as a non-military-aligned civilian professional with the college instructors. Thus Dr. J. can appear as trustworthy source to both consitutencies. I saw that happen repeatedly across different veteran support spaces. Service providers for veterans pre-emptively positioned themselves as supporters of the military or having a military background as a way of garnering the sufficient credibility to provide services to veterans.

The assertion that male veterans can offer the most effective help to soldiers was repeated in veteran support circles, on and off campus. For example, I heard this assertion when I was invited to observe an event in Orchard Valley, the “GWOT Ranch Days.”¹⁰⁷ Hosted by an equestrian-based veteran support organization called *Horses for Heroes* the program offered a day of horseback-riding to veterans who served in the Iraq or Afghanistan wars. In bucolic pastures on the outskirts of town, veterans paired with stables staff, riding teachers and therapists to learn how to groom and ride horses. The day included guided rides and learning how to navigate an obstacle course on horseback. As a non-veteran observer I was allowed to accompany a veteran who had been paired with a *Horses for Heroes* volunteer and military therapist. While my veteran-partner showed me how to clean the horse’s hooves with a stiff bristle brush, Dirk, a therapist and Navy veteran spoke about his work counseling veterans at the Ft. Lewis-McCord military hospital in Washington State. He said that his experience at the military hospital convinced him that only other male veterans could appropriately counsel male veterans:

It takes a male vet to be able to talk to these guys. Because I shot competitively, when I sit by the bedside of someone who’s been shot three times in the sternum, I can say “what caliber did they get you with? And he says ‘I think it was a 39.’ And I can say ‘nah, a 39 would come from an automatic weapon. And you wouldn’t have that kind of a wound. It must have been a [single-shot caliber bullet]. You must have been hit by a sniper.’ And that’s how I get their respect. In this exchange, the soldier’s physical wounds become the medium for male-bonding establishing masculine credibility and the establishing the right to speak to the soldier. It is not surprising that in a masculinist organization built around the use of firearms, male status and a demonstrated knowledge of weapons would confer on service providers credibility, and that this credibility might garner a certain type of respect. And it is true that Dirk was referring to bedside counseling with, rather than classroom teaching of veterans. However, according to the Best Practice literature, this type of masculinist rapport has become a desirable, if not a requisite trait in college professors and administrators. This template for veteran support is promoted in cultural competence trainings wherein academic personnel are taught to identify weaponry and combat gear as a necessary condition of teaching veterans in the classroom. The logic of these programs is based on several assumptions: 1) that as Dirk suggests, to effectively communicate with and be respected by (presumed male) student veterans, one must be a male veteran, or at least be a close approximate: a preferably male individual trained in the caliber and

¹⁰⁷ GWOT is the acronym for the “Global War on Terror,” the name given to the constellation of current wars currently being waged by the US military.

technical capabilities of weapons, 2) that the outward manifestations of war-making—uniforms, weapons, military social relations—represent the singularly authentic ‘military culture’ with which all student veterans identify, 3) that establishing a rapport based on these factors is necessary to successful teaching and support of student veterans regardless of their field of study.

This logic is flawed on several counts: First, defining military culture and “veteran” as normatively male ignores the reality that there are multiple genders represented in the military (including transgender, as Chelsea Manning has recently shown us). Secondly, assuming that all veterans value equally a singular conception of military culture based on the outward markers of war-making disregards the fact that many veterans feel great conflict rather than unalloyed pride at their actions in combat, and thirdly, that many war veterans go to college to distance themselves from, or to critically examine U.S. Military policies and practices, rather than to valorize them.

Military identification in civilian support groups

Veterans on and off campuses are supported by large networks of civilian nonprofit organizations that offer an array of services from housing and legal assistance, to corporate employment opportunities, spiritual support, academic tutoring and scholarships, to rock-climbing therapy workshops. Over the course of two years I regularly attended meetings of civilian networks devoted to veteran support, and found that civilian participants in veteran support organizations were actively encouraged to claim a military identity, whether they wanted to or not. For example, at one meeting, everyone attending was asked not only to introduce themselves by name and social service agency,¹⁰⁸ but also, (in what evoked religious testimony), attendees were asked to state their personal relationship with the military. For those who currently were, or who had been members of the military, this self-introduction was relatively straightforward: it involved giving their name and the branch of service with which they were affiliated. The remaining participants --for the most part female social service providers-- were left to make statements like “My grandfather served in the Army in World War II,” or “I had an uncle in the National Guard,” as if this remote affiliation might have some bearing on their ability to provide housing assistance, job placement or substance abuse treatment offered by the programs they represented. Although the meeting was comprised largely of civilian organizations, this ritualized, enforced declaration of affiliation enacted a relationship of military allegiance. This ritual seemed to imply that military affiliation or the endorsement of military projects was a necessary condition of providing services to veterans.¹⁰⁹ The above example illustrates ways through which the politics of

¹⁰⁸ The group included representatives of longstanding non-profit organizations like the Salvation Army, the VA and public mental health agencies, but also more recent outgrowths of the burgeoning and alliterative sector of veteran-specific support programs, such as: Warriors to Work, Combat to Community, Boots to Books, and the equine therapy coalition, Horses for Heroes.

¹⁰⁹ I observed this ritual of allegiance enacted in various ways at meetings of different civilian support networks. For example, during introductions at yet another support network meeting, we were not only told to introduce ourselves by name and military affiliation, but we were asked to sing the military anthem corresponding to one’s service branch of affiliation. After spoken introductions, meeting facilitators broadcast a musical “Tribute to the Troops” video in which Heavy Metal band Kiss sang a medley of military anthems. We were instructed to rise and sing along when the medley reached the anthem of our stated affiliation: e.g. Navy affiliates were told to rise and sing “Anchors Aweigh”; those with connections

identification act as a disciplinary force: in publically identifying a military affiliation, participants performed a ritual of allegiance in which family relationships were transformed into military affiliations. This is a case of conflating support for veterans with support for the institutional military, which, as I argue in subsequent chapters, is one of the key components in the production of militarized common sense.

While the majority of support services I observed relied on some version of military superiority, not all interventions relied on a nationalist or unquestioning allegiance to military projects. An examination of campus services for veterans reveals that veterans support programs can have the effect of reproducing the imprint of militarized socialization on college campuses, without overtly promoting the current wars. Moreover, services that reproduce military socialization in and of themselves do not necessarily produce militarized common sense. However, I will argue in the following section that when support programs are infused with pro-military nationalist ideologies and conflate support for veterans with support for the wars, this helps to foster militarized common sense on campuses.

A note about service providers

It is important to be clear: Just as there is a deep diversity among the political sentiments, motivations and practice of soldiers and veterans, similar diversity can be found among veterans service providers. It is not my intention to portray all veteran service providers as hawkish ideologues promoting uncritical support for contemporary wars; this has been neither my personal experience nor my research findings. To the contrary, the majority of veterans service providers I met on campuses --like Rick and other service providers at NU, and those at Halcón College -- were kind, thoughtful and caring advocates for student veterans. It would be unfair and inaccurate to portray them as militarist ideologues. But as Gramsci reminds us, common sense is most often produced from assumptions embedded within the collective popular consciousness. Therefore, rather than emanating from ideologues of the dominant classes, common sense is taken up and promoted by a diverse range of people whose ideas and actions are influenced by particular social forces. I found that many veterans service providers, who may neither profess nor believe in ideologies of military superiority, nonetheless delivered services shaped by that discourse.

Class Veterans' Re-Entry to College

Central to veterans' services at Northern University is a re-entry class designed especially for veterans. This class is offered to veterans in their first semester at NU and serves to introduce them to the university's social and academic norms and practices. Along with companionship and mutual support, the class provides tips on time management and how to study, read and write academic texts. Moreover, this optional

to the Army sang "When the Caissons Go Rolling Along"; Air Force affiliates sang "Off We Go, Into the Wild Blue Yonder"; and Marine supporters sang "Marine Corps Hymn" (*From the Halls of Montezuma to the Shores of Tripoli*). Those who were assigned to sing the Coast Guard's more obscure "Semper Paratus (Always Ready)" were either out of luck or off the hook, as this song had not been included in the video medley. In this manner, the civilian facilitator succeeded in getting every member of the audience to publically claim affiliation, to identify, and to participate. Following that ritual, the crowd was asked to stand and sing "God Bless America."

course offers one semester unit of credit, which can help to round out veterans' course loads so they can meet their requirement for full-time enrollment status necessary to receive full financial support from the GI Bill. The course is popular with veterans, who learn about it through the campus veterans' website or by word of mouth. This veterans' class offers a good example of what DiRamio et al. (2008) cite as a means of building inclusive communities on campuses, by offering a learning environment for veterans that is socially cohesive while teaching them practical academic skills.

I spent one semester as a participant-observer in this class, watching the formal introduction veterans received to the academic and social norms of the university. According to the published course description, the class is designed to help with academic remediation and to acclimate NU Veterans (generally transfer, re-entry, and student parents in upper division courses) to the expectations of student life at Northern University. A critical objective of the class is social bonding.¹¹⁰

The content and structure of this class was intended to educate students about how to conduct themselves in the (civilian) academic world. Many of the intended academic lessons directly contrast with the lessons that were taught as part of basic training, military service, and combat. In this class, student veterans were encouraged identify with and take pride in their military service, which I argue, had the effect of reinforcing a discourse of military superiority.

The vignette below, taken from observation of the veterans' class shows how the discourse of military superiority becomes subtly imbued in pedagogical interventions for military veterans. the ideological inflections of college support services for military veterans. The following excerpt from my field note discusses the first day of class, when 25 men and one woman began the course:

The classroom is located in a Northern University residence hall and tightly packed with tables and chairs arranged in straight rows; all chairs are oriented to the front of the room. Before class begins, the instructor, a man in his mid- thirties, announces that in this seminar he wants students to be able to see each other when they speak, so he asks the group to rearrange the chairs and tables, and to form a circle from the chairs.

Immediately the students rise, in unison and as if with one body, to comply with the instructor's request. Within 20 seconds the room has been completely re-arranged to the instructor's specifications: extraneous tables lined against walls, and chairs arranged in a symmetric circle. The instructor, smiling broadly, says "You can tell this is a room full of service members. If you want something done right..." (a slight shrug and a smile substituting for the implied end of the sentence: 'ask a Service Member to do it.')

The instructor then formally begins the class by thanking the students for their military service, and noting that while he did not personally serve in the US Armed Forces, his way of serving the country is to give support for veterans' educational needs.

-Excerpt, Field Note 9.1.11

¹¹⁰The course description in the syllabus notes: "Working together as a community of scholars, class members develop, assess, and hone strategies to ensure academic success and a positive transition to studies at Northern University."

The students' immediately efficient response to the instructor's request to rearrange the classroom chairs was clearly a result of their collective military training.¹¹¹ However, in this instance the instructor's praise went beyond approbation for efficiently rearranging chairs. It invoked the discursive power of military superiority, which marked the students as deserving of valorization by virtue of their military training and status. The instructor made this explicit when he began the class by thanking the students for their military service.

This class consciously built on the shared military experience of members, which fostered a sense of commonality. While I know from many conversations with the instructor, that he did not and does not intend to promote the idea that military veterans are superior to civilians, nevertheless this pedagogy creates this effect, because the discourse of military valorization is the pedagogical keynote of the course.

Bringing bootcamp into the classroom

After asking the students to introduce themselves by name, declared major and branch of military service, the instructor began the class with a questionnaire about what was considered to be a unifying experience of all students in the room: Boot Camp. He circulated a sheet with four questions:

- 1) What about Boot Camp proved challenging for you?
- 2) Were there any elements of Boot Camp that you particularly enjoyed?
- 3) What helped you get through Boot Camp?
- 4) Why did they yell at you?

The arc of these questions suggests a pedagogical journey for the class, one that specifically links their military training with their new task of being a college student by likening the first weeks of classes at NU with their military initiation in basic training. In answering the questions, the class was asked to remember thoughts and feelings they had at the beginning of boot camp.

While this class draws on a pedagogy based on participants' shared military experience, the instructor also held space for a diversity of opinions about military practice. For example, in response to the instructor's question about the difficulties veterans faced in basic training, veterans' answers ranged from the generic: "lack of sleep," "sharing a room with people with poor hygiene," to comments that point to a critique of military practices: "being around intolerant people," "losing who you were, destroying your sense of self", "the screaming in your face," and "smokings, beatings (group punishment for individual infractions)." The arc of the questions was designed to evoke the collective social memory of military hardships, and to remind the class that

¹¹¹ In addition to making an ideological statement, the instructor was voicing an observable fact: it was obvious that this group of students had been trained to work together to accomplish a common goal. By way of contrast, two days prior I had begun the semester teaching a similar transition class for (non-military) transfer students. The class was held in the same room, with the same furniture configuration. I made the same request of this classroom of civilian students: to rearrange the chairs in a circle. A few people made half-hearted attempts to move some chairs individually, but nobody worked together on it, and the ultimate outcome after five minutes of shuffling around was a jumble of chairs and tables scattered throughout the room.

they have collectively endured more onerous physical and emotional trials than the ones they face in college.

The question about what they enjoyed about Boot Camp, to which answers included: “unexpected laughs with Drill Instructors”, “All the diversity—different people of different ethnicities figuring out how to be soldiers together”, “Having a brotherhood”, and “Learning to shoot” was designed to evoke the positive aspects of their collective military experience; to remind students that while Boot Camp may have been onerous, it was not without social benefits.

The third question “What helped you get through Boot Camp?” gestured towards resiliency. The answers: “knowing it would end”, “knowing that people stood up before me, gave their lives, and I had to stand up for them” and “finding 1 or 2 other people I can relate to;” “There are some stupid people out there” cued the students to the memory that in past, they managed to muster inner strength in adverse circumstances, and draws on their sense of mission, and of military bonds as motivation.

The final question: “Why do they yell at you?” served, by effect if not by intent, as a vindication of the authoritarian military style of training.¹¹² Rather than asking the veterans about their affective experience of being yelled at, this question called for students to enunciate a rationale for authoritarian military training techniques.

The students’ answers: “So you can handle the stress,” “It’s a transformation” and “to build you up: brotherhood, relying on each other, military, discipline, trust” re-affirms the military identity of the group. The one dissenting voice who wrote “So they can spit on you” indicates that there is not unanimous positive regard for the shared military experience.

This university class was not unique in the fact that it contained an ideological orientation. Indeed, Gramsci reminds us that there is no neutral outside from which we can compare our lived historical understanding with a theoretical, ahistorical truth. This means there is no educative space that is *not* ideological, and that there every social interaction or utterance contains politics. University classes are thus politicized, and carry valences from across the political spectrum, some more overtly than others. In that respect, the veterans’ class is similar to other entry-level classes offered by the university, sponsored by different academic departments and tailored for diverse student populations: for example, there is a class geared for Chicano/Latino students, a class designed for transfer and re-entry students. These classes are successful, in part, because they build on common experiences of members, and promote feelings of unity and a shared identity within the class members. Whereas the entry level class in Ethnic Studies might use the lens of Critical Race Theory to understand and decode university practices, this veteran-specific class builds on military culture and relationships to learn to function within the University. Thus, using a template of military relations and lexicon, the veterans’ class focused on peer support, skill-building and mentorship as well as resource referrals. The following field note excerpt indicates the atmosphere of mutual support:

People share information. Whatever tips they have picked up in the first weeks of school they offer to the group: the importance of keeping aware of deadlines,

¹¹² It is significant that the question was not framed as either: “How did you feel about being yelled at?” or “What do you think of this practice?”, both of which might have provoked a more critical perspective.

avoiding late fees, and how to get into classes if you've missed the enrollment deadline. They share information about special adaptive equipment available for those with disabilities. They advise each other on the intricacies of the GI Bill benefits, how to plan the semester to ensure that they don't run out of money before graduating. They advise each other about which classes they should take, and counsel taking harder classes during the summer. They discuss which professors are good, which ones are pro-military and have good reputations with veterans.

There's a palpable feeling of care and love in the room, extended to everyone in this invisible club. It feels like the veterans are looking out for one another, and it seems that they care deeply about each other. Today the class of 30 students has a majority(24) of white men, and I can't help but wonder if the intense feeling of belonging extends to the two females, two Asian/Pacific Islanders, one Iranian American and two African Americans in the room. But from what I can observe, it appears that everyone feels welcomed and cared for in this space.

--excerpt from field notes 9/22/11

The profound sense of mutual care and support grew quickly over the semester, partially because of the instructor's conscious effort to encourage student veterans to build on their common military experience, and partially because of the instructor's expert group facilitation skills. His pedagogy of mutual support and group identification allowed for the group to coalesce in support of, rather than in competition with each other. I felt moved emotionally by the veterans' demonstrations of fondness and tenderness, although it was cloaked in an avuncular bravado that might resemble good-natured harassment. This was especially evident when the veterans coached each other on how to maintain calm when they feel that they might lose their temper and "go off" in response to academic pressures, or in response to what some students called "ignorant" comments by civilians. Suggestions included breathing deeply and counting backwards from 10. Some students advised the avoidance of "knife hands" (a whole-hand, closed fingered gesture used by military trainers to emphasize speech or direct attention) saying that civilians might perceive this gesture as aggressive. The habit of using knife hands appeared to be ingrained, however, and persisted among the group despite admonitions against the gesture outside of military contexts. As one class member said, warning classmates against appearing aggressive in civilian company: "People give us a wide berth. People are more cautious[around veterans]."

While mutual support is cultivated in veteran classes and supportive spaces, critical discussion of the U.S. military or the wars is studiously avoided in these spaces. At Northern University, academic enculturation for student veterans often takes place within a context of uncritical support for the military, which is reified in common practices, such as rituals at their gatherings, ground rules for interactions at meetings, jokes, and banter. This dynamic is not exclusive to the veterans' orientation class. Subsequent chapters will show this practice of embedding veteran support within a context of support for the military project occurs in campus veterans' clubs and trainings for college instructors.

When a discourse of military superiority is aligned with a nationalist ideology, it promotes the position that veterans deserve honor and respect in ways different from civilians, by virtue of their military service, which becomes the constitutive element of veterans' special status and that which establishes the veterans as *veterans*. This idea-- that veterans are more honorable and more deserving of respect than other students because of their association with the military project-- becomes conflated with the notion that the military project similarly deserves honor and respect. In the following section, I address the question: What are some processes and practices that allow for the discursive alchemy, that which turns support for people (veterans) into support for the institution of the US Military?

The Military-Civilian Divide

The ideology of military superiority relies on the maintenance of a sharp and seemingly impassible divide between civilian and military spheres. In the contemporary U.S. society the population of both soldiers and veterans is declining¹¹³ and yet the militarization of our society is growing. Anthropologist and Vietnam War Veteran Steven Gardiner (2013) wrote about this paradox as two simultaneous developments in the United States, since the end of the Vietnam War and the end of the military draft: the continuing militarization of U.S. society and simultaneously increasing divide between the civilian experience and the lived military world. This paradox raises the question: How is it that militarization is increasing while civilian society is becoming more distant from the military as an institution? And through what mechanisms does this occur? To answer those questions I look at how militarization is embedded and produced in non-obvious spaces. This chapter examines the production of the military habitus as a "system of categories and obligations, roles, rites and rights" (Gardiner 2013) in civilian spaces such as college classrooms, veteran support networks and equine therapy programs.

Following Gardiner, I argue that U.S. military veterans are caught in the middle of this double-movement of ongoing militarization and growing civil-military alienation.¹¹⁴ To make up for the growing civilian-military divide, many veteran advocates promote programs for veterans based on an ideology of military superiority—a set of ideas that casts military personnel as superior to their civilian counterparts, has the effect of both elevating the military mission and separating and distancing veterans from their civilian classmates. One consequence of programs based on military superiority is that it allows civilians to separate soldiers' needs, and the soldiers themselves, from the wars in which they fought, which has the effect of obscuring the wars from public consciousness, while also denying the veterans' experience in war.

Conclusion

Militarized common sense is co-constructed by institutional and 'unofficial' supporters of the military, with the participation of all of us: students, professors and the general civilian population. Yet this is not a case of ideology being force-fed to an unwitting public. The sincere and laudable desire to support veterans-- by

¹¹³ National Center for Veterans Analysis and Statistics 2010; Pew Research Center 2011, cited in Gardiner:70-71)

¹¹⁴ Gardiner 2013: 69

valorizing the military and avoiding discussions about the war-- is not simply a false consciousness implanted by propagandists, it reflects a hegemonic social reality built on the articulation of ideological discourses and positions .

I argue that on institutional and societal levels, conceptualizations of “the veteran” are ideologically produced and instrumentally deployed to support military projects, and that these factors can have a deleterious effect on student veterans, on college campuses and on the greater society. The ideological power of militarized common sense and military superiority is informed by dualistic assumptions of good and evil promoted in all wars. The recognition of suffering and self-abnegation experienced by soldiers relies on a partial telling of the war story, one that depends on the mystification of military mission and erasure of suffering of the Enemy/Other. For a narrative of military superiority to become dominant, it must feature all-good (U.S.) soldiers and enemies who can be cast as evil.¹¹⁵ However, one of the reasons that a discourse of military superiority is problematic for so many student veterans --and for our national understanding of the current wars-- is that it obscures the complex realities faced by soldiers, the contradictory feelings they have about war; and the fact that during wars, ideal concepts of honor, dishonor, heroism, and cowardice become complicated by the realities of combat.

Given that veterans often have conflicting and contradictory feelings about their military service, supportive interventions that rely on unquestioning support for US military policy and the wars will not be able to address the conflicting feelings held by these veterans. And so, while campuses strive to meet the needs of recently returned veterans, some student veterans are organizing self-help interventions that are based on and reflect their particular needs. As the following chapter will show, some veterans attempt to replicate military structures and social patterns on college campuses, while others form bonds that allow them to distance themselves from military practice and ideologies. Meanwhile, others form social bonds with those who actively organize against militarization of society and against the wars. Thus, forging these military social bonds has the effect of both reproducing and contesting the imprint of militarized socialization on college campuses.

¹¹⁵ In counterinsurgency wars, enemies are not even given the title of soldiers: Enemies to the US forces are formally known as insurgents or terrorists, and colloquially known as “bad guys” or other racialized epithets, such as “hagi”, “rag heads”, “camel fuckers”, and myriad other denigrating terms.

Chapter 4: Veteran Self-Help: Embracing, Re-creating and Contesting Gendered Military Relations

Introduction

This chapter argues that military social bonds both reproduce and contest the imprint of militarized socialization on college campuses. Demonstrating this requires a detailed discussion of the social bonds forged in military training and through the experience of combat, and an examination of how these bonds are maintained and utilized to recreate militarized socialization on college campuses. I also look at limitations, exclusions and contradictions entailed within those bonds. In particular, how gender relations are reproduced through masculinist ideologies, codified and enforced through a culture of military misogyny.

This chapter further argues that social bonds play a critical role not only while soldiers are in the military, but also after they leave the military. These deeply gendered social bonds take on different meaning for different veterans. Part I explores the imprint of military socialization on veterans, and includes what veterans describe as the positive effects of military training on their subsequent performance in college. Part II analyses the affective nature of military bonds, how the nature and manifestation of these bonds differs for male and female soldiers. Military-based relationships form the foundation for support initiatives like veterans' clubs and classes. This section also examines the functions of communal bonds within military practice, and how the gendered nature of these bonds becomes naturalized within the hypermasculinized military milieu. Parts III and IV look at diverse strategies created by veterans to adapt to post-military life in college, both in trying to sustain military bonds and by seeking to distance themselves from military relationships and ideologies.

The Imprint of Military Socialization

Veterans' ability to succeed in college depends in large part on their ability to adapt to civilian academic norms and practices. Some do this by translating and adapting military training styles and relationships (in the form of social bonds) for a college milieu. Having adjusted to military culture and practice, many veterans find that behavior that was essential to operating within institutional military life becomes unhelpful in college. The clash of pedagogical and cultural norms and practices creates disjunctures that can impede soldiers' re-integration into civilian life and present obstacles to their success in college.

Moreover, the conflicts and contradictions veterans experience while serving in the military and in wars leads to conflicting and contradictory needs after they return home. Some supportive interventions that maintain structures of social support (camaraderie, mutuality) while bridging the social worlds (military, civilian, and academic) appear to be helpful to military veterans in college. The following section examines some of the ways that military training has positively influenced some veterans' subsequent college experience.

Different strategies veterans use to adapt to college have contradictory effects based on an analysis of gendered social bonds formed through military life. These social bonds play a critical role in veterans' post-military college life, although the origin and nature of the social bond varies. Those who seek to replicate military relationships on campus tend to be both male and uncritical of the U.S. military, and that the forging of these social bonds has the effect of both reproducing and contesting the imprint of militarized socialization on college campuses.

Adaptations of Military Socialization: Learned Discipline and Focus

Veterans in this study said that the highly structured atmosphere, inculcated discipline and mission-driven focus of their military training helped them to function in college. While many said they felt that they were not sufficiently trained in critical thinking skills and had to develop these skills 'on the fly' in college classrooms, others said that they felt more prepared than their civilian student counterparts to be college students because of specific skills learned in the military, such as punctuality, note-taking, public speaking and leadership skills. For some veterans, becoming accustomed to the external commands and complying with requirements to study and demonstrate proficiency (such as test-taking) helped them to succeed in college classrooms. Moreover, the fact that military veterans all spent at least four years living within the military's highly bureaucratic institutional structure gave them a particular kind of advantage: veterans enter college with the cultural capital gained from exposure to the bureaucratic military *habitus*; this meant that functioning within a bureaucratic college administrative apparatus was not entirely unfamiliar. Because the college administrative structure was generally less punitive than the military, it was perceived by many veterans as more benign, less threatening, and thus easier to deal with. This would place military veterans at an advantage over, for example, other "non-traditional" transfer students who have not accumulated the same kind of cultural capital that would facilitate functioning in a highly bureaucratic institution (for example, first generation college students, immigrant students or older re-entry students). For students with no prior experience navigating bureaucratic institutions, the transition to college can present specific administrative challenges. In this sense, learning to function in the military (importantly, absent combat) can serve as a useful enculturative function.

College as "Mission"

Student veterans live out lessons learned in the formative experience of basic training. For example, 28-year-old NU student Oscar, born in Mexico and raised in California, remembered his drill instructor telling him before graduation from boot camp, "He said: 'if ever in life you feel like you don't know what to do, just remember what you learned in boot camp.' And to this day that's what I remember." Although Oscar had been discouraged by his high school teachers from attempting college, after being discharged from the Marines he saw college as a mission-to-be-accomplished, likening his college classes to combat:

[College] is a constant struggle. Like when you're attacking the hill you want to attack the hill going up, not backing down. With my academic studies, I know it's tough being here at NU. I'm trying as hard as I can, so I don't have any regrets. I [don't want to] look at myself and be like,

"maybe I should have partied less and studied more." I study a lot, and I don't feel like I'm the smartest person, but I feel like I'm a very determined person. I think that's what I got from the Marines, and that's what's been helping me here at NU.

Veterans commonly refer to military conceptions of comportment and demeanor in their discussions of college life, which many conceptualized as a mission. This military orientation to the concept of *mission*--a critical goal, task or duty that is assigned or self-imposed--surfaced repeatedly during interviews with student veterans, and many conceptualized the completion of their college education as fulfilling a mission. One example of this came from Halcón College student Brett, 27, who was raised in Orchard Valley, a few miles from Halcón College, by his Colombian father and Caucasian mother. Brett had not been very motivated to learn in high school, and said he joined the Army because he hadn't been ready to go to college and he had wanted to "travel the world and go to combat." After eight years in the Army infantry and two deployments to Iraq, Brett said he learned to function under stress, and that he draws on his military practice of mental and physical preparation to help him to function in college and cope with daily stresses of college life. Brett said that many of the lessons he learned in military training have transferred into his civilian life in positive ways, adding that military training has helped him to become more disciplined and prepared for his classes. Employing the language and conceptual framework his military background, Brett understands his task of being a college student as his current over-arching mission, which is comprised of daily, smaller missions, such as preparing research papers, answering to instructors and meeting deadlines:

I learned [in the military] how to be calm in stressful situations, how to prepare myself for the next day or the next mission, just always be prepared and always be relaxed for stressful environments. Even for things like research papers. I always set it up, I write it on the board, I have the dates, I always give myself enough time to complete it, I try not to leave things to the last minute, and even then, leaving things to the last minute, to me, means three days prior [to the due date]. Usually I have things done about a week in advance, depending on the teacher, if she hands it out for, like, a research paper, I usually have it done like a week prior... I've become more disciplined in how to prepare myself, with everything from preparing a job interview to doing homework, to performing my daily tasks at work, even talking to an everyday normal Joe, or a customer, or my dad, or anybody.

As this quote illustrates, military conceptualizations provide the backdrop to Brett's daily life, his interactions with others (customers in his retail job at The Home Depot, his father, or an "everyday normal Joe") across circumstances. Having been trained to expect that deviation from behavioral norms would be punished, Brett leveraged his ability to follow rules to his advantage, consciously maintaining practices that will benefit him as a student. Brett turns in all of his assignments early, a reflection

of the old Army adage taught by drill instructors in basic training: “if you’re early, you’re on time; if you’re on time, you’re late; and if you’re late, don’t bother showing up.”¹¹⁶

Filipino-American NU student Terry, 25, echoed Brett’s view that college was a mission that needed to be accomplished. Terry joined the Marines because he wanted to emulate his father’s experience as a Navy Medic and find a career that would take him out of his industrial California city. When asked why he enlisted Terry said that he had felt “this need to fulfill the exploration part of my life.” “It seemed like the ceiling was too low,” he continued, referring to the vocational possibilities available to him in his working class city, noting that his high school classmates all had jobs as grocery store clerks, gas station attendants and bank tellers. Terry credits military discipline, which instilled in him an ability to focus--what he describes as a single-focused “mission accomplishment mentality,” with helping him to succeed at NU:

I try to show up early and build that punctuality. I think that's a good thing. That definitely transferred over [from the Marines]. I want to say it's the mentality of how to discipline yourself in whatever it is that you need to do, that mission accomplishment mentality, that bled over a lot. Sometimes it takes [different] forms, whether it's ignoring phone calls or ignoring emails or just ignoring whatever it is that's a distraction.

Halcón College student and infantry veteran Jack said that in the Army he was constantly trained and tested by demonstrating his newly-acquired skills. Raised in a white working class, conservative Mormon family in Orchard Valley, a few miles from Halcón College, Jack had been taught by his family that military service was his patriotic duty. Jack’s father, a Vietnam War veteran, encouraged him to join the Army because he wanted Jack to become more responsible. “He said the military offers a great jump-start on your life -- it helps you grow up, mature,” recalled Jack. An indifferent-to-poor high school student and self-described “adrenaline junkie” who felt that his life needed a jump-start, Jack enlisted during his junior year of high school, and left for basic training a week after his high school graduation.¹¹⁷

Jack said that he felt the military training model--a combination of didactic training and the constant demonstration of newly-acquired skills--helped prepare him for the demands of learning, and testing, in his community college:

I had some problems with [high] school. I wasn't going to school so much, getting in trouble. I guess I prioritized wrong. I never did my homework. I smoked a lot of pot when I was in high school and stuff like that. So I didn't like school, but the whole time you're in the military you're going to little schools in a way, little classes to train you on this and to train you on that and you get quizzed and you have to do all this stuff. There is actually

¹¹⁶ This military adage was invoked and regularly enacted by participants in this research. In contrast to the accepted NU practice of starting classes and campus meetings at 10 minutes past the designated hour, veterans would routinely show up early for scheduled interviews.

¹¹⁷ He did this through the Army’s delayed-entry program, which allows recruits to enter a pre-enlistment program prior to their 18th birthday in which they receive physical training and military mentorship to prepare for basic training.

quite a bit of schooling [in the military]. I just picked that up, and I use it, civilian-education wise.

Jack said that the “little schools” he was required to attend during military training prepared him well for college. Jack acknowledged that the subject matter taught in his college courses was significantly different from that of his military training, but said that the work habits and obedience to authority taught him how to perform the duties required as a student. What helped him most, he said, was that he had been trained to obey commands, and that his military superiors set the terms of his participation; for example, he knew he would be punished if he failed to do his homework:

[In the Army] you can't *not* do [homework]. That mentality carries over to civilian education, and makes it really easy in a way. The discipline, I think, is really what it was. This [attitude of] “just do it, break it down, and then just finish it.” The instilled discipline just transfers over really well.

The theme of learned discipline often surfaced in interviews with other veterans, for example, with Keilani, another Halcón College student and former Marine. Thirty-year-old Keilani never thought of herself as a strong student, saying that in high school in Hawaii she had preferred socializing to doing homework. She had planned to join the Navy, but a DUI arrest during her high school years made her ineligible for that branch of the military. When asked why she joined the Marines she said: “My dad was a Marine. I decided to go in because my dad told me I needed to learn what discipline was, integrity and respect, and the only way I'd ever learn those things was by joining the Marine Corps like he did.”

Keilani said that Marine boot camp taught her how to become more focused and less self-centered: “Boot camp teaches you a lot of things. When I was a young girl in high school, all I cared about was my social life. I didn't care about my family. I didn't care about anything else. Boot camp basically slapped a new reality in me.”¹¹⁸ Keilani proudly noted that she is now doing well academically, and attributed her current ability to focus on the habituated discipline and respect for hierarchy she learned in the Marine Corps:

I push myself. If one of my professors tells me that I have to do something, I make sure that it gets done, and I make sure it's to the best of my ability. The Marine Corps has trained me to do that. If you have to do something, it better be turned in at this day, no later. So that's one of the reasons why I think I'm so good in school right now. I listen. I pay attention. I give good eye contact, which I learned [in the Marines]. You're supposed to give good eye contact, so when my instructor's talking to me, I give him good eye contact. I acknowledge that I understand what he's saying. I take good notes.

¹¹⁸ Keilani's description of having a new disciplined reality “slapped” into her was meant both figuratively and literally. This particular pedagogy of violence was briefly discussed in the discussion on military hazing in Chapter 1.

Lessons instilled from military training and practice--discipline, task-based focus, time management, leadership and communication skills--endure for student veterans, and can positively influence their academic careers.

So too can the social bonds forged with their fellow soldiers. The following section examines this aspect of military life that all participants in this study identified as a crucial aspect of their military experience. As I will discuss, these social bonds are deeply gendered. They function and they take on different meanings for male and female soldiers.

The Function of Collective Social Bonds in Military Life

We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother

-Shakespeare, St. Crispin's Day Speech, *Henry V*

"A single soldier is nothing. It's all about the group."
--Jen, US Army ¹¹⁹

"I didn't experience real camaraderie until I entered the PTSD treatment program—it was 98% women who had gone through MST [Military Sexual Trauma]." ¹²⁰

-Sarah, US Army

Military life facilitates the formation of enduring social bonds. Throughout history, the kinship of soldiers' interpersonal relationships -- which begins at the first point of training and continues to evolve through battle -- has been lyrically ennobled in literature and popular culture.

When I asked NU student Ricardo why he enlisted in the Navy, he told me to read Shakespeare. As one of two sons in a second-generation Mexican immigrant family, Ricardo had been sent to a military-model continuation school because he was failing in his public high school. "I know it's one of the weirdest reasons to join [the Navy]," the 25- year- old said, "but I had an instructor in high school who was a Vietnam Vet. He started talking about this play, about the whole band of brothers, and I wanted that." Ricardo decided to enlist in the Navy, wanting to fight in Iraq after his teacher read him the "St. Crispin's Day Speech" from Shakespeare's *Henry V*. He continued:

I had never belonged to something like [a military 'band of brothers']. The strongest thing I could identify with myself was with my family. But I couldn't imagine being in a bond with other men, going through something like [combat]. I wanted to know what it was like. Part of [the speech] says,

¹¹⁹ Quoted in Benedict (2009) *The Lonely Soldier: The Private War of Women Serving in Iraq*

¹²⁰ *Military Sexual Trauma* is the term used by the military to describe any sexual harassment or sexual assault that occurs in the military by other military members

"Those who stay, you will tell my story." To me, that was like: "Seize the day. Take it. Do it."

The section that follows discusses various functions of collective social bonds fostered by military life, followed by an examination of roles played by military bonds in veteran's transition to college. By examining some of the various ways individual veterans have relied on and incorporated, or distanced themselves from these bonds in the transition to college, I will demonstrate that the imprint of militarized socialization is both reproduced and contested on college campuses. While some veterans have sought to maintain militarized social bonds by replicating military structures and social patterns, others have chosen to distance themselves from military roles and identities, relationships, practices and ideologies by breaking old bonds and forming new ones. Moreover for some, successful transition to college involves not only distancing oneself from the military, but actively organizing against militarization of society and the wars.

Conceptualizations of communal social bonds

As we learned in Chapter 1, military training focuses explicitly on the individual as a member of a sociocultural community. This means that recruits do not simply learn to perform specific activities, but they learn simultaneously how to become full participants and affiliated members of the larger military social community.¹²¹ Thus across the spaces of basic training, advanced individual training, barracks life, and combat duty, it becomes increasingly difficult for soldiers to separate identity, knowledge and social membership, as these elements entail one another (Lave & Wenger 1991; Herbert 1998). Within military contexts, communal ties are gendered masculine and enforced through disciplinary practice (Herbert 1998); they are conceptualized and instilled as duty to country, mission and fellow soldiers (Moskos 1976), logistical imperative, or the necessity of coordinated movement, and culture/tradition, or the need to create a group identity for social/ideological unity (Cooley 1902/1922; Franke 2004).

Sociologists have noted that these types of enduring bonds serve different functions: they form the social nature and ideals of individuals to create social unity and cohesiveness (Cooley 1902); and they serve to clearly differentiate who is within the group and who is an outsider (Goffman 1963) or—specifically in the military—who is ally and who is enemy (Benedict 2009). Social bonds allow a group of individuals to work towards a singular goal and function in concert (Durkheim 1893/1997.). Beyond these functions, social bonds facilitate the development of collective resilience, enabling individual members to better withstand psychic and physical assaults (Goffman 1963; Erikson 1976). These social bonds become naturalized through the intensely affective experience of combat; over time these military bonds become incorporated into the soldier's identity.

Social scientists have different names for this type of mutually dependent relationship: Erikson (1976) called it *communal*ity; Tönnies (1957) called it *Gemeinschaft*, Cooley (1902) called it *Primary Group* formation, and Durkheim (1893/1997) called it *mechanical solidarity*. All of these terms describe aspects of what is commonly thought of as interdependent community; it is that which serves to animate and maintain intense familial connections of brotherhood, sisterhood, or comradeship felt by military

¹²¹ For more on this type of participatory learning, see Lave & Wenger 1991 (53)

members. Erikson describes his concept of *communality* as a primary group that serves as the locus for activities normally regarded as the exclusive purview of individuals and provides a group context that creates meaning for individual members. Describing the function of these relationships using the metaphor of a “communal store” of emotional reserve, Erikson writes that within the bonds of communality:

It is the community that cushions the pain, the community that provides a context for intimacy, the community that represents morality and serves as the repository for old traditions. In effect, people put their own individual resources at the disposal of the group—placing them in the communal store—and then draw on that reserve supply for the demands of everyday life (196).

Theorizing the function of these bonds in his study of survivors of a devastating flood in a West Virginia coal mining region, Erikson stresses that this type of communal relationship is not based on territorial affiliations (as in village communities) but on the “network of relationships that make up their general human surround” (196).

Gendered Social Worlds

In the masculinist social world of the U.S. military, this intensely close social bonding, or stocking of the “communal store” most commonly occurs for males in the absence of female interactions. Belkin (2012), Franke (2004) and many other scholars have observed that the ideal of military masculinity rests on the enforced negation of the feminine. Women are no longer officially excluded from serving in most occupational categories (including combat roles) in the contemporary U.S. military, yet official status has little to do with ingrained cultural norms. In the military milieu femininity is coded as weakness, subordination, emotionalism, dependency and disloyalty. Belkin writes, “These traits are framed as dangerous aspects of the unmasculine that warriors must reject at all costs if they are to acquire the strength necessary to defend national security” (26). He notes that this annihilation of the feminine is held as central to protection against the annihilation of the nation and its military defenders. Or as Gardiner put it: “the hard masculine body of the military qua military is always under assault from the feminine softness of the civilian sphere (2013:70).”

My interviews with female veterans confirm what these and other scholars have found: there are gender-specific patterns of social bonding among female veterans that occur as a result of being treated as outsiders and transgressors (Herbert 1998; Franke 2002, Benedict 2007, Belkin 2012).¹²² In her generative social history about women and militarization, Cynthia Enloe (1983) argues that women’s essential, yet socially-marginalized, supportive roles during wartime have not only militarized women’s lives but also provided the emotional, logistical, medical and sexual human infrastructure that have allowed male soldiers to carry out military campaigns. Following Enloe, Herbert, Benedict, and Belkin, I note that despite the fact that women today play increasingly

¹²² Herbert’s *Camouflage Isn’t Only for Combat: Gender, Sexuality, and Women in the Military* and Benedict’s *The Lonely Soldier: The Private Lives of Women Serving in Iraq* both provide excellent discussions of female social bonds within the male-dominated military.

active and visible roles in current U.S. military conflicts, within the institutional U.S. military structure the normative image of what and who is a soldier is still firmly heterosexual and male.¹²³ Chapter 1 noted that military rituals and practices--exercises, call and response techniques, reward and punishment systems and gestures that signal hierarchal relations--are designed to teach soldiers to be members of a normatively male military corpus. Trainers carefully manipulate shame and gender “such that service members who fail to conform to archetypal understandings of military masculinity such as bravery, stoicism, sacrifice, and loyalty are punished through gender shaming” (Belkin: 38). This makes “bonding” a complex and contradictory process: Because many male soldiers have been raised to understand emotional care-giving as the exclusive domain of female intimates, encountering intimate emotional support from other males within the masculinist military community can be a revelatory experience, and one that heightens the power of the masculine social bond.

For example, Army veteran Connor, 24, as a white heterosexual man growing up in rural Northern California, learned what he called “traditional rural values, like stereotypical masculinity, you know, like this is what a male should act like.” Connor spoke about his experience of bonding with other male soldiers:

You know the whole feminine idea of like compassion and understanding was completely gone [in the Army]. It was like *Lord of the Flies*. (laughs) It was very much a male dog-eat-dog world, like, you don't have feelings. You don't cry. You get your shit together and just do it. It was my stereotype of being male: being tough, physically, not whining, being strong, stoic, that kind of thing. And because of that, that's how you bond with the other guys, and that was big. But because everyone's away from their girlfriends, they'd bond with their fellow males, like they'd talk at night in their bunks and stuff. It's a very powerful experience, and I can recall just pouring your heart out to people. And having people pour their hearts out to you, and that's what made it all tolerable, really, it was like being able to share it with someone and to know that someone was going through exactly the same shit as you were.

Goffman (1961) notes that the intimacy created within total institutions forces subjects to “engage in activity whose symbolic implications are incompatible with his conceptions of self.”¹²⁴ Thus, for Connor, the intimacy of the bedtime barracks presents both a juxtaposition and a contradiction with his self-concept as a male soldier: On the one hand, within the hypermasculine, heteronormative, *Lord of the Flies*, dog-eat-dog closed military environment (where any trace of a feminine aura was consciously suppressed), the need for emotional intimacy may be suppressed, but it cannot be eliminated. Life in such close quarters created an intimacy that extended beyond the enforced total institution and carried over to life outside the barracks. This bond, according to Connor, was the difference between an unbearable “*Lord of the Flies*” male

¹²³ This assertion is supported by virtually all critical gender studies of the US military, and the only contestations to this assertion I could find were in the US Armed Forces recruitment material and military policy documents.

