Uncle Sam Wants You... to Support Your Local Army Community: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Army Community Covenant from a Genealogical Framework

Erin B. Lunday

Thesis submitted to the faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
In
Department of Political Science

Timothy W. Luke, Committee Co-Chair
Rupa G. Thadhani, Committee Co-Chair
Scott G. Nelson, Committee Member

May 3rd, 2010
Blacksburg, Virginia

Keywords: Army Family Covenant, Army Community Covenant, Critical Discourse, Genealogy, Imagined Community

Copyright 2010

Uncle Sam Wants You... to Support Your Local Army Community: a Critical Discourse Analysis of the Army Community Covenant from a Genealogical Framework

Erin B. Lunday

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the Army Community Covenant, a formal document intended to strengthen the official and unofficial relationships between U.S. Army posts in the United States with their surrounding civilian communities. Critical Discourse Analysis is applied to trace the genealogy of the verbal and visual constructs and semiotics of the document, from the rhetoric of George Washington that acculturated the Continental Army to the present day, and considering the perspectives of nationalism and familial relationships in the deliberate selection of key terminologies. This research concludes with the recognition of the documents' potential effects, both positive and negative, upon its intended participants and audience, and proposes extensions for further research in the areas of the U.S. Army and army families, as well as the perceptions of identity and struggles for representation that exist.

Dedication

For Dad,

Because of Mom.

Acknowledgements

I thank Dr. Rupa Thadhani, for her inspiration and encouragement throughout my time at Virginia Tech; she has changed the way I think for the better. Many thanks also to Dr. Tim Luke and Ms. Karen Nicholson who always knew I had it in me. I also thank Dr. Scott Nelson, for his constructive feedback to further focus and refine my efforts. I would be remiss in thanking my friends, colleagues, and mentors, Maria Bocanegra, Magfirah Dahlin-Taylor, and Sarah Surak, who never wavered in their availability, for friendship and confidences, throughout this research project. I would also like to take this opportunity in thanking the Molls, Nelsons, and Sargents for their laughter and sanity every Sunday morning; and Shane, Michelle, Kevin and Lynda Lee for listening to my stories. Finally, I thank my husband Brian for his patience, love, and support, as well as my boys for their understanding as to why Mommy was doing her homework ALL the time.

Table of Contents

List of Figures vii
List of Abbreviations viii
Chapter 1. Introduction 1
Chapter 2: Historical Background 7
Chapter 3. Literature Review and Methodology 16
A. Literature Review 16
I. The Concept of Community 16
II. Social Constructions of Community in Nation 18
III. The Role of Nationalism and Patriotism 19
B. Methodology 25
Chapter 4. Pre-9-11 Development of the Professional Army and its Community 31
A. Building a Nation: The Continental Army and General George Washington 33
B. The United States Civil War and the "healing" of a Nation 43
C. World War II –Duty Calls For The Citizen-Soldier 44
D. The Cold War and the Professionalization of the United States Army 46
E. From War to Peacekeeping 50
I. Creating a sense of Normalcy: Home basing 50
II. Recognition of Families 51
Chapter 5. Post-9-11 and the Continuing Development of the Army Community 54
A. Increase in OPTEMPO (Operation Tempo) and Lessons of the Past? 54
B. From Supporting the War to Supporting the Soldier 58
C. Creation of the Army Family Covenant 60
I. "America's Army: Strength of the Nation™" 63
II. Capitalization of Soldier and Family 64
III. Visual: A Discourse of Inclusivity? 65
Chapter 6. From Army Community to Army Community Covenant 73
A. The Army Community Covenant as a Tool for Implementation of the Army Family Covenant 73
I. "The Family Covenant symbolizes the Army's commitment to Soldiers and their Families, a national treasure" (ACC Info Paper, 2008). 73