¹²⁴ Goffman 1961:23

military milieu and an emotionally sustaining web of relationships that made military life “tolerable.”

The theme of intimate bonds formed through shared living surfaced in interviews with other veterans. Ricardo echoed Connor’s recollection of the intimacy of barracks life.

I lived with these guys. It wasn't living like people live together. We *lived* together (speaker’s emphasis). We were within arms’ reach. I remember reaching into the bunk under me and I would slap the guy. We were together. There were no boundaries between our private [lives and functions], no boundaries between even us going to the restroom or showers. We were just one.

The theme of emotional intimacy with bunkmates surfaced in several interviews, marking both the intensity of the physical and emotional relationships among soldiers, as well as signaling a distance from those not sharing the military experience. In differentiating between “these guys” (his fellow soldiers) and “people” (presumably non-military others) Ricardo emphasizes that the male soldiers, as opposed to mixed gender civilian “people”, really “*lived* together” (speakers emphasis). Thus Ricardo not only sets himself and his fellow soldiers apart from non-military others, but implies that it is only within these intimate male military bonds that one can truly and authentically *live*. When he talks about having “no boundaries” in their vocational or private lives, Ricardo signals a kind of erasure of the individual self, and the intense importance of his identity as a member of the group. Belkin notes that military service is designed to produce compliance by sustaining this type of erasure of the self, which is described in psychological literature as *identity diffusion*. This results in some soldiers’ inability to distinguish one’s wants, needs, and relationships apart from the group.¹²⁵

Melissa Herbert (1998) notes that military interpersonal relationships often form quickly and with great intensity, especially during the stress of basic training, when communication with family and friends is severely restricted, and when recruits are put under extreme physical and emotional stress.¹²⁶

Given the masculine nature of the military, “female soldiers may be accountable not only as women but as psuedomen,” Herbert writes.¹²⁷ Thus the military bonding for women often stems from their position as outsiders. Military masculinity forms the basis for official training procedures; the masculinist military also allows for and fosters close bonds among women, albeit as deficient outsiders and transgressors.

As an example, NU student Jessica’s experience represents one of the ways that female soldiers supported each other during the grueling physical test of basic training. Raised in suburban Los Angeles in a Korean immigrant family, Jessica described her father, a veteran of the Korean military, as authoritarian and a “scary individual.” “I guess maybe he had wanted a son -- he gave me a little too much discipline, so I avoided him,” she said. She joined the Army after high school because she needed money for college and she was looking for what she called “balanced discipline” in her life. She said

¹²⁵ Belkin (2012:39)

¹²⁶ Herbert 1998:17

¹²⁷ Ibid:13

that her primary relationship began in basic training, when another new recruit (who would become Jessica's closest friend) lost her way and followed Jessica, thinking that Jessica appeared to know what she was doing:

My battle buddy who became my best friend in Basic, she said she followed me because she thought I knew where I was going. So she just followed me. We stood in line together. We had to stand in place and shuffle, and we have this huge pack on, and we're not in shape at this time. We're already sweating and [carrying the pack is] becoming hard.

As newcomers, and as females, Jessica and her *battle buddy* were viewed as a deficient from the outset.¹²⁸ Military women in this study talked about depending on each other for help in a world set up for men, help that included emotional, practical and physical support. For example, Jessica's buddy provided her with more than emotional support; she physically supported Jessica through night marches during basic training, after Jessica discovered that a previously undiagnosed eye condition rendered her unable to see in darkness. Jessica credited her relationship with her buddy, whom she described as her "soul mate," for her physical and emotional survival in basic training: "My battle buddy was [pauses] -- really we're soul mates. We really just complemented each other very well. She was someone I don't think I could have survived Basic without." Jessica continued:

I had an eye disorder, which I didn't know at the time, but I couldn't see at night.¹²⁹ One time [during a night march] I had to hold onto my company commander, which is the most embarrassing thing. A company commander is not going to deal with a young, lowly private. But I had to hold onto his arm during one of our ruck marches.¹³⁰ After that I was like, "Never again. This is really embarrassing."

Jessica's failing eyesight required that she "complement" herself, by pairing up with someone who could see. Her resolution to her vision problem was to hold onto her buddy, who served as her guide during night marches:

So I always stood behind her, and I held onto her bootstraps. So, even if we were going in the middle of the night and I couldn't see crap, I knew if she went down[hill], I was about to go down, if she went up I was going to

¹²⁸ That female soldiers are seen as physically deficient within the masculinist U.S. military is well documented in recent literature (see Enloe 1983, Herbert 1998, Nelson 2002, Benedict 2007 and Belkin 2012). This widespread military perception was noted in nearly every other interview I conducted with veterans, both male and female.

¹²⁹ Jessica's drill instructors believed that her vision impairment, which would have excluded her from enlisting had it been discovered during her initial medical screening, was a temporary psychological reaction to the stress of basic training. An Army ophthalmologist formally diagnosed the condition immediately prior to her scheduled deployment to Iraq, which meant that she could not deploy with her training unit. She was assigned to laundry and custodial duties at her base at Fort Jackson, South Carolina until her contract ended, and then discharged with full benefits.

¹³⁰ A ruck march is a long training hike over rugged terrain with a heavy backpack (a rucksack or "ruck").

take a step up. If she tumbled, we tumbled together. And I think that's why I will always be indebted to her. We don't talk often now, but when we do it's always like for really long periods of time. And I always tell her, "I couldn't have survived it without you."

Institutional Production of Military Misogyny

My research found a marked difference between the ways that males and females related to official and unofficial ways to foster military bonding. While female participants said they formed extremely close relationships with other women, they also said that their military social status in everyday relations with male soldiers was constructed as sexualized, deficient and transgressive. "If the measure of a man was in his contrast to a women, then she, by definition, had to display the feminine attributes for which she was derided," writes Linda Bird Franke (139). Women reported having to act and appear 'militarized,' but not to the extent that would threaten male self-confidence. While the discourse of military misogyny is ideological, it depends on institutional structures to introduce, re-produce, codify and enforce it.¹³¹

Former Marine and Halcón College student Keilani recalled having to enforce military constructions of femininity among her female subordinates: she said that it was her job to teach them to appear attractive and unthreateningly feminine, while also appearing competent to their male military counterparts¹³². Part of her job as a Sergeant was to teach female Marines that they had "prove themselves" as legitimate Marines by becoming the feminine standard-bearers by which male Marines could offset their masculinity. This paradigm depended on official language to reify masculinist relations: as the presumptive norm, males were called "Marines" while females were officially called "Women Marines."¹³³ As Keilani describes below, everyday references to female Marines were much more colloquial, and derogatory. Despite the fact that she was a highly decorated non-commissioned officer¹³⁴, Keilani said that she felt she had to discipline her subordinates to "take care of themselves"; to dress appropriately to their feminine status, lest they be singled out for maltreatment: "Just being a woman Marine, if you look bad (or insufficiently feminine), you make all the other women Marines look

¹³¹ Moreover, the military gender line "never wavered" and is enforced not only in social relations, but across all aspects of institutional training: "Women recruits in the Marines received less training time than men, as did female pilots in the Navy and Air Force: additional combat training was reserved for men." And "While male recruits' heads are ritually shaved in all the services to submerge their individual identities into the male collective, [the Marines Recruit Training Manual stipulates that] women are required to wear their hair 'in an attractive, feminine style' not longer than their uniform collars but not so short as to appear mannish," (Franke: 139).

¹³² This held for military women across ranks. Women holding the rank of Captain told me about being sexually harassed and assaulted by lower-ranking men, and that when they attempted to sanction the men, their superiors blamed them both for appearing too attractive and for not asserting proper control over subordinates. As one said: "My Colonel said it was my fault-- that I should have uglified it up" (meaning that she should tried to make herself appear less attractive to her male subordinates) (YR: 4/10/11)

¹³³ This officially-sanctioned gendered designation shows up in official documents as recently as 2006.

¹³⁴ Among Keilani's 14 medals and commendations include a Navy Meritorious Unit Commendation, awarded for "exceptionally meritorious conduct in performance of outstanding services" in Iraq combat zones. (source: Military Awards of the United States Department of the Navy) note: The Marine Corps is a component of the United States Department of the Navy; while a separate branch, works closely with the Navy for training, transportation and logistical support. Therefore, awards and commendations are issued by the Navy.

bad.” However, she said, no matter how competently she and other females performed, the designation of “Woman Marine” always carried a valence of sexualized denigration:

I always made sure that my female Marines took care of themselves. Because in the Marine Corps, we're singled out all the time for being women. [Women Marines] are called WMs, walking mattresses, wasted money. Wookiee monsters. That's what these guys would call us.

Asked to explain “Wookiee monsters,” Keilani said “I guess it's from, like, Star Wars or Star Trek or something” and refers to large furry alien creatures. Female members of the Marine Corps are routinely addressed by what appears to be an alien warrior iteration of a standard fur-based epithet for women. Furthermore, calling women Marines “walking mattresses” implies both sexual availability and passivity.

In their study of male sexual offenders Diana Scully and Joseph Marolla (1984) found that the sexual objectification of women “must be understood as an important factor contributing to an environment that trivializes, neutralizes and, perhaps, facilitates rape,”¹³⁵ and this has been borne out in most contemporary research on female military and ex-military members, including my own (Enloe 1983, 1990, 2007; Franke 2002, Benedict 2009, Oliver 2007, Herbert 1998). For example, Army veteran Sarah said that she did not maintain any military relationships; she refused to identify with the military or associate with veterans groups, which she characterized as male-identified spaces hostile to women. Sarah did not experience the masculine military camaraderie as supportive, as she was excluded from, and ultimately victimized by it.

The daughter of an itinerant white Southern Baptist pastor, Sarah spent her childhood moving around the country. When Sarah joined the Army at age 17, she believed she was following a spiritual imperative:

At the time I thought that God wanted me to join. I think it was a calling for me. At the time, I believed it very firmly but now looking back I'm not sure I believe that God called me to join the military, or how my involvement in the military helps or hurts anything—I just don't know.

Sarah said that her military experience never matched the highly touted (masculine) myth of the idealized brotherhood:

The problem I had was that I understood basic training to be a time where they break you down from your individual self with all your bad habits, and build you back up into a soldier. I don't feel like the build-you-back-up part ever happened. Right up until graduation time, we were all pieces of shit, and so I never got that feeling of accomplishment. Of ‘now you're a soldier, congratulations, you did it’ or anything like that. It was purely negative throughout the entire thing.

Describing herself as “idealistic” and “naïve” when she joined the military, Sarah said that she had wanted to believe in the ideal of military bonds of comradeship and mission,

¹³⁵ Scully and Marolla (1984:542), cited in Nelson (2002: 85)

but that she had never experienced them. She said that she had a particularly difficult time interacting with people with whom she did not share her values of hard work and individual responsibility:

I was lucky that in Iraq my group was a fairly honorable group of people. I mean, we weren't all best friends, but we did our work well. So that was fine. But for me, the Army values were something that every person internalizes; this is how we do our jobs. And for other people, they're ridiculous slogans on the walls of the halls. And I really didn't understand that until something traumatic happened to me. It was a very egregious learning process.

What Sarah described as a "very egregious learning process" did not refer to her tour of duty in Iraq; it referred to her experience of being raped by fellow U.S. soldiers while on a short term mission to Korea. Sarah filed charges against her assailants, but during the trial she was portrayed by military advocates as being responsible for the rape because she had gone out drinking with the men of her unit:

After Iraq, I went on a two-week mission to Korea, and while I was there, three soldiers in my unit assaulted me and another female soldier. The process went to trial, and it was a 3 year-long trial, at the end of which [the assailants] were all acquitted, and my career was absolutely defunct. So you get a gang rape, plus your reputation being tarnished, plus no more career that you built yourself around. It was really devastating for me.

Sarah said that the betrayal she felt was not limited to her assailants-- fellow soldiers-- but that she also felt betrayed by a military culture that relies on slogans (such as the slogan painted on the walls of her barracks: "Do the right thing, even when nobody's looking") and its dependence on power point presentations on sexual harassment as behavioral guides, while simultaneously fostering a culture of sexual violence against women. This particular slogan: "Do the right thing, even when nobody's looking" was mentioned often and with bitterness by female veterans interviewed for this research, most of whom had been sexually harassed or assaulted while in the military.¹³⁶ For example, ex-Marine Keilani, a victim of sexual assault by a male superior officer, said: "To this day, I feel like nobody understands the whole picture. You know, this [assailant] is a man who had drill instructors underneath his charge. He was a man who was supposed to turn these recruits into United States Marines. He was the one who was supposed to teach them about what integrity was, about doing the right thing when nobody is looking."

Because military culture is driven by "a group dynamic centered around male perceptions and sensibilities, male psychology and power, male anxieties and the affirmation of masculinity, harassment [of women] is an inevitable by-product" (Franke 2004: 136). Moreover there are inherent contradictions in attempting to codify gender

¹³⁶ It is significant that this slogan was mentioned several times by male veterans, who saw it as an inspirational and aspirational slogan, saying that it helped to remind them to internalize lessons of self-motivation and responsibility.

equality and respect for women within a culture predicated on male dominance, writes Franke. “The masculine forces driving the military culture makes the enforcement of sexual harassment policies impossible. The systematic degradation of feminine attributes in the making of a military man required the very harassment the directives were supposed to eradicate” (2004:139). She argues, and demonstrates through a review of military court cases, that there is a lack of institutional interest in enforcing codes against sexual harassment and assault. Equal Opportunity Advisors, who are charged with investigating complaints, may tacitly accept sexual harassment by ignoring complaints or promoting ‘cultural’ rationalizations for harassment.¹³⁷ Sarah’s lived experience bore out Franke’s claims: Sarah spoke about the open derision and disregard soldiers showed at what she called “lip service” trainings putatively aimed at stopping harassment:

There is lip service. Every unit has an EO (Equal Opportunity) officer, so we’d occasionally have these little trainings or meetings around this, where somebody says “OK you can’t say ‘chink,’ and you can’t say ‘whore’” ... it’s like ‘ha-ha, oh and you know you can’t rape anybody.” So it’s kind of like a joke. Occasionally you’ll get somebody who’s serious about it, but [the soldiers] roll their eyes and are like ‘oh geez, here he goes again.’ On the lowest levels, this is not taken seriously. And I have to say that for me, I didn’t take it all that seriously because I *knew* that the soldiers I was with weren’t going to hurt me, they had my back—we’re going into battle together—I’m not worried about them. I’m worried about these people I don’t know. And it turns out that the people I trusted were the ones that raped me. So the whole culture makes it so that the equal opportunity stuff is laughable.

The intense social bonding process fostered in military milieus is a complex and contradictory process, particularly for women, who face the challenge of forming institutional and social bonds within a social system that casts them as sexualized transgressors. Gendered social bonds play a critical role in veterans’ post-military college life, and in the transition from military and to civilian life, many veterans depend on social relations developed in their previous military experience. Yet this option is not available for those who experienced the institutional military as hostile and unhelpful.

Embracing, Re-creating, Disavowing or Contesting Gendered Military Relations

¹³⁷ For example, Franke describes Military Court testimony from Army Private Sarah Tolaro, who said that impunity for sexual harassment and molestation was so much a part of everyday life that many military women gave up on reporting it: “Private Tolaro [did not report] the men who had exposed themselves to her nor the drill sergeant who had told his male troops to hit on female recruits because ‘women specifically came into the Army for that reason.’ ‘Every time I have brought up anything that I felt was important to me, I have been told ‘Do not make waves,’ Tolaro testified. ‘I have discovered through my time in the service that if I take it any higher than me, I am going to come back with ‘I’m sure you deserved it anyway,’ so , you know, ‘just drop it.’”(Franke 2002:155)

Grieving the Loss of Military Bonds

Interdependence is inextricably embedded in military training, although men and women experience this interconnection in different ways. My research supports what journalists, social scientists and congressional inquiries have found: that sexual harassment (not always involving rape), is the rule rather than the exception in military gender relations (Franke 2004). Given these conditions, males and females may relate very differently to official and unofficial attempts to foster military social bonds. Both male and female participants said they developed strong interpersonal bonds through the adverse conditions of living in combat zones; and said that they relied on deeply-felt companionship to ameliorate the physical and emotional hardships of military life. However, when this type of formative bond disappears (in Erikson's study, through a catastrophic flood; in my study, through the loss of the structure and function of bonding military relationships when military service ends), it creates both a crisis of individual identity and profound social dislocation. Erikson notes that the social and psychological disconnection that results when one loses his or her identification with communal affiliation leaves one feeling indelibly diminished:

The difficulty is that when you invest so much of yourself in that kind of social arrangement you become absorbed by it, almost captive to it, the collectivity around you becomes an extension of your own personality, an extension of your own flesh. This means that not only are you diminished as a person when that surrounding tissue is stripped away, but that you are no longer able to reclaim as your own the emotional resources you invested in it... the old community was your niche in the classic ecological sense, and your ability to relate to that niche is not a skill easily transferred to another setting (191).

Erikson also found that if that community disappears, members find they cannot take advantage of the energies they once invested in that communal store: "[Members] find that they are almost empty of feeling, empty of affection, empty of confidence and assurance" (194). For veterans leaving their known military world and entering the unfamiliar world of civilian college, this social loss can be difficult, and for some, debilitating.

Both male and female participants in this study spoke about the disappearance of these relationships as a loss similar to the death of a loved one. Some attempt to ameliorate the loss of familial military relationships, identities and practices by hewing more closely to military ideologies and structures, and by seeking to re-create military milieus within civilian colleges. The following section discusses ways participants in this study responded to the loss of the military community by re-producing features of the military social structure within academic communities.

Replication of Military Structures and Relationships: Classroom and Career

The tasks of creating an accepted common sense are accomplished through the invocation of rituals and daily practices and with active participation of members of the community (Gramsci 1971, Hall 1988; Rose 1999). This assumed natural order of things leads many veterans to seek familiarity in quasi- military social formations and professions. Veterans on college campuses often attempt to replicate their experience by

seeking out other military members; they may do this formally through enrolling in quasi-military courses in law enforcement or emergency services, or informally, through participating in veterans' clubs and support organizations. In their qualitative study of veterans in college, DiRamio et al. (2008) found that student veterans sought out formal military connections through partnerships with local military support groups like Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), American Legion, Student Veterans of America, and through visits to the campus offices of Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). I observed similar partnerships on both Halcón and Northern University campuses.

Some participants in this study said that they chose careers in military-related or law enforcement fields because the paramilitary structure of these jobs was culturally familiar and resonant with their military experience. Halcón college student Brett stated this explicitly:

When I first got out [of the Army] I wanted to go to the Academy and become a police officer 'cause it has that same basic structure as the military. It's very strict, they're very disciplined, you have to know your job and be able to perform it proficiently, so that was what I chose to do.

Other veterans said they sought careers in law enforcement or emergency services because they felt it would help them to build on their military experience in that they felt these fields would best use the skills they acquired in their military training.¹³⁸ For example, Halcón college student Jack felt his military skills would be easily transferable into an analogous police setting:

I decided I can go to school to be a cop. I decided about a year before I got out of active duty. I joined the military just to serve, just to do my part or whatever. I knew I was going to get out, and I wanted to be a police officer, because a few people in my family are police officers, and they said [being in the military is] the perfect jumpstart for it, [and that I should] go do that. It'll teach you discipline and all the things that they are looking for to get you a job.

Jack chose to use his military experience as a type of academic accelerator, a "jumpstart" to advance his academic and career path. Like Jack, other student veterans at Halcón College (and less commonly, at NU) tended to gravitate to professors who are either ex-military or pro-military, and said that they would steer other veterans in the same direction. Jack continued:

All my criminal justice teachers are great. I love [instructor S]. He's an awesome guy. He's very practical and can relate things down to your level, not just read from a textbook and say these are the rules and this is how it happens.

¹³⁸ The burgeoning of public and private-sector jobs in the recently-designated "Homeland Security" sector offers employment opportunities for growing numbers of military veterans. An amalgam of research and service sub-fields, the "Homeland Security" sector represents one of the few expanding areas of job growth funded by the US government.

The qualities that Jack appreciates in his favorite criminal justice instructor (who is himself a military veteran)--being “practical” and “[relating] things down to your level” rather than focusing on esoteric textbook knowledge--reflect Jack’s preference for task-based military pedagogies, and a teaching style more congruent with his military experience.

Campus Veterans Clubs: School-based Military Networks

Much of the published veteran support literature (e.g. Di Ramio et al. 2008, Ackerman et al. 2009, Armstrong 2010) notes that veterans clubs can provide helpful social, professional and academic support for student veterans, and can ease the transition to college. DiRamio et al. (2008) write that a student-led organization is “one means for veterans to connect with peers and to develop a sense of camaraderie,” and that “a visible, campus-based student veterans organization could provide opportunities for veterans to meet with students who have had similar experience while also serving as a point of connection to the campus” (2008:95).

Lifton’s work (1973) is consistent with my findings that the psychological sequelae of military combat trauma often include feelings of alienation, isolation; and the accompanying belief that non-combatants will not be able to understand the experience of the combatant. Informal support networks are formalized through the creation of campus veteran clubs, which provide many services for student veterans, for example, logistical help to incoming veterans, rides to events, tours of the campus and the surrounding locale. In these ways, veterans clubs are intended to address both the desire for camaraderie and the need for peer support. Campus veterans clubs also provide structure that facilitates relationships of interdependence, similar to the ones that soldiers felt in the military. Unlike military life, however, the daily college reality does not include constant forced interaction, grueling physical training, or life-and-death work conditions. Veterans clubs provide the context for reminding veterans, or invoking positive memories of military relationships. With the imprint of military bonds, veterans can create campus-based, yet military-influenced friendships.

Within the veterans clubs, group loyalty and familial relationships are fostered among members through ritualized gatherings. For example, Joaquin, an NU graduate student and member of the campus veterans club issued a standing invitation to all single NU veterans’ club members to a monthly dinner gathering at his house. Joaquin said that he wanted to offer those members without families and partners a place to experience the “home away from home” atmosphere provided by a home-cooked meal. The fact that I was told that Joaquin’s monthly dinners were for members without family or “girlfriends” reflects the gendered, heteronormative culture and demographics of the NU Veterans Club. As with all campus clubs, membership changes with each new semester, but during the three years I participated in vets club events and meetings, the group’s active membership (those who regularly attended meetings and club-sponsored events) stayed at about 25; some years active membership included no females. In recent years female participation has increased, but in the past four years, there have never been more than two or three active female members per semester. In the same three-year period I never knew of a club member who was openly gay.

Other ritualized gatherings include campus tailgate barbecue parties hosted by the Veterans’ Club before every major football game played at the NU stadium.

Joining campus veterans groups and affiliating with interest groups like Student Veterans of America, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Swords to Ploughshares, serves multiple functions: social, cultural and instrumental. These relationships form networks that reinforce their military connections and identities. Networks created through campus veterans clubs, can also be highly instrumental after graduation. Much like other organized campus social clubs (such as fraternities, sororities and student professional clubs) membership has advantages in the post-graduation employment market. Large corporations tend to recruit heavily from the veteran population, and campus veterans clubs offer prime recruitment pools.¹³⁹ Technology companies dominant in the Northern California economy recruit heavily within the NU veterans club, particularly targeting veterans studying in the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) fields,¹⁴⁰ which are disproportionately represented by white men.¹⁴¹ Recruiters from high-tech corporations regularly speak at the NU veterans' club meetings and the club hosts regular meet- and- greet events and field trips to tech firms in the area. Moreover, as I will show below, some campus veterans clubs go beyond the practical, seeking to advance the visibility and respect for military projects on campus and to stifle anti-war expression among veterans on campus.¹⁴²

For some veterans on campus, veterans clubs offer peer support and the reminder that they are not the only veterans at the school. Terry said that joining the NU Veterans Club helped him feel like he had his own community within the large urban campus, and that this kept him from feeling overwhelmed by the multitude of other students:

The NU Vets Club for me was a very necessary thing. I don't know why any [veteran] who came here wouldn't join. Cause you walk around [NU] -- and I heard there's like 40,000 people here -- and so you're just by yourself. But [after joining the club] I know, well, he's over here, and there's the NU Vets, and now I see them everywhere. Now that I've seen them once, I see them all the time, so that helps, even if we don't know each other's names necessarily, but I know that there's people here. We don't even have to talk, but I know they're there.

Clearly, the NU Veteran Club works for Terry, a male former Marine with positive military allegiances who does not express a critique of the role of the U.S. military domestically or abroad.¹⁴³ When Terry says that he doesn't understand why any

¹³⁹ There are growing numbers of advertisements in media and trade journals targeting veterans for corporate jobs, and veterans' Advocacy groups working to place veterans in the private corporate sector (Green Jobs 4 Veterans, Wounded Warrior at Work etc)

¹⁴⁰ These fields are vastly over-represented by male students, and most of the recruitment efforts are aimed at men. (source: U.S. Dept. of Labor memo: "Facts on Working Women: Women in High Tech Jobs" No. 02-01, July 2002)

¹⁴¹ An NU Office of Academic Affairs and the Division of Equity and Diversity survey (2002-2007) of STEM field degree recipients clearly demonstrates this over-representation of white men in STEM fields (Source: NU Division of Equity and Diversity).

¹⁴² In subsequent chapters I will discuss ways that embedding military ideologies into veterans support programs can affect political discourse on college campuses.

¹⁴³ Terry never criticized or expressed opposition to, the US military wars in the Middle East during interviews or in the informal conversations at NU veterans events. It is possible that he, as do many

veteran would not want to join the veterans club, he reflects his position as a member whose pro-military stance is mirrored in the group, and to some extent is implicitly requisite to fitting in. However, the kind of support given to an uncritical military advocate like Terry is not readily available to other student veterans, particularly female veterans, who express opposition to or conflicted feelings about their military service.

For those who successfully fit in, veterans clubs can provide new student veterans with supportive mentorship and trusted cultural guides for navigating college norms and customs. This includes advice on what classes to take, what labs, fellowships and internships to apply for, professors to seek out or avoid, tips on time management and study skills, and strategies for managing traumatic stress in class.

NU student veteran Ricardo said that he looked to other academically successful NU student veterans for inspiration and motivation. He especially sought out advice from veterans who, like him, come from working class immigrant or first-generation college backgrounds (those veterans “who aren’t officers,” meaning those who did not join the military as college graduates):

I really like [NU] because I meet veterans that are successful. And not just successful where they are doing good. No, very successful. I met a Marine Corps Gulf War veteran who had his Master’s from Harvard. That tells me you can do it. I met a veteran that’s a lawyer. That means I can do it. I met veterans that go to different [graduate] schools, that have multiple degrees, who aren’t officers. There is a chance. I could do it. There are people who work hard and get those rewards. That’s a big motivation for me.

The narrative of upward social mobility is often invoked in NU veterans meetings. The vast majority of regular members of the NU veterans club enlisted at the lowest ranks; and although most had been promoted in the field to ranks of Specialist, Corporal, or Sergeant, the atmosphere of club meetings and social events remained proudly, almost defiantly, non-commissioned.¹⁴⁴ Members often contrasted their working-class roots with the perceived privilege of civilian NU students and joked about what they saw as the privileged cluelessness of commissioned officers, implying that commissioned officers led sheltered lives, in and out of the military. NU veterans proudly referred to their working class backgrounds and their non-commissioned military status involving experience that was, in their telling, more physically rigorous and more dangerous than that of commissioned officers.¹⁴⁵

(perhaps most) veterans, has complex and contradictory feelings about US policy and the wars, his public stance is that of unqualified support for the US military.

¹⁴⁴Non-commissioned officers (NCOs) are officers who do not start out with a commission, or formal appointment upon entering the military, as happens with graduates of military academies or college ROTC programs. NCOs most often enlist at entry-level ranks and rise to higher ranks through field promotions.

¹⁴⁵ This was particularly obvious at one meeting of the veterans club at which a panel of NU graduate student veterans had been invited to talk to club members about applying to graduate school. The panel was made up of veterans getting advanced degrees in Journalism, Engineering, Molecular Biology and Law. During the opening introductions, when everyone introduced themselves by name, branch of service and military occupation, one panelist made a crack that her job accompanying troops as a field reporter involved *real* work, as opposed to the ceremonial

Veterans on both campuses had developed similar informal advising networks; these functioned particularly well for the students who wanted to enter military-related fields. Veterans sought each other out for recommendations of courses and instructors (At Halcón College, these courses typically tended to be concentrated in the Administration of Justice or Police Science departments). These informal veteran networks are actively employed to advise and guide student veterans in choosing classes, instructors, academic majors, internships and jobs.

Halcón College Veterans Seek Each Other Out

The friendship of two Halcón College students speaks to the process of re-creating military social bonds on the community college campus. Both Mitchell and Alex were raised in white working class families with fathers who are ex-military. They formed a college-based friendship after both lived through long periods of social isolation after leaving the Army. Mitchell said he joined the Army because his father, an ex-Marine, wanted him out of the house. While still in high school, his father drove him to the Army recruiting station and signed a waiver authorizing his enlistment as a minor. Mitchell left for basic training at age 17, two days after his high school graduation. When he left the Army after two tours in Iraq, he said he couldn't even consider going to college, because his experience in combat had left him depressed and unable to focus. He drifted around, taking and quitting jobs in Ohio and Florida, having conflictive relationships with women while dealing with the psychological aftermath of his experience as an infantry soldier, which included severe depression, panic attacks and uncontrollable rages. These symptoms prevented Mitchell from going to school. He explained: "For the first two years after I got out of the military, I did not want to step foot on a campus, because I was kind of afraid of myself. I had some night terrors. I had problems."

Tired of couch-surfing at homes of high school friends, Mitchell moved in with his grandparents in Orchard Valley, California. Because his grandparents' offer for housing came with the condition that he attend school, Mitchell enrolled in Halcón Community College, but continued to feel socially isolated:

The transition to Halcón, I kept to myself. I didn't talk to anyone. Classmates, females, would ask me questions and I would answer them and then go right back to what I was doing. I didn't really open up much at all for the first four weeks, month or something like that. Even then, I didn't really do it until after I met my buddy Alex. He walked into our psychology class and he sat a couple of seats behind me. He had the [short, military-style] haircut and everything like that and the first thing I thought, "He's walking like he has a stick up his ass." So I turned around before class started and I said, "Are you ex-military?" He just started to laugh. He goes, "How the hell could you tell?" I said, "By the stick stuck up your ass." And that's how we became friends.

junkets made by the officers. Other club members joined in the humorously deprecating jokes about officers, followed by an awkward silence when the other graduate student panelists introduced themselves as commissioned officers.

Mitchell's ability and desire to decode Alex's physical signifiers--the haircut and comportment--made Alex legible to him as military and thus as an ally. In a separate interview, Alex also recalled that meeting in the psychology class, describing it as helpful for him as well, because it gave him the chance to break his own self-imposed social isolation. Alex said:

I didn't go to school when I first got out [of the Army]. I was very depressed for a very long time. Also, I wasn't into meeting people when I first got here. The support structures [at Halcón College] didn't exist for me. So a big thing for me is that one of the first people I met when I got here, my second semester, was Mitchell. [He was] the first vet that I talked to. We talked to each other for a while. And he's going through very similar things that I did.

At 32, Alex was older, and considered himself a mentor and motivator to the 24-year old Mitchell:

[Mitchell] can talk to me. He knows that I understand. Him being able to talk to me seems to be helping him push forward. Like, "Come on, let's go. Whenever something goes wrong, let's make it a positive." Sitting next to him trying to be positive. Turning a negative into a positive. I just keep going.

Alex and Mitchell's meeting and subsequent friendship helped to form the basis for the Halcón College veterans club. Along with other campus veterans and a college administrator from the Disabled Student Services Department, named Faye, the group began around an initiative to bring a mobile service center offering mental health evaluations, benefits advocacy, and peer support groups to veterans on the Halcón College campus. In April 2012, Faye and Alex met with me in Faye's office and recalled how, once the student veterans identified each other and formed a "critical mass" of students with a demonstrated need, Faye advocated for institutional support from the college: a designated veterans-only office space, a budget for veterans' events and space for a mobile clinic that provides mental health service to veterans.

Similar to the NU Veterans Club, members of the Halcón veterans club guide each other in ways of relating to the broader campus community, offering social correctives to behavior that might get fellow veterans in trouble. For example, in the following interview excerpt, Faye and Alex discuss an incident where they "had to put the kibosh" on Mitchell's behavior at a faculty meeting:

Members of the veterans club were scheduled to make a presentation for faculty, but were slated to speak after a presentation by another campus student group. Mitchell became impatient during the other group's presentation. Signaling his displeasure, Mitchell pantomimed opening a rifle case, assembling and loading a rifle, and aiming it at the speakers.

Faye: Mitchell was particularly irritated by [the students.] But all of a sudden he goes something like this: he opens this case up and he pretends to assemble a weapon and load it.

Alex: Yeah, for lack of a better term, he's locking and loading.

Faye: Afterwards, I go, "Mitchell, Mitchell, Mitchell, you can't lock and load."

Alex: Oh, I chewed his ass that night.

Faye: And [veterans] all do this [offer each other advice], because they take care of each other. And I go, "Mitchell, you're going to destroy everything we did here. Do you understand what's happened in some of the colleges?" And not necessarily [just with] vets, but locking and loading, stuff like that, shootings in college...

Alex: You can't do that. Especially with our particular community, with the things that are out there...

When Alex spoke about "our particular community" he was referring not only to the community of military veterans, but also to the town of Orchard Valley in which Halcón College is located. Weeks before this interview took place, the small rural community was rocked by a violent incident: one of the town's residents, an Iraq War veteran, shot and killed his mother and 11 year old sister before fatally shooting himself in their apartment.¹⁴⁶

Faye: Oh my God yes.

Alex: And I'm like, "Dude," I said, "you don't represent yourself anymore."

Faye: [I said,] "Never do that again."

Alex: I said, "If you're part of this group, you represent yourself, but you also represent our group. And you represent the college. You need to control yourself. I understand you don't like [the students]. And it's OK not to like them. It's your choice. God bless America. But you can't do that."

As Mitchell's mentor, Alex offered guidance about norms of behavior in civilian society, and instructed him on the imperatives of representing the veterans group on campus. Within a trusting relationship of unquestioning support for military norms, Mitchell could more easily hear that gestures that might be commonplace, or considered humorous in some military settings, could easily be interpreted as threatening and seen as

¹⁴⁶ I was staying in Orchard Valley at the time of the killings and attended nightly *rosarios*, or recitations of the Catholic rosary in front of a makeshift altar outside of the deceased family's apartment. The family had immigrated from Mexico and live in an apartment complex occupied primarily by other Mexican immigrants. Members of the close-knit community kept vigil outside the family's apartment, taking turns speaking to the press and ferrying donated coffee and *carnitas* from local restaurants. In the aftermath of the shootings, before the mother's body had been found, friends and family joined the police search for her. For five nights family, friends and neighbors stood outside of the home and offered intentions, or prayers for the mother's safety, and for the departed souls of the veteran and his sister. When the mother's next door neighbor joined the group to announce that the Orchard Valley police had officially called off the search, believing her to be dead, the mood of sadness turned to outrage. "The only ones to blame in this are the Orchard Valley Police and [the veteran's] Army Sergeant—they wouldn't take away his guns," said the mother's niece in Spanish. "[The mother] was so afraid of him. [The veteran] said to her: 'you are not my mother any more—you are the enemy.' [The police] came out to the house a lot, but they never took his guns. They should have taken his guns."

a serious breach of propriety in the faculty meeting. Alex acknowledged the animosity Mitchell felt towards the civilian students, but forbade him from acting out a violent scene. In this case, mutual support meant veterans training each other in appropriate behavior among civilians.

Other veterans spoke about how they dealt with feelings of isolation and social dislocation by seeking out other veterans on campus, which often led to the creation of campus veterans clubs as self-help efforts formed at the initiative of student veterans. NU student Kevin recalled feeling isolated during his first days as a community college student after leaving the Army: "There was no one to connect with. There were 300 [veterans] on campus, and I didn't know any of them. There was just no network of people there to interact with for veteran issues, or to bring up issues." Sometimes veterans clubs are formed in response to a particular precipitating incident. For example, Kevin recalled the circumstances that led to the creation of a veterans club at his community college: in this case, a veteran on campus was known to suffer acute mental breaks caused by severe Post-Traumatic Stress episodes at school. Other student veterans on the campus were concerned about this veteran's mental health, and tried to get help for him. Kevin said:

One of my best friends [who also served] in Afghanistan, me and him, we'd always find this guy just flipping the fuck out and throwing shit, or barricading himself in the library. That's why I contacted the [campus] web [site], originally. I started it by contacting the web advisor person and being like, "Hey, how come there's no Veterans' officer? Who do I go contact? There's nothing there." That led to me meeting up with my best friend, the Afghanistan vet. We were talking [to other veterans on campus] about how this guy was flipping out all the time. Me and him would be talking [to other veterans, saying] "Oh, when you see this guy, this is what he's dealing with. Maybe you can help him." It was word of mouth.

Then, we started the Vet Club. I originally contacted the president of the school and was like, "The veterans need to be looked at." They agreed and had all the board members sitting there. We started the Vet group. They gave us our own office.

To address what he saw as problems of isolation and psychological trauma, Kevin and his friend started a campus club where he and other veterans could re-create the atmosphere of camaraderie they had felt in the military. Kevin said that he identified with the veteran who suffered from PTSD, which is why he pressured the school to provide support:

I've had breakdowns at school too, and the school needs to be aware of that, if that's going on. They're dealing with mentally fragile people that are trying to restart their life. You need to embrace them and help them along the way. Veterans are so used to being told where to go, what to do, and how to act. Now, you're being thrust into community college or something like that where you're just another face. A lot of times we come undone.

Forming Social Bonds Apart from Campus Veterans Clubs

While some veterans have worked to re-create and maintain military relationships, others have broadened their circles, branching out and away from exclusive military support networks and identities and have sought civilian alliances with the goal of finding support in their post-military lives. For example, Halcón student Cody felt he needed to look for support beyond his familiar circle of student veterans on campus. When he enlisted in the Navy, Cody knew he wanted to have a career in Medicine, and he began at Halcón College as a pre-Nursing student. He currently plans to finish the requisite science courses and transfer to a pre-med program at a four-year college. While Cody maintains friendly relationships with other veterans on campus, he says that he has more in common with non-military students sharing his academic interests and current life goals. For this reason he associates with other aspiring pre-med students rather than veterans on campus. At first Cody attributed his lack of contact with student veterans to the veterans' club office location, which is far from his science classrooms, but he somewhat reluctantly acknowledged that he shares more in common with his classmates with similar professional aspirations:

I'm really not as affiliated with [veterans on campus] as much as I am with Med Club right now. The veterans' club office is completely on the opposite side of campus from me. My classes are all over here, because I'm taking all science classes, and all the people I'm with are people that I want to be with in med school. It's easier for me to talk to them on a daily basis because I'm sitting right next to them in class. Not that the campus is huge, but it's a five, 10-minute walk to get over there, and you're always running into people on the way over there, so it takes longer than you want to get over there, and it's like, "Man, I really should be sitting down working on my homework or something."

Cody realized that his aspirations were more in line with the Med Club, but seemed somewhat apologetic about choosing to associate with civilians rather than veterans. Perhaps this was because he felt that he might be seen as betraying his military comrades by distancing himself from them. Cody used geography to rationalize choosing to associate with civilian pre-med students over ex-military students. Despite his mixed feelings about losing close connections with other campus veterans, Cody credits the members of the Med Club with exposing him to new perspectives and future career possibilities. He said the Med Club helped him to realize that he could aspire and achieve goals beyond his previously circumscribed ambition of getting a nursing degree, and that he could undertake an MD degree:

When I first joined [the Med Club] I was like, "I'm not going to med school, I'm going to go to nursing school, I'm going to get my BSN at State [University] and we'll call it good; then I'll re-evaluate at that point." Now it's like, "OK, well, I could do med school."

Distancing from Military Ideologies and Identities

Before I turn to the ties that some veterans established with groups off campus, I need to briefly discuss the struggle faced by veterans to make meaning out of their experience in war, because this struggle influences what kind of support they will find useful in their post-war lives. Most participants in this study called the peer support they received from fellow veterans extremely important, but many of them did not necessarily find that support in campus veterans clubs. For some veterans, “peer” means anti-war, anti-military veterans. Because veterans have different and often conflicted relationships with the military and with the wars, veterans’ clubs that overtly valorize the military are not seen as welcoming spaces for some these veterans. Thus, these clubs will have a hard time serving all the veterans on campus.

Officially-sanctioned campus veterans clubs commonly operate with a pro-military valence. One reason for this might be that these groups tend to be actively supported by pro-military groups such as Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) and the American Legion, providing members with financial support, and holding celebratory events like barbeques, flag ceremonies and other events marking Flag Day, Veterans Day and Memorial Day.

The feeling of loyalty toward fellow veterans, if not the US military or military mission, remains strong for many student veterans after discharge. Many ex-military members maintain social ties out of a sense of wanting to help other veterans, while not wanting to endorse or embrace military ideologies. For example, while NU student Jordan was in the Marines and stationed in Iraq, he developed a negative view of US military policies, particularly about the rationale and tactics of the war. In Iraq, following orders and leading subordinates in combat, Jordan’s critique was visceral and inchoate, in his words: “sometimes you don’t know what’s right, but you know what’s wrong.” Without the language or detailed analysis to formulate his objections, he said he felt that his only recourse was to distance himself from all things military. When his contract ended and he left the Marines, he attempted to sever all connections with military habits, dress and identifications. He grew his hair long, and left for an extended backpacking trip through Europe. According to Jordan, he was,

trying to just run, just get away from it as much as I could. As I said, the guiding principle behind that was “sometimes you don’t know what’s right, but you know what’s wrong.” And that’s all I knew, is that my experience was not just unpleasant but miserable, you know? And so I was just trying to get away from it. Like, OK, I did what I was supposed to. And now I’m done with that. And I’m going to put that in a little box, shut it aside and forget about it forever.

Jordan’s decision to distance himself from his military role and identity led him to try and purge any physical identifiers that might mark him as a Marine.

There are no stickers on my car. I don’t have Marine t-shirts. I don’t have stuff on my bag. I don’t have tattoos and I don’t show them off. I was just trying to be as far divorced from that as I could.

But despite Jordan's long hair and absence of t-shirts, tattoos and Semper Fi stickers, he said that the experience of his job in Iraq had become indelibly inscribed in his consciousness:

It definitely becomes a part of you that you can't get rid of, even if you want to. That's the realization I've come to recently, that -- I mean, I described running from the experience, just trying to get as far away from it as I could. (pauses) And you can't. It's a part of who you are.

When Jordan left the Marines, he faced a critical task shared by many combat veterans: to try to piece together a cohesive understanding of the fragmentary and traumatic experience of war. Throughout the cumulative 10 hours of interview (over the course of five meetings), Jordan kept returning to the idea that "sometimes you don't know, what's right, but you know what's wrong," to describe his inexpressible reactions to what he considered his role in an unjust war. Jordan's first response was to distance himself from the military and from his confusion about it; he returned from his European trip still grappling with the internal questions and conflicts that had been raised in Iraq. This led him to enroll in NU:

I also was looking for some -- I guess the word is maybe "redemption" -- and I knew it would just click when I found it. So I started looking in school. [College funding] was one of the big motivating factors for joining the Marines, so that was pretty obvious. Like I could get paid to go to school, but really, what I wanted to do was find something that was meaningful to me and that was the opposite of the feeling [I had in Iraq.] I was looking for that sense of purpose, scholastically or intellectually. So the fact that I was able to come to NU was like, "Wow! That's a pretty good place to go and look for something like that." And I was very appreciative for the room to grow and the room to explore -- not just intellectually, but personally.

Like Jordan, many veterans return to school highly motivated, not only to complete a degree, but to make sense out of their psychologically fragmentary experience of war. Several veterans in this study said they chose their course of study specifically to gain an understanding of their experience participating in overseas wars.

NU student Terry said that he chose to major in Political Science because his experience fighting in Iraq made him want to learn about international affairs. He said that being deployed in Iraq "definitely gave me a different view of the world from when I left home and went overseas. It really opened up my eyes and made the world seem like an extremely bigger place." Some participants in this study said that they believed that taking college courses would help them to contextualize and find meaning in their involvement in the wars.

Another example is NU student Erica. Born into a white evangelical Christian family and raised in a small town upstate New York, Erica was a student at community college, but enlisted after an Army recruiter got her name from the school's financial aid office. "I got a call from a recruiter, he had gotten my name from the school, which I

think should be illegal,” she said. “I told him eventually, I wanted to be a journalist. And he said ‘I can offer you a journalism job in the military, and we’ll pay you.’ After two tours in Iraq as a military journalist, Erica left the military disillusioned about the military mission. After travelling the country, she settled in the Bay Area, and returned in her studies at a community college, later transferring to NU. “I’m studying Near Eastern Civilizations [at NU] to get a little more perspective on my experience,” she said, and elaborated:

Look, I spent two full years, more than two full years, of my life in Iraq, and I came back knowing nothing about it. I didn't know how to speak any of the language, know anything about the history, didn't know anything about the culture or the people, and now I want to know, because I feel like I should, you know? It's not that like anyone is expecting me to, but once the idea was introduced to me of like, "Why don't you study the Middle East?" it was like, "Yeah, why don't I?" Like that makes complete sense.

Erica said felt that she “should” know about the language, culture and people of Iraq because she was uncomfortable with her role as a military journalist in an occupied country, where her task was to promote the point of view of her superiors in the U.S. Army.

I wanted to be a journalist in the military, right? But I went in only knowing the military's point of view. So, you know, even though now I'm not really interested in going into journalism per se, I'm still very interested in being an information-spreader and like being a voice of reason where I can be, and in order to do that, I need to have more knowledge, like I need to have more information at my disposal.

Implying that she was also looking for what Jordan called “redemption,” or a reworking of her wartime experience, Erica came to NU to learn more about Iraq. She came to college intending to transform her military experience in the Middle East from being a purveyor of officially-sanctioned news to becoming a critically-informed “information-spreader” and a “voice of reason.” The desire to recast her military role led her to join the off-campus group Iraq Veterans Against the War.¹⁴⁷

Despite Jordan’s attempt to distance himself from the ideology of the US military and from the wars, he maintained bonds with other veterans on campus, not because he wanted to maintain a supportive relationship with the US Military, but because they shared a common history, and because he felt loyalty to other veterans, rather than the institutional military. While he spoke against the war vociferously and eloquently in private to me, Jordan was not affiliated with any anti-war group, including IVAW. However, he also chose not to join the campus veterans’ group, because he said it operated with an underlying pro-military ideology.

Within some campus veterans’ clubs (as Jordan felt at NU) there is a pro-military environment that discourages critical examination of the wars or the military. As the

¹⁴⁷ There is no official chapter of IVAW on the NU campus.

following example will show, this means that the perspectives of anti-war veterans may be unwelcome. Moreover, because gender dynamics in campus veterans clubs can mirror the masculinist gender dynamics inculcated in the military, within some campus veterans clubs being both female and openly anti-war may compound one's outsider status. For example, in November of 2011, when the Occupy Wall Street movement was at the forefront of national attention, former U.S. Marine and Occupy protester Scott Olsen suffered a severe head injury after being hit with a metal gas canister fired by police attempting to break up an Occupy demonstration. When NU student Erica (a member of Iraq Veterans Against the War and an Occupy movement supporter) posted statements supporting Olsen on the NU veterans' Facebook page, the posts were removed without explanation. She said, "[Veterans club members] just deleted it. When I messaged to ask why this get deleted, I didn't get a response." Eventually Erica was told by the moderators of the Facebook page that the veterans' club defined itself as 'apolitical' and that at a meeting (at which Erica was not in attendance) the group had voted to prohibit her political statements on the Facebook page, calling them "controversial." She said,

That's when I was like, "Look, this Facebook group needs some oversight because if you want to make rules and guidelines, then you have to stick to them. [laughs] If somebody posts something that's controversial, if it doesn't violate the guidelines, then it's [simply] controversial. That's OK. [laughs] It's fucking NU! [laughs] That was one of my other bones of contention. I was like, "This is NU. Why are you guys acting like you're in the military?"

Later, at a meeting called to discuss the club's Facebook policies, Erica contested the group's decision:¹⁴⁸

[Veterans club members said] "You've got to keep your politics out of my vets group." It was literally: keep your politics out of my vets group. I'm like, do you guys even realize what you're saying? I started getting really upset because I was like, "The way you're talking is like, what are you, still in the military?" It was very much still in the military mindset. As you saw, some of those comments that they were posting, it was like 'she doesn't know how to fit into the group.' I'm like, oh, really? Is it about *me* not knowing how to fit into the group? Why can't the group have all vets no matter what their stance and their politics?

Gramsci (1971) reminds us that creating an accepted common sense requires the active participation members of the society, through rituals and daily practices. The rituals of the veterans club, like voting on an array of limited options, did not include allowing Erica to post her announcements on the groups' Facebook page. In this case, the accepted common sense of the veterans club held that engaging in "politics" meant taking

¹⁴⁸ During my dissertation research, over the course of 24 months I regularly attend NU Veterans' Club meetings. I was not present at the meeting described above, but the account comes from extensive interviews with Erica and other members who were present, and from members' posted responses to the incident from the groups' Facebook page. This account is corroborated by members' comments posted in response to a published media interview Erica gave to a local newspaper. I have witnessed many other veterans' meetings in which anti-war sentiment is characterized as "political" while pro-military sentiments are naturalized and characterized as "apolitical."

a public stand against the US military, the current US wars, or supporting social causes such as the Occupy movement that challenged the status quo.

Erica heatedly challenged the club members' assertion that the club didn't engage in politics. She asserted (as do Gramsci 1971, Hall 1996, Enloe 1983 and others) that there is no "political neutrality" in expressive acts, that all public gestures convey political meaning, and the Veterans Club's claim to an apolitical stance is, in actuality, taking a stand in support of the dominant military hegemony. In the meeting Erica argued that pictures posted on the Facebook page showing NU veterans shaking hands with George W. Bush and raising money for military causes conveys the group's underlying politics of support for the current wars:

I said, "If you want to say this NU Vets Facebook group is for nothing political ever, then I better not see pictures of any former fucking *controversial* presidents, and I better not see pictures of that guy trying to raise money for his Marine Corps unit's ball by raffling off an assault rifle. How are you going to say that's not political? That is an extremely political statement: saying we're going to raffle off this gun for our Marine Corps ball. That is a political fucking statement. There are shootings happening all over the place and those things are OK to post. Those things get approval. But as soon as I want to post something that refers to Occupy it's like, oh no no. Whose interests are you fighting for?"

The discussion devolved into a shouting match and Erica was told to "get the fuck out" of the meeting. When Erica objected to the aggressive tone of comments directed at her, another member told her: "We're veterans - we're supposed to be aggressive." Through interactions such as this one, the NU veterans club reproduced and naturalized the masculinized culture of the military, and disciplined those who challenge militarized *logos* and practices.

I found that alienation from campus veteran spaces is experienced more commonly, although not exclusively, by female veterans. Erica's experience with the NU veterans club was dramatic, and uncommon because most veterans who don't agree with the club's positions and practices simply fade from the scene, stop attending meetings and club events. But other female veterans on campus told me that they shared Erica's feeling of exclusion. In 2009-2012 only approximately 25 of more than 300 veterans enrolled at NU regularly attended the campus veterans' club meetings, and of those, no more than two female veterans regularly attended the meetings I attended. While I don't know all of the reasons student veterans chose not to affiliate with all-veteran support groups, one comment I heard repeatedly was that many wanted to dissociate themselves from the military; they just wanted to fit in and be considered 'students' rather than 'veterans'.

For Sarah, the fact that she was sexually assaulted by fellow soldiers who were subsequently exonerated by the military judicial system is the primary reason that she does not identify personally with the military, and it is the reason that she doesn't seek to replicate military relationships. Sarah refuses to identify as a veteran anywhere but on Veterans Administration benefits forms:

[Being a member of the military] is who I was, and not who I am. I think if my military career had turned out better I might have different feelings, but in my mind today there are two different militaries: there's the one that I volunteered to serve in, and the one that kicked me into the road when I was gang-raped. I can't reconcile those two militaries. So when someone says "Congratulations, you're part of the whole thing," I've got mixed feelings.

Sarah's deep alienation from the military milieu coupled with her desire to assimilate into civilian society are reasons she chooses not to attend male-dominated veterans' meetings:

I'm really trying to assimilate into a civilian environment, and it does not help me to surround myself with people who aren't able to function [in civilian spaces], so I've chosen to distance myself from those people. Some people just can't relate to civilians—I think that's a really sad state of being: they can't get back in the military, and yet they don't fit in this [civilian] world either.

When I spoke with Sarah in August 2011, she had dropped out of college and was working as an administrative assistant for a children's mental health agency. She had been considering the possibility of returning to college when she had what she called a "nervous breakdown," and after a period of avoiding all things military, she entered a Veterans Administration Military Sexual Trauma treatment program:

At first I didn't trust the VA because it's part of the military... but I did four months of in-patient therapy with them, and have experienced tremendous recovery since then. It's cheesy to say, but it's been life-changing, having gone through the program. If they would make me a poster child and give me a microphone I would tell people 'you don't have to suffer anymore.' They [VA Military Sexual Trauma unit staff] are very professional and very caring on a personal level.

Sarah is currently researching ways that she can return to college. She has joined a peer support group for women veterans who have survived military sexual assault. She said that her group meets weekly to talk; they provide informal social support for each other as well as practical support. The group shares advice about everything from navigating the VA system, to the GI Bill for college funding, to how to maintain personal relationships in their post-military world. In other words, Sarah's group serves many of the functions that campus veterans clubs do, but with the acknowledgement and acceptance of the fact that members have deeply conflicted feelings about the military.

NU student Kevin, as a male veteran, has had a significantly different experience from Sarah, but also avoids social groups like the NU veterans club, because of what he says is its overt and implied support for the wars. His anti-war politics put him at the margins of the tight-knit campus group. The veterans club Kevin started at his community college called for increased veterans' services while also taking public

positions against the war. Kevin said that he knows several veterans at NU who have problems with the NU club because they hold anti-war beliefs unpopular with the more vociferous members:

Another veteran who's here at NU, me and him have had the same kinds of run-ins with the rest of the [NU veterans'] group. We're kind of like-minded with our [anti-war] political beliefs and stuff like that and we're distancing ourselves from the military. [The military] was part of my life but I'm not there anymore. I have that [veteran] connection with these guys, but that's about it. I am hesitant about the whole like, "Hooah!" thing and being part of the military thing still. A lot of these guys are still all about that, and I'm not. Me and my friend talk about it all the time-- why is there like 275 people [of the 300 veterans enrolled at NU] not in the group?

Kevin followed by answering his own question, postulating that perhaps so few veterans on campus join because the group's activities center around social events that reproduce masculinist and militarized interests that he and other veterans don't share: "All of our [social] events circulate around drinking and going to strip clubs or whatever it is. Not everyone's about that. Some people have got families."¹⁴⁹ Asked what he thought the veterans club might do to help him and his like-minded student veteran friends, he said: "Maybe it could be like [organizing] a study session. I don't know-- I guess that sounds stupid."

Concerned that he would sound "stupid" for advocating activities that went against the dominant social dynamic of the veterans club, Kevin opted instead not to participate in the club. Thus, while veteran-only clubs and classes can be very helpful to veterans making the transition to civilian college, these clubs also may serve to exclude veterans who have conflicted or negative associations with their military experience.

Of the 50 veterans I interviewed, many privately expressed views against the wars, but only Erica publically took an anti-war stance, claimed membership in IVAW and brought this perspective to the campus Veterans Club. However, several participants in this study, while not openly affiliated with anti-war groups, choose to offer support to unaffiliated veterans in less public ways. For example, Adam, a Gulf War veteran, described how his community college art classes provided him with a medium for working through his war experience and laid the foundation for his current practice of supporting fellow war veterans through the arts:

As a young man I thought being able to take somebody's life or to hurt somebody was power. But then after the Gulf War, you feel pretty weak when somebody gets shot and you can't do anything about it. I got out of the Marines and was studying to be an EMT(Emergency Medical

¹⁴⁹ While the philanthropy committee of the NU veterans club sponsored events such as home- building with Habitat For Humanity and fundraising golf tournaments, Kevin was referring to informal veterans club social gatherings, as well as official events like the club's Valentine's Day Veterans Date Auction, held at a local bar. At the fundraiser, which was heavily advertised at campus sororities, seventeen members of the veterans club offered themselves up for auction, at which the highest bidders won a date with the auctioned.

Technician). Then I snapped my ankle, couldn't complete the training. I had one drawing class [in community college], and I asked the professor if I could take his painting class as well so I could keep up the units. I took drawing and painting classes with this guy, who is Japanese-American, was raised in internment camps during World War II. He said all art is political. He kind of encouraged me after the beginning classes to make work about my experiences and stuff.

What began as a way to fill his schedule with required units became Adam's way not only to express his feelings about war, but to reach out to other veterans. Adam was drawn to making art, he said, because it has the ability to make a personal statement in a subtle way that reflected his anti-war beliefs without appearing as what he felt was overly-strident and confrontational. He said that it also gave him a way to express his views about war without having to take on societal projections of hero or villain:

I started doing ceramics and that kind of just locked in. I think the [problem] with trying to talk about war is that I don't want to be vilified or made a hero.

Adam's reluctance to become a public spokesperson about war, coupled with his strongly held position that the violence of war should not be glorified, led him to his current position: Adam now works in the Art department of NU, running the campus ceramics studio and creating ceramic art in his off-hours. His specialty is making ceramic cups decorated with images evoking his combat experience. (see photos 1, 2)

I think clay is the right scale. And cups. I've been making cups, seriously, since 2000. I had my first show after undergrad in 2001. I'm at like 14,000 cups now, that I've given away since 2001. I resisted the 'art is healing thing', you know, but I realized it is about becoming clear, or something.



Photo 1 (Photos: K. McKenna)



Photo 2

"Working with ceramics is kind of a vocation, I feel it's what I've been called to do, and focusing on these issues of war and violence is what I want to talk about," he said in the clay-splattered studio at NU. After the Gulf War he made 1,000 cups decorated with images of soldiers and combat, and sent them with letters to corporate and political leaders, and to the Pentagon; he had wanted to get leaders to understand the human costs of war, in hopes of averting future wars. "The cups are my version of humbly, quietly,

making the thing, and letting it out into the world. Asking people to accept it, to recognize it.”

In addition to developing his own art, Adam reaches out to campus veterans he hears are having trouble adjusting, especially those who might feel alienated from campus veteran clubs: “Now my own story is overlapping with the younger vets. I can't help but feel really protective, I want to help them, because it feels like I failed some way; that if I had succeeded, then they wouldn't have to be in Iraq.” Adam gets his department to sponsor art events on campus, like the “Combat Paper Project” at which combat veterans are invited to cut up their combat uniforms, put them through a pulping machine, which turns them into paper, and then use the paper to inscribe poetry, create a drawing or other artwork as a way to make sense of, and to literally process their wartime experiences through and into art. (See photos 3,4,5)

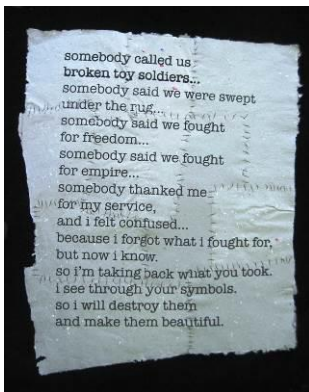


Photo 3



Photo 4



Photo 5

(Photos: www.combatpaper.org)

Conclusion

Forging social bonds has the effect of both reproducing and contesting the imprint of militarized socialization on college campuses. The ability of veterans to overcome obstacles and adapt to a college environment is complicated by the conflicting and contradictory experiences veterans have while serving in the military and in wars, which leads to conflicting and contradictory needs after they return home. I have explored social bonds that are based on shared military experience and shared post-military interests. Given that veterans often have conflicting and contradictory feelings about their military service, social groups that offer the most support are those that do not require that veterans to relate in prescribed ways to their military service.

Veterans have conflicting and contradictory feelings their military experience and the wars, which leads to conflicting and contradictory needs after they return home, and that services that do not take into account veterans' complex and conflicted relationship to military service and war will result in programs that do not serve all veterans equally well, but privilege those who are pro-military. Moreover, when support programs are built around simplistic assumptions of what and who veterans are, many veterans will feel alienated from services intended to help them.

While all of the programs and services I observed rely on some extent on the ideology of veteran superiority, not all of them contribute to the production of militarized common sense. My work distinguishes between the student-directed, home-grown initiatives of veterans on campuses informed by the lived experience of war veterans and the ideologically-driven “Military Friendly” initiatives based on Vietnam-era reference points and uncritical esteem for the military promoted by military supporters. In doing so I am attempting to distinguish *good sense* understandings of veterans’ needs (informed by their actual wartime experience) from ideologically-driven *common sense* notions that college campuses support for veterans demands silence about the wars and that to take a position against the war is to take a position against military veterans. While veteran-generated initiatives both reproduce and contest Militarized Common Sense on campuses, institutionally-initiated programs primarily promote the former, which can have the effect of stifling dissent on campus.

We have examined some ways that military exceptionalism operates on the lives of civilians: on individual recruits through basic training, and on campus discourse through veteran support programs. These processes are for the most part carried out in civilian spheres and by civilians or veterans. But what is the role of the institutional military in the creation of militarized common sense on college campuses? The following chapter examines one attempt by the US Department of Defense to recruit academics as active military supporters.

Chapter 5: Educating the Educators: Academics Get Schooled at Ft. Knox

Dealing with educators is like dealing with [recruiting] prospects: they may hold uninformed opinions of the Army and simply need information. You must assume the roles of counselor, mentor, and coach to educate the educators and positively affect their opinions.

-US Army Recruiting Manual (No. 3-01; Chap 6-1 sec.3)

Introduction

The U.S. military has been in and around the academy for a long time. Indeed, two of the oldest colleges in the nation: West Point (1802) and Annapolis Naval Academy (1845) were founded by and are administered by the Armed Services. But today the ties between the military and higher education are both more ubiquitous and less obvious: US Departments of Defense and Homeland Security pour billions of research dollars into the development of weapons and cyber-security systems, robotics and biometric identification systems used by official and unofficial military organizations around the globe (Price 2011.) The 2002 passage of the No Child Left Behind Act extended the military relationship into the homes of public high school students, by requiring public secondary schools to provide military recruiters not only with access to facilities, but also with contact information for every student or face a cutoff of all federal aid.¹⁵⁰

I argue in this dissertation that the production of militarized common sense on campuses has roots in histories of past ‘homefront’ conflicts, protests, research and narratives of soldiering and service. In this chapter I examine how militarized common sense is produced in another venue, by analyzing military trainings intended to recruit college faculty and staff to become advocates for military projects on their home campuses.

The purpose of this chapter is to ethnographically examine recruitment strategies designed to influence college educators to support ROTC on their home campuses. I will show—in theory and in practice-- how these strategies frame the US Army as a pro-social educative institution, while obscuring the military’s central mission in the present wars. This framing strategy contributes to the production of militarized common sense on college campuses by normalizing a vision of the military mission as a vehicle for social uplift and global humanitarian development, yet absent a direct relationship to violence and war.

Part I of this chapter explores these recruitment strategies in theory, describing and demonstrating their intent by examining official Army manuals that provide instruction to recruiters about the processes, practices and discourse of military

¹⁵⁰ This allows military recruiters to pursue high school students aggressively, through mailings, phone calls and personal visits. No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, SEC. 9528 “Armed Forces Recruiter Access to Students and Student Recruiting Information.” U.S. Department of Education website www.ed.gov retrieved 9/15/09

recruitment. The manuals serve to orient the reader to the strategic and tactical aims of military recruitment in and around schools. A discussion of official recruiting policy is important because it demonstrates official intent to use the school environment to persuade students to join the military. My key points in this chapter will emerge from an examination of the ways in which military perspectives and priorities are taken up by academics. I seek to show how methods and techniques employed by military trainers become transformative: how the academics came to prioritize goals and objectives because they represent a military predisposition, and not necessarily because they are consistent with the academic professionals' personal beliefs. I will show how these processes play out in practice by examining one effort to win the "hearts and minds" of civilian academics: a one week-long ROTC Community Leader/Educator Training Course (CLE) at Ft. Knox, KY. Through analyzing military pedagogies aimed at civilian academics, I seek to show how these processes contribute to the production of militarized common sense on college campuses.

The militarization of the academy has a long history and has been the subject of extensive scholarship (Wolf & Jorgenson 1970; Foster 2000; Price 2008; Gonzalez 2010) as have the military's efforts to organize support from civilian academics (Noble 1977, 1984; Cahill 2008, Enloe 2010, Stavrianakis & Selby 2012). Much of the existing scholarship documents ways that military has guided, gathered, shaped and suppressed knowledge to further military goals, through research grants and academic partnerships. Some of these initiatives include making funding for colleges dependent on hosting military training programs such as ROTC. This literature also addresses the ways in which academics are recruited for military purposes through research funding, endowed chairs and preferential access to information (Noble 1984; Price 2003, 2008, 2011). A recent and growing body of literature links the process of militarization in institutions with neoliberal business models (Lagotte 2010, 2011, 2013; Lagotte and Apple, 2010).

My analysis of how the U.S. Military creates a presence on campuses departs from this literature and presents an analysis of a less- familiar strategy: specialized trainings for "key influencers" on college campuses, the *Community Leader/Educator* training. I argue that these specialized trainings foster identification with military goals by involving college personnel in participatory trainings that are not academic but specifically military. These trainings are built around a pedagogy of embedding academics in contrived military situations wherein participants perform military training exercises, and portray the military as an organization that exists primarily for self-improvement and educational advancement. At this training the military mission abroad is portrayed as essentially humanitarian, with no direct relationship to actual wars. Moreover, the former processes facilitate the latter; that is, having civilian academics perform military training exercises while learning that the military mission is about personal uplift and global humanitarianism is intended to facilitate a positive disposition toward the military among academics, and lays the groundwork for civilian academics to become "force multipliers" for the military.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ "Force multiplier" is a military term used to describe the role of each component (individual soldier, unit or branch) in the military apparatus intended to potentiate the efficacy of the whole. This term was applied to our group of academic participants by one of our handlers at Ft. Knox.

One goal of the *Community Leader/Educator* training is to convince college personnel that the institutional military is separate and distinguishable from acts of war-making and war itself. In order for these beliefs to become naturalized as militarized common sense, the institutional military, and ROTC in particular, must be framed in ways that promulgate the narrative of military socialization as catalyst for shaping national and individual character (see Introduction, and Chap. 2). In this narrative, the institutional military operates as an apolitical organization that exists primarily for social and personal elevation: to train people in discipline, leadership, physical conditioning and patriotism. This vision of the military is deployed not only in recruiting high school students to be soldiers, but also in recruiting academics to become military supporters.

Recruiting “influencers” in theory: the manuals and policies

The Community Leaders/Educators (CLE) training was developed to enlist faculty and staff¹⁵² on college campuses to support U.S. military projects, as part of an overall Department of Defense strategy to engender support for the military in and around schools. It forms part of a marketing plan developed by the leading Public Relations strategists in the United States. The Pentagon spends 4.7 billion dollars yearly on recruitment, advertising and public relations, paying some of the largest advertising and Public Relations firms (among them Leo Burnett Worldwide and McCann Erickson) to develop a range of marketing tools to promote the military product. (Lagotte 2012).

The following section shows, through a close reading of official U.S. Army recruitment manuals, how schools are seen as prime “markets” for recruiting efforts. I will quote from these manuals at length to show how these practices are designed to “win the hearts and minds”¹⁵³ of campus personnel specifically targeted as educational and community leaders. Moreover, I explore how the tools of business logics and market research articulate with military and educational discourses in promoting military priorities in civilian academic spaces.¹⁵⁴ I argue that the influence of militarized business models—which conceptualizes schools as markets and students and faculty as both consumers of military culture and targets of recruitment-- has given rise to the experiential marketing strategy used at Ft. Knox to sell military programs to civilian academic leaders.

Marketing the Military: From National Service to Contract Sales

Official Army recruitment manuals identify high schools and colleges as prime sites to garner support and boost enlistment. In these manuals, recruiters are advised to view students’ (referred to in the recruitment manuals as “Future Soldiers”) community and school-based networks as “target markets.” Recruiters are also advised to view school communities in military counterinsurgency terms, as potentially hostile local

¹⁵² Referred to by Army marketing strategists in official manuals as “educational influencers”

¹⁵³ Trainers used this term to describe the purpose of the training at Ft. Knox. The term, coined to describe counterinsurgency warfare, invokes a policy of influencing hostile populations by persuading them to support the U.S. military mission by providing programs of social improvement. I take this phrase: “winning the hearts and minds” as the US Military’s own shorthand term for the production of militarized common sense.

¹⁵⁴ This section is based on two US Army Recruitment manuals: “School Recruiting Program Handbook” (*USAREC Pamphlet 350-13) and the more comprehensive “Recruiter Handbook” USAREC Manual 3-01.

populations. In the “target-rich” recruitment environment of schools, Future Soldiers are not the only targets; college faculty and administrative staff also become the focus of programs aimed at engendering support for military projects. Using text from Army recruitment manuals, the following analysis illustrates military strategies used to enlist powerful members of communities (referred to as “key influencers”) to support campus military projects.¹⁵⁵

Military recruiters come to campuses with the stated purpose of counseling students about future opportunities, but in official recruitment manuals, the school space is portrayed as a targeted market to “penetrate” with a variety of sales strategies.¹⁵⁶ Brian Lagotte (2012) notes that in 2004 the armed services hired a private marketing firm to launch a \$10 million multimedia program aimed at persuading parents and other “influencers” to encourage students to consider military recruitment. “Through focus groups, surveys, and interviews, marketing firms can increase the efficiency of the Pentagon’s substantial advertising budget” by weaving military advertising into the social and administrative fabric of school operations.¹⁵⁷ Based on market research, the recruitment manuals provide strategies to further military goals and tactics to influence key educational decision- makers. For instance, in this contemporary era of dwindling public education resources, recruiters are encouraged to establish rapport and credibility with school officials by maintaining a constant presence on campus; becoming indispensable to the school by offering to provide services that are threatened or have been eliminated due to budget cuts (for example, recruiters are told to offer their services coaching the football team or to tutoring students.) The Army’s School Recruiting Program handbook (SRP) advises recruiting personnel to become “indispensable to school administration, counselors, faculty, and students. Be so helpful and so much a part of the school scene that you are in constant demand, so if anyone has any questions about the military service, they call you first!”¹⁵⁸ However, recruiters are also warned that this support should be strategically formulated and always framed to school officials, parents and students as on behalf of the students’ “best interests.”

Before you can expect any type of assistance from school officials or be accepted by students you must first establish rapport and credibility. You must convince them that you have their students’ best interests in mind.

(Chap 2, sec. 2-1)

The SRP handbook assures that indispensability will engender trust, which in turn will allow recruiters to make inroads into school to advance their program objectives: “Once educators are convinced recruiters have their students’ best interests in mind the SRP can be effectively implemented.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ Recruiters are told that “to effectively work the school market, recruiters must maintain rapport throughout the school year and develop a good working relationship with key influencers”.(from the *School Recruiting Program Handbook* Chap. 2: 2-2: “Establishing and Maintaining Support.” http://www.usarec.army.mil/im/formpub/REC_PUBS/p350_13.pdf)

¹⁵⁶ The Army’s School Recruiting Program Handbook states: “No other segment of the community network has as much impact on recruiting as schools. The SRP (School Recruitment Program) is based on the trust and credibility established with educators, students, and parents. Even a well planned SRP will fall on its face without the support of these key influencers.” – (*USAREC Manual No. 3-01; Chap. 5:3 sec. 17)

¹⁵⁷ Lagotte 2012 “Selling the Services” (3)

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. sec. 2-2 (c)

¹⁵⁹ Ibid: 2 sec.1-4 (c)

However, Lagotte (2010) argues that the altruistic assertion that recruiters have the students' "best interests in mind" is belied by the overt primacy of military interests in this transaction. Moreover, he considers this "best interest" claim dubious, because the market-based business model upon which this strategy is based is well-known for prioritizing the interests of the economic and productive bottom line, rather than the interests of the consumers, who are in this case, high school students.¹⁶⁰

While Army recruitment practices are clearly informed by sales logics and lexicon, they are also portrayed in the official literature as military operations informed by logics of combat and conflict, with a particular counter-insurgency inflection. The recruiting manual explicitly likens recruiting on school campuses to combat in enemy territory, and the recruiters as scouts behind enemy lines:

The Army learned many lessons during our war on terrorism. One especially important lesson is that we need to share information from the individual on the ground to higher echelons. Every day during combat operations, Soldiers exit the wire on patrols or convoys and engage the local populace. In doing so, Soldiers collect more vital information than any piece of technology in the Army's inventory. Recognizing this, the Army has coined the phrase "every Soldier is a sensor." The same is true for recruiting operations. Whenever team members are in their AO (Area of Operation) making contact with people, they are performing as information awareness and assessment assets. Every team member is a sensor... (9-6) Sensors must be able to understand and describe the local recruiting environment. They must understand their market's lifestyle trends, cultural and social values, and how they view military service. Sensors must constantly be aware of their surroundings especially during recruiting activities... Awareness and assessment assets support the mission by alerting commanders to potential obstacles and threats that may affect mission success. For example, the company commander needs to know that a local college changed their access policy for recruiting personnel. This example of awareness directly affects any college recruiting operation and is a key consideration during mission planning.¹⁶¹

This conception of the relation between recruiters and civilian educators discursively positions the institutional military as always "inside the wire" (referring to the military bases in hostile combat zones surrounded by razor wire); recruiting activities as "combat operations" and civilian school communities as the potentially hostile "local populace" requiring constant surveillance and vigilance against "potential obstacles and threats that may affect military success." The blended articulation of business and military discourses is clearly illustrated in the Army recruiting manual Recruiting Operations Plan sections on 'Intelligence', which discursively positions civilian college campuses as hostile territory requiring 'recon' or reconnaissance to pinpoint 'targets of opportunity.'

¹⁶⁰ Lagotte 2013 "Selling the Services"

¹⁶¹ From the section: "Role of Intelligence Sensors and the Intelligence Recruiting Function" (Recruiting Handbook: 9-1, 9-2)

You must have a firm understanding of what lies within your area before you attempt to develop a plan to exploit it. Plan the time to execute a recon of your area and make note of any targets of opportunity... You must understand your market's lifestyle trends, cultural and social values, and their perceptions of military service... The intelligence system (G2)¹⁶² collects, processes, produces, and disseminates data to assist you with your intelligence gathering process.¹⁶³

Public secondary schools also are prime recruiting sites for entry-level enlistees, and in this realm students, parents, principles and guidance counselors are the primary targets of influence. On college and university campuses military recruiting efforts tend to focus more on the Reserve Officer Training Corps, or ROTC. Discussions of enhancing military presence on college campuses focus much more on key academic decision-makers. In this arena, recruiters are advised to:

Develop a working relationship with as many school officials as possible. Suggested officials would include: Director of student affairs, career placement officer, college registrar, financial aid officer, dean of students, director of student housing, veterans affairs officer, professor of military science, Concurrent Admissions Program officer, department chairpersons, and professors who may be helpful in making presentations or communicating Army opportunities.” (9-23)

One strategy used to cultivate these working relationships is called the “E/COI (Educator/Center of Influence) Tour”. The SRP Handbook describes the purpose and intention of the tours:

E/COI tours are designed to be professionally enriching experiences for key influencers. They are not junkets or rewards for cooperation with recruiters. Tours are resources that must focus on those areas (access, ASVAB [military occupational aptitude] testing, and release of directory information) that need special attention. Tours provide E/COIs the opportunity to view Soldiers in a training environment. *Many participants become informed supporters who publicize and promote Army opportunities with students, graduates, and other key influencers.* (EM emphasis)

Educator/Center of Influence (E/COI) Tours form part of an official strategy designed to sell military services to college campuses that are seen as having strategic value for the military. The program seeks to cultivate military proponents among academics by treating educators as potential recruits and employing a combination of marketing and military tactics of sales, reconnaissance and winning hearts and minds of faculty and staff. College-based programs are designed to develop working relationships with school officials, which then are expected to facilitate military inroads into the cultural and institutional practices at colleges and universities.

¹⁶² G-2 refers to Military General Division 2, the Intelligence section, responsible for “the collection, processing, integration, evaluation, analysis, and interpretation of available information concerning foreign nations, hostile or potentially hostile forces or elements, or areas of actual or potential operations.” Intelligence (Joint Publication 1-02 Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms: 158)

¹⁶³ “Role of Intelligence Sensors and the Intelligence Recruiting Function” (Recruiting Handbook: 9-1, 9-2)

Recruiting “influencers” in practice: Ft. Knox, KY

The production of militarized common sense requires educating the educators. In July of 2012 I had the opportunity to participate in one such tour held at Ft. Knox, Kentucky. In the following sections I describe the experience while analyzing processes by which Army personnel attempt to recruit academics to become “informed supporters who publicize and promote Army opportunities with students, graduates and other key influencers.” By cultivating instrumental relationships college faculty and staff participate in the production of militarized common sense on civilian campuses.

This case offers one example of how the Army implements these intentions by attempting to foster identification with the military and positively influence civilian academics considered to be influential, in order to enlist their support furthering military goals. This leadership training visit to observe the Army’s training course “Operation Bold Leader” is designed for educational leaders and policymakers to advertise the benefits of having ROTC programs on college campuses. I had asked to be part of this group after hearing about it from veterans’ advocates on campuses. After trying unsuccessfully for several years to get permission to participate and observe military basic training, I felt this ‘hands-on’ training might approximate the experience to basic training, and that it might be able to give me some insight into the physical training involved in becoming a soldier. I knew that this course, being only a one week, totally-optional exercise, could only gesture toward the real experience of basic training, but it was as close as I could get. However, once there, I came to understand the strategic purpose of this training: to influence the ‘influencers’ in Education. I came to see it as a prime site of the production of militarized common sense. I joined a group of 48 educators—professors, administrators, counselors, financial aid officers, student services personnel, and others identified as college and university ‘influencers’¹⁶⁴ to take part in this training.¹⁶⁵ We spent a week at Ft. Knox, Kentucky alternately participating in rigorous physical training exercises and attending formal meetings by groups of high-ranking military personnel. The week culminated in a question and answer session with high-ranking officers in which college faculty and staff committed to support military efforts on their home campuses.

The fact that we were asked to wear uniforms and expected to participate in military training exercises dressed in combat fatigues suggests that this training was designed to facilitate maximum identification with soldiers. Below I argue that pedagogical techniques and embodied practices employed by the military trainers (such as embedding academics at military bases to perform military training exercises, facilitating participants’ interaction with high-ranking military personnel, utilizing

¹⁶⁴ The official documents usually refer to us as “leaders”, yet one of the memos we receive in advance of the trip refers to us, in the language of the recruiting literature, as ‘influencers.’ This nomenclature slippage indicates the true intention of this trip: to influence in the Army’s favor, those with power (influencers) on college campuses.

¹⁶⁵ I had asked to be part of this group after hearing about it from veterans’ advocates on campuses. After trying unsuccessfully for several years to get permission to participate and observe military basic training, I felt this ‘hands-on’ training might be a proximate experience to basic training, and one that would give me insight into the physical training involved in becoming a soldier. I knew that this course, being only a one week long, totally optional exercise could only gesture toward the real experience of basic training, but it was as close as I could get.

supportive relationships and removing college faculty and staff from their areas of competence while re-locating them in the position of recruits) are designed not to produce disinterested knowledge, but rather to create identification with the military that would later be leveraged to promote military cooperation on campuses and thus produce a form of militarized common sense.



photo: P. Middleton

The U.S. Army Base at Ft. Knox, Kentucky was founded in 1918 as an armory and artillery training center, and soldiers for every U.S. war since then have been trained at the base. In 2005 the armory and infantry schools were closed, and now Ft. Knox is known as the Army's administrative and training hub. Calling itself "the most multi-functional military base in the United States Army," its units include the Army Cadet Command, the Army Human Resources Command, and the Army Recruiting Command. In addition, Ft. Knox also houses the 3rd Brigade Combat team of the 1st Infantry Division (the "Duke Brigade") and the 84th Training Command.¹⁶⁶ Under the auspices of the Ft. Knox Training Command I, along with 47 other academics were invited to participate in 'Operation Bold Leader.'

Background: ROTC and the Vietnam Era

The history of this invitational Community Leader/Educator (CLE) training course dates back to 1967 when, at the height of campus opposition to the Vietnam War (and the coordinated effort by many U.S. colleges to expel ROTC programs from campus), the Army marketing department began this program to "put a different face" to ROTC.¹⁶⁷ This different face is presumably one that is not closely identified with the prosecution of unpopular wars. Organized campus opposition to ROTC was a central feature of 1960s and 70s campus anti-war activism, as faculty and students objected to the ROTC as a recruiting organization for the US Armed Services. Although there has been a marked reversal of this 1960's era trend (as recently happened at Stanford, Harvard and Columbia Universities, among others), the image of the anti-military college campus is alive and well in military environments. As I have noted in previous chapters, the image of the scorned Vietnam veteran remains a central reference point in military support discourse on college campuses. Five decades after the war in Southeast Asia, the image of the shunned Vietnam War veteran still exerts a potent influence on college

¹⁶⁶ From the Ft. Knox website (www.knox.army.mil/information.asp)

¹⁶⁷ Major B., commanding officer of Ft. Knox, used this term when speaking about the history of this training program in a welcome speech to our group. Major B.'s remarks were the first of several references tying the development of this training to civilian opposition to the Vietnam War .

campuses debates and policies, and in veteran support discourse in the broader society. However this trope is not reflective of current campus realities, as ROTC programs are currently being welcomed back to college campuses. And while many educators still disagree with a program that includes full professorships for military personnel on their campuses, military control over the content of ROTC courses, and academic credit for activities such as marching drills and armory training; organized opposition to ROTC programs has markedly diminished since the Vietnam era years. And so it would appear that the invocation of the Vietnam-era anti-military college campus is both ideologically formulated and instrumentally mobilized as a strategy to enhance military presence on college campuses.

Upon our arrival at Ft. Knox, we were told that this training had been developed during the Vietnam War as a response to a perceived anti-military bias within academia, and was intended to enhance the reputation and access of the U.S. Army on civilian college campuses.¹⁶⁸ As Col. Dan K., commanding officer in charge of the CLE visit told a military journalist assigned to cover the tour for the ROTC website:

“Over the years, the visit has proven successful in helping educators to become assets to ROTC around the country. ‘We want to win the hearts and minds of the influential people’ said Lt. Col. Danny K., officer in charge of the leadership visit. ‘They are in a position to help the ROTC program in their schools. This visit gives them a window to what it is that the Army ROTC does and how we train our Cadets.’ ”¹⁶⁹ -

In describing the Army’s objective as attempting to “win the hearts and minds of the influential people” Col. K. invoked the U.S. military’s strategy to gain public support for a counter-insurgency war and facilitate success of combatants fighting in hostile territory.¹⁷⁰ Using this language of counter-insurgency, Col K. positions civilian academics as influential yet potentially hostile ‘enemies’.¹⁷¹ In this discursive battle, ‘winning’ would mean that civilian college educators would become allies and assets to ROTC around the country.”¹⁷²

Humanitarian Re-branding of War: “We’re like the Peace Corps, with Guns”

Consistent with Army recruiters’ mandate to frame military involvement as supporting students’ best interests, this “Operation Bold Leader” visit was framed as a

¹⁶⁸ Maj. Michael B., opening remarks, CLE visit, Ft. Knox 7/9/12

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Lt. Col. K., posted on Ft. Knox website (retrieved 7/15/12)

¹⁷⁰ Originally, the battle for the ‘hearts and minds’ referred to ‘the fusion of military, political, social and economic strategies into one overarching and coherent response to the communist insurgency.’ (*Rupert Smith, The Utility of Force* 2005) The phrase has since come to entail gaining the support of a population for a specific military strategy, and therefore ‘seeks to enmesh the population into the economic, political and social fabric of the nation.’ (ibid.) While this “Hearts and Minds” strategy to win the support of local populations in war zones has been traced historically as far back as the campaigns of Alexander the Great, in the mid-twentieth century it was notably used by the British, in their war against communist insurgents in Malaya (now Malaysia), and more recently by the U.S. military in Vietnam.

¹⁷¹ This recruiting-as-war language echoes the sentiment of the recruiting manual: “Sensors (recruiters) must constantly be aware of their surroundings especially during recruiting activities...Awareness and assessment assets support the mission by alerting commanders to potential obstacles and threats that may affect mission success. For example, the company commander needs to know that a local college changed their access policy for recruiting personnel. This example of awareness directly affects any college recruiting operation and is a key consideration during mission planning. (From Sections A-4 and A-5).

¹⁷² From an interview with Lt. Col. K., posted on the ROTC Leadership Training course website.

chance to showcase ROTC as a program providing leadership, citizenship and personal growth opportunities for students through physical fitness training and mentorship. We were also reminded that ROTC offers full scholarships through college.¹⁷³ The University of California at Berkeley, the institution with which I was and am affiliated, was seen by our hosts as an important center of research, and thus an influential campus.¹⁷⁴

However, in this military company, the name of UC Berkeley also carried negative connotations because of its reputation as home to Vietnam War protests. Despite the fact that today UC Berkeley proudly claims to be among the nations' most "Military Friendly" college campuses¹⁷⁵, Berkeley's negative reputation persists among military personnel. After the first night's welcome ceremony, sitting in a bar drinking beers with the officers, Col. K. asked me: "Do you think the people of Berkeley are prejudiced against the military? Because I do." This allegation-- unfair prejudice against the military by Berkeley liberals -- became the opening salvo in a conversation about these officers' belief that civilians academics were uninformed about the mission of the contemporary U.S. Armed Forces.

These officers framed the problem as civilians' misperception, or misunderstanding about the contemporary U.S. military, particularly in places like Berkeley. Col. K. described the military mission in Afghanistan as essentially one of humanitarian development. "Really, when you look at a lot of the work we do, we're like the Peace Corps, with guns," he said. "We build soccer fields for kids and set up clinics in places where people really need stuff-- where nobody else wants to go." In this discussion of military intervention as social work, there was no mention of war -- and the total and traditional military mission (in its multiplicitous manifestations: whether 'regime change', occupation, or resource extraction) is overlooked, obscured, or re-branded as humanitarian.

In recent years the "Peace Corps with guns" characterization has been adopted and disseminated by military personnel. This analogy is currently used by both supporters and detractors to describe the military's recent strategic 'humanitarian turn' (Gonzalez 2012) in the current missions in the Middle East. This characterization has become a shorthand way to highlight 'Human Terrain' counter-insurgency strategies (COIN); the contemporary version of the Vietnam-era "Hearts and Minds" strategy coupled with strategies for nation-building and extended military occupation.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ My position as a doctoral student would not automatically classify me as a 'key influencer.' I had originally wanted to come on this trip because I thought it could provide insight into the embodied learning involved in training soldiers, and I asked to attend because my research examines intersections of military and civilian pedagogies. I am grateful that I was given the opportunity to attend this training.