II. "The commitment is a formal recognition of their sacrifices…" (ACC Info Paper, 2008). 74
B. The Army Community Covenant 76
I. "Support from communities through local and national programs helps keep our Army strong" (ACC Info Paper, 2008). 76
II. "Together, We…" and "We, the Community…" 77
III. Where's The Sacrifice? 78
IV. Visual: Community celebration on "Main Street" 78
C. The Garnering of Continued Civilian/Citizen Support 82
I. From the Language of War to the Broader Language of Commitment 82
Chapter 7. Different Meanings, Disparate Interpretations 83
A. Perceptions of Marginalization in the Army Community: Culture, Language, Life-style 84
B. "Cultural identity…is a matter of 'becoming' as well as 'being'" (Hall, 1989, p. 70). 85
Chapter 8. Conclusions and Recommendations 88
A. Summary 88
B. Limitations 90
C. Future Research 91
D. Conclusion 92
REFERENCES 96
Appendix A: Army Family Covenant 108
1. The First Army Family Covenant, October 17, 2007 108
2. Army Family Covenant, October 6, 2009 109
Appendix B. Information Paper for the Army Community Covenant 110
Appendix C. Army Community Covenant 113
1. Example for wide dissemination of The Army Community Covenant. 113
2. Example Armed Forces Community Covenant, April 21, 2009 114
Appendix D: Copyright Permission and Fair Use Documentation 115
1. Copyright permission from U.S. Army. 115
2. Fair Use Analyzer 115

List of Figures

Figure 1: An assembly line of pay, housing, food, and travel...complete with "native" girl (Courtesy of the U.S. Army, Copyright U.S. Army). 48

Figure 2: "They have to look up." (Courtesy of the U.S. Army, Copyright U.S. Army) 49

Figure 3: "The way they see you." (Courtesy of the U.S. Army, Copyright U.S. Army) 49

Figure 4: Army Family Strong (Courtesy of the U.S. Army, Copyright U.S. Army). Visual for the AFC was taken from a recruiting website (goArmy.com website). 69

Figure 5: The myth of the warrior as portrayed through song (Dick Clark Productions, 2009). 94

Figure 6: "It's not about the war, it's about the warrior." (Dick Clark Productions, 2009) 95

List of Abbreviations

1SG	First Sergeant – Rank of the most senior non-commissioned officer at the Company level.
ACC	Army Community Covenant
ACS	Army Community Services
AFAP	Army Family Action Plan
AFC	Army Family Covenant
AFTB	Army Family Team Building
AR	Army Regulation
AVF	All-Volunteer Force
BAH	Basic Allowance for Housing
BRAC	Base Realignment and Closure
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CONUS	Continental United States
DA	Department of the Army
DFAS	Defense Finance and Accounting Service
DOD	Department of Defense
GAR	Grand Army of the Republic
GI-Bill	Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (Education Benefits for Service members)
IMCOM	Installation Management Command
NCO	Non-commissioned officer
NMI	Northern Mariana Islands (also known as Saipan)
NSDAR	National Society Daughters of the American Revolution
OCONUS	Outside the Continental United States

USMA	United States Military Academy, West Point
VA	United States Department of Veterans' Affairs
WP-AOG	West Point's Association of Graduates (aka AOG)
WWII	World War II

Chapter 1. Introduction

In response to the multiple deployments related to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. Army unveiled the Army Family Covenant (hereafter AFC) on October 8, 2007, institutionalizing "the Army's commitment to provide Soldiers and Families – Active, Guard, and Reserve – a quality of life commensurate with their level of service and sacrifice to the Nation" (AFC Website, n.d.). Since the inception of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) in 1973, the Army is consistently being confronted by every employer's challenge: society's increasing expectation of benefits and services, not only for the employee (or soldier in this case) but also for the employee's family (or the Army family member) (Schneider & Martin, 1995, p. 21). The benefit packages that employers offer have become more important than the monetary compensation provided by the job. Although, at the local installation level, government employees have long recognized the need to satisfy the military wife to retain the soldier (Chastain, "GIs' Loved Ones Bite the Bullet," 1986), Army leadership has only recently recognized the importance of the fairly new the adage: "We recruit soldiers, but we retain families" as emphasized in a speech by the Sergeant Major of the Army in 2005 (Preston, 2005, Para. 7). In doing so, a new priority of emphasis has been placed on the Army Family.