¹⁷⁴ One participant called me an academic "superstar" because of my affiliation with UCB.

¹⁷⁵ The national magazine "GI Jobs" publishes a list of top "Military Friendly" college campuses in the U.S. based on services available to military students (specifically veterans) and campus climate toward student veterans. UC Berkeley has been named among the 50 most Military Friendly campuses every year since 2008.

¹⁷⁶ The first use I can find in military literature is in an edited volume put out by the Army War College called "A 'Peace Corps with Guns': Can the Military Be a Tool of Development?" (Irish 2007) which argues that the military can be, and is. This characterization has also been taken up by critics of the war: *Rolling Stone* reporter Matt Hastings used this description in his 2010 profile of Gen. Stanley McChrystal: "From the start, McChrystal was determined to place his personal stamp on Afghanistan, to use it as a laboratory for a controversial military strategy known as counterinsurgency. COIN, as the theory is known, is the new gospel of the Pentagon brass, a doctrine that attempts to square the military's preference for high-tech violence with the demands of fighting protracted wars in failed states. COIN calls for sending huge numbers of ground troops to not only destroy the enemy, but to live among the civilian population and slowly rebuild, or build from scratch, another nation's government -- a process that even its staunchest

Our hosts fashioned the military on civilian college campuses as beleaguered minorities, discriminated against by liberal schools, while also proposing the military as privileged status. The colonels I spoke with perceived misunderstandings as a result of anti-war and anti-military stereotypes promulgated by Hollywood movies and what they considered a liberal bias against the military evidenced in mainstream media outlets. I would later come to see this allegation as unintentionally ironic, as it became clear throughout the week that this training actively deployed Hollywood film stylistics in the effort to promote a pro-military counter-narrative.

The Discursive Role of Rank

Military rank is a visible message of your level of responsibility and degree of experience. Your rank shows where you fit into the Army structure that binds individuals together into teams.¹⁷⁷

-“Army Rank, Structure, Duties, and Traditions” in ROTC Handbook

Former Army officer and anthropologist Alexandra Jaffe (1995) notes that “the privileges and obligations of rank pervade so much of military life that it is impossible to experience rank as meaningless.”¹⁷⁸ Military rank is a social practice embedded within particular institutional and social relations; it constructs and maintains socially significant differences between members of the Armed Forces. Thus the rank system organizes social relations not only between individuals but also within the entire administrative apparatus; the social marker of rank permeates all material and symbolic institutional practices designed to enforce military order (Vojdik 2003). Given the primary organizing role of military rank, it was significant that our group of college educators interacted extensively, with almost exclusively with high-ranking officers.¹⁷⁹ Upon arriving at the Louisville airport, we were met by a relay team of Colonels: Lt. Col. Alana N., the one female squadron leader, directed me towards the baggage claim area, where Col. James L. met me and carried my bags to the waiting van. We were “in-processed,” (given medical history forms and indemnity waivers to fill out along with brochures explaining our visit) by Lt. Colonels John R. and David D. The commander of Ft. Knox, Major B. welcomed us to the base and the training, after which we were divided into groups: two platoons made up of three squads each. Our squad (2nd Platoon, 1st squad) leader was Lt. Col. L. In the explicitly hierarchal organization of the US Army, high-level leaders performed the lowest level administrative tasks for our group. Every interaction: questions about schedules or protocol, chatting on the bus between activities or having drinks in the bar entailed interactions with high-ranking officers. This is a lot of rank to be escorting a small group of relatively low-level academics: Student Affairs Deans, Asst. Professors and college administrative staff. The deployment of rank both reflected

advocates admit requires years, if not decades, to achieve. The theory essentially rebrands the military, expanding its authority (and its funding) to encompass the diplomatic and political sides of warfare: Think the Green Berets as an armed Peace Corps.” (“The Runaway General” *Rolling Stone* Friday, June 25, 2010)

¹⁷⁷ “Army Rank, Structure, Duties, and Traditions” in ROTC Handbook found at

www.uc.edu/MSL_201_L01b_Army_Rank_Structure_Duties_Traditions

¹⁷⁸ Jaffe *The Limits of Detachment: A Non-Ethnography of the Military* (1995:42)

¹⁷⁹ With the exception of one of our bus driver/logistics staff support, who held the rank of Master Sgt. and a few of our field trainers, who were Sergeants.

and produced the educators' positions as important and influential guests. A former Army captain helped to put this scenario in perspective, calling it noteworthy that we had Colonels serving as squad leaders. Using the analogy of a small town's hierarchy, this former officer said that a Colonel was the social equivalent of a mayor: "If we're talking about a small military base somewhere, a colonel is going to be like the mayor of the town. He will be the person in charge of the whole base. [In contrast,] squad leaders would be people on the side of the road with a broom and dustpan. ... This [training situation] is very unique." Our group had metaphoric mayors, senators and congressmen acting as hotel concierges, baggage handlers and tour guides. To justify this asymmetrical deployment of resources, educators had to be positioned as equally important guests. We were all issued personalized embroidered tags identifying us as "VIP" to affix on our uniforms. Thus while we were outwardly designated as Very Important Persons, we were also discursively positioned as such by being escorted by high-ranking officers--those among the most powerful and accomplished in the Army. By designating us as important and influential--hierarchical equals to Colonels -- we were groomed to use our influence to promote the ROTC agenda when we return to our home campuses.

Embedded practice, embedded identities

Several weeks before I left for Ft. Knox I was issued a full Army Combat Uniform (ACU) with the instructions: "This clothing is to be worn during any optional hands-on training opportunity during the visit. This clothing should be packed even if a Community Leader/Educator is unsure if he/she wants to participate in optional hands-on training."¹⁸⁰ After we had arrived and filled out our paperwork, we were organized in military formation: divided into platoons and squadrons, we performed grueling physical training exercises dressed in combat fatigues, which facilitated maximum identification with soldiers and create newly militarized subjectivities.



2nd Platoon, 1st squad (author 2nd from Right)

Studies on embedded war journalists (Maniaty 2008) show that in high-stress environments, when embedded outsiders depend on a team of military protectors, they become unable to experience separation from military perspectives and priorities. When one literally puts one's life in the hands of a team of military protectors, separation from military ideologies, perspectives and mission becomes more difficult to maintain. In other words, enemies and battles of the soldiers become the enemies and battles of the

¹⁸⁰ From packing list "TAB E (Packing List) to Annex I to Appendix 1 (Community Leader/Educator Visit) to LTC OPORD 12-02 (Operation Bold Leader)" sent prior to visit

embedded. Maniaty described this process in a discussion of how embedded reporting changes reporters' subjectivities, which in turn affect their coverage of wars, resulting in reports that neither question nor criticize military practices or missions:

[The result of embedded reporting will be that] Old-fashioned censorship will not be necessary: television crews, reliant on military transport and on surrounding troops for their survival, will do what they are told to. Eagle-eyed detachment will be rare, anodyne coverage far more likely. The industry mantra, 'If it bleeds, it leads,' will not apply—if it bleeds in Baghdad, it will be dropped. Images of dead American soldiers, even in their coffins, will not be permitted. A study by the Project for Excellence in Journalism of 40.5 hours of coverage by ABC (America), CBS, NBC, CNN and Fox early in the conflict found about half the reports from 'embeds' showed combat action, but not one story depicted people hit by weapons (see Sharkey, 2003). What television showed was not the multi-faceted horror of war but the palatable shorthand of war, in neat packages that audiences could watch without revulsion, bleaching the nightmare. (96)

Thus, Maniaty argues, the process of embedding does not produce disinterested knowledge; rather, it forms subjects and subjectivities. This happens through pedagogies of identification, participation and practice. Moje & Lewis (2004) note that participation creates new knowledge and knowledge practice, which result in shifting or re-making of identity. Lave (1996) and Gee (2001) write that learning can be understood as shifts in identity; that one learns to take on new identities along with new forms of knowledge and participation. Participatory learning involves learning not only subject matter content—for example military knowledge, or information about ROTC programs -- but also how to think and act like a military subject even if one does not formally enlist in the military ranks.¹⁸¹ The pedagogies used in this *Operation Bold Leader* visit similarly produce subjectivities and create predispositions. I noticed this happening on the first day, when our group waited to board the bus to the training grounds.

As we gathered in the hotel lobby, there was a palpable sense of excitement. We compared notes on our uniforms; the more experienced advised newcomers on how to appropriately wear the uniform (trouser legs tucked and bloused in combat boot, laces tucked; jackets loose, mandarin collar open; sleeves rolled down and cuffed up; desert tan rigger's belt snugly fastened, patrol cap removed indoors). Those who arrived with incomplete uniforms apologetically explained the absence of a hat, name tapes or in some cases the entire uniform: the fact that they were dressed differently from everyone else was immediately apparent; it set them apart and made them look somehow lacking, like adjuncts to the group. Thus the uniform became a disciplinary force-- a marker of compliance and a measure of how well we fit into our surroundings; how we wore our uniforms communicated how well we were able to follow dress protocol, and follow directions in general. Power was enacted through techniques of improvement, as one school administrator helped me adjust my uniform. Although we had not been given formal instruction on how to wear the uniform, those wearing it incorrectly looked out of place, and *appeared* insubordinate.

¹⁸¹ This analysis draws from Moje & Lewis (2004: 18-19)

Foucault (1979) reminds us that disciplinary power normalizes individuals and their behavior through spatial structures, temporal rhythms and body movements. Principles, doctrines and rules of conduct train us to think and act in seemingly “spontaneous” ways, as socially-constructed norms, behavior and identities become naturalized. Our identity as a militarized group was cultivated by our hosts through logistics and management of our bodies: we travelled and ate together in Platoon formation; we were encouraged to spend free time with our Platoon leader and cohort, we developed slogans that reinforced our presentation and perceptions (“3rd [Platoon] Herd!” “Hooah 1st !”) The normative idea that fellow Platoon members’ appearance and demeanor reflected on the group became a cultural fact. Using the uniform as both signifier of affiliation and evidence of compliance, we collectively legitimated an ideologically-based system of military power and respect. The *logos* of the uniform functioned independently from our individual preferences and beliefs, and thus we became the *logos*, and the *logos* became us.¹⁸² Through *technologies of the self*, (Foucault 1979) we all participated in militarizing our civilian subjectivities by monitoring and correcting each other, not with the punitive severity of drill sergeants, but by serving as mutually supportive guides in this primary task of conforming. In doing so, we relieved our military hosts of the task of policing us.¹⁸³

Participation as Performance: Pedagogies of participation and non-participation

“Cadets grow the most when they are out of their comfort zones”

-Col. Alana N., CLE squad leader

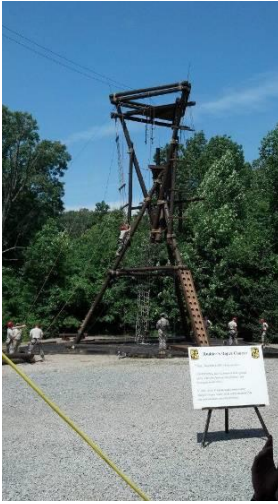
The first few days of the training were focused on physical activities, beginning with relatively low-stress, team-building “waterborne exercises.” These activities were the least physically challenging and most team-focused; this exercise took pressure off individual performance, as it distributed tasks among team members. Our first individual exercise was the high ropes course, located on the main training area of the base. The course was 30 ft. high and consisted of crossing logs, jumping onto webbed ropes, crossing on a high wire on stomach by pulling with arms, crossing another high wire standing, executing a 180° turn-around mid-way across, running across tilted wooden planks 2 ½ feet apart, crossing under a rope (“possum style”) pulling by arms overhead, leaping from a platform onto a mesh rope wall, and finally, descending by zip line down to the ground.

Each activity of the course began with a similar ritual demonstration of what we would be asked to do. Each demonstration entailed a well-choreographed performance, including an expert team of physically fit soldiers performed each operation with speed, precision, skill, and no apparent fear. The demonstrations always included special effects: smoke bombs filled the air with thick haze, sounds of explosions and rounds of M-16s being shot, and pulsating heavy metal music. These environmental stimuli suggested the feelings of being in a war zone and gave our participation a sense of immediacy. It was difficult to discern if the adrenaline surging through my body was a evoked by the sounds of explosions and machine gun fire, the pounding bass-enhanced

¹⁸² Foucault “The Ethics of Concern of the Self” 1984: 29

¹⁸³ Foucault “Technologies of the Self” from *The Essential Foucault* 1994)

Death Metal music or the fact that I would be asked to execute a series of difficult physical maneuvers 30 feet about the ground, while balancing on a rope.



High ropes climbing structure



High ropes course

photo: Mike Nguyen

I decided not to do it this exercise, but our military leaders made it very difficult for anyone to say no. Practicing Col. N.'s principle of military learning that "cadets grow the most when they are out of their comfort zone," and its unspoken corollary: that learning depends not on what you think, believe or know, but on how you act and perform, our military trainers and hosts gave insistent encouragement and motivational support ("Of course you can do it! Think of how proud of yourself you'll be when you are done!") to keep us involved in the training.

To be fair, this kind of positive reinforcement has shown to be effective in educational situations. Positive reinforcement provides a recursive feedback/activity/confidence/competence loop that encourages learners to keep trying to improve their performance; until the point at which the learners actually do improve. That is, positive reinforcement increases intrinsic motivation, which typically affects the learner's ability to gain control of an activity. This increases the frequency of the activity, along with the learner's feelings of competence. The heightened sense of competence that comes with repetition increases the learner's motivation to continue trying the activity, which in turn increases the learner's actual competence in performing the activity.¹⁸⁴ Thus, there is sound educational theory behind this pedagogy of positive reinforcement, and this intervention clearly helped some of the training participants to overcome self-limiting fears.

However, when a primary organizing principle of any institution is social control, the commitment to tasks becomes a manifestation of ideology. Jaffe (1995) notes that military training is inextricably linked with the display of ideology, and the performance

¹⁸⁴ Cameron & Pierce (2004:364) use Schwartz's (1990) work on the intrinsic motivation experiment of Lepper, Greene, and Nisbett (1973) to describe this reinforcement feedback loop. The study also found learners become reliant on this reinforcement; that when reinforcement is later withdrawn, people engage in the activity even less than they did before reinforcement was introduced. (Schwartz:10)

of commitment. The relentless and lavishly indiscriminate encouragement used to achieve total participation is also a means of social control.¹⁸⁵

I argue that there was an additional pedagogical goal involved in the single-minded push for total participation, beyond simple confidence-building or social conformity. The push to take us out of our comfort zones and into zones of incompetence, public performance and potential physical harm to create militarized subjectivities through a process of identification through *disidentification*, or attempting physical tasks and coming up short. The young and fit soldiers set the normative standard for performance against which our attempts were judged, not only by the assembled military and civilian onlookers, but also by ourselves.

Throughout this training there was an implicit—and occasionally explicit—theme that positioned academics as deficient recruits: desk-jockeys who spent our days in unphysical (and unmasculine, might be the implication for the men) intellectual pursuits. *That* was our ‘comfort zone,’ but it did not seem at all attractive in comparison to the strong, vital, active, competence of the cadets and officer cadre. This theme was portrayed in light-hearted jokes and banter in informal conversation. As one of the Colonels accompanying us joked to our group on the bus leaving a formal event: “When the Major asked if you all wanted to say anything, I thought ‘oh no-- the way these guys talk, we’ll never get out of here!’ ” At this point a university professor in our party joined in, saying: “yeah, in PhD school we learn how to speak only in 50-minute increments—we don’t know how else to talk!” The crowd laughed appreciatively, and in doing so participated in the process of military identification; accepting and endorsing the frame set by our military hosts: that what we civilian academics might lack in physical prowess, we make up for in un-physical bloviating speech. In this way we were taught to identify with the military through a process of disidentification, by discovering that we were not as fit, nor as competent, and ultimately not as good as our military counterparts.¹⁸⁶ Moje and Lewis (2004:19) wrote that this type of experiential learning involves both awareness of differences and distinctions, and, ultimately, it represents an act of subject formation through identification with particular communities. These identifications are demonstrated through the enactment of particular identities one knows will be recognized as valuable in particular spaces and relationships.” In attempting the exercises or in declining to participate, we were made aware of that which made us as professional educators different, and deficient, compared with our military counterparts.

However, this experiential pedagogy was not designed so that we would fail at the physical exercises, and indeed, many in our group were successful. I believe that our military leaders really wanted us to succeed, and in the process to gain an appreciation for the effort involved. We experienced military status and prowess as privileged and desired; it was something we sought to emulate and achieve. This happened through purposefully being put in situations beyond our area of competence, into areas of

¹⁸⁵ Jaffe 1995:40

¹⁸⁶ Jaffe’s ethnographic research in the military found that academic prowess, rather than being valued in the military milieu, was more often seen as a liability. “[T]hose (military members) with strong academic backgrounds found it of little practical use or consequence to their social standing. In fact, social display of more than the required or instrumental amount of education was viewed with suspicion and men (much more than women, who were exempt from most of the “macho” standards of military evaluation) were judged in spite of their intellectual achievements, as if being an academic precluded being a tough or efficient soldier. The Army was the world of real work; the university, of either play or drudgery, depending on the individual’s perspective.” (39)

incompetence. This process of identification through disidentification would lay the foundation for adopting a positive disposition towards military members, which is part of the process of producing a militarized common sense.

Bourdieu (1977, 1990) posits that in order for any experience to become legitimized, arbitrary interpretive or conceptual models must be made to become (or to appear) necessary. Although there was great pressure to participate in these exercises, the forces compelling us to participate beyond our skill level were entirely constructed by our Army trainers, and served to legitimize their mandate of participation. The social pressure to comply with this mandate was difficult to resist; and indeed it proved dangerous for some: a few people in our group were injured on the high ropes course. One member of our group, among the first to volunteer, broke her leg when she fell short in her leap from one station to the next.

Pedagogies of Participation and Non-participation

In the course of this training, we learned about leadership through pedagogies of participation, and for a few of us, pedagogies of non-participation. The trainers told us that “all exercises are optional” and yet there was a constant exhortation and expectation to participate and to overcome fears and physical limitations. To decline to participate was perceived as a failing and was met with public humiliation, in the guise of jokes and ‘friendly’ coercion. If a participant continued to opt out, colonels would intensify pressure to participate, so that to successfully decline, one had to become adamant and categorical, to the point of seeming obstreperous and almost rude.

This friendly coercion; this pedagogy of support exemplifies what Nader (1997) calls *controlling processes* of hegemonic construction. The controlling process of encouragement created a dynamic of power that shaped our ideas about the meaning of participation and about what it meant to be a ‘team-player.’ But beyond the pressure to conform that comes from a culture of mandatory participation, this kind of performance-based pedagogy has the discursive power to elevate one’s status to that of “insider” or conversely, to render one irrelevant to the group.

For example, in one exercise we were told to rappel down a 50 f t. tower. As with every new exercise, this one began with an opening demonstration/performance: smoke bombs, loud sounds of explosions and automatic machine- gunfire, heavy metal music blaring over loudspeakers. This special-effects soundscape immediately heightened the tension, and I felt the adrenaline rush through my body, along with shallow breathing and rapid heart-rate. Even though I knew intellectually that this was a performance, my body reacted as if there were an actual attack going on. A team of soldiers jumped off the 50 ft. tower and within 5 seconds had rappelled to the ground. It was an impressive show of fitness and competence, and when the last soldier touched ground our group erupted in whoops, whistles and applause.

I ran into Merrie, a dean from a Midwestern college who had experienced a panic attack on the high ropes course the previous day and had to be rescued by ladder. She and I had both decided independently that we would not attempt the rappelling exercise. However, Col. N. would not let Merrie decline. Col. N. physically put the harness on Merrie, walked her up the 10 flights of stairs, and rappelled down with her every step of the way. This gesture of solidarity and support, combined with the backstory of Merrie’s humiliating experience the previous day created a dramatic spectacle that embodied and conveyed narratives of sisterhood, empowerment and redemption. It was extremely

moving to watch Merrie descend the tower accompanied by Col. N.; it brought many people, myself included, to tears. When Merrie landed on the ground, we all leapt to give her a standing ovation. It was a triumphant moment.

For those of us who declined to do it, there was neither triumph nor applause. Col. N. sent Merrie to convince me to go, and Merrie implored me to give it a try, saying that it had been the most empowering experience of her life. Col. N. approached and offered to accompany me as well. Although it was difficult to refuse what seemed like an insistent kind offer, I declined. Having twice attempted, unsuccessfully to rappel down the 12-ft. practice tower, I didn't want to attempt an exercise that clearly required more upper-body strength than I possessed. It appeared to me that my refusal was seen by Col. N. as a personal rebuke. From that point on in the training, it felt like I became if not undesirable, then irrelevant to the group process. Earlier in the day I had been called a 'superstar' because I came from UC Berkeley, and fellow educators afforded me high status for being a member of a Research-1 university. By the end of the day, it seemed as though my fellow educators were avoiding me, as if non-participation (perceived as cowardice, refusal, or indifference to the mission) were a contagious condition. It is possible that no one was actively avoiding contact with me, but that I was marginalizing myself from the group, because I had nothing positive to add to the conversations of mutual admiration and respect for a job well-done.

At this training, physical prowess and grit were the coin of their realm. Conversations—in chow lines, on transport busses, in the bars at the end of the day-- all centered on participants' success-derived euphoria and pride in overcoming fears. Without that narrative there was little to say, and this became a social liability. In this milieu, both successes and failures were seen as a reflection on leadership. When trainees showed reluctance, or were unable to complete the physical challenges, it not only made trainees look bad, but it reflected poorly on squad leaders. Therefore, the leaders were very motivated to make sure everyone participated successfully.

I was taught, and I learned affectively from this exercise that soldiers are fit, more disciplined, more competent, more brave than I; I was tested and came up short in the comparison. Yet I firmly believe that this pedagogy was not designed to make us feel bad, but to motivate us to *want* to succeed; to identify with the more fit and more competent soldiers and want to emulate them. This aspect of the training was very effective: when I called home one night feeling bad about my performance failures, my teenage daughter said: "But mom, you don't even *want* to be a soldier!" And this is precisely the point: that even the most war-averse skeptic can emerge from this experience wanting to be like the soldiers and wanting to excel at war-simulation exercises; to fit in with and win the admiration of soldiers. This represents a powerful pedagogy.

Militarism and Spectacle

The spectacle is not a collection of images; rather, it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images.

-Guy Debord, Society of the Spectacle

Later that day, I promised myself that I'd do the stream crossing, which required us to pull ourselves across a rope tied tautly above a stream. This exercise began with

what had become a ritualized performance/demonstration: smoke bomb, explosions, a team of 10 soldiers ran out and tied a rope tautly around the tree, then pulled themselves across a 20-foot expanse using only their arms and feet. As with all of the demonstrations throughout this training, this demonstration relied heavily on symbolism and mythic spectacle.



Stream crossing demo opening



Stream crossing demo



stream crossing

When the time came for our academic contingent to cross the stream, we heard the sounds of machine gunfire and smelled the now-familiar sulfurous emanation of smoke bombs. Again, spectacle was used as a carefully manufactured public display to foster a social relationship: academics as soldiers. Musical and sensory cues were used to create a fetishized experience of reality: this highly orchestrated evocation of combat was meant for the casual consumer of heroic images of war. The chaos and terror of real bombs going off, with real blood and real death were not part of this display. There were no sounds of shattering glass and screams of terrified victims. No sirens, no blazing horns, no flames, no panic. No dust of rubble from fallen buildings. It reflected, as Maniaty wrote, referring to TV images of wartime heroics, “not the multi-faceted horror of war but the palatable shorthand of war, in neat packages.” This process of fetishization through spectacle both exalted and concealed: it raised the heroic image of the warrior while erasing the reality of the war, thereby reifying military ideology and enlisting academics as eager, if anxious, pseudo-warriors .

All of our exercises usually incorporated a youth-oriented war soundtrack of heavy metal music, but in this case, we would cross the stream to the music of Wagner’s ‘Ride of the Valkyries.’ As this orchestral piece blared over the loudspeakers, World War II newsreels came to mind: both US and Nazi military newsreels used this musical score for their propaganda films. But this was a curious musical choice, because the score is also associated with one of the most iconic scenes of the Vietnam-era war film

“Apocalypse Now”. In that scene, Wagner’s music swells in the background while Vietnamese villagers: men, women and children are strafed by U.S. soldiers in helicopters as they flee in terror. Perhaps the choreographers of this exercise did not realize that this music is famous for that film’s scenes of war atrocities, or perhaps it didn’t matter to them. This music was intended to evoke heroic battles; to get our adrenaline flowing and prepare us to tackle a physical challenge. As the smoky, sulfuric haze mingled with Wagner’s score, the collective cultural memory of past wars and cinematic imaginaries articulated with an intensely physical embodied experience. Waiting my turn to cross the river, I felt a mix of fear and the taste of adrenaline.¹⁸⁷ Thus, this pedagogy drawing on emotion, spectacle, and heightened sensory involvement does not simply teach; it changes subjectivities. By participating in the soldiers’ tasks, one identifies with the mythic aspects of the war experience. This pedagogy seemed to be effective; the energy of the educators was high; there was a palpable sense of excitement on the grounds as people lined up, nervously awaiting their turn to shine.

War-making without War

It was strange that at Ft. Knox, a site dedicated to training warriors, there was no mention of the current wars. For a week we were shown an educative Army that delivers social goods (such as training in leadership, pathways to college funding, mentorship), all of which are apparently disconnected from killing and war. It was as if learning combat skills could be conceived as separate and completely divorced from the reality of combat in which they might be used. In this environment of support to overcome physical limitations and psychological fears, the ideals of leadership, discipline, education and physical fitness were demonstrated in abundance, and made a compelling case to embrace ROTC as a path of training excellence for future leaders. With so much enthusiastic support to excel at these physical challenges, it was not obvious that soldiers were being trained to fight in Afghanistan, Libya, Iran or a number of other potential or current wars. It was difficult to see, and much easier to *not* see how this training connected with war-making. However, despite our trainers’ best efforts to portray the military mission as essentially humanitarian, it was not possible to sanitize the war completely from our view, and it surfaced, like ambient background noise. Lining up outside the mess hall waiting to eat, we were reminded of the central purpose of this training. As a platoon of cadets marched past in formation, we heard them chanting cadences to keep time:

“When I go to bars
The girls they will say
How did you earn your living
How did you earn your pay
And my reply was with a cold kind of nod
I earn my living killing commies for my God

¹⁸⁷ To many people, adrenaline tastes distinctively like ferrous oxide, or copper. One former soldier I interviewed described how he used to taste adrenaline (what he called the “mixture of fear and excitement”) in the middle of a battle; he said it tasted like “pennies in my mouth.”

When I go home
The hippies they will say
How did you earn your living
How did you earn your pay
And I replied as I pulled out my knife
Get out of my way before I take yo' life"

Except for these young cadets chanting about killing commies for God and stabbing hippies-- oddly a-contextual expressions of hatred against historically obsolete or imagined enemies-- it was difficult to remember that the purpose of this camp is to condition future officers to lead young people in war.

However, as orchestrated and affecting as this display was, there were moments of contention and contestation. Not all of the academic participants were moved to actively support the military on their home campuses.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, not all of the military trainers followed the line of portraying war-making without war. For example, one colonel, Lt. Col. R., a military professor and the head of the ROTC program at a Midwest university talked about the curriculum he uses to teach ROTC cadets, saying that he deviates from the standard centralized curriculum sent him by the Army. The standard curriculum, he said, deals in military history and lore, and talks about military ideals, but not about real combat situations. He described a quiz he gives his the students which includes asking them to compose a condolence letter to the family of a soldier killed on deployment to Afghanistan. At my request, he sent me a copy of the quiz (below), along with his syllabus:

Condolence Letter Quiz

Write a condolence letter to the family of "[Specialist] SPC X" who was killed last week by an IED while on foot patrol on a remote road in Afghanistan. Here's some background data on "SPC X":

1. He enlisted in the National Guard in 2006 for financial reasons – wife was diagnosed with cervical cancer in 2005 and neither had the health insurance needed to cover her treatments.
2. Worked as a mid level manager at one of the major sporting good stores.
3. He was married with 3 children (ages 7, 4, and 3 months, (boy, boy, girl))
4. His wife has been an integral part of your company's FRG.¹⁸⁹
5. Was on his 2nd deployment – first was to Iraq.
6. One of his children is a special needs child.
7. He was YOUR DRIVER and was thought of fairly highly in the unit.
8. His MOS was 88M and he really enjoyed being your driver.

¹⁸⁸ While I did not survey the group or even ask participants openly if they would work to increase institutional support of the military on their home campuses, some tour members indicated discomfort with the idea of serving as a source of military support, commenting privately to me that they had reservations about encouraging students to sign up for the military. Some of their reservations were based in the danger involved in joining the Army during wartime; some noted that institutional policies and customs that they felt discriminated against women might make enlistment difficult for their female students.

¹⁸⁹ FRG stands for "Family Readiness Group" made up of military family members that provide a social network of mutual support to help families cope with adjustments to military life and the stress of deployments.

Col. R. said that new cadets typically balk at doing this assignment, but he tells them that if they cannot do this, then they should not join the Army or expect to be an officer, because war is part of their job as soldiers, and part of their job as officers is being responsible for sending men into battles in which some will die. He said that he would be doing neither the cadets nor the Army a service by ignoring this aspect of military service. The background given to the students about the hypothetical scenario positions the dead soldier as an economic recruit who has been sent on multiple deployments. Col. R. said that it is important to humanize the soldier in this case; and that cadets must see soldiers as members of a family to get the full impact of what is being asked of them. In the process of humanizing the hypothetical casualty for his students, R. told us that soldiers on deployment come from modest backgrounds and face hardships beyond being in the military. In the constrained space of the Bold Leader training, amidst the collective erasure of the effects of war, it was interesting to see that there is some push- back to have someone openly talk about not only the mystique surrounding soldiers but also about the lethal reality of war.

Colonel's Leadership Panel: "The Ask"

Develop a working relationship with as many of the following as possible:
Director of student affairs, career placement officer, college registrar, financial aid officer, dean of students, director of student housing, veterans affairs officer, department chairpersons, and any professor in a specific field that might be helpful in making presentations or communicating Army opportunities...

- Army Recruitment Manual

As the recruitment manuals state, the Educators/Centers of Influence tour forms part of a strategy to cultivate relationships with educators who can help support the military project in civilian schools. School-based recruiting manuals lay out the purpose of these trips in more detail than simply winning the hearts and minds of educators; there are specific purposes and goals of these visits. The manual states that the purpose of these Educator/Influencer tours is:

- a. To support the recruiting force by improving recruiter access to the school market
- b. To pass on the following messages to tour participants:
 - (1) Education and training opportunities in America's Army are excellent.
 - (2) Army interest in Soldier welfare and development matches the concern educators have for their students
- c. *To request support from educators and key influencers for improving access to schools...* (EM emphasis)

The following section illustrates how the final objective, requesting support from educational influencers, played out during our visit. Moreover, it shows how members of our group—after being immersed in military discourse and practice, and feted as important visitors—obviated this request by offering to help before being asked, thereby taking on military priorities and projects as their own, one of the manifestations of militarized common sense among educators.

Toward the end of the week, we were invited to a luncheon and panel discussion with five Colonels and the commanding officer of Ft. Knox. In the triple-digit heat of a humid Kentucky July, we were all happy to have lunch in the air-conditioned comfort of the base Officer's Club. After each colonel introduced himself, they asked for questions from the academic guests. At this point in our tour the military became, effectively, an extension of the academy, and we academics became an extension of the military. A Dean from a Northern state university set the tone for the entire discussion that followed when he asked "How can I best serve the Professor of Military Science (the title given to the chief administrator of campus ROTC programs) at my campus?"

In fundraising circles, the moment when potential donors, or "prospects" are presented with requests for support is referred to as "the Ask"¹⁹⁰. In posing this question to the Colonels and to the assembled audience, the Dean precluded and rendered unnecessary any direct requests by the Colonels. This question provided the opening to gain support from educators to improve military access to schools. The colonel answered: "Academic culture is a foreign environment. We need to be able to translate the conversations. We need to learn the academic culture. Academics have a different leadership style." Civilian college faculty and staff were thus asked to serve as facilitators, interpreters and cultural guides in embedding military personnel on campuses. College faculty were also asked to serve as military recruiters: we were told that the Army is looking for students in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields who understand engineering and scientific rigor. We were asked to look for and approach students in these fields who are struggling financially and steer them toward the Army with the promise of scholarships. "Get faculty, advisors and counselors to realize that when a kid's grades are dropping because they are spending hours working at outside jobs. Have their advisors counsel them to join ROTC if they aren't able to afford college on their own," The Colonel said. "The Army should be a Plan A for students."

Not all of the questions came from participant directly involved in the field of Education, but they all echoed the desire to help the Army achieve its goals. For instance, one participant identified himself as the mayor of a medium size city in California. He said "After this [visit], I am a true believer. What can elected officials do to help?" The Colonel gave the mayor several options that would allow his municipality to contribute to the military effort, beginning with permission to use municipal land for training exercises: "First, we need land—the ability to let kids roam. We need that from cities." He also asked for authorization to perform weapons training within city limits, which requires cooperation from the local police force: "We train with weapons, or things that look like weapons. We need systems in place for everyone's safety. We need the support of local law enforcement for that." Finally, the mayor was asked to intervene at the high school level, to use his influence to ensure recruiter access to public schools: "We are looking to go into high schools [to recruit]. Some high schools are still stuck in Vietnam. We need help with that – to get the word out that the military should be Plan A." By invoking historic campus opposition to the Vietnam War, this speaker echoes the often-repeated charge that to civilian schools actively oppose the U.S. military and the current

¹⁹⁰ Olshansky and Lysakowski (2011) define this fundraising term as follows: "The request for a contribution or pledge. Most effective ask is when adequate research has been conducted on the prospect and a specific amount is presented for the prospect to consider."

wars. This has been a recurring rhetorical move throughout this *Operation Bold Leader* visit: ostensible anti-Vietnam War sentiment becomes the rationale and the imperative to make campuses more “Military Friendly.” It is striking that civilian opposition to the Vietnam War is constantly invoked, when speaking about today’s college campuses, as if widespread anti-war demonstrations were a common contemporary experience.

In the above interchange, the mayor described himself as a “true believer.” With this characterization he signaled to the Colonels and to the rest of the room, that he had undergone a transformation, like a religious epiphany. As we sat, showered, rested and fed, for this final performance in the Ft. Knox Officers Club, it felt to me as though we were part of a religious witness, the testimony of one who had been a doubter, but now believed, and was thus redeemed.

A final question from one college administrator echoed the previous questions: “How can we be advocates for you all on our campuses?” This question offered the opportunity for the colonels to make their most direct appeal for help in producing militarized common sense on campuses. At this point, all the Colonels jumped in with suggestions on how faculty could help to improve retention rates of ROTC students (for instance, by “helping ROTC students pass courses”, so they can keep up their GPAs and stay enrolled). Suggestions ranged from military-style classroom mentorship programs (“Build a chain of command in your classrooms, with senior students acting as cadre. Then work that program into the college itself,”) to gentle morale-building military support (“If your ROTC is out there on their own, then there’s a problem. Go out there and give them a little hug.” Clearly the metaphoric hug to which the speaker referred was structural—that is, the incorporation of military leadership and priorities within the campus administration.) These strategies seek to ensure that the Army can maintain a permanent and structural role in the classroom and on campus, as one colonel put it: “Military Science needs to be aligned in a college within the university. We need to be seated at the big table with the big kids. We need to get on academic committees—if you aren’t allied, the gates will be closed.”

In *Powers of Freedom*, Rose (1999) adapts Foucault’s notion of “discipline” to mean a mode of power that works through the calculated distribution of bodies, spaces, times, and gazes in an attempt to produce subjects “who are at once useful and compliant.” (Rose 1999:233). Drawn from the experience of “Operation Bold Leader,” this chapter showed the mechanisms (specifically, a combination of kinetic training and supportive persuasion) through which the US Army attempts to produce civilian college educators who are both useful and compliant in promoting military ends on campuses.

Academics on this tour were immersed in the discourse of the Educative Army--an institution that delivers social goods (such as training in leadership, pathways to college funding, mentorship), all of which are apparently disconnected from war—and emerged wanting to support military projects on their home campuses. Through this ethnographic example I have attempted to illustrate that physically performing military team-building exercises fosters positive identification, (sometimes through the process of *disidentification*) which can create receptivity to supporting military projects on campus.

Returning to Lave’s (1996) position-- that learning can be understood as shifts in identity; that deep, participatory learning involves learning how to think, act, and *inhabit* the new knowledge-- we see that participation in this training created new knowledge and

knowledge practice, which resulted in shifting of identities. I am not arguing that participating in a week-long training fundamentally changed our identities, or enduringly militarized our consciousness, but I do argue that by creating identification with the Army and its practices and by framing the military mission as not intimately tied to war, we were familiarized to specific and partial aspects of military training. Not only were the wars framed out of this military experience, but so were the more uncomfortable aspects of training: the processes of role-dispossession, identity-trimming and pedagogies of power described by recruits in Chapter One. We were offered a civilian version of military culture: and this was key to bringing us into the military mission and bridging the gap between military and academic cultures. Thus we can observe the strategies involved in enlisting civilian academics to advance military objectives on their home campuses, thereby contributing to the production of militarized common sense.

Chapter 6: Spectral Wars and the Myth of the Anti-Military Campus

Common sense is not a single unique conception, identical in time and space. It is the "folklore" of philosophy, and, like folklore, it takes countless different forms. Its most fundamental characteristic is that it is a conception which, even in the brain of one individual, is fragmentary, incoherent and inconsequential, in conformity with the social and cultural position of those masses whose philosophy it is."

-- Antonio Gramsci¹⁹¹

For any way of thought to become dominant, a conceptual apparatus has to be advanced that appeals to our intuitions and instincts, to our values and desires, as well as to the possibilities inherent in the social world we inhabit. If successful, this conceptual apparatus becomes so embedded in common sense as to be taken for granted and not open to question.

-- David Harvey¹⁹²

Before familiarity can turn into awareness the familiar must be stripped of its inconspicuousness; we must give up assuming that the object in question needs no explanation. However frequently recurrent, modest, vulgar it may be, it will now be labeled as something unusual.

— Bertolt Brecht¹⁹³

Introduction

In this dissertation I had originally set out to explore the experiences and meaning-making of war veterans on college campuses. But as I explored what happens to soldiers after they return home from the battlefield and enroll in college, I found that training in military ways of thinking is not limited to soldiers: civilians also receive training about how to perceive and relate to military personnel and projects. In this chapter I will demonstrate how the strategic deployment of historical narratives produces an idealized victimization of veterans, which in turn allows for the valorization of military projects on campuses. This will lay the groundwork for the following chapter, which will show that these sets of practices, attitudes and beliefs can have negative consequences for student veterans.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the relationship between the social production of an idealized, yet victimized veteran and enforced loyalty to veterans and by

¹⁹¹ Gramsci 1971: 418

¹⁹² Harvey *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005:10)

¹⁹³ Brecht 1964:144

extension, to the contemporary U.S. wars. This chapter examines how, through the strategic deployment of historical narratives about colleges, veterans and past wars, veterans become means and methods of producing militarized common sense. Though college veteran support programs, idealized narratives student veterans depend on institutions such as veterans service agencies, school programs and other non-profit community organizations to enact and institutionalize military discourse in campus life.

To understand how military ways of thinking become institutionalized, I rely on Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony. Because the function of hegemony is to create a unified vision of an assumed "natural" order which universalizes concepts of rule, aspirations and culture, it is important to understand how ideological conceptions of what it means to care for veterans become naturalized and practiced in everyday life. with an invocation of mistreatment of Vietnam War Veterans, and a warning "not [to] make the same mistakes in serving our veterans as we did in the 70s." This chapter examines how certain ideas about veterans and the military are taken up as educational 'best practices,' and how these ideas influence actions on college campuses. As noted in previous chapters, the formulation of these 'best practices' of veteran support rests primarily on two pillars of argument: 1) that contemporary college campuses are hostile to the military, and 2) that veterans' programs should be designed to remediate this ostensibly hostile campus climate.

This chapter proceeds in two parts. I begin by examining a mythologized image of the contemporary college campus as hostile to the US military veterans. This lays the foundation for the second part, a review of interventions designed to remediate this hypothetical problem through the creation of *discourses of care* for student veterans. Discourses of care simultaneously frame veterans as victims of discrimination and as heroes deserving of public valorization. Interventions aimed at both 1) protecting veterans from alleged discrimination are what I call *protective strategies*, and 2) those celebrating not simply veterans' military service, but the institutional military, (and tacitly, the current wars), are what I call *valorization strategies*. Both protective and valorization strategies involve conflating support for the veteran with uncritical support for military projects, and both have the effect of silencing debate on campus about contemporary military conflicts.

Background: The Specter of Vietnam

The trope of the anti-military campus, while not reflective of contemporary reality, is rooted in historic narratives about the Vietnam War. In the years since the 1991 Gulf War there has been a demonstrable shift toward militarization in public spaces, collective understandings and discourses (Rowe 2012; Loeb 2010; Shaw 1991; Lembke 1998; Enloe 2008; Gonzalez 2012), particularly as they relate to veterans in institutions of higher education (Herrmann et al. 2005; Altshuler & Blumin 2009; Williamson 2008). As background to my claim that veteran support is conflated with military support, I look to the literature about how the national mythos of the reviled Vietnam War veteran influences current debates and practices on college campuses (Lembke 1998; Cahill 2008; Beukenhorst 2012). I examine the "gradual but continuous absorption," (Gramsci) of heroic narratives about military missions and soldiering on college campuses, and trace ways through which these narratives become institutionalized in campus programs and everyday consciousness.

The Vietnam War was a bitterly contentious experience for many in the United States: 57,000 U.S. soldiers died, and the unpopular war left the country deeply divided.¹⁹⁴ After the U.S. military defeat in Vietnam, U.S. politicians and public feared involvement in another intractable foreign war. This public aversion to U.S.-sponsored wars (which impeded legislative approval for, if not the actual military interventions during the 1980s-- principally in Nicaragua and El Salvador-- but also in Grenada, Libya, Iran, Panama among other nations), was framed in a pseudo-medical language and given the rhetorical diagnosis of “Vietnam Syndrome.” (Mendible 2008.) This concept became embedded in U.S. political discourse, and was invoked as a national malady by proponents of U.S. military involvement abroad. From the 1991 U.S. military involvement in the Persian Gulf—what is known as the first Gulf War-- to the present wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Vietnam War has been a constant historical referent. (Rowe 2012). While the phrase “Vietnam Syndrome” originally implied Congressional and popular aversion to US involvement in foreign wars, the phrase came to take on a related but different cultural resonance in the US political lexicon and public imaginary; it came to signal the idea that popular opposition to the Vietnam War had systematically discouraged, and demoralized U.S. combat troops in Vietnam.(Mendible 2008; Cahill 2008.) In this re-telling of history, popular opposition to war contributed to the U.S. defeat in the Vietnam.(Kimball 2008)¹⁹⁵. Myra Mendible (2008) describes the imprint of the Vietnam War on US cultural memory as “a psychodrama of humiliation”:

No longer signifying a nation, “Vietnam” functions as metaphor for America’s humiliation. This trope has served US presidents from Richard Nixon to George W. Bush, each of whom has relied on its compelling themes to garner support for military interventions and “pre-emptive” strikes. It frames America’s political rhetoric whenever leaders seek to stifle political dissent at home, “harden” national borders, or rally nationalistic strains in the American character. Recalled in this way, the legacy of Vietnam becomes a story about “our” humiliation, about the “wrong” committed against *us*.