The purpose of this research is to offer a description and explanation of the use of language in U.S. Army documents which create such an imagined community (Anderson, 2006) between two forms of society, military and civilian, that have been historically disjoined, via actual and artificial boundaries. Actual boundaries are evident physically in the form of gates and access control points existing at each entrance to the installation, guarded by security forces,

in which one must have permission to gain access. Meanwhile, artificial boundaries are more difficult to see. They exist in the language, culture and mindset of the two societies.

In a sequential evolution, the Army established the Army Community Covenant (hereafter ACC) in 2008 in order to formalize the official and unofficial relationships between the soldiers and Families associated with the military base and the local civilian government and community:

> Army leadership recognized that our Soldiers and their Families are asked to do a lot in service to our Nation. Their quality of life should be commensurate with the quality of their service. Multiple deployments have put a strain on Army Families. The Community Covenant allows communities (states, cities, and towns) across America to demonstrate their support for Service Members and their Families in this time of war – the longest in our Nation's history with an all-volunteer force. The Covenant highlights and shares initiatives which support Soldiers and their Families. Support from communities helps build resilience in our military Families who provide the strength of our Soldiers. (ACC Frequently Asked Questions Website, 2010)

The language barriers that exist are evident in acronyms and meanings due to historical context within the military tradition. When soldiers enter basic training, they are taught the language through experience and formal classroom activities and thereby begin their journey within a new culture. Meanwhile, family members either "pick up" the language through experience or they must seek out organizations and resources that are available to them (e.g., Army Family Team Building).[1] They are automatically given access to the installation as a

[1] Army Family Team Building (AFTB) is an organization led by a paid government or contracted employee and staffed by family-member volunteers that teach other spouses about the Army "way of life" and culture. It is

spouse or child of the soldier, but the onus of overcoming the barriers associated with language and culture are dependent upon them.

One example of the difference between mindset is evident within something as simple as the celebration of a federal holiday. Whereas many civilian employers do not give their employees the day off every federal holiday (e.g., Discover's/Columbus Day and Veteran's Day); however, in the military, each holiday is celebrated by the soldier receiving a four-day weekend when not deployed. This one example shows a priority of emphasis to the nation, which lies in the military culture that may no longer exist in civilian society due to local economic restraints or requirements.

The focus of this research is an exploratory and descriptive examination of the ACC, using texts and associated official documents as distributed by Secretary of the Army Pete Geren and Chief of Staff of the Army General George W. Casey to the Committees and Subcommittees of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives in their 2008 Army Posture Statement[2], and a critical analysis of its implications to the relationships between local civilian population and U.S. Army bases. The relevance of this research is a critical analysis of the ACC, which affects an inversion of the traditional relationships that existed between Army and civilian communities. Prior to the institution of the ACC, the relationship was that of Soldiers and, by extension, their families and communities, serving the Nation and its citizen-communities. The inversion codified by the ACC elevates the military community to the level of primacy; as a "National Treasure", it merits the unwavering and dedicated support of the neighboring civilian

---

divided into three courses of which the first is a basic introduction to the army life-style and the mission of the Army. The second and third courses are for family members who wish to be involved in a volunteer capacity on the installation. The management of the program falls under Army Community Services which is addressed later in the study (Ms. Kim Hooks, Dir. Fort Campbell Family Resource Center, personal communication, April 2, 2010).

[2] 2d Session, 110th Congress, 26 February 2008.

communities. This is rather troubling since, the inversion of the military and civilian communities from their respective supporting and supported roles to those embodied in the ACC can be seen as a deliberate, myopic act, initiated to compensate for the sacrifices made by the military communities in a time of war, but without regard for certain unintended consequences, as the elevation of one community necessarily castigates another to some degree.