Mendible argues that the *us* on whom this national humiliation was visited, is embodied by the Vietnam War veterans. Positioned in popular culture as human surrogates for the humiliation of a nation, the story of maltreatment of Vietnam War Veterans provides the rationale and the imperative to re-assert military dominance:

Stories about America’s humiliation have circulated widely through popular lore and familiar images. They often play out through Hollywood film stereotype of

¹⁹⁴ As bitter and divisive as this experience was for the people of the United States, it is crucial to note that, as in all wars there was an incalculable cost paid by the people in whose countries this war was fought. The people of Vietnam (and Cambodia and Laos)-- insurgents and U.S. allied forces as well as non-combatant civilians-- suffered the devastating effects of war: massive destruction in the physical, emotional and environmental realms.

¹⁹⁵ Kimball argues that this represents the US version of the *Dolchstoß* “Stab in the back” betrayal theory which held that insufficient support from German civilians resulted in the Weimar Republic defeat in World War I, and that the US version of this myth “blamed leftists, liberals, the press, the anti-war movement, civilian policymakers, Democratic Party presidents and the Congress of the United States—and particularly the ‘dovish’ representatives within it-- for snatching defeat from the jaws of victory.” (233)

the Vietnam veteran, whose wounded body and psyche sign for the nation's crisis of honor. Spat upon by ungrateful anti-war protestors, lied to by their presidents, shackled by the policies of civilian whiz kids in Washington, America's protagonists in these tales form a sad cast of dishonored men, defeated warriors, forgotten sons and husbands. Vietnam veterans' memoirs further chronicle this emotional legacy, bearing witness to the dishonor that haunts warriors from a mighty nation defeated by small men in "black pajamas." These images and stereotypes have shaped the nation's popular memory over time and become fodder for its war machinery.¹⁹⁶

While there is little actual evidence showing intentional harm to US soldiers by anti-war protesters, the narrative of anti-war protesters mistreating troops still holds sway (Lembke 1995, Cahill 2008, Rowe 2012, Sitikoff 1999). The trope of the anti-war liberals invoked and reified in the phrase "Vietnam Syndrome," and its co-occurring problem: that the U.S. public—portrayed by the 1960's student anti-war movement-- actively renounced US soldiers in Vietnam, and reviled them after the veterans returned home. Today this narrative has become an accepted view among military supporters (through activism of organizations such as the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, and in some scholarship on higher education¹⁹⁷). This narrative asserts an antagonistic and causal link between anti-war demonstrators and problems of veterans—by implying that that the peace activists of the 1960's-- rather than the war itself, or inadequate government attention to the needs of veterans, or public apathy --are ultimately to blame for the problems experienced by many Vietnam Veterans, which include homelessness, un- and under-employment, drug addiction lack of adequate medical attention and alienation from society. Thus, the trope of civilian hostility towards veterans becomes a common sense explanation for the historical reality of societal and governmental neglect of U.S. soldiers after they returned from Vietnam. But as Rowe (2012) writes, the historical narrative implied in the charge that "We did not support our Troops":

refers less to isolated incidents of anti-war demonstrators "spitting" on returning soldiers, chanting "Murderers!" or otherwise condemning military personnel for the conduct of U.S. foreign policy than it refers to the aftermath of the Vietnam War, in which veterans were ignored or considered "embarrassments" both by their government and the general population. The belated parades, monuments, and memorials often served only to remind veterans of the Vietnam War of the long silence that they met on their return. (Rowe:54)

In this symbolic re-telling of history, the metaphoric act of "spitting" on Vietnam War veterans was really silence and ambivalence from US society. Yet in the contemporary historical revision, passive neglect of Vietnam War veterans by civilian society has been converted into active antagonism, and societal silence is converted into a story of active enmity from civilian faculty and students.

Chilling Effects-- the Myth of the Military-Unfriendly Campus

¹⁹⁶ Mendible 2008:3

¹⁹⁷This position is made explicit in Shepherd & Shepherd 1994, 1996; Stever 1996; Roth-Douquet & Shaeffer 2005; Herrmann et al. 2009, Downs and Murtazashvili 2012

It has been four decades since the official end of the Vietnam War, yet the specter of that conflict continues to influence attitudes and policies about veterans on college campuses today. Military supporters claim that present-day liberal college faculty and students create a hostile environment for veterans and the institutional military, asserting that this leads to problems for veterans on college campuses (Shepherd & Shepherd 1994, 1996; Stever 1997; Roth-Douquet & Shaeffer 2005; Herrmann et al 2009; Thomas 2010.) As this section will show, these claims contain slippage between support for the student veteran and support for the military, and have a chilling effect classroom discussions about the U.S. military policies and about the wars. The characterization of campus hostility by college students towards veterans is constructed and advanced through the strategic deployment of *perfecting myths*, or socially-constructed narratives that provide justification for worldviews while simultaneously reinforcing the relationship between individuals and the state (Lembke 1998, Charmichael 1990, Burke 1971).

My research found that on college campuses today, military advocates position Iraq and Afghanistan war veterans as modern-day equivalents of Vietnam War veterans. By symbolically fashioning and disseminating the story of the Vietnam War veteran reviled by liberal civilian college students and professors, and by transposing 1960's-era veterans with Iraq or Afghanistan War veterans, an ostensible problem is created: contemporary college campuses are unfriendly to the contemporary U.S. military, and to contemporary veterans. With this ostensible problem comes the need for a solution: to create more 'military-friendly' campuses. Through these narratives, soldiers are positioned as both victims (rejected and discriminated against by anti-war college student and faculty) and heroes, separate from and superior to their civilian counterparts. The discursive positioning of veterans as heroes and victims (and thus deserving of unquestioning allegiance and support) is then enacted as military support on college campuses. This conflation of support for the veteran with support for the military contributes to the production of *militarized common sense* on campuses.

While the narrative of the reviled veteran reproduces and relegates the student veteran to victimhood, mythologizing also occurs through the narrative of the heroic veteran. Heroic military narratives have been promulgated throughout history and serve several purposes, among them: helping soldiers feel better about being involved in war, helping surviving loved ones to grieve the loss of life, allowing civilian societies to feel better about sending soldiers to war, and garnering popular support to wage war. Both military and civilian societies celebrate the warrior-hero: the returning soldier who fought on behalf of the nation and its freedoms. This perspective has been taken up and amplified by civilian troop-support organizations, and can be seen in the campus veterans support programs.

A myth, said Roland Barthes (1957), is a type of speech; in examining ideologies hidden within the "decorative display of *what-goes-without-saying*" (1957:10). Barthes argued that heroic images should be studied "as mythical discourse" that imbues symbols of everyday life (gestures, clothing, expressions) with archetypal material (love of nation, masculinity, social status) so that these symbols predispose the interpreter to accept them as natural. What I call the *discourse of care* for veterans combines two mythologized figures: the warrior-hero and the spurned Vietnam veteran. The symbol of the archetypal soldier as defender of nation and freedom is then articulated with a mythical 21st century anti-military college campus. Some campus veteran support

organizations frame student veterans as beleaguered heroes in an effort to remediate potential discrimination against the military; these understandings become naturalized, and form the basis for ‘best practices’ in creating veteran support programs on college campuses.

In my two years of ethnographic research on two college campuses I found no signs of antipathy toward veterans; the majority of students were indifferent, while most faculty I spoke with showed supportive concern and a desire to help student veterans succeed on campus. Yet at many of the veterans’ support services meetings and classes I attended, speakers invoked this trope of the civilian college campus that is hostile to military veterans.¹⁹⁸

For example, at a Northern University campus veterans’ group meeting in 2012, a local Veteran’s Administration representative (who was himself a Vietnam Veteran) opened his presentation to a group of student veterans by saying that NU “has its own legacy, not always friendly to the military,” and recounted an anecdote: a former Marine who was assigned as a recruiter on the NU campus told him: “He said, as a Marine recruiter, he was more afraid coming to this [NU] campus than he was at Khe Sanh.” While this reference to one of the deadliest land battles of the Vietnam War can be assumed to be hyperbolic, it nonetheless positions the NU campus as a frighteningly hostile place, an enemy territory in which Marines can expect to be physically attacked.

It is notable that this speaker felt that it was important to invoke a past image of NU as hostile territory when addressing the veterans’ group in 2012. At another campus veterans’ meeting, a Vietnam War veteran and NU alumnus who is now a staff member at a nearby Veterans’ organization, opened his address by noting the warm welcome he received at NU that day (in 2011), saying: “The reception I’m getting here today is a lot different than the one I got in 1973 when I came here to study.” This comment reinforces the discursive trope of the beleaguered student veteran-- even as it negates the current reality-- by acknowledging the friendly reception he received at the 2011 meeting through referencing the same campus as hostile 38 years prior.

The narrative of anti-military faculty was echoed by one Halcón College administrator, who said that she felt she needed to carefully frame campus initiatives to support student veterans; that it was necessary to strategically de-emphasize student veterans’ military status, lest she lose support from what she believed was a faculty dominated by anti-war (and therefore, assumed to be by extension, anti-military and anti-veteran) professors. She explained her reasoning behind this strategy:

Historically, faculty in education, as you may know, are very liberal-oriented. And when it comes to the military, sometimes you have to have a conversation that focuses on ‘*student* success’ (speaker’s emphasis) with this particular student population. I told [faculty] that we need to support *all* of our student populations, and this[veteran population] is a population of students with very specific needs that we need to support.

¹⁹⁸ This invocation of hostility toward veterans almost always came from veterans advocates; representatives of the Veterans’ Administration, Vet Centers, VFW or military support agencies. I never heard the veterans themselves say they felt targeted for abuse.

The administrator said that faculty might not want to support student veterans simply *because* they were veterans, and so she needed to emphasize their status as students and avoid mentioning their veteran status.

While charges of anti-military/anti-veteran attitudes among faculty continue to circulate, my research found no evidence of a negative bias against veterans. Reporting on a meeting of veterans' advocates in January 2013, the newspaper *Stars and Stripes* published an article under the headline "Student vets say anti-military attitudes persist on campus." The article noted:

Veterans [at the Student-Veteran meeting] said they still encounter professors and other faculty who blame them for the Iraq War, resent the generous GI Bill benefits and assume the former troops aren't smart enough to make it to graduation. *It's not the norm, they said*, but it's something nearly every student veteran has had to deal with at least once in the last few years.¹⁹⁹ (EM emphasis)

While the quoted sources stress that maltreatment of veterans is "not the norm," the article's rhetorical strategy is worth noting: The first sentence asserts a problem resonant with the title "Student vets say anti-military attitudes persist on campus"; followed by a sentence contradicting this claim by acknowledging that anti-military attitudes are "not the norm." Despite the negation contained within the article, the reader is left with the impression there is persistent and pervasive anti-military bias on college campuses.

But this raises the question: why is this accusation so often invoked, despite a lack of documented proof of pervasively prejudicial attitudes against student veterans on college campuses? Loeb (1994) and Lembke (1995, 2010) argue that the image of the spitting anti-war protester of the 1960's was deployed as an icon of the 1990s neoconservative ideology and used to intimidate potential present-day activists (Loeb 1994), while Carmichael (1990), Cahill (2008) and Beukenhorst (2012) note that veterans' experience on civilian college campuses historically has been used to influence public opinion and stifle dissent about US wars.

As I discussed in the introductory chapter, the problem of veterans' difficulty in college, as formulated in some student services literature, creates an accepted understanding on college campuses: that veterans don't succeed because campuses are not sufficiently "military friendly." These claims become conventional wisdom when they are asserted in student services literature and resurface in subsequent popular and scholarly literature, which then become known as 'best practices' and thus the basis for college programs (Armstrong 2006, Ackerman et al 2008, Thomas 2010). Much of the scholarship produced in the veteran support 'best practices' literature comes from a perspective that is openly pro-military, and much of it is written by college faculty who are also military veterans (for example Herrmann, Hopkins, Wilson & Allen 2009; DiRamio; Ackerman 2008; Stever 1996, Thomas 2010), and who received their college degrees after serving in the military. While it is true that an insider's perspective can offer

¹⁹⁹from L. Shane III "Student vets say anti-military attitudes persist on campus." *Stars and Stripes* Published: January 7, 2013

an important lens into veterans' issues on campuses, there is also a danger that this might result in a lack of critical scholarship on these issues. Indeed, there is a striking homogeneity in the problems presented in much of the literature; and one claim in particular that resurfaces regularly yet is backed by little evidence: that civilian faculty and students are intentionally hostile to veterans (Hermann et al. 2008, 2009; Stever 1996, Shepherd and Shepherd 1994,1996).

A different, yet also widely-cited claim is that that college faculty may be unintentionally mistreating veterans in their classes when they lead discussions of military policies or the wars (DiRamio et al 2008; Herrmann et al 2009, Persky and Oliver 2011, W.S Lewis 2008). This veteran-support literature cautions professors that the expressing disagreement with military or government policy might make veterans feel uncomfortable and alienate them in class.²⁰⁰ According to Herrmann et al (2008):

Some professors make pejorative statements about the military during lectures, making veterans feel uncomfortable and setting them further apart from their classmates. Of course, most professors aren't trying to make veterans feel uncomfortable -- *their objective is usually to voice disagreement with government policy or to stir up discussion in class* -- but they should be mindful of the negative effects on veterans, and lead more-balanced discussions of the military and its role in society. (EM emphasis)²⁰¹

The claim in the above passage conflates military veterans with military policies; the problem described is not that professors are accused of making pejorative statements about veterans, but rather, that they might voice disagreement with government or military policies. This passage implies that classroom debate about military operations -- such as the current wars-- could alienate student veterans from their classmates. Implicit in this formulation is the assumption that all veterans actively and positively identify with their military service, with the institutional military and the current military missions abroad.²⁰² By cautioning professors to lead "more balanced discussions of the military and its role in society," (which according to some literature means avoiding discussions about the current wars²⁰³), the above article conveys the message that expressing

²⁰⁰ Or worse: Persky & Oliver (2011) warn that alleged anti-military bias by faculty might become the basis for civil rights lawsuits by veterans against colleges. "From an institutional perspective, employee training my soon be a necessity. (Some faculty respondents) viewed veterans as the forgotten minority and explained that treating any other group of students the way veterans are treated would result in equal opportunity issues...Colleges need to address anti-military bias as a potential liability issue." (Persky and Oliver 2011:117-118). For more claims of faculty bias against student veterans see DiRamio, Ackerman, & Mitchell (2008); Herrmann, Raybeck, & Wilson,(2008); Lewis (2008)

²⁰¹ Herrmann, Raybeck, & Wilson, 2008 pp.2-3

²⁰² My research has found this not to be the case; many student veterans expressed great ambivalence about U.S. military missions and their actions in war . This perspective however, is discussed very rarely, if at all, in campus veteran support literature. I suspect one reason behind this apparent foreclosure of the possibility of anti-war veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan Wars is that it provides a social corrective to the widespread dissent against the Vietnam War carried out by drafted and enlisted GIs during that war.

²⁰³ For example, in the curriculum "Welcome Home: Creating a Campus Climate of Wellness for Returning Veterans (Joseph 2011), advises college instructors against classroom discussion of the wars to avoid offending veterans. Admonitions to silence form part of the 'best practice' literature (see Chapter 3) and are informed by the trope of the anti-veteran college faculty and student body. (for examples of this, see Stever, Shepard and Shepard).

disagreement with government policy—even if only to spark discussion in class—is potentially damaging to veterans and should be avoided. The above advisory warning professors about unintentional slights by immediately followed by a claim about intentional harassment of veterans by civilian classmates:

Further, students who vilify or harass veterans should be disciplined firmly, as they would for harassing any other student (veterans are occasionally singled out for verbal attacks on some campuses).²⁰⁴

The charge of anti-veteran harassment supports the contemporary version of the Vietnam-era narrative of the student veteran bullied by civilian classmates, and extends the conflation: the authors link critical remarks about the military by faculty with anti-veteran attacks and harassment, which is then used to support the authors' charge that veterans are intentionally harassed by civilian classmates. Although I could find only sparse anecdotal mention of this alleged phenomenon and no documented examples of mistreatment in media reports (beyond the contested account detailed later in this chapter), as evidence, the authors offer the un-cited parenthetical qualifier that "veterans are occasionally singled out for verbal attacks on some campuses." This requires acceptance on faith that verbal attacks against veterans by college students are so common as to warrant this stern pre-emptive admonition.²⁰⁵

I argue that the claim that veterans are routinely discriminated against by civilian college campuses is ideologically motivated and discursively produced. With the many media reports, calls for alarm and sensitivity trainings about anti-veteran harassment on college campuses, it was curious to me that in the course of my two-year ethnographic study that I never witnessed anti-veteran bias. I looked for evidence for this, but instead found the opposite. Believing it was important to be in places where observable anti-veteran sentiment (if it existed) might likely arise, I attended war-related events on the NU campus. One such event was a vigil marking the March 11, 2012 massacre in which an American soldier stationed near Kandahar entered two separate villages, fatally shot sixteen Afghan civilians in their homes, doused their bodies with a flammable liquid and burned them. On the day of the shooting, the following email message went out over campus electronic lists:

The Afghan Student Association will be participating in a worldwide vigil to mourn the recent civilian shootings in a village in Kandahar, Afghanistan tomorrow (March 12th) from 7pm-7:30pm on the (NU) Central Plaza. A U.S. soldier decided to leave his base and go to homes in the middle of night killing 16 civilians mostly women and children. We hope you can join us in a moment of silence to commemorate the victims and their families.

* Please wear all black tomorrow, and tape "16 Afghan Civilians Killed by a US Soldier" on your shirts, to help raise awareness throughout the day.

²⁰⁴ Herrmann, Raybeck, & Wilson, 2008 pp.2-3

²⁰⁵ Significantly, this is a quote from an article titled: "College is for veterans, too". The title implies that the negation of this plaintive assertion-- that veterans are structurally and culturally excluded in civilian college --is the norm on contemporary campuses.

If anti-veteran or anti-military sentiment were to surface on campus, it was reasonable to assume that it might be expressed at this event. Instead, I observed the following:

The memorial took place on a cold, windy late winter evening. The event began as a group of women, dressed in black and heads covered by head scarves, gathered on the steps of NU's Central Plaza assembled and distributed wind-proof candle holders, made by placing votive candles inside modified Styrofoam coffee cups. As requested by the organizers, most attendees (who by age and informal demeanor appeared to be students) wore black clothing. Two local television stations covered the event, and reporters with as cameras, microphones vied for photographic and audio angles. At precisely 7 pm, organizers asked the 40 people present to form a circle. The speaker, a representative of the NU Afghan Student Association opened the vigil with some brief remarks:

Good evening concerned citizens of the United States of America. Thank you for coming to show your respect and support for the innocent civilians who have lost their lives in the war in Afghanistan.

There are vigils being held all over the world today in response to the tragic massacre that occurred yesterday, Sunday, March 11th at 3 am in Afghanistan. An armed US soldier entered 3 homes, shooting and killing 16 civilians, of whom 9 were children, 3 women and 4 men, all innocent. This occurred in a village that had been cleared of insurgents for 5 months. The soldier is said to have acted on his own. After shooting them, he dragged some of the bodies into one home where he set them on fire.²⁰⁶

The opening of this speech focused the vigil on two things: on the civilians killed and on the war in Afghanistan followed by a neutral-toned recounting of the facts of the massacre, framing the incident as a tragic, isolated and individual act rather than a predated result of prolonged, multiple combat deployments in wars of occupation. The speaker continued, saying that the war in Afghanistan to date had cost many lives without significantly advancing the cause of human development and human rights in that country. She then said something that may have seemed surprising to those anticipating statements of anger or disapproval against the US military:

While we respect and admire the bravery of and value all military service men and women throughout the world, the actions of this one soldier has left us shocked and hurt.

The speaker's expression of support and esteem for military service members (with implicit support for U.S. soldiers) may indicate the politics of the area's local Afghan community, many of whom publically oppose the Taliban and left Afghanistan in response to Taliban ascendance. Doubtless there were some present who did not feel

²⁰⁶ The speaker emailed me a copy of written text of this speech, in response to my request.

similar respect and admiration for all military service members.²⁰⁷, but there were no public expressions of anti-military sentiment at this event. The feelings of shock and hurt expressed indicated individual affective responses to death, and portrayed no anger or antipathy toward either the institutional military or U.S. soldiers as a social category. The event closed with a prayer for peace, sung in Arabic. The fact that this was the only public Northern University response to the killing of civilians by a US soldier is but one indication that the NU campus is not a nexus of anti-military sentiment.²⁰⁸

In all of my formal interviews with student veterans NU and Halcón College (50), and in numerous casual conversations over the course of my research, I asked veterans how they felt they were treated on campus by civilian students and faculty. While several student veterans said they felt uncomfortable being around civilian students, they attributed this feeling largely to differences in age, life experience and relative socioeconomic class privilege of the other students (for specific examples, see pp. 20-21)²⁰⁹.

In the veterans-only class at NU, the instructor distributed a questionnaire asking veterans to write about their experiences on campus. In response to the question “How do you feel the broader NU community relates to veterans in comparison with other student communities on campus?” only one of the 26 respondents described experiencing a lack of support, or animosity from civilian students. This veteran’s response (below) indicates that he feels invisible as a veteran on campus, and that the meaning of his military status, his service, and his war-related disability are unknown and unappreciated on campus, particularly by younger civilian students. He wrote:

Most students don’t know about veterans’ service: what it entails, or means. Because [the U.S. Armed Forces] is multi-ethnic, multi-major and multi-gender, it is not apparent that one is a veteran. A few junior students I’ve spoken with just don’t care about what it means to be a disabled veteran. (Emphasis in the original.) In my German class I wear a hearing aid because I cannot understand the teacher’s volume. I’ve told her, but she hasn’t tried to speak louder. So I went to the VA for a hearing aid.

²⁰⁷ Indeed, in subsequent correspondence, the speaker wrote to me that she had received criticism after the event, for praising members of the military: “I actually received some negative responses for not being anti-military in the speech and it was a bit disheartening that that was all some people walked away with after a vigil.” (correspondence 3/15/12) My claim is not that anti-U.S. military attitudes do not exist on the NU campus; only that if they do exist, it is rare that they are expressed publically.

²⁰⁸ By comparison, at a protest of the same incident the mood was explicitly anti- U.S. military in a nearby city south of the NU campus. One protester, an Iraq War veteran, was quoted in a press report saying: “(U.S. Soldiers) are subjected to indoctrination and learn to dehumanize people. I remember I was in the military actually when 9/11 happened and I remember when the words ‘Haji’ and ‘towel head’ started being introduced into our lexicon...I think that the effects of these wars on the soldiers show you that they’re wrong, that they’re suffering and that they become inhuman themselves and commit these inhuman acts.”

²⁰⁹ The majority of veteran interview subjects made references to civilian students’ relative socio-economic privileges: especially those students supported by family to attend college (rather than having to enlist in the military for college funding), and the privilege of entering college with accumulated social and cultural capital which facilitates their transition to college. Veteran interview subjects did not use Bourdieu’s terminology, but noted their lack of familiarity with college norms and customs, and lack of academic, cultural and familial preparation for college was a disadvantage for them.

This respondent interpreted the low volume of his instructor's voice as a lack of regard for his hearing disability, and indicates that he felt forced to wear a hearing aid because of her refusal to speak louder in class. For this veteran, the lack of recognition and acknowledgment of military service he perceives from fellow students becomes intermingled with a lack of respect he perceives from his instructor.

While it is understandable that students dealing with physical, cognitive or other disabilities would rightfully feel aggrieved if their requests for accommodations went unheeded, in tying a complaint about his instructor's inaudibility to his military status, this respondent introduces an anti-military valence to his perception of disrespect. His written response continues with a specific charge of anti-military, anti-veteran bias on the NU campus:

I do not want any special accommodation just for my service. I do however think that veterans have a negative stigma on campus. During the bake sale, for example, numerous students called me a murderer because I had my OEF [Operation Enduring Freedom, military name for the war in Afghanistan] hat on as I walked through NU Central Plaza. It's the lack of education about veteran issues that perpetuates stereotypes like this. The campus, the entire nation needs to abandon the 1960's mentality and adopt a new, refreshed ideology about veterans.

This student veteran invoked a "1960's (Vietnam War-era) mentality" in need of refreshing; I believe that it is significant that the incident he described took place at an "Affirmative Action Bake Sale" held on the Central Plaza of the NU campus, aimed at prohibiting the re-instatement of legislation that arose from another vestige of 1960's political movements: affirmative action. The event, one of many organized by Republican student clubs at college campuses across the United States, was staged as a protest against proposed legislation that would allow a return to the policies that allowed race and gender to be considered in college admissions. Student organizers sold baked goods at different prices to people based on race and gender; for example, selling cupcakes to White males for two dollars, while offering women and racial minority students the same cupcakes at an "Affirmative Action discount" (Black and Native American males were charged 75 cents and 25 cents, respectively; women received 25 cents off of everything). As the NU Republican student organizers acknowledged, the event was intended as a provocation, to protest what they considered preferential treatment to women and minority students, as well as what they saw as the dominion of liberal policies and attitudes at NU, presumably given rise in the 1960s. Indeed, the event succeeded in provoking: shouting matches erupted as counter-protesters filled the plaza. My interpretation of this incident-- the only report of NU students' animosity towards a veteran of which I am aware-- is that the acrimonious tenor and inflamed tensions produced by the bake sale likely contributed to the animosity expressed against this student veteran. My research found that it is not representative of everyday campus discourse.

Other survey respondents noted differential treatment given to veterans and distance with civilian students on campus, but they attributed this to differences in age and life experience. For example:

I feel that the broader NU community relates differently to veterans in comparison with other student communities on campus. I say differently in so far as the community has a great deal of respect for veterans, however, they have a difficult time relating to us due to the age difference as well as overall maturity level. While acknowledging “disconnects” with civilian students, some veterans indicated that they wished they could develop closer relationships with their civilian classmates:

Indirectly, there are shared relationships, mostly academic ones between students; I would say however, since there is a significant age gap between most veterans and the ‘average’ NU undergrad, forming direct community ties with the majority of NU students isn’t as common or present as I would like it to be. Also, since most, if not all, veterans are transfer students, there is a disconnect as well.

This student, (as did many other participants in this research), identified the commonalities with transfer students, who tend to be older than non-transfer students; they also tend to come from lower socio-economic circumstances and come to college with a diversity of life experiences, often having taken circuitous routes into the academy. The remainder of the survey respondents wrote that their treatment on the NU campus had been positive to neutral. What follows are more of the written responses to that question:

So far, it has been a very welcoming community here at NU. From people I’ve met who I can compare with other student communities, all the communities are open to other perspectives and are not judgmental.

I think [NU] is like most places. Most people do their own thing and achieve their own objectives and if their objectives cross, then there would be conflict. I have not experienced any negativity from others. Actually, people are surprised that I am a veteran.

I have received no backlash or implications from students that being a veteran is in some way a negative thing. I have however received gratitude and appreciation because of the fact that I am a veteran here at NU.

I feel the NU community relates to veterans fairly equal. There is a huge amount of respect for veterans from the entire NU community, especially faculty.

When people find out that I’m a veteran I am often pleased with the reception. Just the other day I had a conversation where my veteran status came up and the whole conversation shifted to my service. I felt really proud.

[The broader NU community] seems to be cautiously receptive. There seems to be a notion that we should be given our space, out of respect or uncertainty, I don’t

know, but on a personal level people seem polite, open and happy and willing to engage when you reach out.

In my opinion, NU does a good job of relating to veterans and providing help with benefits, priority registration, etc. However, I feel that in terms of visibility we are on the low end of the spectrum and that we need to change this.

While most of the veterans gave felt positively about the ways they were treated at NU, one respondent expressed ambivalence about the attention given to veterans:

Sometimes I feel like the recognition we get as veterans is a mixed blessing. It's great to have a forum to discuss issues and also see that people are interested in vets. But sometimes I feel like a zoo animal.

It is hard to know which issues the above respondent enjoys discussing, but it would appear that s/he enjoys the atmosphere of open debate that can be found in some college classrooms. This respondent appears to appreciate knowing that people on campus care about veterans, yet acknowledges that this can sometimes come with unpleasant side-effects, such as having veteran status fetishized by civilians, or being treated as an exotic creature to be observed (a "zoo animal").

While I did not find discrimination or harassment against veterans on campus, I did find that the trope of the anti-military college faculty and student body (and its corollary, the reviled war veteran) is today actively and instrumentally deployed by military organizations, veteran advocates, some college staff and administrators as rationale to increase pro-military interventions on campuses. Moreover, I found that it is often veterans' pro-military supporters, rather than the veterans themselves, who advise against engaging in campus discussions about the wars. I found that many (but not all, as noted in Chapter 4) recent veterans countenance dissent more easily than their pro-military civilian advocates, with some educators and veteran advocates suggest avoiding classroom discussion of the wars (Joseph 2011; Stever 1996; Herrmann 2008).

Whether by design or simply effect, this *discourse of care* for veterans silences public discussions about veterans and the wars. Veteran support programs based on these types of appeals depend on a critique of power (in this case the power of the ostensible hegemony produced by a majority liberal, anti-war faculty) leveled on behalf of the injured (veterans and the under-valorized military) are based on politics of *ressentiment* (Nietzsche 1887/2996; Brown 1995), or politics of reproach, rancor and frustration. By promulgating this narrative, pro-military veteran advocates denote a specific site of blame for hypothetical suffering by positioning liberal college faculty, students and historic events as responsible for the injury of insufficient valorization.

As an example, I examine an incident at Columbia University in 2011, during a period of heated discussions about whether or not to reinstate the ROTC program on campus. As part of a nationwide movement aimed at getting elite universities to rescind a Vietnam-era ban on ROTC programs Columbia University opened the proposal to a

campus-wide debate.²¹⁰ During a Town Hall meeting, one Columbia student, a disabled Iraq war veteran spoke in support of reinstating the ROTC program.

At one point in the student's speech, the veteran defended U.S. military intervention in Iraq by saying "there are people who hate you and want to kill you". Some Columbia students shouted their disagreement from the audience. They were quickly reprimanded by the moderator, and the heckling soon stopped. However, the incident was immediately taken up by the conservative media. Spearheaded by Fox News, the American Legion, and Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), the trope of "spoiled university students disrespecting military heroes" was spread quickly, and widely. Columbia (and other elite universities) was once again branded as anti-military and as anti-American. While this type of rhetorical move has become a staple of conservative talk radio discourse, what makes this case unusual is that the veteran at whom the heckling was directed, Staff Sgt. Anthony Maschek, felt compelled to publically announce his disagreement with the depiction of Columbia as an anti-veteran campus. Maschek said that he didn't experience the campus incident as inimical to him or to other student veterans (see following press account); on the contrary, he said that he felt great support from fellow Columbia students and faculty, and gave several media interviews contesting the VFW account.

“Heckled Vet Bucks Columbia Critics”

By Bryant Jordan
Military.com
February 25, 2011

It had all the makings of a classic clash of cultures: A disabled war veteran tried to speak in defense of the military and was drowned out by college students angered by the prospect of a reserve officer training corps program -- long banished from the campus -- returning to the school. As word spread about former Army Staff Sgt. Anthony Maschek's experience at Columbia University in New York last week, well-meaning supporters rushed to his defense, slamming the school's faculty and students for the "banal and juvenile" heckling. But there was less to the uncivil moment than met the eye, according to Maschek, the wounded and decorated Iraq war vet who endured the heckling. "I was on TV [Thursday] and told them how supportive Columbia is," he said in a telephone interview Feb. 24. "I didn't want people to think that the school has been anti-military at all. That is nowhere near true."

In a statement Feb. 22, the national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars hit the school and students for the "disrespect and shoddy treatment" they gave Maschek. "Their recent actions are representative of the University's overall long-standing anti-military environment that fosters contempt and condescension for the military services," the VFW's Richard Eubank said. Jimmie Foster, national commander of The American Legion, said that Columbia's students' time "would be better spent honoring this brave soldier for the wounds he sustained in honorable service, and acquiring an appreciation for the price others paid for the freedom they now enjoy."

²¹⁰ Sporadic attempts to bring back ROTC to college campuses have been ongoing since the 1970s, but gained serious traction after the US military policy of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” was repealed, and with that, a major stated objection to ROTC presence on campus—that the US military discriminated against Gay and Lesbian members—was rendered moot. Harvard University reinstated the program in 2011, as did Stanford in 2012. For more on this move to bring ROTC back to Ivy League campuses, see Downs and Murtazashvili *Arms and the University: Military Presence and the Civic Education of Non-Military Students*, Cambridge University Press (2012).

But Maschek demurred. The news coverage "did get a little bit crazy there for a minute," he said. "I think I've gotten the message out that it's only a small group [of hecklers], and you can find those groups of people anywhere you go."...

Maschek said the negative response to his remarks was neither widespread nor directed at his support of ROTC. As he argued that keeping ROTC off campus was itself discriminatory, the audience listened politely. He believes the heckling was spurred by his saying that America has enemies in the world that "want to kill you."

It was then that some laughter and booing broke out; some reports claimed he was called a racist.

"I don't think the people were so far on the anti-ROTC side that they were willing to heckle me," he said. "When I made a response that was very personal, I think that brought them back to exactly why we are fighting a war." A moderator silenced the critics and Maschek continued for a few more minutes, though he says the heckling "threw me a little bit." It was an atypical experience, because Columbia has been a great place for veterans, he said. "Columbia University has an amazing veteran's benefit program," he said. "We have a pretty good veterans group there that I normally attend. The Columbia staff and faculty has been nothing but accommodating to us."

This incident is significant because it clearly shows the attempts to distort public moments to silence debate about the war, as well as the attempt to cast any statement or action by veterans as uncontestable. As the American Legion commander asserted, the only acceptable posture the students should take toward their classmate is of praise and gratitude (the "students' time 'would be better spent honoring this brave soldier for the wounds he sustained in honorable service, and acquiring an appreciation for the price others paid for the freedom they now enjoy.'")

The fact that Maschek publically contradicted military advocates' account mirrors something that I am finding in the field: it is more often veterans' and military advocates speaking on behalf of returning soldiers-- and not the veterans themselves -- who actively silence or distort political debate. The Columbia incident illustrates the intent to circumscribe public debate through the disciplinary enforcement of pro-military veteran support discourse. In this incident, we can hear echoes of the iconic and apocryphal story of the US soldier returning from Vietnam in the 1960's, who was said to be spat on by an anti-war protester on an airport tarmac--a story that has been at the heart of the "Support our Troops" movement²¹¹, and serves as both cautionary tale and disciplinary force in restricting public discussions about veterans and the wars.

Maschek's praise for Columbia did nothing to quell the internet groundswell of charges that Columbia University is hostile to veterans. This narrative of the scorned veteran serves as a mimetic image continues to be offered as proof of hostility of civilian college students and faculty toward the military. Despite Maschek's denial, the story of his maltreatment by civilian college students endures on weblogs and is animated by photos like the one below found on the right-wing blog 'politfake' :

²¹¹ The origin of this iconic yet apocryphal is contested in scholarly historical accounts, most notably in Jerry Lembcke's *Spitting Image* (1998)



(Source: politfake.org retrieved 11/5/12)

The picture and caption: “This student veteran has more balls than the entire Columbia University student/faculty population” illustrates the narrative of the abused, yet virile and defiant veteran, victimized by a hostile student body. Maschek is hailed as a masculine hero, possessing ‘more balls’ than the feminized, anti-military and anti-veteran civilian student/faculty population. And despite (or perhaps because of) the tempest- in- a- teapot umbrage taken on Maschek’s behalf, two months later the Columbia students, Academic Senate and Administration voted to reinstate the ROTC program in April of 2011.²¹²

Remediation of the manufactured problem: production of Militarized Common Sense

Creating ‘Safe Spaces’ for Militarism

Given the charges of anti-military bias and harassment, how should colleges fix this hypothetical problem? As a remedy, pro-military advocates have developed specific interventions, which I group into two types: the first I call the *protective strategy* that claims to shield veterans from potential harassment from civilian students and faculty. This protective strategy lays the foundation for the second, celebratory or *valorization strategy* designed to elevate the profile of military members and mission on campuses by displays that purport to celebrate veterans, but in fact, celebrate military aesthetics, cultures and missions. These two combined strategies rely on what Stuart Hall (1986)

²¹² The public outrage about charges of intolerance and disrespect expressed by the pro-military forces left the indelible impression on the broader campus community and extended beyond the campus, and this outrage about Columbia student and faculty’s alleged mistreatment of veterans, though disavowed by Maschek, was leveraged to gain sympathy for the ROTC cause. This was made possible by the articulation of progressive discourses of inclusion and diversity with a claim of discrimination against the military. “[S]ome of the most persuasive arguments for ROTC were based on applying the university’s core values to the military itself: diversity of thought and non-discrimination. With the demise of DADT (the discriminatory Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell policy), the anti-ROTC position was now seen as close-minded and discriminatory in its own right. In other words, ROTC was now being accepted on the basis of the core value system of the university, while its opponents now wore the mantle of close-mindedness and discrimination.” (Downs & Murtazashvili 2012:224)

calls “articulation,” or the process by which beliefs and ideologies are when certain notions combine or “articulate” with concepts with which they are familiar.²¹³ This concept of articulation helps to explain how veterans, as representatives of the United States Armed Forces, one of the most powerfully hegemonic institutions in the world, can convincingly be portrayed as victimized, underrepresented minorities while they are simultaneously hailed as strong, masculine, competent war heroes, superior in mind, body and character to their civilian counterparts. Using ideological discourses that hold contemporary salience (for example, language and political strategies adapted from LGBT and immigrant rights movements) to position student veterans as victims of discrimination allows for the creation of programs that valorize and celebrate military projects on campuses. This happens by concurrently positioning veterans as victimized and neglected and deserving of a hero’s welcome. Articulation facilitates new forms of common sense or hegemony. Moreover, articulation helps to explain how militarist projects and logics can become accepted on college campuses by linking radical discourses of solidarity (with historically oppressed populations) with discourses of military support. These processes of articulation have the effects of valorizing the military subject as strong and heroic while simultaneously rendering it victimized, in ways that appear seamless, rather than contradictory.

An example of articulation through a combination of protective and valorizing strategies is the “Vet Net Ally Program” (VNA), designed to educate staff and faculty about the needs of military veterans in higher education. First developed and implemented in 2010 as a pilot study at California State University at Long Beach, the stated goal of the VNA program is to address barriers to veteran success in college. The program entails a series of diversity-training seminars designed to “increase awareness and knowledge of, and sensitivity to, important issues affecting student veterans, faculty and staff” by providing training seminars for faculty, staff and administrators focused on “pre- and post-military culture, personal identity issues, and the services available to veterans to assist them in achieving their personal, social, and educational goals.” (Thomas 2010:6)²¹⁴ The VNA program was inspired by Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Safe Zone program, and VNA proponents make explicit this programmatic lineage in describing both programs as similarly voluntary and reliant on moral suasion:

While anti-discrimination training may be a part of an institution’s orientation program, participation in Safe Zone training is most often voluntary. Participants who successfully complete the training are given an institutionally approved decal to display in their workspaces to indicate they are safe members of the campus community, who are often referred to as “allies”. These allies are people with whom a student, staff, or faculty member may speak about issues regarding their status as an LGBT person without fear of prejudice or harassment. While not all participants choose to display the decal, those who do are advertising that they are allies to members of the LGBT community and those struggling with issues of sexual orientation.

²¹³ Hall 1986:43 See also Chapter 4 for more discussion on the process and function of articulation.

²¹⁴ From Thomas (2010) “A Safe Zone for Veterans: Developing the Vet Net Ally Program to Increase Faculty and Staff Awareness and Sensitivity to the Needs of Military Veterans in Higher Education.”

The training program for veterans has been modeled on the LGBT Safe Zone training, but instead addresses issues associated with students' status as veterans and the issues surrounding that status. Like LGBT Safe Zone programs, the veteran centered training intends to increase staff and faculty awareness of veterans' issues and increase sensitivity to veterans and their issues. Additionally, just as Safe Zone programs recognize the importance of including heterosexual allies in the creation of positive environments for LGBT students on campus (Bullard, 2004), the inclusion of non-veteran allies is a critical piece in the development of a Veterans Ally program. (Thomas 2010:7)

Wendy Brown (1995) writes that the struggle for inclusion in liberal political membership (in this case, as embodied in the student veteran) becomes a discursive battle to forge the politicized "we" from the unpoliticized "I". In terms of veteran support discourse, the plight of the victimized, misunderstood individual student veteran is converted into a highly visible power bloc (the politicized "we") and results in a valorization of military identities and projects. Ostensibly under-respected veterans—who, in their previous active military roles were by definition representatives of the U.S. State and its economic interests, political-military goals and social formations-- become symbols for a lack of respect for the U.S. State. Thus, the discourse of veteran inclusion simultaneously re-militarizes veteran identity and positions it as a political interest. On the campus level, equating veteran support with military support exerts a disciplinary power: that faculty should actively and publically declare one's alliance with veterans by celebrating veterans' military status while avoiding discussions of the military mission abroad.

The Vet Net Ally program discursively positions veterans on campus as under-represented minorities subject to discriminatory acts and harassment similar to LGBT students. It was developed to address the following problem: that "Veterans may be marginalized or even harassed about their service by other students, staff or faculty." (Thomas 2010:3)²¹⁵ According to this claim, hypothetical discrimination against veterans might come from faculty members and students who are "significantly more politically liberal and are more likely to oppose military action than the public at large," and is informed by a "Vietnam and Post-Vietnam era academic tradition of opposition to armed conflict." (Thomas 2010:3). These two factors "may intersect to create barriers the success of veterans pursuing higher education" (Ibid.) The claim about veterans' vulnerability on college campuses rests on the assertions that many college faculty hold politically liberal attitudes, and that there is an academic "tradition" of opposition to war dating back to the Vietnam War (Shepherd & Shepherd 1994, 1996), and that this produces the potential for veterans to be marginalized or harassed on campus (Thomas 2010; Stever 1997). This problem statement lays the groundwork for a dual-pronged (protective and valorizing) corrective intervention: collegiate "safe zones" for veterans on

²¹⁵ The Vet Net Ally Program "Statement of the Problem" sections holds that veterans on contemporary college campuses are at risk of discrimination or harassment: "[S]ince the Vietnam era, faculty members are significantly more politically liberal and are more likely to oppose military action than the public at large (Shepard & Shepard, 1994, 1996). Lack of awareness of veterans' issues and the Vietnam and Post-Vietnam era academic tradition of opposition to armed conflict may intersect to create barriers to the success of veterans who are pursuing higher education. Veterans may be marginalized or even harassed about their service by other students, staff, or faculty (Herrmann, Raybeck, & Wilson, 2008; Stever, 1997)." (quoted from Thomas 2010:3)

campuses to protect from discrimination and harassment based on their status as military members, combined with programs that make visible and celebrate the military on college campuses.

It is significant to note the articulation here: of how the apocryphal image of the discriminated-against veteran is blended with the well-documented image of LGBT targets of hate crimes. The VNA program rationalizes adapting the LGBT Safe Zone training program, because, it is claimed, there was no previously-existing educational model to sensitize faculty and staff to veterans' issues. However, the author of the VNA program states he chose the LGBT Safe Zone program because he saw parallels between the social oppression of LGBT students and student veterans; that is, both LGBT student and veterans are singled out for harassment because of their affiliation with a minority group. Beyond using the LGBT program as a template, the Vet Net Ally program description asserts explicit parity between veterans and LGBT campus members as targets of discrimination and harassment, and in terms of their status as an oppressed minority group facing discriminatory speech and actions:

Like veterans, the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) population on college and university campuses is a numerical minority that has historically or periodically been the target of discrimination and harassment.

However, the program description continues, for sexual minority targets of discrimination on campus,

...unlike veterans, there is a robust training program available to educate and inform faculty and staff, and in some instances students, about LGBT issues on many college campuses. (Thomas 2010: 6)

Promoters of the Vet Net Ally program argue that because veterans (like LGBT students) are a numerical minority on campus that has *historically or periodically* been victims of discrimination and harassment, veterans need visibly identifiable safe spaces on campus. This assertion of discrimination against veterans refers to historic instances, rather than documented present-day events, and is based on apocryphal accounts of discriminatory events alleged to have occurred during the Vietnam War era, and not contemporary incidents.

Moreover, the Vet Net Ally program is professed to be needed because student veterans, unlike LGBT students, do not have visibility programs to raise campus consciousness about military issues in contrast to programs calling for LGBT pride. In making the comparison, Vet Net advocates assert an equivalency of oppression, implying that veterans on contemporary college campuses face threats of physical and verbal attacks by civilians who are hostile and biased against them.²¹⁶ Calling for a remedy for a

²¹⁶ The assertion of threat parity with LGBT students does not depend on documented facts: according to a 2012 FBI report on Hate Crimes, of the 7,713 reported hate crimes in 2011, the number of victims targeted because of sexual orientation was second only to the number of victims targeted because of their race. The FBI report found that 47.4 percent of the victims were targeted because of the offender's bias against a race, while 20.4 percent were targeted because of a bias against a particular sexual orientation. The other hate crime bias categories, in descending order, were bias against a religious belief, (19.2 percent), bias against an ethnicity/national origin (12.2 percent) and bias against a disability (0.8 percent). (source: FBI Uniform Crime Report *Hate Crime Statistics, 2011*). While there are many reports

perceived historic social injury articulates with current civil and social rights movements, lending the Vet Net Ally program the moral authority attached to these culturally and politically resonant social movements. The Vet Net Ally program uses the language of marginalization and inclusion, invoking the image of an oppressed minority on college campuses--the symbolic site of historic struggles against oppression-- and this gives resonance to idea that veterans must have an active and visible presence on campus as a way to stay safe from harassment from civilians. This facilitates the process of articulation in the minds of students and faculty: because LGBT students need a gay pride movement on campus, it is reasonable that veterans likewise need a movement for military pride. I argue that the intention of the Vet Net Ally Program, is not actually to create zones of physical safety for veterans on campus, but is primarily ideological to increase valorization of the military on college campuses, which is part of the process of creating militarized common sense.

By modeling the veterans' program after the Safe-Zone Ally program developed to protect (LGBT) students from homophobic speech and attacks on college campuses, the Vet Net Ally program seeks to increase staff and faculty awareness of veterans' issues and increase sensitivity to veterans and their issues (Thomas 2010). Also drawing from objectives of the LGBT Safe-Zone Ally program, Vet Net Ally seeks to foster civilian supporters for veterans on campus.²¹⁷ The content of this program departs significantly from the LGBT Safe Zone Program, which focuses on raising consciousness about homophobia and violence and promoting campus inclusion of sexual minorities. Both Safe Zone and Vet Net Ally programs include the centerpiece intervention: an "Ally" sticker, to be displayed in classrooms and offices of LGBT- and Veteran-friendly staff and faculty.

To begin, I examine the hallmark symbol of both programs: the sticker that, when displayed, declares one an "ally"; and that which marks campus offices "safe spaces" in which persecuted groups may seek, and expect, support and safety.



Example of Safe Zone Ally Sticker



Example of Vet Net Ally Decal

of military veterans perpetrating hate crimes (see Carroll 2012), there have been no reported hate crimes by civilians against veterans based on their military status.

²¹⁷ "Just as Safe Zone programs recognize the importance of including heterosexual allies in the creation of positive environments for LGBT students on campus (Bullard, 2004), the inclusion of non-veteran allies is a critical piece in the development of a Veterans Ally program." (ibid: 7)

Both of the above decals incorporate iconographic signifiers of their participants' respective social/political identities. In Safe Zone sticker, the triangle and rainbow are used to signify that this project is part of the gay rights movement. The words "SAFE ZONE" convey the primary goal of the project: to provide safety against homophobic attacks. The role of the Safe Zone ally is elaborated in the statement: "The person displaying this symbol is one who will be non-judgmental, trustworthy, and supportive."²¹⁸

The VET NET Ally Program decal privileges iconography over words; it includes only the public designation "ALLY," and thus gives no indication of the mission of the program, beyond visible allegiance to the military members on campus. The decal uses imagery often associated with military service: "The black, olive-drab, and tan colors used have been used by military services as primary and secondary colors in uniform design both historically and in the modern era. The three colors are the most identifiable colors in modern camouflage utility uniforms worn by most services." (Thomas 2010: 111) The five pointed star, a common icon on military vehicles during the World War II and Vietnam eras, was chosen to signify the five branches of the US Armed Forces, and the stencil font is used on this decal because it is commonly used in the marking of military equipment. (Thomas 2010). In casting veterans as marginalized and disfavored, this visibility strategy embraces the identity of the excluded minority. However, it may be difficult to see how this victimized narrative coincides with image of the military superiority upon which many veteran support programs are based (see chapter 3), and a closer look at the program's mission statement shows that the purpose for which Vet Net Ally program seeks to recruit allies is not actually protection, but valorization. To demonstrate the valorizing intent of the Vet Net Ally Program, I compared mission statements from both Safe Zone and Vet Net interventions. I begin by examining mission statements of Safe Zone Ally Programs in three universities across the country, which illustrate the protective aspects of the program:

1. University of South Florida

The mission of the Safe Zone Ally program at the University of South Florida is to identify, educate, and support allies. Allies are individuals within the USF community who consider themselves to be open and knowledgeable about Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Questioning (LGBTQ) issues and who choose to provide support, as well as advocate with those who are LGBTQ.

(found at <http://multicultural.usf.edu/safezone.asp>)

2. Miami University, Ohio

The Safe Zone mission is to promote an environment where the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning (LGBTQ) community and their allies flourish intellectually, socially, and emotionally. Towards this end, we envision the program as a visible network of allies who support

²¹⁸ Example from Radford University, VA found at <http://travishandy.wordpress.com/2012/04/09/radford-universitys-lgbtq-students-have-allies-in-breaking-the-silence/>

each other and support individual LGBTQ people. We hope to build a climate where everyone feels safe and accepted.

(found at <http://www.units.muohio.edu/saf/glb/programs/sz.php>)

3. California State University, Chico

Safe Zone's purpose is to reduce homophobia and heterosexism on our campus and thereby make our campus a safer and freer environment for all members of our community. The Safe Zone project identifies individuals in the campus faculty, staff and student body to become safe zone allies. These people provide a safe haven, a listening ear, or an open accessibility for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) who are in need of advice or services from that individual. The Safe Zone program will provide the campus Allies with training, information, and community resource identification to those who express interest in becoming a Safe Zone Ally.

(found at <http://www.csuchico.edu/diversity/safezone/index.shtml>)

A common theme in the above statements is the need to provide emotional support for and ensure the physical safety of sexual minorities on college campuses. All three statements link safety with visibility of LGBT people on campus and seek to build a campus climate of tolerance. The role of allies on campus is fashioned to provide a safe haven for LGBT people. Thus, they follow a social service orientation of campus intervention.

In comparison, the Vet Net Ally Mission statement (below) places more emphasis on visibility of veterans, promotion and networking opportunities, rather than safety:

The mission of the VET NET Ally Program is to

- establish a network of visible Allies to provide support, information, and assistance for service members and veterans,
- provide service members and veterans with comfortable access to trustworthy, knowledgeable, and sensitive people who can provide a safe and nondiscriminatory environment,
- provide an opportunity for CSULB faculty and staff to demonstrate support for service members and veterans,
- provide all students on campus an opportunity to respond to instances of discrimination or harassment based on perceived or self-reported status as a service member or veteran,
- educate members of the university community about the needs and concerns of service members and veterans,
- assist university personnel in understanding that discrimination based on status as a service member or veteran is harmful to the campus environment for all,
- foster a campus atmosphere that supports the academic freedom and professional, personal and social success of service members and veterans; and

- advance the university's progress towards a campus that discourages discrimination and openly celebrates diversity. (Thomas 2010:119)

While there are similarities between Safe Zone mission statements and VNA mission statement, the Vet Net Ally Program focuses more on promoting networking and advancement of veterans on campus, and it relies on undocumented assertions of discrimination. For example, the goal to “assist university personnel in understanding that discrimination based on status as a service member or veteran is harmful to the campus environment for all,” implies that there is widespread discrimination based on status as a veteran or service member. Perhaps the most striking difference is the VNA program goal to “foster a campus atmosphere that supports the academic freedom and professional, personal and social success of service members and veterans.” This goal carries a particular ideological valence, as it alludes to an alleged deprivation of academic freedom for military service members or supporters, which implies that military members are being not only discriminated against, but also that their opinions and beliefs are being censored. There is a culturally significant resonance to this inference, as the statement portrays military members and supporters as excluded from a venerated academic tradition because of their military status. This stated goal of safeguarding academic freedom in the VNA mission statement carries the implication that campuses typically deny military veterans academic freedom, hence the need for the VNA program. However, there is no mention of military service members' deprivation of academic freedom in the VNA programmatic rationale.²¹⁹

This raises the question: what is the injury that the VNA program really seeks to address? It appears that the injury to veterans on campus is invisibility, or a lack of sufficient military esteem. A review of the remaining elements of the Vet Net ally Program indicates that consciousness-raising about military veterans is less about ensuring veteran safety and more about fostering civilian identification with the U.S. Military mission. Thus, the remaining components of the Vet NET ally program rely on celebratory or valorization strategies.

The Vet Net Ally program training includes a section in which participants are invited to wear combat equipment-- body armor, Kevlar helmets, equipment harnesses and Camel Bak Hydration systems-- borrowed from a local National Guard facility, in order to create a sympathetic identification with soldiers. This intent is made explicit in the program description:

²¹⁹ The program rationale can be seen as a response to the following problem statement in the VNA pilot project: “As is the case with many groups with special needs in the academy, faculty and staff may not be aware of the issues faced by this population or the services available on the campus to assist them in their personal and academic endeavors. Additionally, since the Vietnam era, faculty members are significantly more politically liberal and are more likely to oppose military action than the public at large (Shepard & Shepard, 1994, 1996). Lack of awareness of veterans' issues and the Vietnam and Post-Vietnam era academic tradition of opposition to armed conflict may intersect to create barriers to the success of veterans who are pursuing higher education. Veterans may be marginalized or even harassed about their service by other students, staff, or faculty (Herrmann, Raybeck, & Wilson, 2008; Stever, 1997). (Marshall 2010: 4-5) This problem statement frames the rationale behind VNA as a lack of awareness of veterans needs and faculty's anti-military attitudes. Denial of academic freedom is not put forward as a problem that must be addressed by the VNA program.

[P]articipants were encouraged to handle and try on combat equipment borrowed for that purpose from a local National Guard unit... Though heavy, participants were informed that the gear they were handling was less than half of the weight of the full combat load that service members in combat areas would commonly carry. Participants were further encouraged to imagine carrying such a load in the desert heat which often hovers over one hundred degrees.²²⁰

It is easy to see how asking educators to imagine that they are carrying heavy combat gear through blistering desert heat can help foster civilian academics' positive identification with soldiers at war; less obvious is how this exercise addresses alleged discrimination against veterans on campus, infringement of academic freedom, or how it prepares faculty to teach student veterans.

Despite a lack of evidence of wide-spread anti-veteran sentiment or actions in contemporary campus life, the assertion that veterans may potentially face anti-military harassment is enough bring programs such as Vet Net Ally onto campuses, to remediate an ostensible anti-veteran problem by encouraging educators to wear combat gear and imagine trekking through desert combat zones. The following sections explore another aspect of the valorization strategy used to combat the ostensible problem of discrimination against veterans. Valorization strategies call for campuses to publically celebrate the military and the symbols of war, if not war itself, by promoting military displays and pro-military discourse.

Specific interventions to create "Veteran Friendly" Campuses

To remediate the problem of insufficient friendliness towards the military, educational initiatives designed to help returning veterans are developed and carried out by campus student affairs offices, non-profits and veteran support consultants. As noted in Chapter 4, recent publications (Ackerman & DiRamio 2009; DiRamio et al, 2009; Armstrong et al 2006) promote 'best practices' in making campuses more friendly to veterans. This literature tends to promote a view of the superiority of the student veteran as more disciplined, dedicated and serious (and by implication, more heroic) than his or her civilian counterparts. These educational initiatives are some of the ways that colleges vie for the designation of being a "Military-friendly" campus through trainings, meetings, classroom practice and campus-wide events.²²¹ In recent years, the literature has made the shift from calling for "Military-friendly" campuses to calling for "Veteran-friendly" campuses.

There is fairly consistent consensus about what a state-of-the-art veterans

²²⁰ Thomas 2010:44 The program description notes that "No weapons or ammunition were used in this demonstration."

²²¹ "Victory Media, founded in 2001, took the education mission to a new level in 2009 by publishing the Guide to Military Friendly Schools®. This is the 4th year that GI Jobs magazine is releasing its Military Friendly Schools list. With over 12,000 VA-approved schools vying for the title, the competition was fierce. The 2013 list includes more than 1,700 schools that represent the top tier of U.S. colleges, universities and trade schools doing the most to educate America's veterans. Since 2001, Victory Media and its publications G.I. Jobs, The Guide to Military Friendly Schools, Military Spouse magazine and Vetpreneur magazine, have set the standard for ranking America's most "military-friendly" employers and has set the bar for schools that recruit military personnel and veterans as students. If your school goes 'above and beyond' for military students then this is your chance to be recognized and officially designated as a Military Friendly School. ® (www.militaryfriendlyschools.com retrieved 3/12/13).

programs on campus would entail in terms of direct services: priority registration, designated staff, veteran-specific spaces and classes.²²² My research with veterans in college has shown these accommodations to be important for veterans' success, and I endorse the idea that these services should be made available to student veterans. However, many of the recommendations for the creation of "Veteran- (or Military-) Friendly campuses" extend beyond providing administrative support services. For example "[P]olicies and procedures that recognize and honor service members and veterans must reach into the business office, administration, classroom, advising, transfer and credit awarding policies." The call for this far-reaching valorization of the military throughout the campus far exceeds the provision of direct services to veterans; in calling administration, students, faculty staff and campus policy-makers to recognize and honor service members and veterans for their military service, it confers upon military members a status above that of other students, implying that they are somehow more deserving of honor than other students. Thus, this mandate both produces and is produced by militarized common sense.

Campus military sensitivity and inclusion programs incorporating both protective and valorization strategies highlight the tension between the victim and hero positions: the victimized, harassed veteran and the heroic warrior. We can see this tension when campuses attempt to institute initiatives like the Vet Net Ally program on their campuses and reconcile the two positions. As noted earlier, the 'problem' of impediments to veteran success in college is framed as campuses not being sufficiently friendly toward the military, so part of the solution is to train faculty and staff to become more friendly through sensitivity trainings. As the publication *Inside Higher Education* notes in its special edition titled "Creating a Veteran Friendly Campus":

In Minnesota, colleges and universities have heard a need for a support team and an infrastructure that facilitates a (veteran) friendly environment. Second, and foremost, is a need for faculty and staff awareness and sensitivity training. All employees at a college or university can say or do things that could be insulting, and sometimes this happens. Yet almost all of those offending words or deeds are said or done without malice, intent or without knowledge. Over the past several years, hundreds of hours of employee training sessions have been conducted, most in partnership with a veterans affairs and /or a military staff person. Training sessions on campus can help to bring an awareness of possible concerns and is a base level step.²²³

The above is an example of how the analysis of the Veteran Support Best Practices literature is reproduced in campus programs around the country. The Minnesota Office of Education asserts the need for sensitivity trainings to prevent potential offensive (anti-military or anti-war) speech, a recommendation that is clearly informed by the

²²² My experience as an instructor in Adult Education classes convinced me that these services: designated staff, peer-support groups and population-specific classes would be helpful not simply for student veterans, but for any "non-traditional" college students, such as first generation college students, or older, returning students, who might be unfamiliar with college norms and practices, or who have been out of the educational milieu for an extended period of time.

²²³ From "Creating a Veteran Friendly Campus" *Inside Higher Education*
<http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2009/06/05/veterans#ixzz1q9qUM5PQ> (retrieved 10/19/11)

warnings Herrmann et al. (2008) about classroom critiques of military policy.²²⁴ Also taking the lead from pro-military Best Practices literature, the article applauds Minnesota campuses for implementing Vet Net Ally program, which campus veterans' advocates are:

...designing a veterans-friendly sticker, modeled after the "Safe Space" sticker denoting support for gay and lesbian students. "Just to let the veterans know all through the campus that these are places that are veteran-friendly.... Although veterans don't necessarily need safe zones, they do need to know that they're welcome here. It's a vet-friendly environment and it's all through campus."²²⁵

The victim/hero tension surfaces within the above program description; the image of the heroic warrior is at odds with that of the harassed veteran in need of safety, and the narrative shifts from that of protection of individual veterans to that of celebrating and promoting the institutional military. While the Vet Net Ally program is intentionally crafted around public identification with marginalized groups, ("employees at a college or university can say or do things that could be insulting") veteran support programs like the abovementioned seek to garner support for hypothetical victims of discrimination without portraying the veterans as weak or needy. Unlike (presumably weaker) gays and lesbians, the above-quoted veteran advocate implies, "veterans don't necessarily need safe zones." The advocate quoted above argues that veterans need to be publically welcomed on campuses with (as we will see from the following example) with displays of the military mission, icons and culture.

The University of Minnesota program promotes veteran support (as military support) by holding campus-wide veterans' appreciation events celebrating not only veterans themselves but military weapons and iconography: T-shirts, marching bands with F-16 fighter jets flying overhead.²²⁶ Thus the strategy to create veteran-friendly campuses becomes one of creating military-celebrating campuses, and militarized common sense is produced by the support of veterans by nationalistic displays of militarized patriotism.

In the name of easing transitions from military life to civilian student life, initiatives such as 'Warriors to Work,' 'Combat to Community,' "Boots to Books", 'Boots to Dissertations' and 'Combat to the Classroom' demonstrate the discursive power of framing the ostensibly de-militarized student veterans. These initiatives simultaneously reify military status and superiority while attempting to help veterans reintegrate into non-militarized civilian life, which has the effect of discursively *re-militarizing* the veterans, while celebrating military cultural discourse in civilian academic spaces.

The following section contains several examples of this type of intervention. I will begin with an example of this type of military-celebrating Veterans' Day event at Los Olmos Community College²²⁷ in the San Francisco Bay Area in November of 2012.

²²⁴ Herrmann et. al 2008, cited earlier in this chapter (page 13)

²²⁵ "Creating a Veteran Friendly Campus" Inside Higher Education
<http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2009/06/05/veterans#ixzz1q9qUM5PQ> (retrieved 10/19/11)

²²⁶ "Creating a Veteran Friendly Campus" Inside Higher Education
<http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2009/06/05/veterans#ixzz1q9qUM5PQ> (retrieved 10/19/11)

²²⁷ Names of people and places are pseudonyms

Veterans' Day, Los Olmos College

Every year on Veterans Day since 2006, Los Olmos Community College has hosted a day-long event honoring veterans and military service. In 2012, the featured theme was “The Vietnam War” and so once again the Vietnam conflict was visited on the campus, but this time it was invoked without rancor or resentment. The program included featured talks by a retired US Army helicopter pilot who had completed two tours of duty in Vietnam, and a former CIA agent, a pilot for Air America in Southeast Asia. There was no ambiguity about the significance of the Vietnam War in this context; this was a celebration of the conflict and of those who fought in it.

The day-long event began with an aerial salute—a flyover and landing on campus grounds of a Vietnam War-era 25th Infantry Division Huey helicopter. Students from the schools Public Safety Programs (the Criminal Justice/Police Science Programs and Fire Academy), stood in *parade rest* position (feet shoulder-width apart, hands touching behind backs), as they formed a human perimeter around the school’s parking lot, which on this day also served as the helicopter landing pad. A Police Science instructor told me that students from the school’s Public Safety program were using this as an opportunity to practice crowd control techniques. Observers on the ground watched the descending helicopter make several ceremonial circles above campus before touching down, after which a team of officers in Army combat fatigues disembarked from the aircraft and posed for pictures (photo 3).



Photo 1- Huey helicopter descending(Moore) Photo 2- flight crew (Wiggans) Photo 3- campus landing (Moore)

The opening ceremony took place on the outdoor quad, decorated with small American flags, and included formal presentation from a local Air Force Base Color Guard²²⁸ (Photos 5,11). After the formal flag salute, two Los Olmos students sang the U.S. National Anthem and *God Bless America*, while the crowd of students, faculty, administrators and community supporters stood solemnly facing the flags, hands placed over hearts, or saluting hand-to-forehead (Photo 4).

²²⁸ Color Guard is the ceremonial display of flags representing different military branches, regiments, campaigns and military support organizations (for example VFW and American Legion) Color Guard flag-bearers are flanked by armed soldiers.



Photo 4 – Recital of National Anthem (Wiggins)



Photo 5- Color Guard (Moore)

The Los Olmos College president officially welcomed the military visitors onto campus, noting that the college was the academic home not only to student veterans but also to their families.²²⁹ The president expressed particular appreciation for the role that family members play “to ensure our freedoms are protected,” thereby extending into the family the civilian circle of support for the U.S. military mission.

The sidewalks flanking the quad where the Color Guard stood displayed a type of spatial “Before and After” tableau: the sidewalk to the left of the quad advertised promises of recruitment and active duty, while the sidewalk to the left of the quad hosted tables for social service support for post-combat veterans. On the left side, Army and Air Force recruitment tables were set up to provide convenient access to interested Los Olmos students (Photo 6). The parking lot adjacent to recruiting tables hosted a display of decommissioned military aircraft and ground transport vehicles; students and family members could take turns sitting in the vehicles and imagine driving or flying them (Photos 6,7,8).



Photo 6-Recruitment table (Wiggins)



Photo 7– Armored vehicle on display (Wiggins)

²²⁹ The Post -911 GI Bill—the current iteration of this legislation, extends post-secondary educational benefits to family members of U.S. service members, and colleges and universities have recently seen a rise in military spouses and children. (Williamson 2008)



Photo 8—Aircraft display (Moore)



Photo 9— rifle display (Moore)

Alongside the recruiters, an American Legion table displayed World War II-era rifles and military medals, establishing a connection with more distant military conflicts and veterans (photo 9). There was also a table promoting “Operation Postcard”, a project of the Blue Star Moms--mothers of active duty service members -- to collect messages of support from civilians, which would be included in care packages compiled by mothers and military supporters.²³⁰ Postcards came with instructions, to ensure that the personalized notes were conformant and harmonious with the US military mission: “1. Keep the messages positive. 2. Teachers please edit cards and letters from your students,” and “Ideas for beginning your message: ‘Dear U.S. protector...’”. The two women staffing the table were vigilant about this mission of gratitude cultivation: when I asked permission to take a picture of the Operation Postcard table, I was told that I would be allowed to do so only if I wrote a postcard thanking service members for their military service (Photo 10).



Photo 10: Operation Postcard (Moore)

²³⁰ The Blue Star Mothers of America (known colloquially as Blue Star Moms) is a national organization, conceived and founded during World War II by former Army Assistant Morale Officer George H. Maines to support the U.S. military mission: “Mothers volunteered... in hospitals, train stations, packed care packages for soldiers and were a working part of homeland security during times our time of war. The organization waned in size over the years but has held together by mothers showing pride in both their children and country. In recent times we have began to grow in strength. Being attacked on our own soil has once again started mothers hanging flags in their windows at home proclaiming pride in the fact that we have children protecting our freedom during at time of war. Our organization not only provides support for active duty service personnel, promotes patriotism, assists Veterans organizations, and is available to assist in homeland volunteer efforts to help our country remain strong.”

There is something that feels unassailable, on an emotional level, about soldiers' mothers collecting messages of support, love and hope for their sons and daughters deployed in war zones. Certainly, Blue Star Moms are held in great esteem at community events like this Veterans Day event. At civilian meetings of veteran support service providers, the moral authority afforded to Blue Star Moms is unequivocal and palpable. When a Blue Star Mom is identified during opening introductions, a sense of sympathetic reverence falls upon the room; it is as though this identification renders these mothers the embodiment of sacrifice; that which is required in wartime military service. The representational juncture of mothers, children, danger, love, fear, hope and nation provokes an inchoate emotional response, so that it feels unseemly to criticize their efforts on behalf of their children, and symbolically, on behalf of all of our children. In no way do I gainsay the mothers' commitment, nor their sacrifice, much less the sacrifice of their children. And yet, at the table at Los Olmos College, as I filled out my post-card wishing the unknown recipient a safe journey home, I felt unhappily coerced.

On the opposite site of the quad were tables staffed by the local Veterans Administration hospital offering tangible support to soldiers after they returned home from war: housing, medical and mental health services. Community volunteer therapists encouraged student veterans who served in Iraq and Afghanistan to sign up for no-cost trauma therapy offered by licensed civilian therapists. Staff from the local Vet Center, also and peer-support groups for former combat soldiers at the local Vet Center. Volunteers handed out informational brochures about PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder), MST (military sexual trauma) and cards with the crisis line phone numbers and warning signs of suicide.



Photo 11- Observation of Color Guard (quad in the center, tables are to the left and right, behind observers) (Wiggans)

This event was a special occasion—an annual event specifically designed to celebrate veterans—and as such it shows us about some things, but not others. We see how at Los Olmos College military discourse is introduced, reproduced and enforced on campuses through institutional practices and celebrations. For example, community college students can learn how to control civilian crowds while celebrating past and present warriors and wars. While this Veteran's Day celebration offers one example of the valorizing strategy which conflates veterans with the military mission, it tells us little about how affinities for military perspectives are produced on the rest of the days that are

not Veterans Day. More subtle and pervasive examples of the inculcation of military discourse can be seen in everyday practices, such as the sensitivity trainings that college faculty, staff and administrators are encouraged to attend as a matter of mandated and voluntary professional development courses.

I attended one of these sensitivity trainings that appeared to have incorporated elements of the Vet Net Ally program. This particular training took place on an urban community college campus within the San Francisco Bay Area. It was billed as a cultural competence training, and was developed to prepare community college instructors to teach veterans in their classrooms.

The trainers, one former Marine and one Clinical psychologist, began by telling us that in order to become culturally competent to teach veterans we needed to be able to identify weaponry (Rocket-propelled grenade launchers and M-16 automatic rifles) and to differentiate between the battle cry of the Army ('Hooah!') and that of the Marines ('Oorah!'). The trainers divided us into two groups and had us perform those battle cries competitively against each other. In doing so, the trainers reconfigured the discursive space: civilian trainers became proxy drill instructors, while the Community College instructors embodied the recruits. Thus, in this process of creating identification with the military, support for the veteran was embodied, and enacted as support for the military.

We were also given a handout titled: "*Questions to Avoid Asking Veterans*". There was a range of questions on this list; it included some questions that I considered appropriate to avoid as a matter of simple human sensitivity, for example: "Did you kill someone?" and "What is it like to kill?"²³¹ -- to those that were patently provocative and absurd ("Are you crazy like the Vietnam Vets?"). Embedded in the list was the question: "What do you think of the war?" Rendering this question off-limits is a disciplinary practice that forecloses discussions about the war, and thus conflates support for veterans with silent quiescence to the war. In this way, militarism becomes part of the *hidden curriculum* (Apple 1971) of community college instruction, and trainings like this help to produce another form of militarized common sense.

We were also told us that military veterans do not consider themselves to be 'political' people, and that discussing the politics surrounding wars would alienate student veterans in the classroom. Accordingly, college instructors were advised against doing this. Efforts intended to welcome veterans to campus produce silence about or tacit support for the wars in which they fought: to criticize or dissent from the Iraq and Afghanistan wars becomes tantamount to criticizing the veterans themselves.

Our training packet also included a sample script, with the suggestion that it be printed in all course syllabi, and recited to each class by instructors at the beginning of each semester. It read as follows:

²³¹ I consider it voyeuristic and intrusive to ask these very personal questions of someone with whom one has no prior contextual relationship. Yet veterans tell me that facing the questions: "Did you kill anyone?", "How many people did you kill?", and "What is it like to kill someone?" is a nearly universal experience for war veterans on college campuses. The fact that these questions are so commonly asked indicates the lack of connection that many people, especially young people in this country feel to the actual consequences of war. That people feel they can casually ask strangers about what may be the most traumatic incident in their lives shows that the questioners have no idea of the human cost of war-related violence, both for the victim and the perpetrator. I believe that this situation indicates the need for more, not less serious discussion of wars and their human toll. However, this kind of discussion should not require that veterans discuss details of their combat experience in casual conversation.

Welcome home returning veterans! We are honored to have you on campus and look forward to your continued success here. For some returning veterans, going back to school can present unique challenges. If that is true for you, remember that you do not have to face these challenges on your own. We are here to help. Please feel free to discuss any questions or concerns you may have about the curriculum, the assignments, or your academic program with me in person. Thank you for your service, and welcome home!²³²

At first glance, it's clear that this message is very welcoming. Many instructors I spoke with said that they didn't see anything wrong with teachers publically welcoming student veterans into their classes; one said he thought the scripted message was "nice". However, this script forms part of the discourse of military superiority because, as part of an inclusion strategy this text was proposed for all course syllabi; to be recited to all classes, on the off-chance that there might be some veterans in each class. Therefore, every class syllabus would carry this message honoring veterans.

However, it should be noted that instructors on diverse contemporary community college campuses are not similarly encouraged to give such an explicit appreciation and welcome to any other group. Instructors are not asked to read scripts expressing gratitude and honoring, for example, immigrant students, or African American students, gay and lesbian students, or older, re-entry students. Thus veterans' status is elevated solely because of their association with the military. This training conveys to instructors the message that to be culturally competent to teach veterans, they must publically thank veterans for their military service and avoid talking about the wars; this has the effect of silencing debate about the wars on community college campuses.

In addition, in being advised to thank veterans for their military service, instructors are asked to publically express gratitude for a military projects, and to publically endorse military missions (such as the current wars in Afghanistan and the Middle East) with which they may disagree. These processes of public endorsement (despite the possibility of private disagreement) along with interventions that foster identification with the military, foreclose discussions about the wars, promote discourses of military superiority and reinforce heroic narratives about soldiers, combine to produce militarized common sense.

While these trainings are newly- developed and have not been implemented in all colleges, I saw evidence that, even without these prescriptive curriculum guidelines, faculty and Graduate Student Instructors are becoming self-monitoring in their efforts to support student veterans and avoid insulting them. One student veteran at NU said that his Graduate Student Instructor had asked him to review her syllabus and lecture notes, to make sure that she wasn't saying anything offensive or "wrong," because she did not want to displease student veterans. While it is good teaching practice to reflect on one's audience, I have not heard of other cases of this kind of self-monitoring and curriculum vigilance shown on behalf of any other group. In the processes above, veterans become the medium and the means through which militarized common sense is produced.

²³² From a handout developed by David M. Joseph, Ph.D with information adapted from presentations given by Minnesota Army National Guard Chaplain Lieutenant Colonel John Morris.

I found increasing evidence that the framing of the alleged problem --that veterans are having difficulties in college because campuses are not sufficiently friendly to the military-- should be remediated by the promotion of more and bigger campus military displays. Along with sensitivity trainings to teach instructors how to avoid offending veterans, manifestations of nationalist militarism are increasingly incorporated into the everyday life of college campuses. In addition to the overtly militarized campus helicopter landings, everyday rituals at collegiate sports events demonstrate military amity. For example, on Veterans Day 2011, the NU athletic department put on a half-time show honoring the military. The show concluded with a patriotic tribute, during which student veterans unfurled a gigantic U.S. flag across the court. While the flag was unfurled, a reverent silence descended on the crowd, as all the spectators rose to salute: some stood silently, some stood with hands over hearts, and some gave a hand-to-forehead military salute (see photo 12.)



(photo 12: Y. Mun) NU basketball game

This particular flag ritual has become increasingly common, perhaps now to the point of unremarkable, at major sporting events, but it was the first time it had been performed at Northern University. This moment illustrates a conjuncture of what Michael Billig calls *banal nationalism* (or the attachment of nationalist symbols to popular cultural icons) and what he calls the *hot nationalism* of overt assertions of national supremacy. It illustrates the articulation of banal and hot nationalisms as played out at Northern University, and it's one example of how militarist symbolism is sutured to a nationalist narrative in the *apparently* non-militarist, non-nationalist university.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that militarized common sense, and the accompanying silencing of campus debate about war, is produced by pre-emptively declaring civilian college faculty and students hostile to the military, and by extension, to veterans. Advocates of pro-military veteran support programs are not required to prove that civilian campuses are actually hostile to veterans: by articulating a revised cultural "remembrance" of Vietnam veterans with the current reality for veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, the problem of the anti-military campus is produced. This provides the

rationale to enlist faculty, administrators and students in a social project that aims to amend an apocryphal history of anti-veteran abuse. This strategic narrative engenders support for the military and its projects not through overt coercion, but through a discourse of care for veterans, who are positioned simultaneously as underrepresented minorities, victims of harassment by students and faculty, and heroic figures. In the name of helping US war veterans succeed in college, campuses become militarized in quotidian ways, often unseen or considered unremarkable.

The following chapter will demonstrate that practices aimed at producing uncritical support for the military can actually harm, rather than help in veterans they are intended to help, and thus may impede their successful return to civilian life, and to college.

Chapter 7: “Thank you for your Service”: Gratitude and its Discontents

As freedom is both negated and realized by choice, so is silence convened, broken, and organized by speech.

--Wendy Brown²³³

Introduction

Militarized common sense has negative consequences not just for open campus debate and dissent, but also for veterans themselves. There is an understandable concern among educators about war veterans' process of transition into college, and an array of supportive interventions have been designed to ease their transition into college. As we saw in the previous chapter, some of these interventions include sensitivity trainings, military celebrations and classroom silence about the wars. Many of these support programs have been built around the assumption that all veterans actively and positively identify with their military service, with the institutional military, and the mission of the current wars. However, I found that war veterans have complex and contradictory feelings the U.S. military, their military service and about the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. And that support that uncritically celebrates the military mission does not serve all veterans.

Previous chapters have examined the effects of militarized common sense on campus discourse and pedagogies. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the effects that an academic atmosphere informed by militarized common sense has on veterans themselves. This chapter examines effects of these programs from the point of view of veterans at Halcón College and Northern University. We have seen the various ways in which veterans' public identities and interests are cast as political-military identities and interests. Support programs developed around the rationale of 'what is good for the military is good for the veteran' are put forward as templates for supporting veterans in college, yet I found that programs that glorify a mission about which veterans feel conflicted can serve to further alienate those veterans.

How military veterans understand the kinds of support they might need is intimately tied to how they view themselves as members of their campus communities. Throughout this dissertation we have seen that the diversity of veteran opinions, experiences and needs reflects the diversity of student veterans. Accordingly, there is variety of opinions about how veterans see themselves, and about how they would like to be understood by their civilian teachers and classmates. While the participants of this research do not and cannot speak for all veterans, it is nevertheless important to hear from those for whom these programs were intended to help. In the course of these discussions a complex picture emerged, involving societal silence, denial, and re-defined concepts of patriotic gratitude.

²³³ "Freedom's Silences" Brown 2005:83

This chapter begins with a discussion of how student veterans see themselves within their college communities, to situate the discussion of veteran support. This is followed by an exploration of student veterans' views about their military service and the effects of their participation in the wars. The latter parts of this chapter offer examples of the complex relationship veterans have with both societal silence about the wars and public gratitude for fighting in them. My intention in using lengthy quotes is to allow participants to speak for themselves.

Veterans' Perspectives

To begin, I return to the survey taken in the veterans' class at Northern University. In response to a question about what class members would like people on the NU campus to understand about their military service, responses showed a clear diversity of opinion. I identified three general themes in their responses, reflecting three general self-perceptions of their position as student veterans. Of the 20 respondents, three expressed pride in their service, and felt that they deserved to be honored for having served in the military; three saw themselves as no different from civilian students and wanted to be treated as such; and the remaining 14 expressed that it was important to recognize that their experiences in the military and in the wars had clearly shaped them, yet they resisted public categorization on the basis of their status as veterans. However, within these groupings, the responses revealed a complex mix of self-identifications, at various times incorporating elements of all three of the above groups of desires and self-perceptions. The following is a sampling of student veterans' responses to the question: "What do you want people on the NU Campus to understand about your service or being an NU veteran?":

That the freedom they enjoy was paid for by our service.

I want them to understand that I served in the Army for them. Our sacrifice was done to protect all of their freedom under the constitution.

The only thing I feel is important for the people on the NU campus to understand about my military service is that I am proud to have served honorably, I am honored to have worked alongside the people I had the opportunity to serve with, and that I am who I am today because of the sense of responsibility I learned from the military.

The three veteran responses above clearly express pride in their military service. The first two portray a narrative of military sacrifice for the common good, and conceptualize the mission of the current wars as protecting civic liberties in the United States. Implicit in these responses is that the veterans are owed a debt of gratitude from civilians for their sacrifice.

The theme expressed in the next group of responses was that these veterans saw themselves and wanted to be treated as no different from the general student body.

(Q: “What do you want people on the NU Campus to understand about your service or being an NU veteran?”)

Nothing. I like the positive efforts but personally I don’t want to be in any spotlight. If my professors and classmates don’t know, then I’m just a student.

This respondent reflected a position I heard from many interview participants: that for them, the easiest way to make the transition back to civilian society and school was to blend in with the rest campus, and be seen as “just a student”. Others objected to being seen as a veteran because they felt it put them in the position of being seen as representing a particular political stance:

Being a veteran doesn’t define my politics. I had a conversation a while back about our political system and when I revealed that I was a veteran it seemed as if I had confirmed some underlying assumptions. We are just another group of students trying to make it at NU.

In the comment above, the student asserts that his political beliefs are separate, and implies that they may diverge from the official line of the U.S. military. This veteran objects to people making assumptions about his beliefs based on his military history. The third responding student (below) seemed to be reacting against stereotypic portrayals of those who enlist in the military as being intellectually inferior to their college peers:

Veterans are not stupid. Aside from that, I don’t “expect” anything nor desire any special recognition.

The remaining survey responses reflected a mix of opinions, motivations and identities; they asserted an independence of thought, expressed commonalities with civilians, and the desire not to be seen as exceptional, yet they recognized that as veterans, they may need accommodations to deal with some circumstances. For example:

I want them to understand that we are adults and have the same general concerns as other transfer students. Some of us have mortgages, families, full time jobs, commute, go to more than one school. Some of us are dealing with the latent pressures and stresses of deployments, including ongoing medical problems. I do wish instructors and graduate teaching assistants were told, or it was shown on the roster somehow, which students are veterans. Priority registration is amazing, but even smaller acknowledgement and understanding (and hopefully slight accommodation) would be awesome.

A lot of misconceptions surround the veteran community. Most of what people see on television is a gross dramatization of military service. While some aspects ring true, it is better to ask a veteran an open-ended question than to approach with a biased one. We also have our own opinions and political beliefs that we may share in common with you, we are not mindless drones programmed with preconceived notions.

The above response notes the desire for communication with civilians, and for civilians to approach veterans with open minds (and open-ended questions.) The themes of commonality with civilians, and a clear separation between the warrior and the wars surfaced in many of the responses. For example:

I would like the NU campus to know that we are people just like them. Our experiences have changed our perceptions of the world, and changed who we are, but this shouldn't be held against us. Regardless of how you feel about the wars do not reflect those feelings onto veterans themselves.

First and foremost—that student veterans still belong to the general community of students. There should be, however, a subtle respect set aside for the veterans on behalf of their life experiences and willingness to be active—as opposed to passive.

As far as being an NU veteran goes, I think that we bring experiences to the table that no other group can offer in terms of cooperation, organization, or just life outside academics. But personally I'm not looking for accolades or recognition.

What I want people to understand about my service is that it was something that I did for myself. Not for love of country, though I do have that, or to go to war- a violent thought- but so that I could prove me to myself and grow as a person. And the G.I. Bill helps too.

NU veterans have unique experiences and skills as a result of military service that are not necessarily taught in the classroom but still impact the veteran and those around him/her (leadership, maturity, teamwork and many others).

Many people assume that veterans are pro-war. This is not true. We don't condone war. We have learned a lot from our experience and have a lot to share.

One respondent stated simply:

Unfortunately, the things I would like the student body to know, I feel they will never understand.

As noted in previous chapters, there is a diversity of views held by military combatants about the wars, and many (but not all) war veterans are more tolerant of discussion about the wars than their civilian supporters. War veterans' complex and conflicted positions are often informed by 'the ground truth'—what actually happens during the lived reality of wars of occupation. This dissertation argues that the closer that one's lived experience is to the reality of war, the more difficult it is to reduce that experience to simplistic heroic or vilifying narratives and iconography. Civilians who have not experienced war may rely on philosophical arguments, abstracted from complications of physical and emotional trauma. In some civilian pro-troops settings, the lack of this embodied knowledge combined with social pressure (indeed, it would be hard to find a U.S. civilian

seeking to be accused of *not* supporting the troops) makes it easier to idealize both war and warrior.

Many participants in this research choose to study Philosophy, History, Political Science, Linguistics, or Middle Eastern Studies as their attempt to make sense of their combat experiences, and because they were actively seeking out different perspectives than the ones that they were taught in their military service. The majority of veterans with whom I spoke showed a more nuanced understanding of the *effects* of war, and greater understanding of the complexities involved, than are evident in celebratory displays of military prowess.

Previous chapters explored competing narratives about soldiers and wars: the celebratory narrative of the warrior-hero who fought at great personal sacrifice in defense of the nation, and societal silence and apathy about the wars. While there is no real debate over the fact that in war, ground troops endure extreme danger and sacrifice, the rationale behind this sacrifice is contested: in society, within veterans communities, and within the minds of individual veterans. The following case of NU student Connor, (previously introduced in Chapter One) represents an example of someone who is actively grappling with contradictory feelings about his military experience.

While deployed in Afghanistan, Connor worked as a turret gunner on a weapons-mounted armored security vehicle. The job of the (then) 20-year-old recruit from rural Northern California was to support military operations by discharging suppressive machine gun fire²³⁴ into suspected hostile areas, to “destroy, neutralize or suppress insurgent forces.” But his first sergeant, translating that mission into battlefield *realpolitik*, told him his job was to “kill Haji.” In the first of 3 two-hour interviews, Connor spoke at length about emotional and spiritual crises he faced on returning the US after a tour of duty in Afghanistan when he had the time, physical safety and distance to reflect on his combat experience. Connor said that he realized his participation in combat violence created a rupture with his previous worldview and caused him to lose his (Christian) faith. His remorse turned to violent fantasies aimed at the US military.