This thesis explores four sites as objects of analysis. (1) I analyze the use of language in U.S. Army documents, such as the AFC, the ACC and the Information Paper associated with it, and its use to legitimize nationalistic and patriotic rhetoric in order to imagine, create, and build a community between U.S. Army communities of soldiers and families with the U.S. civilian communities surrounding the military installations; (2) I demonstrate how the U.S. Army creates an "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006), and group identity through language and selected visual compositions. The crucial terminology to this analysis will be military family references as a "national treasure" as applied to the ACC and how it subsumes the "ideal American" myth which historically has excluded the military community from the civilian community because it provides a necessary level of scrutiny to key terminology in the foundational, philosophical document from which the ACC emanated; (3) I describe The Army Community Covenant Signing Ceremony and how it attempts to legitimize and establish the position of community members, for both those who are included and those who are excluded from the covenant; and (4) I utilize tropes and tools from post-colonial theory to explicate the relationship that has long existed between the United States Army and its citizens due to its historically colonial background and explain how the creation of the Army was in response to some of the unique characteristics associated with those who were affected by colonization.

This lens allows us to see the perceived "uniqueness" of the American Army and its soldiers and family members. The memories of American wars, as early as the Revolution, have been filled with nationalistic rhetoric that has consistently been modified to "elevate soldiers above the body of the people" (Resch, 1998, p. 197). Moreover, these memories are collective in nature and the encapsulation of such rhetoric and how it has evolved is detailed in this research within historical context of the institution of the Army and the government.

Chapter 2 delves into a brief recent history of the formation of the ACC. This portion of the study describes quality of life issues that affected soldiers and their families and the response of the Army and civilian leadership to these issues. Chapter 3 is divided into two subsections. The first section contains a review of recent and somewhat related literature and its bearing upon existing gaps. The second section describes this study's applied methodological approach to address the shortcomings in the breadth of the existing texts. Of note are the examples employed by Foucault in his methods of Critical Discourse Analysis. In Chapter 4, I begin the genealogy of the History of the soldier and the Army family by examining the emergence of the professional all-volunteer Army prior to the events that unfolded on September 11th, 2001. The genealogical history follows patriotic and nationalistic rhetoric and actions from the inception of the Continental Army under the leadership of General George Washington followed by the continued re-invention and recognition of the warrior after the Civil War. The selection briefly examines the application of the call to duty inherent in the obligations of a citizen-soldier during World War II leading to the transformation from the draft to a professional army following the Vietnam War through the end of the Cold War. Chapter 5 examines the shift in emphasis by Army leadership from focusing on the soldier to focusing on the soldier's family due to the increase of deployments associated with a sense of permanency with the Global War on Terror in

reaction to events of September 11, 2001. This chapter will also address the previous discourses associated with soldiers and their families and how lessons of the past have created new discursive formations addressing today's soldiers and their families through the creation of the AFC. The implementation of the AFC and thereby the succeeding Information Paper leading to the creation of the ACC is addressed in Chapter 6. The analysis in this chapter addresses the challenges associated with the intended purpose of the document to improve the quality of life of soldiers and their families, an Army leader initiative and placing the onus of execution of the Army leadership's promises by civilian community members. Since both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 analyze the AFC and ACC from the perspective of textual and visual semiotics, Chapter 7 addresses how these posters, documents, and/or agreements may create conflict depending on the position of the reader as well as an additional example of the perpetuation of myths through discourse currently evident in the civilian community through popular culture in the concluding chapter of Chapter 8.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

Flyvberg connects knowledge to power and informs efforts to improve social and I would also say political life to "phronetic social science" (2007). He insists that power and political science cannot be practiced simply as episteme because political science emphasizes "the particular", "context", and "experience" (Flyvberg, 2007, p. 59). To make social science matter, and thereby in essence, make political science matter, the following four questions must be asked: (1) "Where are we going?", (2) "Is this desirable?", (3) "What should be done?", and, due to *phronesis*, (4) "Who gains and who loses; by which mechanisms of power?" (Flyvberg, 2007, p. 60). *Phronesis* "concerns the analysis of values – 'things that are good or bad for man' – as a point of departure for actions" (Flyvberg, 2007, p. 57). In other words, *phronesis* is about value judgment (Flyvberg, 2007, p. 58) and, as Aristotle emphasized, *phronesis* is about the relationship one has to society when one acts (cited in Flyvberg, 2007, p. 55). The purpose, therefore, for political science should not be to simply mirror society in our research, but also to be society's "nose, eyes, and ears" (Flyvberg, 2007, p. 60) as well as to create a social dialogue about potential problems and risks or, as Luke reveals, to expose the "dark power" (2006, p. 262, 267) that is often missed when conducting "mainstream" political science (2006, p. 254).