None of the stuff we did when we were deployed really hit me at the time. I just did it. And after I got back, [the feelings] starting building, about what we did and what we are doing, all the killing. It built into a really festering feeling inside me. So I became very angry toward the Army as an institution. I used to think if I could just destroy this entire military infrastructure, I would be wiping out a parasite in this world. That's what I felt like we are: we're parasitic, we're killing other people, so many other people, and Fort Bragg is one of the epicenters of

²³⁴ Suppressive fire (also known as covering fire) is a military term for firing weapons at or in the direction of enemy forces with the primary goal of protecting troops when they are within range of enemy weapons. Suppressive fire differs from lethal fire (i.e. shoot-to-kill) in that its primary objective is to get the enemy to “keep their heads down” and thus reduce their ability to move, shoot, or observe their surroundings. While soldiers [and civilians] may be injured or killed by suppressive fire, this is not its main purpose. Source: UD DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, JP 3-02. http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/dod_dictionary/data/c/3500.html

American military might. And I thought ‘if I could just kill it all’ -- not the people, but all the equipment and the buildings (pauses) I used to fantasize about that.

Connor said that he returned from war angry and alienated not only from the institution and mission of the Army, but that he also felt estranged from what he saw as the superficiality and privilege of civilian life: the emphasis on material accumulation, new cars, and mindless media diversions. He missed the asceticism, discipline and sacrifice he felt in Afghanistan. The description of his emotional state echoed other combat veterans, when he said that the combat environment felt more ‘real’ to him.

I hated being back Stateside. I saw no purpose in being at the base. Not that there was any purpose in what we were doing in Afghanistan, but at least it was more real... I volunteered to go to Iraq immediately when I got back, I guess because I felt like it was more intense overseas, and I kind of liked that.

Connor’s comments demonstrate ambivalence about his wartime experience. On one hand, he considered himself a violent “parasite” killing enemy combatants, and militarily occupying Afghanistan. On the other hand, military deployment brought intensity and focus to his life, and offered him the opportunity to participate in new experiences. He said he felt more vital and alive when he was stationed in Afghanistan. Despite recognizing that he participated in what he called acts of “inhumanity,” Connor now identifies the military experience overall as positive in his life. Psychologists note that part of the process of healing from trauma requires coming to terms with the contradictory nature of thoughts and feelings produced by the trauma (Gutmann and Lutz 2010; Cantrell and Dean 2006; Brison 1999). In what might seem contradictory to some civilians, Connor notes both an attraction to the experience of military life and war even as he rejects the mission of the wars:

Now, people ask me ‘if you could do it again, would you join the Army?’ And I say definitely, I’d do it all again. I never believed politically in the mission, or had any reason like that. It was just the experience, the living of life. And my life’s been all the more richer for me because of it. Richer in experience, richer in places I’ve gone, people I’ve met, attitudes I’ve held that I had to break down and challenge.

Connor said that he began to reflect on these contradictory thoughts, feelings, motivations and impulses through talking with other veterans, and with community college teachers, civilian students and counselors at N.U. For Connor, the re-integration process has included dealing with conflicting feelings he has about his service, about the military mission and about the human consequences of war. The fact that these ambivalent thoughts resurfaced later in the conversation indicates that he is still actively grappling with the contradictions. When I asked how he had been changed by his military experience and training, he said:

It's my ability to do violence. As I was telling you about, just earlier in this interview, how I would go back in the pool and do the same thing again--that's an acknowledgment of myself and my own capability to do violence, to be psychopathic, as it were. To do killing that makes no sense in an arbitrary fashion. That's what I wanted to say. I'm pretty aware of my ability to kill, and that is something that's with me all the time. It's kind of a strange thing to live with I guess. It's a freedom, a power to know that I could take a life. I've already done it, so afterwards it's not as big of a leap. But it makes me fearful of myself and what I'm capable of. That I'm capable of killing for arbitrary reasons in the military, and being aware of how arbitrary the killing was in general. It's really frightening.

Several participants spoke about the cultural role of war-themed video games in the U.S.: that it allowed civilians to pretend they were knew what it was like to participate in combat. For Connor, the (largely male) civilian preoccupation with simulated combat games and serves to obfuscate rather than clarify what happens in real wars. Following up his answer about what he had learned in his military service, Connor said:

I see people in video games acting that out as a fantasy: here you've got these macho heroes going in, killing bad guys and stuff. But I've come to the place where I don't think there are any bad guys anymore. I feel like the people who fought against us in Afghanistan were just doing what they had to do. Because we're an invading army going in and killing people. I feel like I would want to do the same thing if they were here invading my country and killing my family and friends. I empathize with [the Afghanis'] situation—we're the ones who deployed to go there and kill. Maybe my mindset is very shallow on the political scale and maybe I don't have a good understanding, but that's how it appears to me as an individual.

Connor's lived experience caused him to reject heroic societal depictions and dichotomous good/evil military tropes deployed in war. Rather than learning hatred of an unalloyed 'evil' enemy, his combat experience taught him that good and evil are social constructs; not fixed, but malleable and perspectival. My research argues that the re-integration into college of Connor and other veterans will not be served by ignoring or attempting to deny their ambivalent feelings military service, or the human consequences of war by avoidance of those subjects. Soldiers themselves are living with the ambivalence and contradictions of their roles in war. As Connor:

It's just kind of the dual nature, the dark side of human nature, what you're capable of what you're doing, and you know that it's wrong. But you're also condoned by your country to do what you're doing, going over there and fighting a war, and your whole country says: 'oh yeah—it's good that you're doing that.'

The glorification of a mission from which some veterans feel estranged only serves to alienate those veterans and distorts their experiences of actually fighting a war. Moreover, the distortion of veterans' experience through the creation of heroic narratives

serves to estrange veterans from those who would like to support them. For some veterans, this fosters great cognitive dissonance; and can negatively influence their attempts in college. One example of this is Bridget, a former Army intelligence specialist and community college student. Bridget's job in Iraq was to intercept messages and identify 'target packages' of Iraqis to be arrested or killed. She spoke about the psychological burden of being both victim and facilitator of violence. She said she didn't identify as a hero, and that she suspected ulterior motives behind that label being placed upon her and other veterans. She said: "People want to make us icons. They want heroes. We're not icons. We can't all be heroes for them." That soldiers "can't all be heroes for them" implies that civilians insist on this narrative because they need to feel better about having sent soldiers to fight in a tax-payer funded war. For Bridget, this heroic narrative acts as a social erasure of her conflicts about her experience and increases her feelings of alienation. However, as the president of her community college veteran's club, Bridget was an outspoken advocate for student veterans on her campus: she spoke at public events and successfully organized for the creation of a student veterans' center on campus.

For many veterans, feelings of disconnection from civilian society that result from public glorification of their combat experience can cause them to isolate themselves and heighten the wide-spread response of war veterans: that 'no civilian can ever understand me.' The experience of Northern University student and former U.S. Marine Jordan serves as an example of this. Jordan, (also introduced in Chapter One), completed two tours of Iraq as a cryptologic linguist, where his job was to listen to intercepted messages, and determine who should be classified as an enemy and targeted for arrest or assassination. As with many of the veterans I interviewed, when I asked Jordan what his military job was, his description conveyed feelings of regret for being responsible for people's deaths. He said:

I listened to people all the time. In a sense, I lived in this alternate universe where I didn't see this person, but in a way I was following them around, [listening to] everything they said, everything I could hear in the background, who they were talking to, their tone of voice, how they were breathing. That was my job: to have an intimate relationship with people. But it wasn't a desired or a two-way relationship-- I felt like a hunter.

Jordan had a difficult return to civilian life, and especially to college. As noted previously, despite having enlisted in the military for college funding, Jordan ended up dropping out of both community college and Northern University because he couldn't reconcile his war experience within a college context. He found it hard to relate to civilians whose only exposure to war is mediated through movies and popular culture, where the imperative for war is portrayed as clear; where the U.S. side always wins and is always heroic, and where nobody really gets hurt or dies. He said:

People here think 'sergeant' and they think John Wayne. *I* was a sergeant. I was 20 years old. And these 20-year olds, they are the corporals and sergeants, the non-commissioned officers that are running shit on the ground. People here don't have any sense of what's really going on.

When I asked if he planned on attending a campus Veterans Day celebration, Jordan said that he avoids campus Veterans Day events, because he feels disconnected from the laudatory atmosphere surrounding talk about wartime military service. He said that hearing jingoistic speeches about the military and the wars leaves him feeling disaffected and angry, rather than honored and supported:

I don't want to have to sit through something that's going to infuriate me. I'm not very good at keeping my mouth shut, but I don't want to speak up and smash someone else's point of view... But if we're really going to talk about this you can't just toe the party line and have these fucking talking points like politicians.

For students like Jordan, Connor, Bridget, and many others I interviewed, re-integration means they have to deal with their conflicting feelings about having participated in war. But there is not much room in campus support organizations for veterans to address those mixed feelings. As I have noted earlier, many groups emphasize unconditional support for the troops, but this 'unconditional' support comes with a condition: it must not include ambiguity or dissent about the wars, or about the military mission itself. Thus many campus veterans' groups are fashioned as a 'no-politics' zones, where in the name of supporting veterans, critical examination of the wars is prohibited. A Northern University veterans' club meeting I attended in 2010 illustrates this. The meeting took place in a small classroom on campus. There was a somber feeling in the room, as the meeting took place three days after an NU student veteran on campus had killed himself in his dorm room. The meeting began with the president of the club addressing the packed room:

I'm sure you all know what happened to our brother. This is a big loss for our community. After a moment of silence, we'll open the floor for comments, but I want to remind people that we are a non-partisan group, we are not here to talk about politics or to debate the wars.

This veterans' club meeting typically began with an admonition against partisan politics, so that was not unusual. It was also not unexpected that the group leader would want to focus comments on remembering the deceased, rather than engaging in debates. What is noteworthy is what happened during the period of open comment. Adam, the former combat Marine and ceramicist (introduced in Chapter Four) had come late to the meeting. In a gesture of support to his fellow veterans, Adam arrived carrying a military rucksack filled with ceramic cups to give to members of the veterans' club, as a gesture of support and solidarity. Because he had come in late, Adam had missed the president's instructions about public comments. When the president opened the floor, Adam said:

I had to come here tonight to be with my brothers. But I want to know—when are we going to stop these fucking wars that continue to take the lives of the best of us?

The president gently reminded Adam about the group's no-politics rule, and that was the end of the discussion. No one else said anything about the deceased veteran or about why

this young man might have taken his own life. The meeting quickly moved on to administrative announcements.

What happened at this meeting created a double-silencing for Adam: he was not allowed to fully express his grief at the loss of his fellow veteran, and he was not allowed to talk about what he saw as the force that caused his comrade's death. Moreover, this act served as a 'teachable moment' for the rest of the attendees at the meeting: it taught those in the room that silences would be enforced. But beyond dictating what is and isn't publically grieveable, the act of rendering off-limits discussions about the war narrowed the task of veteran peer support to dealing with the so-called 'apolitical' social and psychological sequelae of war, without being allowed to address the cause of the trauma they were all facing in that moment. Moreover, it reflected the position that to support veterans one had to be, at least implicitly, part of a greater, unified war effort. In this way, creating and enforcing an ostensible 'apolitical' spaces forecloses discussions that may be necessary for veterans to make sense of their combat experience, and denies them the chance to express the full complexity of their relationship to war. Moreover, it prohibits war veterans from discussing links between wartime military service and suicide, even among themselves.

However, this political prohibition is enforced selectively. As we saw in Chapter 4, within campus veteran support discourse, 'politics' may come to mean talk that challenges or critiques the military or the war. In the veterans club meetings, when a laudatory comment was made about the war (for example, when someone celebrated news of a successful battle, or announced the death of an insurgent leader), there was no similar admonition to silence. This reflects an environment in which the naturalized politics of militarism are taken for granted and considered expressions of patriotism, rather than politics. This tacitly advances the position that to support the troops one must support the war.

In my research I found that cautionary avoidance of mentioning the wars can have a deleterious effect on veterans, but also conversely, that allowing veterans to openly express their ambivalent feelings about the wars can help them to understand their contradictory feelings. During this research, open-ended interviews and conversations that began with veterans talking about classroom experiences, through the participants' guidance, would often end with them talking about their deployments in Iraq or Afghanistan. The following lengthy interview excerpt with Halcón College student Mitchell illustrates this, and points to the fact that, if given the chance to talk about difficult yet important military experiences, veterans may choose to do this with civilians in the context of college.

Mitchell had been identified by friends and administrative staff as someone who had been having difficulty in his transition to college. He was introduced in Chapter 5 as the student who had pantomimed "locking and loading" an imaginary rifle at a faculty meeting. Before examining this excerpt, I offer a note about my interview method: I used an open-ended, semi-structured interview protocol, and told participants at the beginning of each interview that I would ask them questions about their experiences in military training and in college. I had decided not to ask participants directly and explicitly about their combat experience, primarily because this was not the focus of my study. However, I also decided that if participants brought up the topic, I would not avoid taking about it, and would ask them follow-up questions. The following excerpt includes my responses

to illustrate the ways that Mitchell guided the conversation to talk about his experience in Iraq.²³⁵

Mitchell had been studying Administration of Justice program, intending to apply to the police academy after Halcón College, but he had begun to have second thoughts about a career in law enforcement. As noted previously, Mitchell had a difficult time adjusting to Halcón College, and he struggled with periods of deep depression and isolation. I asked Mitchell if there was anything that he felt had been helpful to him, both in and out of the classroom, in his transition to Halcón college. He answered that he appreciated the way his English composition instructor led class discussions; that she had invited veterans' contributions in class without appointing them as spokespersons, or singling them out by requiring them to comment, especially during difficult classroom conversations. As an example, Mitchell talked about reading the war novel *The Things They Carried* by Vietnam War veteran Tim O'Brien:

Mitchell: English 1B is creative-style English, [you have] to understand why authors do this or do that, and then you have to write your own creative story at the end. And I chose to use Tim O'Brien's format for my short story as a model. Because his [novel] is bouncing all over the place, which is pretty much the way he wrote it, in the fog of war style because everything about the war is [a] fog. You don't understand what's going to happen.

For Mitchell, the act of writing about his combat experience in the contained environment of his English class was a way of expressing his conflicted feelings about war and his participation in it. Privately communicating with his instructor through his essay allowed Mitchell to express his thoughts on this difficult topic. He described the experience as “cathartic.”

Mitchell: It was very, very cathartic for me. Don't get me wrong, I still deal with my demons, but it helped get out a really, really hard incident that I had to go through. [Writing the essay] helped me deal with it a little bit easier.

EM: I'm wondering how it is to read that book, and also how it is to be writing an essay about it in the context of a civilian classroom? Do you think it would have felt any different for you if you had been in a veterans-only class?

Mitchell: Well, Alex was in the class with me. Him and I, we both did not want to talk. [The instructor] didn't probe us but she would ask general-istic questions: ‘What do you guys think about this?’ Not asking just Alex and me, but “you guys,” meaning the class.

Mitchell said that his English instructor, in addressing questions to the entire class, was protective of the two veterans, while keeping their writing private and treating their compositions as a vehicle for them to express themselves:

²³⁵ This interview took place in a conference room on the Halcón College Campus, and that Mitchell and I were the only ones present.

She didn't have anybody else read our writing or anything like that, but if she did have a chance to read, she would read a paragraph or so from somebody's writing, but she never read anything from ours. She knew that. Andrew and I both went through very, very hard, hard experiences.

Mitchell appreciated that the instructor wanted to know about their experience, yet he noted that it was helpful to him that she also respected their privacy. Moreover, he said he felt more understood, and less isolated because she expressed compassion for the difficulties he and Alex faced in having to recount their combat experiences:

And she would write on our essays, 'I don't know what that's like. But I can imagine. But even my imagining is not enough.' She just, (pauses) she wanted to know. She wanted to understand, but she knew she couldn't. So it was nice. I didn't feel as if I was the only person in the class.

While it was important for Mitchell to begin to identify his thoughts and feelings privately, in the process of sharing his essay with his instructor, he came to believe that it was important for him to talk about the war with his civilian classmates, both to educate them about an issue he considered vitally important, but also because it was a way that his experience could be made visible, and comprehensible to the class.

But me and Alex came to this consensus that we need these people [civilian students] to understand [about the war]. We have to [tell the students]. But there's no way in the world that these people are going to understand. I'm not saying we live in a dumb society, but if they aren't told, they can't understand. Actually, we spoke up a lot in the class, but the fact of the matter is that we didn't talk a lot [about combat] but when we did, you could tell that the class was very, very intently listening to us. Very, very intently. They were zoned in. They wanted to know, and that's something that I think was really good.

EM: It seems to me that this English class presents a kind of a dilemma: you're coming back to a civilian classroom with-- as one veteran called it-- a wealth of experience about war. But you're coming back full of experience that other people don't know anything about, and this experience is hard to talk about.

Mitchell: It seems that with this, well, in my personal experience, the experience, this 'wealth of experience' as you call it, is not needed.

EM: What do you mean?

Mitchell: Like (pauses)...I don't regret [my service]. The only thing that I wish is that I would have taken something from my actual craft and been able to use it. And unfortunately, no one, no one, *no one's* hiring someone who can go kill someone. (speaker's emphasis)

EM: So you're saying that knowledge of how to kill is not needed in the civilian world.

Mitchell: No, it's not, and that's why it's kind of hard for me to even think about being a cop. Because I want to help other people. I really do. But it's just, the first thing that I see, if someone's going to go shoot somebody, I'm going to take them down. And you can't do that. You can't do that all the time. And that's what I'm kind of worried about.

EM: OK.

Mitchell: And my 'wealth of experience' is, is that I've already lost one friend. So I don't want to lose any more. (becomes tearful)

EM: So it's experience that you can't use, or don't want to use, right now.

Mitchell: Right. (increasingly tearful)

EM: (pause) I know this is hard to talk about. (pause) You were saying that in civilian classrooms people don't know what you've gone through. But you said that you think it's important that they know [about the experience of war]?

Mitchell: That they know, but they're still not going to understand. But it's, I think, I think them knowing is half the battle. Just like everything, knowing is half the battle. And I think they need to know.

This moment highlights one dilemma veterans face in trying to bridge the divide between civilians and military: many veterans feel the need to educate civilians, to make them understand the human costs of war, but this effort comes at an emotional cost to them. Moreover, Mitchell is not optimistic about the possibility that, even with education from combat veterans, civilians will be able to understand the human consequences of war. This echoes the words of the anonymous NU student who wrote: "Unfortunately, the things I would like the student body to know, I feel they will never understand." Mitchell added that because the human consequences of current wars are invisible to most in the U.S., this allows Americans to live in a state of denial about the current wars:

Mitchell: In [the war in] Vietnam, when the war was televised, it was a huge problem. [People said]"Oh my God, this is what they're doing?" Yeah, war's not freaking pretty. It's not some kind of dog and pony show. This is no joke. This is people dying. And if people could really understand that war is not so trivial.

EM: Do you think civilians at Halcón understand that it's not trivial, or do you think they don't understand?

Mitchell: I don't know. I don't think that anybody wants to get it. Everybody wants to live in their own little virtual home world now, with all these video games and all these kids think that they understand what war is when they play "Modern Warfare" and all these dumbass video games. I mean, don't get me wrong, I play them. But it's not like I play them just to get my, my killer high on or anything like that. I play them with friends because it's, it's fun. I don't care about my kill-to-death ratio. I don't care about how many people I kill in these

games. But these kids do. And it's getting closer and closer. That virtual reality is finally going to give them what they want. And it's...

EM: What do you mean by that?

Mitchell: Carnage. They're going to give it to them. It's already, already almost there. I mean, even the military is incorporating [electronic simulation] games [into infantry training].

EM: So you're saying that people trick themselves or delude themselves into thinking that they know what war is like because they...

Mitchell: Yes.

EM: ...Have a high kill ratio in video games?

Mitchell: Yeah. They have a kill-to-death ratio. Or they know all the weapons. They've studied them. But half of them have never shot them, or even been anywhere near somebody who's shot them.

While Mitchell plays video games with other veterans²³⁶, he objects to the vicarious nature of combat-themed video games, because he feels that they facilitate a societal denial: the games allow people to fool themselves into thinking that they have an understanding of war, which widens the already existing separation between war veterans and civilians. This speaks directly to the kind of pedagogies used in campus sensitivity trainings, where, in the name of becoming culturally competent, college instructors learn to identify the superficial accoutrements of war.

However, as Mitchell's comments indicate, simply knowing about military gear, weapons and battle cries does not make one an expert on soldiers' needs, nor on the less-laudable and most troubling aspects of war. For Mitchell, the simplistic equation-- that familiarity with weaponry equals cultural competence-- is precisely what renders civilians *incompetent* to engage with him in an authentic way about his experiences. The fact that anyone could believe that he or she understands the act of killing because they have played video games was unbelievable and exasperating to Mitchell, because vicarious thrill-seeking from simulated war games reduces real injury and death (of the kind that produced Mitchell's very real and still-present grief response) to a 'dog and pony show,' which obscures the stakes of war and real-life soldiers' suffering. The process of erasure by pseudo-familiarity increases Mitchell's sense of distance from civilians and ultimately impedes his ability to function in civilian social spaces.

²³⁶ Some studies estimate that 75% of combat veterans play war-themed video games occasionally- to-often, which was consistent with my research (this was one of the questions I asked participants). There is debate among cognitive and social scientists and role of violent video games in veteran's psychological health. Gackenbach (2012) argues that playing war-themed video games has a psychologically protective function for veterans in that the numbing effects of violent video games inures soldiers to the traumatic psychological sequelae of killing, which she argues, helps them feel more psychologically healthy. Grossman and Gaetano (1999) agree that playing video games has a numbing effect on soldiers, but argue that this has deleterious, rather than salutary consequences: that numbing people to the practice of killing will inhibit recognition of human suffering, which in turn, can inhibit their healing from war trauma.

This extended excerpt offers one counter-example to the contention that silencing discussion about the wars is helpful to or desired by veterans. While it is only one example, Mitchell's concerns were voiced by other veterans with whom I spoke. (see Chap. 4, Erika's story) But I include this interview excerpt not only for its content but also because the process of this interview informs my argument. This transcript excerpt (reproduced in its entirety, edited only for punctuation) shows that Mitchell guided the interview to talk about his experience in war. The interview began with question about classroom practice, and Mitchell went from talking about sharing his difficult combat experiences, privately, with his instructor, to expressing an urgent need to educate civilians about the reality of war, to shake his classmates out of their denial about the wars. The fact that Mitchell brought the conversation around to these topics indicates that he wants to, or has a need to talk about this. What Mitchell said he was looking for: understanding, explanation and education (and while he did not say this explicitly, Mitchell's interview indicates that he is also looking for compassion, rather than hero-worship, from civilians), could be achieved through more open and honest communication between veterans and civilians. But this will not happen if talk about the topic of war is made off-limits in college classrooms. Mitchell's experience provides evidence for one argument of this dissertation: that silencing talk about the wars does not help veterans transition to college in a way that promotes his mental and intellectual health. But this silencing does form part of a naturalized view of war as an unremarkable aspect of society, part of the background of everyday life.

Mitchell, Connor, Bridget and Jordon show us that war veterans often have highly contradictory feelings about their actions in combat. This is important because after discharge soldiers return to schools, families and communities and deal with their contradictory feelings. While many, perhaps most veterans successfully make the adjustment, many become addicted to drugs and alcohol, engage in fights, domestic violence and criminal behavior; unprecedented numbers are killing themselves.

I argue that it is not possible to fully un-make the soldier and re-make the civilian if society will not allow the soldiers and itself to honestly address the rationale and the consequences of the current wars. While there are some designated therapeutic spaces for veterans to deal with their internal conflicts, most notably Vet Centers²³⁷ and VA mental health treatment programs, they are segregated spaces that generally do not involve non-military affiliated civilians, and they do not involve conversations with the broader civilian society. Discussions with and among veterans take place behind closed doors. At Vet Centers, for example, the psychological treatment model is based on the philosophy that veterans can best be helped within a military context. The implication of this model is that it is counter-therapeutic to have conversations about the war with civilians. Yet

²³⁷ The Vet Center Program is a community-based counseling component of the Veterans Administration dedicated to combat veterans. Vet Centers are located and operate outside of the VA hospital system, and are based on a peer treatment model developed by Psychiatrist Robert Lifton for work with traumatized Vietnam Veterans. Some Vet Centers employ civilian staff, but the primary therapists are (trained and credentialed) former combat veterans. The Vet Center website describes its organizational mission: "We are the people in VA who welcome home war veterans with honor by providing quality readjustment counseling in a caring manner. Vet Centers understand and appreciate Veterans' war experiences while assisting them and their family members toward a successful post-war adjustment in or near their community."

enforcing a separation and silencing dialogue with civilians maintains the gap between civilians and veterans, and makes it more difficult when veterans return to civilian schools, where inter-group communication and interaction is seen as integral to a successful academic experience.

Processes of silencing are not only produced through big displays of military prowess and patriotism; they are also produced in small, everyday ways, through classroom practices and through affiliative speech acts (Serle 1989). For example, as a civilian doing research about the military, I was advised by other civilians working within the military about how I should refer to soldiers and veterans if I wanted to be seen as trustworthy: Rather than say “the soldiers” and “the veterans,” I was told that I should always refer to current and former military personnel as “our soldiers” and “our veterans”. These performative utterances (Austin 1962, Serle 1989) produce military affiliations that facilitate civilians’ adoption of militarized subjectivities.²³⁸ The processes described above: The narrowing of public debate through erasure of actual wars while simultaneously valorizing soldiers, and the linguistic enlistment of civilian subjects into a unified military ‘family,’ illustrate the *productive power* (Foucault 1982) of veteran support talk.

In this contemporary period of prolonged undeclared wars, where lethal-force conflicts are officially unleashed not on designated nation-states, but instead on rhetorical abstractions (‘Terror’), in the name of other rhetorical abstractions (‘Freedom’), speech and language have increasingly become a locus of power. I did not set out in this research to study the discursive power of silence and praise, yet the themes of praiseful gratitude and respectful silence surfaced again and again in veteran support organizations, in trainings and in classrooms. These words and themes became, in the words of Comeroff and Comeroff, ‘the animating vernacular around which the discursive flow is organized’ (2003:168)²³⁹. For civilians, I found that the two main paths of this discursive flow were silence about the wars and mandated gratitude, (for example, as manifested in the phrase “Thank you for your service.”) The repetition of these phrases and themes pointed to the constitutive power of social forces operating on a larger scale; the twinned themes of silence and gratitude reliably surfaced in particular locations and circumstances, yet ubiquitously extended beyond classrooms and campuses, thus demonstrating their salience as a social force.

The power of these abstractions-- of silence and gratitude --is rooted in the distance between U.S. civilian society, the current wars, and those who fight in the wars. This distance is made possible and maintained in part, because only about one half of one percent of Americans serve in the military; and thus most Americans live their lives untouched by the current wars. This renders returning soldiers’ wartime experience illegible to the nation. This fractured narrative – celebrating the warrior while not seeing

²³⁸ Performative utterances are speech acts which do not simply or passively describe a given reality, but that change the social reality they are describing.

²³⁹ Comeroff and Comeroff (2003) use the phrase *animating vernaculars* in discussing what they call the necessarily “awkward scale” of ethnography in the current neoliberal era; the phrase describes the social and anthropological salience of representational themes and textual objects surfacing in many locales simultaneously. The Comeroffs explore the meanings of such textual/representational objects that are locally situated, while mapping iterations of those representations across diverse spaces and localities.

the war-- has important consequences for those who are returning from combat, and heightens feelings of separation and disconnection from civilian society.

"Thank You For Your Service"

A few summers ago I stopped in a drug store in rural Northern California. Standing in the check-out line, another customer complimented me on the new Army-issue combat boots I was wearing. (In preparation for my forthcoming research trip to Ft. Knox, I had been issued a complete Army uniform to wear while on the base. I'd been advised to wear the new boots, to break them in before my trip, or risk blisters when I would have to wear them on a daily basis.) The commenting observer-- a white man appearing to be in his 40s and wearing a camouflage- print fishing hat and vest-- seemed to be signaling some kind of mutual identification, and I wondered if he was a veteran. When I asked if the boots looked familiar to him, he hastened to say that he had never served in the military, but that he shopped at the Army surplus store and recognized the boots. I replied that I was not in the military, but that the boots had been provided to me in my role as a researcher studying about military training and veterans. As I picked up my purchases and prepared to leave the store, he looked me in the eye and said sincerely: "Thank you for your service."

This stranger's public expression of gratitude was prompted by my boots, which signified 'military' to those familiar with the gear. That I was wearing these boots caught his attention, and that my work was associated with the U.S. military led him, without knowing the theoretical orientation nor conclusionary findings of my research, to thank me for my service. Walking out of the store, I tried to figure out why I felt jolted by his seemingly sincere thanks, and why it made me feel uncomfortable and guilty. I tried to imagine what he thought he was thanking me for: Perhaps he assumed, correctly, that I cared deeply about the fates of war veterans. Perhaps he assumed, incorrectly, that I was a military enthusiast, and that my research was intended to improve the training of combatants, or to support a unifying national project or war effort. In any case, I experienced the phrase as disconnected from the reality of my actual work, and undeserved.

William Deresiewicz (2011) writes about the role that the contemporary "cult of the uniform," what he calls the "ritualistic piety", mainly on the part of those with no personal connection to the military, of those who glorify soldiers without understanding what they do, and about how that piety makes it harder for people in the U.S. to have an honest debate about empire, wars, and the defense budget.²⁴⁰ In the years since 2001, the phrase "Thank You For Your Service" has become a central feature of that ritualistic piety and is routinely enacted in airports, schools, shopping centers and movie theaters—it can take place wherever identifiable military veterans or active duty service members come into contact with civilians. Veteran support meetings on campuses routinely begin with civilian speakers thanking the student veterans for their service. Beginning this research, I was advised by a civilian who worked for the U.S. Army, that I should introduce myself to veterans with this phrase, saying that it would facilitate communication with soldiers. Because of the ubiquity of the phrase "Thank you for your service", and because I noticed that some veterans showed discomfort upon hearing it, I

²⁴⁰ From Deresiewicz, "An Empty Regard" *New York Times Sunday Review* August 20, 2011.

began to ask student veterans to describe how they feel when someone says this to them. Answers ranged from casual appreciation to active dislike, but many said that the phrase, coming from strangers who knew nothing about them besides that they had been in the military, seemed like a platitude; it seemed to them like something that civilians thought they were supposed to say. I return to the interview with Mitchell, who said:

I've had people tell me, "Thank you for your service" or whatnot. I think it's more of a passing nod now these days. "Thank you for your service." I mean, don't get me wrong, there are people that actually mean it. And you can tell, at least I can tell, that people mean it when they say it. But there are some people that come and say, "Thank you for your service, thank you for your service." It kind of makes me want to puke sometimes. Thank you for your service—it makes me want to puke.

When asked to explain, he said that it felt to him like an insult when the phrase is spoken out of apparent obligation. Without intention or irony, Mitchell evoked the image of the hostile 1960's anti-war protester, turning that trope on its head:

Mitchell: It's almost like a spit in the face. It's like because they, it's, because they need to. Or they should do it. Oh, because everybody else is doing it, they should do it. No. No. If you don't mean it, I don't want it.

EM: So it trivializes...?

Mitchell: Yeah. Don't get me wrong. Our soldiers have done some very, very messed up things. We're young. We were brought [to war] too young. We're forged to be killers. It's not something that a 17 year old kid should go through. It's not something a 21 year old kid should go through. It's not something a 24 year old man should go through. When they say that there is wisdom in age, they're not kidding. I always have older friends. Alex is 32. My friend Terry is 29. I'm 24. I can't get along with people my age. They scare me because they're so dumb. Don't get me wrong, I've made my mistakes, but I just wish... (pauses) That's why I want to be a psychologist because I wish if I could help some people understand that life is something.

Mitchell was adamant that he did not want his painful experience in the war-- and the wisdom that he had acquired at such a high price -- to be reduced into that which elicits a formulaic response from strangers. Mitchell's desire to understand, respond to, and heal from his combat experience has led him to change his career plans mid-semester. Instead of applying to the Police Academy, Mitchell changed his major to Psychology. He hopes that as a psychologist he will be able to help people—civilians and veterans-- to move beyond clichés, learn about the “messed up” realities of war and “help some people understand that life is something.”

Gardiner notes that veteran clichés are “formulas that offer escape from the silence that pervades war experience or any experience lacking in a rich and familiar descriptive vocabulary” (2013:74), and these platitudes about war tend to be less believable from coming from those who have never experienced combat. Thus, it matters to the recipient who is uttering the cliché: often conventionalized expressions of gratitude

and respect coming from other veterans are received more kindly than those coming from unknown civilians. For example, when I asked Jordan what he thought when someone thanked him for his military service he said:

It depends on who it is. Like when a Vietnam vet thanks me -- it's real and it's legit and they understand all of the pieces of it. It's one of the most moving experiences, honestly, because they understand so much of it. But other times people just really don't know. And they just know that that this is one of the things that we're supposed to do -- we're supposed to thank people.

In contrast to the Vietnam War veteran with whom Jordan identifies because he understands “all the pieces of it”: the pain, fear, and the anguish of on- the- ground combat, Jordan rejects hearing this phrase from civilians whom, he suspects, thank him for their own benefit:

When I hear that [phrase] from certain people -- I think: ‘OK. Do you think you're done now? Do you think you're done with your side of this bargain?’ It's not fair, because the people are fighting these wars-- they don't come from all walks of life-- they come from poor and working class families, and more often than not, rural. These are the people who are carrying the burden. I would say to people who want to thank me: if you want to be thankful and appreciative, write to Congress and ask for a draft, because you're not done. If you want my appreciation for that thanks, put your money where your mouth is and make everyone pay attention.

The theme of feeling insulted by superficial expressions of gratitude surfaced often in my conversations with veterans—the perfunctory and uninformed nature of voicing a tired phrase for something about which “people just really don’t know... they just know that this is one of the things we’re supposed to do.” For Jordan, the phrase signifies a quick and easy way for civilians to expiate their guilt at have other people’s-- poorer people’s -- sons and daughters fight U.S. wars. Rather than thanking him for something he deeply regrets doing, Jordan said he would ask that people demand a return to the mandatory conscription so that the burden of fighting wars would fall on the nation as a whole. Only then, he believes, would people “pay attention.”

It is important to note that not all veterans object to this phrase: some like being thanked for their service and hailed as heroes, and some feel indifferent about this. NU student Mack said that he wasn’t bothered by what he saw as a pro forma expression of thanks, but that it too often represented a prelude into unbidden and often unwelcome conversations with civilians about his combat experience:

I never liked it when people would be like, "Oh, thank you for your service." I just felt uneasy about that. I don't like a lot of attention like that. It's nice if people would wave and say hi. That's nice, but it turns into a discussion, and there's an interview of me, every time I'd meet someone. ‘So, you went to Iraq?’ and this and that. I’m supposed to tell my whole life story to these people. It's like, I was just going to go get some pizza.

Mack objects to the fact that that when strangers approach him in the course of carrying out his daily activities, they act as if proffering this expression of gratitude entitles them to assume a familiarity with him that he neither wants nor feels in return.

Amidst the silence, praise and public gratitude, what I find missing in most veteran support discourse is the idea that what veterans may need in their homecoming is both highly variable and often contradictory. Because, as Jordan, Connor, Mitchell, Erika, Bridget and Sarah and most of the veterans with whom I spoke say: they experienced a lot of honor in their military service, but they also experienced a lot of pain and ugliness. Many veterans describe their military service as producing what one called "the best self I ever was," and they feel pride in their service and sacrifice. It is understandable that this situation would be celebrated. But when this version becomes the only narrative given voice and echoed in military recruitment efforts, in popular media and in veteran support discourse, it acts to silence and de-legitimize the experience of those veterans who have a different, more conflicted and less valorous story to tell. And this represents one of the reasons why Jordan's fantasy about rebuking the guilt-ridden civilian will remain a fantasy, drowned out by a chorus of public gratitude and silence about the wars.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the push to create Military-Friendly campuses, which involves celebrating soldiers and not acknowledging the wars, can have deleterious consequences not just for free and open campus debate but also for veterans themselves. Programs that promote a sanitized, if not glorified version of war, can prove counterproductive for veterans who have conflicted feelings about their military service, about the current wars, and about their actions in combat. Thus, heroic narratives alienate many student veterans from resources intended to help them.

While militarized common sense is a disciplining force on college campuses, it is not a totalizing force; there are moments of contestation from and among student veterans, as well as alliances with the broader campus community. As Gramsci, Hall, Foucault and other theorists of power remind us, no hegemonic moment exists without the possibility of contestation. Organized groups like Iraq Veterans Against the War, among others, offer veterans spaces to critically re-examine their relationship to war and the military, and to push back against the naturalized heroic discourses surrounding war. These groups provide what Dorothy Holland (1998) calls 'spaces of authoring' that allow veterans to sustain their military identities while re-working their positionality through political action.

However, anti-war organizing was not common among campus veterans, in fact I knew of very few veterans on the Halcón and NU campuses who took public stands against the wars, despite the fact that many veterans expressed to me privately their differences with official US military policies and the wars. I heard contestation to official narratives in the assertion of independence of thought, opinion and belief, and through passive means of simply not joining in. The fact that in 2012 the NU campus enrolled more than 300 veterans, yet no more than 25 regularly attended Veterans Club meetings and that at Halcón College, it was difficult to get eight out of the 119 enrolled student

veterans to come to a meeting. I read as contestation the claiming of their veteran status outside of a unified patriotic imaginary.

Conclusion

Throughout this dissertation I have argued that the experiences of individual veterans in college deserve careful and serious consideration, and that we need to be aware of how veterans returning from the Iraq and Afghanistan wars understand, negotiate and make sense of their combat experience in the context of civilian colleges. I have also argued that, within institutions and society, conceptualizations of “the veteran” are ideologically produced and instrumentally deployed to support military projects, and that this can have a deleterious effect on student veterans, on college campuses and on the greater society.

These processes: the individual experience of veterans on campus and the broader campus treatment of the Military, inform and are informed by each other through a combination of daily practices and institutional discourses. The articulation of these narratives has been the focus of my study: in telling the “little narratives” of returning veterans in civilian schools, I have attempted to trace the “big narratives” of war, military support and public dissent. The primary question guiding this inquiry has been: What happens – with individual student veterans and within the campus community--when military veterans return from war and enter civilian colleges?

Using participant observation and focusing on the lived experiences of soldiers and post-service veterans, I found that military priorities are introduced and embedded through discourses and practices within post-secondary institutions. This final chapter of the dissertation reviews the major findings of the study and concludes with next steps for research in studies of veterans and higher education.

I was motivated to begin this study because of a troubling and highly-publicized problem: that while the vast majority of military members had signed up for the GI Bill Education benefits, only a tiny fraction of those were using their benefits. This situation was cause for alarm to those interested in military veterans and higher education, and it prompted me to think about what happens when war veterans return to civilian society and enter college.

So, returning to the original question: What causes difficulties for war veterans returning to civilian college? A partial answer to this question is that norms and practices learned in military training and acculturation conflict with the norms and practices required in civilian colleges. But problems stemming from military/civilian cultural and pedagogical disjunctures, while demonstrable, are not solely responsible for the veterans’ difficulties in making the transition to college. The problems of war veterans’ re-encounter with civilian society and college have deeper roots than mere differences in learning styles, social norms or campus reception. Nor, for many veterans, do problems with re-integration stem not from the quality of reception they receive on college campuses. Rather, they develop from veterans complex and unresolved feelings about their military experience and participation in war, and, crucially, that they return home to a culture of denial about the wars.

In the preceeding chapters I explored military relations in the academy not as static phenomena but as fluid politics. I have argued that militarism is set of processes, practices, discourse, and ideology that affect the social organization of people and power,

and that veteran support is an organizing mechanism of militarism in post-secondary schools.

As I have shown in these chapters, veterans return to civilian society and to college campuses profoundly changed by their military experience and by their participation in war. They return to a society that ostensibly supports the warrior but ignores the wars. This situation is perpetuated, wittingly or unwittingly through military support organizations that venerate veterans, but demand silence about the war. This type of support helps to produce what I call militarized common sense.

Dissertation in Review

Interpretation and analysis of data gathered over the course of two years have allowed me to document and analyze practices, discourses and processes employed to teach civilians how to become soldiers, and traced the ways in which military practices and identities are carried over into civilian classrooms. I examined ways that veteran support efforts and relationships between campus (veteran advocates, college staff and administrators, academic instructors) and non-campus actors shape discourse about the military on campus and affect campus discourse about the wars.

I have documented, along with the various strengths student veterans bring to college campuses, the obstacles they face. Some of these obstacles result from being the product of schools that did contain a rigorous college preparatory programs. Some obstacles came as a result of post-war psychological trauma, while others resulted from societal silence and denial about the wars, maintained ostensibly to protect veterans from public displays of disrespect. I have argued that militarized common sense and the accompanying silencing of campus debate about war, is produced by pre-emptively declaring civilian college faculty and students hostile to the military, and by extension, to veterans.

Military training and acculturation, rather than representing an uncomplicated path of knowledge transmission, is a complex process of learning and un-learning norms, practices and identities. Occurring within the military *total institution* in which every detail of daily life is controlled, the process of Basic Training, which looks to be standardized and orderly, is instead intentionally chaotic and destabilizing. However, the process of militarizing soldiers does not end with the end of their military service, and that the highly situated lessons of military training are transposed in civilian academic settings. I argued that when student veterans' previous military socialization comes into contact and conflict with civilian academic, student and institutional norms, many veterans find that many of the behaviors that were essential to operating within institutional military life are unhelpful in college.

Campus initiatives designed and carried out by administration and staff reproduce military-inflected relations in programs designed to help veterans, often as a result of college instructors' sincere desire to help war veterans adjust to civilian classrooms. Diverse strategies created by veterans to adapt to post-military life as college students. For some, these strategies include efforts to sustain and re-create military bonds, for others, they involve efforts to distance themselves from military relationships and ideologies. And of course these self-organizing self-care strategies reflect the mixed, conflicting, cross-temporal nature of readjustment to civilian life. Through exploring

various manifestations of social bonds forged in military experience, and by looking at how these bonds are maintained and utilized to re-create militarized socialization on college campuses, I argued that military social bonds both reproduce and contest the enduring internalized militarized socialization veterans bring to college campuses.

Erasure of the wars takes on a different dimension when it is promoted in the context of military training on a military training base, which is why it is important to look at organized attempts by the U.S. Army to gain influence on contemporary college campuses. Through a close examination of one training for college faculty and staff designed to promote the benefits of campus ROTC programs, I attempted to show how the US wars are both reified and obscured by the Army's efforts to portray the Middle East wars as essentially humanitarian missions, while obscuring the direct relationship between the military and war-making.

Militarized common sense is produced through everyday efforts to support veterans on college campuses: silencing of campus debate about war is produced by preemptively declaring civilian college faculty and students hostile to the military, and by extension, to veterans. Examining initiatives designed to promote military priorities on campus, such as the coveted "Military-Friendly Campus" designation, trainings and campus-wide pro-military events shows that these diverse forms of militarism engendered through campus veteran support programs tend to preclude debate and discussion about the wars.

When Pro-military (and tacitly pro-war) veteran support is framed as the answer to a particular construction of a problem: that civilian colleges, in general, are anti-military, this strategic narrative engenders support for the military and its projects not through overt coercion, but through a *discourse of care* for veterans, who are positioned simultaneously as underrepresented minorities, victims of trauma and heroic figures. This formulation lays the foundation for a political logic to remediate the 'problem of anti-veteran campuses' by increasing military displays and pro-military discourse that ultimately represent and serve the interest of the militarized State.

I arrived at this by examining the development of an incipient educational specialty: official trainings in which college teachers are given ideological instruction on what is appropriate ways to create a supportive teaching environment for veterans. These trainings promote the idea that mentioning the military or the wars in anything but a flattering light is to be avoided in college classrooms. Within these trainings teachers are instructed to curtail classroom talk about the wars in the name of support the veterans. Thus, silence about the wars, and the erasure of veterans' experience is maintained.

Finally, I have argued that the push to create Military-Friendly campuses, which involves celebrating soldiers and not acknowledging the wars, can have deleterious consequences not just for free and open campus debate but also for veterans themselves. Programs that promote a sanitized, if not glorified version of war, can prove counterproductive for veterans who may feel conflicted about their military service, about the current wars, and about their actions in combat. Heroic narratives alienate many student veterans from resources intended to help them.

However -- as I hope I have shown throughout the entire dissertation-- the views of the veterans reflect their social positions not merely as agents who have been positioned to represent the state; but also that the veterans are active social, political and cultural subjects. The veterans represented in this study do not blindly accept the role of

proxy for the US wars. Instead, many of them consider deeply the implications and effects of their experience; actively grappling with their personal, political, educational and moral commitments.

When veterans succeed in the transition to college, it depends, I would argue, on allowing adequate time, support and re-training in civilian academic practice. I found that, in general, success was not aided by constraining campus conversations about military service and the wars. A crucial task of veteran support is opening up honest dialogue between civilians and military members about what it means to go to war. Without this kind of open dialogue veteran support interventions will continue to rely on ideological mystification, which will prevent us from meeting the needs of war veterans in college.

Finding: Against Stereotypes

There is a common stereotype within many elite post-secondary educational institutions that there are separate categories of students: those who have grown up in an environment that prepares them for the intellectual challenges of college (and thus have a place in college), and those who are not prepared for the intellectual rigors of college and thus do not belong there. Young people who enlist in the military are usually positioned in the latter category. While few will say this publically, I have heard these sentiments uttered by academic faculty in discussions about veterans in college. My research and my personal experience found this perception to be deeply flawed. The majority of veterans I interviewed for this study-- most of whom came from working class families and many of whom were the first in their families to attend college—did not always begin college with the same level of academic preparation as many of their civilian counterparts, but most came with a keen appreciation for the analytic intellectual work demanded of them. As a graduate student instructor, I often found veterans in my undergraduate classes deeply engaged in the process of learning; for the most part, I found that they took seriously assignments and classroom discussions, often more so than their civilian counterparts. Perhaps this was because they did not take for granted their place in the college classroom, or because they were acutely aware of what it took for them to get there. Although many participants in this study encountered difficulties adjusting to the demands of college, by and large, they were successful, and at this writing most of the participants in my research have graduated.

Methods Revisited

While the veterans in this study represent a fairly representative demographic cross-section of recent veterans attempting college, they are a subset of a subset. First, this is a group of veterans who attempted college. But they also represent a group of veterans who stayed in college (at the close of my research period, I was aware of only three of the 50 veterans interviewed who had dropped out of college, at least for the present time.) I knew of many more veterans, including early (pre-interview) participants of this research who dropped out, or disappeared for long stretches of time. I attempted to follow up with those veterans, but was unsuccessful in finding them.

My study represents a small slice of veterans in college. Some who may disagree my analysis and findings may point to what they will call my small sample size. In this current epistemological era of Big Data, which holds that reliable social truths can only be discovered through big numerical sets and algorithmic patterns, technology-based researches asset that quantitative analysis based on big data sets is the path to truth and objectivity. But social scientists like Kate Crawford and danah boyd (2012) warn of the “epistemological blindness” that can result when privileging patterns detected in the behaviors of the faceless many over the individual stories of those whose thoughts and feelings cannot be explained by algorithms. In other words, there is a danger of losing sight of the individuals in whose names these studies are conducted.

My observations at two schools and 50 formal interviews are not intended to stand in for the more than two million recent veterans who are eligible for GI Bill education benefits, if not all currently enrolled in college. Moreover, I chose to quote at length only about half of those 50 veterans interviewed. The reason I chose these veterans’ voices is not only because I think they have particularly compelling stories, (in fact every veteran I interviewed had important stories to tell), but also because I think their stories are largely left out of public conversations about veterans and the wars. We see military veterans represented in media campaigns and news stories, and in the multiplicity of commercial advertising campaigns featuring uniformed soldiers to sell beer, real estate, dating services and even dog food.²⁴¹ But while these images present one picture of soldiering: that which highlights heroism, loyalty to country and sacrifice, there are few, if any public representations of ambivalence and conflict that I found in so many of the soldiers’ stories. Given this great divide between public and private representation, I wanted to give voice to the stories that do not tend to make it into the public narrative.

I began this study to look at student veterans and support programs—and immersing myself in the experience of student veterans and their supporters I also found protective veneration, selective exclusion and cautionary silences. These findings demanded an interrogation of exclusions and absences within the observable. The investigation of silence and denial does not lend itself to a quantitative lens; that is not to say that this type of study could not be attempted, simply that this is not what I have done.

Summary, Epistemological Concerns and Topics for Further Study

In this dissertation I have discussed pedagogical and cultural disjunctures felt by veterans in civilian schools. Halcón College and Northern University represent two ‘contact zones’ for student veterans, each presenting distinct pedagogical, cultural, structural and social disjunctures for returning military veterans. Civilian teachers, students and veteran supporters can all play roles in maintaining or ameliorating these disjunctures. Disjunctures are intensified by an environment that simultaneously lauds veterans as warrior heroes while erasing their experience and enforcing silences about the wars. At one extreme is lionization found in pro-troop support groups and veteran re-integration classes that position the veterans as “warrior/heroes.” At the other end of the

²⁴¹ For Budweiser, Zillow, PlentyofFish and True.com, and Iams respectively.

spectrum are veterans isolated by their war experience from civilian life and estranged from their privileged civilian professors and classmates. At either end of that spectrum, ex-combatants can feel deep alienation. In between lies the “space” in which veterans must learn the norms of higher education and reintegrate into post-combat civilian life. A first step in understanding veterans’ adjustment challenges and reducing the drop-out rate would be to listen to what they have to say about their experience and the transition from combat to civilian schools. What is needed is open dialogue between civilians and veterans, in spaces that allow for both veterans’ and civilians’ uncensored thoughts (positive, negative and ambivalent) about military practice and mission, along with broad institutional support to allow veterans to achieve the educational promise for which they have paid an extraordinarily high price.

In examining how civilian academic discourses articulate with nationalistic ideologies of military superiority, I seek to contribute to a larger discussion about ways in which ideologically-bound programs either support or hinder the success of military veterans and civilian’s understandings about the wars. It has attempted to address the questions of how militarized norms and identities are practiced by de-militarized subjects and how civilian academic environments participate in the construction of militarized common sense.

It is important to examine the effects of militarized common sense in relation to veterans experiences on college campuses for several reasons. Because our government, acting in the name of the U.S. public, sent the soldiers to war, we owe it to veterans to engage with, and not ignore the social, educational and psychological consequences resulting from their participation in those wars. Moreover, we have a responsibility to understand why and how we as civilians participate, through active or tacit consent, in the perpetuation of the wars. In doing so we can better understand how historical processes shape our words, thoughts and actions, and the consequences of our national policies.

I believe that it is extremely dangerous for a democracy to have such a deep chasm between those who fight U.S. wars and those who do not. The question posed so emphatically by Jordan, still requires an answer: If war is truly a national priority, how is it that the burden of fighting is not shared by the entire nation? Military sociologists Moskos and Janowitz argued vigorously against the All-Volunteer Armed Forces (AVF), saying that maintaining a military force that represents all sectors of civil society is a pillar of a democratic system, and that having a separate warrior class is fundamentally undemocratic, and that it undermines civil security and that it violates fundamental tenets of democratic participation. This division of labor to carry out what should be the result of a national consensus creates and maintains a civil/military divide that allows most US citizens to live their lives untouched by the current wars.

While many soldiers return from war to resume civilian lives relatively unscathed, others feel deeply alienated from themselves and from civilian society. Many return with psychological and physical wounds; some are highly reactive to stress and feel hopeless about the future. Upon their return, many will enter college. This represents a serious challenge for post-secondary educators, who are charged with addressing the repercussions of a national policy that compels young people go to war in order to go to college .

An exploration of the effects, strengths and challenges returning military veterans bring to civilian classrooms can benefit educators and veterans’ advocates and can inform

strategies for engaging and educating student/veterans, which could result in policies that help lower attrition rates for veterans. Veterans have conflicting and contradictory feelings their military experience and the wars, which leads to conflicting and contradictory needs after they return home, and that services that do not take into account veterans' complex relationship to military service and war will result in programs that do not serve all veterans equally well. Moreover, when support programs are built around simplistic assumptions of what and who veterans are, veterans who fall outside of this rubric will feel alienated from services intended to help them.

Many veterans on campus remain separate from, or not fully-engaged with civilian student bodies – feeling apart from civilians by virtue of age or experience. Veterans' Clubs provide crucial support, but they may also reinforce disconnections with civilian students. This separation can be exacerbated by enforced silences about the wars. I found that while veterans may be publically venerated, often their real feelings about their wartime experience are kept to the margins of campus discourse: distant, unspoken and ill-understood, much like the wars themselves. I have found that college programs that insist veterans, mentors and program managers adopt an uncomplicated view of military activity and the wars can stifle discussion of veterans' views of their own experience. This, in turn, can create obstacles in building relationships with service providers and colleagues. We must broaden our national discussion about the role of the military and war by making college campuses a space that encourages dialogue and mutual learning of both combat veterans and civilians.

Concluding Thoughts

With the end of the Iraq War and the impending end of the war in Afghanistan, veterans will be entering civilian colleges in increasing numbers.²⁴² Student-veterans are simultaneously engaged in learning civilian academic learning styles, skills and identities while replacing or adapting military learning styles, skills and identities. Because this process is part of the larger re-entry process of ex-soldiers returning to civilian life, it is my hope that this study can provide contribute to policy decisions about veterans and post-secondary education.

My conclusions ultimately raise thorny questions about the relationship of the military and education. In our society the problem of social inequality and surplus labor is mapped on to a military solution. Wartime military recruitment profits from the contemporary social-economic predicament that people need jobs and education, and the military promises education as recruitment enticement. Because military service is consistently proposed as an honorable (and heroic) route out of poverty—this study has looked at the social practices involved in the making and un-making of soldiers, and how these practices then serve or don't serve veterans once they are out of the military. On one level, this research clearly signals a need for supportive services to facilitate a smoother transition for veterans trying to utilize their earned education benefits. But for my research to propose services and programs without clearly emphasizing the underlying cause of distress: the fact that in contemporary U.S. society, many poor

²⁴² Veterans Administration officials estimate that new veteran enrollment in colleges could increase by 25% by 2014. US Student Veterans of America report (info. from US Veteran's Administration: 2011)

people must go to war to be able to go to college, would be to collude with the logic of denial that demands silence about the experience of war, from college students, faculty and the veterans themselves. My goal is to provide research useful to veterans' transition to college and improve their chances of success, without colluding with the processes that create these problems in the first place, or with the assumption that going to war should be an acceptable requirement for low-income college aspirants.

Bibliography

- Abu-Lughod, Lila. (1993/2008.) *Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- (2002.) "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 104, No. 3 September 2002 pp. 783-790
- Acker, Joan. (1990.) "Hierarchies, Jobs, and Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations." *Gender and Society* 4(2): 139-58.
- Ackerman, R., D. DiRamio & R. L. Garza Mitchell. (2009.) "Transitions: Combat Veterans as College Students" *NEW DIRECTIONS FOR STUDENT SERVICES*, no. 126, Summer. Wiley Periodicals, Inc.
- Althusser, Louis. (1970/1984.) "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus" in *Essays on Ideology*. London: Verso Press.
- Altschuler, Glenn C. & Stuart M. Blumin. 2009. *The GI Bill: A New Deal for Veterans*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- American Council on Education. (2008,). *Serving those who serve: Higher education and America's veterans. (Issue Brief)*. November, Washington, DC: Clark and Coyner. Retrieved from:
http://www.acenet.edu/Content/NavigationMenu/ProgramsServices/MilitaryPrograms/serving/Veterans_Issue_Brief_1108.pdf
- Anderson, Benedict. (1983.) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso Press.
- Apple, Michael and N. King. (1983.) "What Do Schools Teach?" *The Hidden Curriculum and Moral Education*. Giroux and Purpura, eds. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing Corporation 82-99
- Appy, Christian G. (1993.) *Working Class War*. Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Ackerman, R. & D. DiRamio (Eds.). (2009). *Creating a veteran-friendly campus: Strategies for transition and success*. New Directions in Student Services. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Armstrong, Keith, S. Best & P. Domenici. (2006.) *Courage After Fire: Coping Strategies for Troops Returning from Iraq and Afghanistan and Their Families*. Berkeley, CA: Ulysses Press.
- Artexaga, Begonia. (2001.) "Engendering Violence: Strip-Searching of Women in Northern Ireland." *History in Person: Enduring Struggles, Contentious Practice, Intimate Identities*. Chap. 1 Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Asch, Beth J. (1999.) *Attracting College-Bound Youth into the Military: Toward the Development of New Recruiting Policy Options*. Santa Monica, CA and Arlington, VA: RAND Corporation Report.
- , Paul Heaton, Bogdan Savych. (2009.) *Recruiting Minorities: What Explains Recent Trends in the Army and Navy?* Santa Monica, CA and Arlington, VA: RAND Corporation Report.

- Austin, J.L. (1962.) *How to do things with Words: The William James Lectures at Harvard University in 1955*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. (1994). "Heteroglossia." Excerpts from *The Bakhtin Reader*, Pam Morris (Ed.). London: Arnold (73-80).
- (1981.) "Discourse in the Novel" From *The Dialogic Imagination*. Ed. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov. Austin: University of Texas Press
- Barthes, Roland. (1957.) *Mythologies*. Trans. Annette Lavers. Paris: Les Lettres nouvelles.
- Becker, A. and G.W. Schulz (2011.) "Cops Ready for War" *Center for Investigative Reporting*. Retrieved 12/21/11 from: www.cironline.org
- Belkin, Aaron. (2012.) *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Facade of American Empire, 1898-2001* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Benedict, Helen (2009.) *The Lonely Soldier: The Private War of Women Serving in Iraq*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bennett, Eric. (2014.) "How Iowa Flattened Literature" *The Chronicle Review, The Chronicle of Higher Education* Feb. 10, 2014.
- Bennett, Michael J. (1996.) *When Dreams Came True: the GI Bill and the Making of Modern America*. Washington, D.C.: Brassey's International Defense Publishers.
- Beukenhorst, H.B. (2012.) "Whose Vietnam? – 'Lessons learned' and the dynamics of memory in American foreign policy after the Vietnam War." Dissertation: Universiteit van Amsterdam.
- Billig, Michael. (1995/ 2005.) *Banal Nationalism*. London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- (2009.) "Reflections on a Critical Engagement with Banal Nationalism—Reply to Skey." *The Sociological Review* 57(2): 347-352.
- Blatt, Martin and Roediger, David R., eds. (1998.) *The Meaning of Slavery in the North*. New York: Garland Press.
- Bouffard, Leana A, 2005. The Military as a Bridging Environment in Criminal Careers: Differential Outcomes of the Military Experience. *Armed Forces & Society* 31: 273.
- Boulton, Mark. (2005.) *A Price on Freedom: The Problems and Promise of the Vietnam Era G.I. Bills*. Retrieved from Proquest Digital Dissertations. (UMI3205778)
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (1980/1990.) *The Logic of Practice*. Trans. Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- & J-C. Passeron. (1970/1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. II: Cultural Capital and Pedagogic Communication. London: Sage Publications
- (1987.) *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press
- Brecht, B. (1964.) *Brecht on Theater*. Trans. John Willett. New York: Hill & Wang
- Briggs, Bill. (2012.) "Stray anti-military vibes reverberate as thousands of veterans head to college." MSNBC News Report Oct. 17, 2012 retrieved from: http://usnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2012/10/17/14469487

- Brint, Steven. 2003. "Few Remaining Dreams: Community Colleges Since 1985." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and social science* 2003; 586; 16
- Brisson, Susan J. "Trauma Narratives and the Re-making of the Self" (1999.) *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*. Edited by Bal, M., Crewe, J. and Spitzer, L. Hanover: University Press of New England. pp. 39-54
- Brokaw, Tom (1998.) *The Greatest Generation*. New York: Random House.
- Brown, W. (1995.) *States of Injury*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- (2005) *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Bryant, Richard R., Samaranayake, V.A. and Wilhite, Allen. (1993.) "The Effect of Military Service on the Subsequent Civilian Wage of the Post- Vietnam Veteran." *Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance* 33(1): 15-31.
- Bunting III, Josiah. (2005.) "Class Warfare," *The American Scholar* 74 (1).
- Burke, Kenneth (1971.) "Doing and Saying: Thoughts on Myth, Cult and Archetype", *Salmagundi*, Vol. 7: 100-19.
- Byman, Daniel. (2007.) Veterans and Colleges Have a Lot to Offer Each Other. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 54(16): B5.
- Cahill, Charlotte. (2008.) "Fighting the Vietnam Syndrome: The Construction of a Conservative Veterans Politics, 1966-1984." Ann Arbor MI: ProQuest. UMI number: 3336524
- Cameron, Judy and W. David Pierce. (1994.) "Reinforcement, Reward, and Intrinsic Motivation: A Meta-Analysis" *Review of Educational Research* Vol. 64, No. 3, Fall, pp. 363-423
- Cantrell, Bridget C and C. Dean. 2005. *Once a Warrior: Wired For Life*. Seattle: WordSmith Publishing.
- Cate, C.A. (2014). Million Records Project: Research from Student Veterans of America. Student Veterans of America, Washington, DC.
- Chaiklin, Seth and Jean Lave. (1996/ 2002.) *Understanding Practice: Perspectives on Activity and Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coben, Diana. (1998) *Radical Heroes: Gramsci, Freire and the Politics of Adult Education*. New York and London: Garland Publishing/Taylor and Francis
- (2002.) "Metaphors for an Educative Politics." In Borg et al. *Gramsci and Education*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp. 263-290.
- Cock, Jacklyn. (2004.) Rethinking Militarism in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Retrieved 3/9/11 from <http://reprints.lse.ac.uk/28221/1/WP43.pdf>
- Cohen, A. P. (1985) *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Tavistock.
- Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John.(2003.) "Ethnography on an awkward scale: Postcolonial anthropology and the violence of Abstraction." *Ethnography* Vol 4(2): pp.147-179
- Connell, R. W. (1995.) *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cooley, Charles Horton. (1902/1922.) *Human Nature and the Social Order (Revised edition)*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons
- Davenport, C. (2004.) "The Mission." *Washington Post*, August 8, p. W12.
- Dean, E.T. (1992.) "The Myth of the Troubled and Scorned Vietnam Veteran." *Journal of American Studies* 26:1 59-72

- de Certeau, M. (1984.) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: UC Press .Popular cultures: Ordinary language; “ ‘Making do’: Uses and tactics; Foucault and Bourdieu.”15-60.
- Demirovic, Alex. *Foucault, Gramsci and Critical Theory – Remarks on their Relationship* <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/cperc/docs/CR-Demirovic-Foucault.pdf> retrieved 10/16/10.
- Derrida, J. (2001.) *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. London and New York: Routledge.
- DiRamio, David, Ackerman, R. & Mitchell, R. L. (2008.) “From Combat to Campus: Voices of Student/Veterans.” *NASPA Journal* 47 (1): 73-102.
- Downs, Donald and Ilia Murtazashvili. (2012.) *Arms and the University: Military Presence and the Civic Education of Non-military Students*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dreier, Ole. (2008) “ Research in Social Practice.” Chap 12 in *Psychotherapy in Everyday Life*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- DuBois, Barbara (1983). “Passionate scholarship: notes on values, knowing and method in feminist social sciences.” In Gloria Bowles & Renate Duelli Klein (Eds.), *Theories of women's studies* (pp.105-117). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Durkheim, Emile. (1893/1997.) *The Division of Labor in Society*. Trans. W. D. Halls. New York: Free Press.
- Dyson, A.H. & Genishi, C. (2005.) *On the Case: Approaches to Language and Literacy Research*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Elbogen, Eric B., Fuller, Sara; Johnson, Sally C. Brooks, Stephanie; Kinneer, Patricia; Calhoun, Patrick S.’ Beckham, Jean C. (2010.) “Improving risk assessment of violence among military Veterans: An evidence-based approach for clinical decision-making”, *Clinical Psychology Review* 30, pp. 595–607
- Engestrom, Yuri. (1999). “Learning by Expanding: Ten Years After.” Introduction to the German edition of *Learning by Expanding*, published under the title *Lernen durch Expansin*. Marburg: BdWi-Verlag (Reihe Internationale Studien zur Tatigkeitstheorie, Bd. 5; translated by Falk Seeger. (pp. 1-16).
- . (1987.) “The Zone of Proximal Development as the Basic Category of Expansive Research.” *Learning by Expanding*. Chapter 3
- Enloe, C. (1983). *Does khaki become you?* London: South End Press.
- . (1990.) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . (2004.) *The Curious Feminist*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . (2007.) *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Erikson, Kai T. (1976.) *Everything in Its Path: Destruction of Community in the Buffalo Creek Flood*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Foster D. (2000.)“The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Understanding Perpetrators.” *South African Journal of Psychology* Vol 30, No.1 (March) pp. 2-9.
- Feder, Jodi. 2009. *Military Provisions Under The No Child Left Behind Act*, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC. 29 January
- Feldman, Ilana. (2007) “Difficult Distinctions: Refugee Law, Humanitarian Practice, and Political Identification in Gaza”.*Cultural Anthropology* 22(1): 129-169.

- Feldman, Allen. (1997.) *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- .(2005.) "The Actuarial Gaze: From 9/11 to Abu Ghraib. *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 March
- Foucault, Michel. (1972.) *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan-Smith. New York: Vintage Books
- .(1977/ 1995.) trans. A. Sheridan, *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Vintage Books
- .(1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972- 1977*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Franke, Linda Bird (2002.) "Women in the Military" in Ensign, *America's Military Today: Challenges for the Armed Forces in a Time of War*. New York: The New Press.
- Franke, Volker C. (2000.) "Duty, Honor, Country: The Social Identity of West Point Cadets." *Armed Forces and Society*. 26:175-202.
- Franklin, H. Bruce. (2001.) *Vietnam and Other American Fantasies*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Frantz, Steven. (2010) Developing a Comprehensive State-wide Veterans Re-Entry Education Program *Ijournal (Insight into Student Services)* No 28 Spring 2010
- Freid, Marc. (1966.) "Grieving for a Lost Home: Psychological Costs of Relocation," *Urban Renewal: the Record and the Controversy*, ed. James Q. Wilson, Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Frydl, Kathleen. 2009. *The GI Bill*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gardiner, M. and M.M. Bell. (1998.) *Bakhtin and the Human Sciences: No Last Words*. Sage Publications.
- Gardiner, S. (2013) "In the Shadow of Service: Veteran Masculinity and Civil-Military Disjuncture in the United States" *North American Dialogues* 16.2 American Anthropological Association pp. 69-79
- Gee James P. (2001). "Identity as an analytic lens for research in education." *Review of Research in Education*, 25, pp.99-125.
- Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithica: Cornell University Press
- Glantz, Aaron. (2010.) *The War Comes Home: Washington's Battle against America's Veterans*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, Erving. (1961) *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. New York, NY: Doubleday
- .(1963.) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Edgewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall
- González, Roberto J. (2010.) *Militarizing Culture: Essays on the Warfare State*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Graham, Stephen. (2010) "Countergeographies," in *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*. London and New York: Verso Press
- Gramsci, Antonio. [1971] 2005. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Translated by Q. Hoare and G. N. Smith. Edited by Q. Hoare and G. N. Smith. New York: International Publishers.

- Grandstaff, Mark.(2004.) "Visions of New Men: The Heroic Soldier Narrative in American Advertisements During World War II" *Advertising & Society Review: Advertising Educational Foundation, Inc.*
- Grossman, D. (1995/2009.) *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*. New York: Back Bay Dissertations.
- and G. Degaetano. (1999.) *Stop Teaching our Kids to Kill: A Call to Action Against TV, Movie and Video Game Violence*. New York: Crown Publishers
- Grubb, Norton, Norena Badway and Denise Bell. 2003. "Community Colleges and the Equity Agenda: The Potential of Noncredit Education." *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 586: 218-240.
- Guffey, Mary Ellen. (2010.) *Essentials of Business Communication, 8th Edition*. South-Western/Cengage Learning.
- Guttman, Matthew and Lutz, C. (2010.) *Breaking Ranks: Iraq Veterans Speak Out against the War*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hall, Stuart. (1980.) Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance. In *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism*. Paris: UNESCO.
- . (1986.) Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10 (2): pp. 5-27.
- . (1988.) "The Toad in the Garden: Thatcherism among the Theorists." In C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Haraway, Donna (1991). *Simians, cyborgs and women: the reinvention of nature*. London: Free Association Books.
- Hardy, D., & Purcell, D. (2008, August 6). "Growing Hesitancy Over a Military Test." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. Retrived from www.commondreams.org 5/4/24
- Hart, Gillian (2007.) "Changing Concepts of Articulation: Political Stakes in South Africa Today." *Review of African Political Economy No.111:85-101* ROAPE Publications Ltd., 2007
- . (2013.) *Re-thinking the South African Crisis: Nationalism, Populism, Hegemony*. Scottsville, South Africa: Univerisity of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. (2005.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hastings, Matt. "The Runaway General" *Rolling Stone* Friday, June 25, 2010.
- Hautzinger, Sarah & Scandlyn, Jean.(2013.) *Beyond Post-Traumatic Stress: Homefront Struggles with the Wars on Terror*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Hedges, Chris (2003.) *War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*. New York: Anchor Books
- Herbert, Melissa (1998.) *Camouflage Isn't Only for Combat: Gender, Sexuality and Women in the Military*. New York and London: New York University Press.
- Herrmann, Douglas, Raybeck, D. & Wilson, R. (2008, November 21). "College is for veterans, too." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, A99.
- , Hopkins, Charles, Wilson, Roland B., Allen, Bert. (2009.) *Educating Veterans in the 21st Century*. Douglas Herrmann Publications. ISSN:1-4392-3782-4
- Hobsbawm, E. & T. Ranger (1983.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoge, Charles W., Carl A. Castro, Stephen C. Messer, Dennis McGurk, Dave I. Cotting and Robert L. Koffman (2004.) "Combat Duty in Iraq and Afghanistan, Mental

- Health Problems and Barriers to Care.” *The New England Journal of Medicine*, Vol.351: No. 1. 1 July
- Holloway, Kinsey. (2009.) “Understanding Reentry of the Modern-Day Student-Veteran through Vietnam-Era Theory.” *Colorado State University Journal of Student Affairs* Volume XVIII 2009 pp. 11-17
- Holland, D., D. Skinner, W. Lachiotte Jr., and C. Cain (1998/2003.) *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- and Debra Skinner.(2001.) From Women’s Suffering to Women’s Politics. *History in Person: Enduring Struggles, Contentious Practice, Intimate Identities*. Chap. 2 Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- and J. Lave. (2001.) *History in Person: Enduring Struggles, Contentious Practice, Intimate Identities*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Holm, J. (1992.) *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution*. New York: Ballentine Books.
- Hopkins, Charles, Herrmann, Douglas, Wilson, Roland B., Allen, Bert, Malley, Lynn. Eds. (2010.) *Improving College Education for Veterans*. Booksurge Publishing.
- Humes, Edward. 2006. *Over Here: How The GI Bill Transformed the American Dream*. Orlando FL: Harcourt
- Ignatiev, Noel. (1995.) *How the Irish Became White*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Irish, H. Allen. (2007) A “Peace Corps with Guns”: Can the Military Be a Tool of Development? Chap. 4 in *The Interagency and Counterinsurgency Warfare: Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction Roles*. Ed. Joseph R. Cerami and Jay W. Boggs. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College
- Jaffee, Alexandra. (1995.) “The Limits of Detachment: A Non-Ethnography of the Military.” *National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) Bulletin* 16 (1): 36–47.
- Janowitz, M. (1973.) “The Social Demography of the All-Volunteer Armed Force.” *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 406 (1), 86-93.
- Jelinek, Pauline. “Report Estimates Half of Vets on GI Bill Graduate” Associated Press. March 24, 2014
- Jorgensen, Joseph G. and Eric R. Wolf. (1970.) “A Special Supplement: Anthropology on the Warpath in Thailand” New York Review of Books Nov. 19, 1970ISSUE ret. 4/30/14 from <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1970/nov/19/a-special-supplement-anthropology-on-the-warpath>
- Kane, T.(2007.) “The Best and the Brightest.” *American Legion* June 2007
- Katznelson, Ira. (2005.) *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold Story of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-century America*. New -York: Norton.
- Kimball, Jeffrey (2008.) “The enduring paradigm of the ‘lost cause’: defeat in Vietnam, the stab-in-the-back legend, and the construction of a myth,” in: Jenny Macleod, ed., *Defeat and Memory: Cultural Histories of Military Defeat in the Modern Era*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan pp. 233-250.
- Kirk, Gwin. & M. Okazawa-Rey. (1998/2010.) *Women’s Lives: Multicultural Perspectives*. Fifth Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Klein, Gerald, Margaret Salter, Gary Riccio, Randall Sullivan. (2006.) *Enhancing Warrior Ethos in Soldier Training: The Teamwork Development Course*. Wexford Group International, Infantry Forces Research Unit. Arlington, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.
- Klein, Joe. (2011.) "The New Greatest Generation: How young war veterans are redefining leadership at home" *Time Magazine*. 29 August: 26-34.
- Kleykamp, Meredith. A. (2006.) "College, Jobs, or the Military? Enlistment During a Time of War." *Social Science Quarterly*, 87 (2).
- (2007.) *Military Service and Minority Opportunity*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University.
- Kraines, S.J. (1945.) "The Veteran and Postwar Education" *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 16, No. 6 June, 1945. pp. 290-298 Published by: Ohio State University Press Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1976944>.
- Kraska, Peter B. (2001.) *Militarizing the American Criminal Justice System: the Changing Roles of the Armed Forces and the Police*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Kupo, V. L. (2010). Media Review: "Creating a veteran-friendly campus." *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, 47(3), 400-403.
doi:10.2202/1949-6605.6166
Available at <http://journals.naspa.org/jsarp/vol47/iss3/art12/>
- Lagotte, Brian W. (2013) *Selling the Services: Military Recruiting and Education Policy*. In J. Hall (Ed.), *Children's Human Rights and Public Schooling in the United States*. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers
- (2012.) *Turf Wars: School Administrators and Military Recruiting, Educational Policy XX(X)* pp.1-31 Nov. 2012. --
- (2010). *Gunning for School Space: Student Activists, the Military, and Education Policy*. In R. Verma (Ed.), *Be the Change: Teacher, Activist, Global Citizen*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- , & Apple, M. W. (2010). "Neoliberalism, Militarization, and Education Reform." In P. Trifonas & B. Wright (Eds.), *Critical Issues in Peace and Education*. London: Routledge.
- Lave, Jean. (1996/2002.) "The Practice of Learning" in Chaiklin & Lave *Understanding Practice: Perspectives on activity and context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J. & E. Wegner. (1991.) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lande, Brian. 2007. "Breathing Like a Soldier: Culture Incarnate." *Sociological Review*. 5 (S1): 95-108.
- Lederman, D. (2008.) "Preparing for an Influx." *Inside Higher Education*. Retrieved Nov.15, 2011 from <http://www.insidehighered.com:80/news/2008/06/06/vets>
- Lembcke, J. (1998.) *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory and the Legacy of Vietnam*. New York & London: New York University Press.
- Lepper, M. R., Greene, D. & Nisbett, R.E. (1973.) "Undermining children's intrinsic interest with extrinsic reward: A test of the "overjustification" hypothesis." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Vol. 28 pp.129-137.

- Lewis, C., & Moje, E. B. (2004). "Sociocultural perspectives meets critical theory: Producing knowledge through multiple frameworks." *The International Journal of Learning*, 10.
- Lewis, W.S.(2008.) "Serving Returning Vets." *Student Affairs Leader*, 36 (12): 4-5.
- Lifton, Robert Jay. (1973.) *Home From the War: Vietnam Veterans—Neither Victims nor Executioners*. New York: Simon & Schuster
- Lipka, Sara.(2011.) "Student Veterans: A National Survey Exploring Psychological Symptoms and Suicide Risk" National Center of Veterans Studies, Washington D.C.
- Loeb, Paul R. (1994.) *Generation at the Crossroads: Apathy and Action on the American Campus*. Rutgers University Press.
- Lucas (2013.) *Decolonizing the White Colonizer?* Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley
- Lutz, Catherine. (2004.) "Living Room Terrorists." *Women's Review of Books*. XXI (5): 17-18
- (2006). "Empire is in the details." *American Ethnologist*, 33, 593-611
- Lykes, M. Brinton. (1997.) "Activist Participatory Research Among the Maya of Guatemala: Constructing Meanings from Situated Knowledge." *Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 53, No. 4, 1997, pp. 72S-746
- Madriaga, Manuel. (2005.) "The Star-Spangled Banner, US Military Veterans and the Category of Whiteness." In: *Flying the flag: Critical Perspectives on Symbolism and Identity, Cultural Complexity in the New Norway*. University of Oslo, 24-25 November.
- Maguen, Shira & Litz, Brett. (2012.) "Moral Injury in Veterans of War." *PTSD Research Quarterly*. Vol 23, No. 1 National Center for PTSD.
<http://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/newsletters/research-quarterly/v23n1.pdf>
- Maniaty, Tony. (2008.) "From Vietnam to Iraq: Negative Trends in Television War Reporting." *Pacific Journalism Review* 14 (2) pp 89-101
- Mann, Michael (1987.) "The Roots and Contradictions of Modern Militarism." *The New Left Review* 1/162. March-April
- .(2003.) *Incoherent Empire*. London: Verso.
- Mariscal, Jorge. (2004.) "Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the War." *Next Stop Vietnam: California and the Nation Transformed*. Eds. Marcia Eymann and Charles Wollenberg. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- .(2007.) "The Poverty Draft: Do Military Recruiters Disproportionately Target Communities of Color and the Poor?" *Sojourner's Magazine*. June.
- Marlantes, K. (2011.) *What It Is Like To Go To War*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick. (1846/1978.) "The German Ideology." In R. Tucker (ed.) *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd edition. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Mendible, Myra (2008.) "Post Vietnam Syndrome: National Identity, War, and the Politics of Humiliation. *Radical Psychology*. Vol.7 www.radicalpsychology.net
- Merryfinch, Lesley . (1981.) "Militarization/Civilization." Pp. 9-13 in *Loaded Questions: Women in the Military*, edited by W. Chapkis. Washington, DC: Transnational Institute.

- Mettler, Suzanne. (2000.) *Soldiers to Citizens: The GI Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Moore, Ellen (2009.) "Art, Politics and Education: Ideological Becoming of Solidarity Activists." Unpublished paper.
- Morson, Gary S. (2004.) "The Process of Ideological Becoming." Chap. 13, Ball and Warshauer Freedman (eds) *Bakhtinian Perspectives on Language, Literacy, and Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moskos, C. C. (1976) "The Military." *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol 2. 55-77
- and Frank R. Wood. (1988.) *The Military: More Than Just a Job?* McLean, VA: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers.
- and John Sibley Butler. (1997.) *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership And Racial Integration The Army Way*. New York: Basic Books.
- , John Allen Williams & David R. Segal. (2000.) *The Postmodern Military: Armed Forces after the Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mosse, G. L. (1990.) *Fallen Soldiers: Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- (1996.) *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nader, Laura. (1997.) "Controlling Processes: Tracing the Dynamic Components of Power." Sidney Mintz Lecture. *Current Anthropology* 38(5) December, pp.711-737.
- Nagel, Joann. (1998.) "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21 (2).
- Nelson. T.S. (2002.) *For Love of Country: Confronting Rape and Sexual Harrassment in the U.S. Military*. Binghamton NY: The Haworth Press
- Nietchze, F. (1887/2006.) *On the Geneology of Morality*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Nieva, Veronica F, Susan Berkowitz & Wayne Hintze (1999.) *Career Decision-Making: Youth Futures in Context*. Westat Institute Report No. AO89363
- Noble, David F. (1977.) *America by Design: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism*. New York: Knopf.
- (1984.) *Forces of Production: A Social History of Industrial Automation*. New York: Knopf.
- O'Brien, Tim.(2009.) *The Things They Carried*. Boston: Mariner Books.
- Oliver, Kelly. (2007.) *Women as Weapons of War: Iraq, Sex and the Media*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Olshansky, Norman and Lysakowsky, Linda. (2011.) *You and Your Nonprofit: Practical Advice and Tips from the CharityChannel Professional Community*. Rancho Santa Margarita, CA: CharityChannel Press.
- Persky, K. R., & Oliver, D. E. (2011). "Veterans coming home to the community college: Linking research to practice." *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 35, pp. 111-120.
- Pratt, M. L. (1991.) 'Arts of the Contact Zone' *Profession*. [Modern Language Association](#) pp. 33-40

- Price, David H. (2003.) "Cloak and Trowel: Should Archaeologists Double as Spies?" *Archaeology*, Sept. 2003, pp. 30-35.
- (2008.) *Anthropological Intelligence: the Deployment and Neglect of Anthropology in the Second World War*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- (2011.) *Weaponizing Anthropology: Social Science in the Service of the Militarized State*. Oakland, CA: AK Press
- Ravitch, Diane. (1983.) *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980*. New York: Basic Books.
- Reeves, R. (2011.) "The New American Segregation: the Military." www.truthdig.com May 31, 2011
- Robbins, M. S. (1999.) *Against the Vietnam War: Writings by Activists*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Roediger, David. (1991.) *The Wages of Whiteness*. London: Verso Press.
- (1998.)
- Rowe, S., J.V. Wertsch, T.Y Kosyaeva. (2002.) "Linking Little Narratives to Big Ones: Narrative and Public Memory in History." *Culture & Psychology* 2002 8:96
- Rose, Nikolas. (1999.) *Powers of Freedom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sander, Libby. (2012.) "Out of Uniform: At Half a Million and Counting, Veterans Cash In on Post-9/11 GI Bill." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. March 11, 2012
- Sasson-Levy, O. (2002.) "Constructing Identities at the Margins: Masculinity and Citizenship in the Israeli Army." *Sociological Quarterly*. Vol. 43:3. pp. 357-383
- Schwartz, B. (1990). "The creation and destruction of value." *American Psychologist*, 45, 7-15.
- Scully, Diana, and Joesph Marolla. (1984.) Convicted rapists' vocabulary of motives: Excuses and justifications. *Social Problems* 31:530-44.
- Searle, John R. (1989.) "How performatives work." *Linguistics and Philosophy*, October, Vol. 12 (5) pp. 535-558.
- Segal, David R., and Mady Wechsler Segal. (2004.) "America's Military Population." *Population Bulletin*. 59 (4)
- Shane III, Leo. "Student vets say anti-military attitudes persist on campus." *Stars and Stripes* Published: January 7, 2013
- Shaw, Martin. (2012.) "Twenty-first century militarism: A historical-sociological framework." in *Militarism and international relations: political economy, security and theory*. Ed. A. Stavrianakis and J. Selby. London and New York: Routledge.
- Shay, Jonathan. (2003.) *Odysseus in America: Combat Trauma and the Trials of Homecoming*. New York: Scribner
- Shenk, Ed. J. (2010.) "Veterans Returning to College." *Ijournal (Insight into Student Services)* No 28 Spring
- Shepherd, Gordon and Shepherd, Gary. (1994.) "War and Dissent: The Political Values of the American Professoriate" *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 65, No. 5 (Sept. - Oct.), pp. 585-614
- (1996.) "War Attitudes and Ideological Orientations of Honors Directors in American Higher Education," *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 67, No. 3 (May - June), pp. 298-321
- Shepler, S. A. (2005.) *Conflicted Childhoods: Fighting Over Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone*. PhD. Dissertation University of California, Berkeley.

- Sherman, Nancy. (2011.) *The Untold War: Inside the Hearts, Minds, and Souls of Our Soldiers*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company
- Silva, Jennifer M. (2008.) "A New Generation of Women? How Female ROTC Cadets Negotiate the Tension Between Masculine Military Culture and Traditional Femininity." *Social Forces* 87 (2) December, pp.937-960.
- Sitikoff, H. (1999.) "The Postwar Impact of Vietnam." *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*. Ed. John Whiteclay Chambers II. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. retrieved from:
<http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/vietnam/postwar.htm>
- Skinner, B.F. (1953). *Science and human behavior*. Oxford, England: Macmillan.
- Smith, Rupert. (2005.) *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*. London: Penguin Books.
- Sparke, Matthew. (2004.) Political geography: political geographies of globalization (1) – dominance. *Progress in Human Geography* 28,6 (2004) pp. 777–794
- (2007.) "Critical geographies of the Global South," *The Global South*, 1(1):117-126.
- Stever, James A. (1997.) "The Veteran and the Neo-Progressive Campus," *Academic Questions*, Vol 10 Issue 1, pp. 41-52
- Sturken, M. "The Wall, the Screen, and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial." *Representations*, No. 35, Special Issue: Monumental Histories. (Summer, 1991), pp. 118-142.
- Sue, D.W. (2004.) "Whiteness and Ethnocentric Monoculturalism: Making the "Invisible" Visible." *American Psychologist*, 59:8 November, pp. 761-769
- Thomas, Marshall W. (2010.) *Safe Zone for Veterans: Developing the Vet Net Ally Program to Increase Faculty and Staff Awareness and Sensitivity to the Needs of Military Veterans in Higher Education*. Retrieved from ProQuest Digital Dissertations (UMI 3425191)
- Thompson, Edward P. (1982) 'Exterminism: the Final Stage of Civilisation', in *New Left Review*, ed, *Exterminism and Cold War*, London: New Left Books, pp.1-34.
- Tick, E. (2005) *War and the Soul: Healing Our Nation's Veterans from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder*. Wheaton, Ill.: Quest Books
- Tönnies, Ferdinand. (1887/2002.) *Community and Society*. Trans. Charles P. Loomis. Mineola, NY: Dover
- U.S. Army School Recruiting Program Handbook (USAREC Pamphlet 350-13)
- U.S. Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms Joint Publication 1-02 (Amended through 11/15/12)
- Varenne, Hervé & McDermott, Ray. (1999.) *Successful Failure: The School America Builds*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Vojdik, Valorie K. "The Invisibility of Gender in War." *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy* Vol. 9 pp. 261-270 (Summer 2003).
 Available at: <http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/djglp/vol9/iss2/6>
- Carroll, Ward. (2012.) "Are Military Hate Groups on the Rise?" *Military.com*, Sep 12.
 Ret. from: <http://www.military.com/daily-news/2012/09/12/hate-groups-and-the-military.html>
- Williamson, V. (2008.) "A New GI Bill: Rewarding Our Troops, Rebuilding Our Military." Report by the Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America. January.
- Willis, Paul. (1977). *Learning to Labour: How working class kids get working class jobs*.

- Hampshire: Gower Publication Company. Morningside Edition.
- Wilson, Michael C., Susan Berkowitz & Jerome D. Lehnus (1999.) "The Meanings of Propensity: Perspectives from In-depth Interviews." *Youth Attitude Tracking Study 1999: Propensity and Advertising Report*. Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center
- Wright, W. (1980.) "Review: Profane Culture." *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 85, No. 5 March, pp. 1312-1316
- Zambo, R. & Zambo, D. (2008). "The impact of professional development in mathematics on teachers' individual and collective efficacy: The stigma of underperforming." *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 35(1), 159-168.