This research focuses on the *phronesis* rather than the *episteme* or *techne* to illuminate the sub-politics that are often hidden in current political science…small "changes" that might have escaped notice (Luke, 2006, p. 258; Flyvberg, 2007 p. 115). To do so, I draw from a variety of disciplines, not only political science, but anthropology, sociology, and history. In Chapter 3, I discuss the methodology of genealogy in more depth; however, as Flyvberg examines social science from a phronetic research approach, focusing on the questions "How?" and "Why?", I also incorporate a similar approach while focusing on a narrative inquiry. As such, there are no

"explicit theoretical assumptions" (Flyvberg, 2007, p. 137) rather, instead, the focus or interest is on one "particular phenomenon that is best understood narratively" (Flyvberg, 2007, p. 137). "The century-long view is employed in order to allow for the influence on current practices of traditions with long historical roots" (Flyvberg, 2007, p. 137).

Before delving into the "deep concrete detail[s]" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 114), a basic general overview and understanding of the development of the ACC, as presented in this chapter, provides a contextual understanding of why there has recently been a development and evolution of the importance of Army families in today's all-volunteer army. The increase in intensity to missions and the need to continue to fill the ranks of the professional army with soldiers has led to a perceived need by Army leadership to implement such a document as the ACC**.**

Since the establishment of a large standing professional Army with the beginning of the Cold War, Army communities within the United States were generally self-sufficient, providing all the shopping, groceries, medical, dental, recreation, and schools on the military installations. Relationships with neighboring civilian communities became an avenue of escape from the structured military setting and the attention and supervision of senior military leaders.

Soldiers explored the civilian community mainly for recreation…as "tourists" that did not belong, for they did not live there. Tattoo parlors, dance halls (i.e., "strip clubs"), and bars flourished adjacent to most military installations, reinforcing a disjointed relationship with the civilian community. Labels such as "townies" and "civilians" referring to non-military individuals were commonly used among the military. The civilian population next to a military installation usually referred to soldiers and their families as "those people from the Post (Army) or Base (Air Force)," while their children attending local schools off-post were sometimes

referred to as "Post Toasties." A rite of passage for some teenagers within these communities was to "roll an airman" which usually entailed attacking the soldier and beating him up. The separation between the two communities was always maintained and difficult to supersede even for those families leaving the military and settling within the community (Dr. Cathy Burns, personal communication, February 12, 2010).[3]

A demographic shift from the self-contained Army community began with a higher percentage of married soldiers and with more family members, as the service transitioned to an all-volunteer force in the 1970s (Wickham, 1983). Additionally, the military, in its constant restructuring to fit the needs of the nation, has recently restructured its installations into fewer, larger bases via the Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) commissions of the late 1980s and 1990s. This created shortages in on-post housing[4] within the installation, forcing more families to live off post[5] (Wickham, 1983, p. 3). Despite an increased presence within the civilian community, Army families still may feel isolated (Rico, "Breaking the bubble of isolation: Fort Drum offers resources for off-post communities - Part II," 2003). Housing is subsidized by the military when service members need to live off-post based on their rank utilizing what is called Basic Allowance for Housing (BAH) (GoArmy.com Benefits website, n.d.). BAH is a non-taxable entitlement paid in addition to a soldier's base pay if government quarters or housing is unavailable. As such, soldiers still tend to live in neighborhood enclaves of Army families within the greater civilian community because of the pricing in the housing market. For most, it is still convenient to shop and socialize within the military installation. Moreover, many military

[3] I, myself as a veteran, child, and wife of military members observed similar situations in addition to oral histories from soldiers and family members that I came into contact with in over thirty years of living the army life-style.
[4] On-post is defined as life on the federal military installation in dedicated housing based on rank and date of rank that is owned by the military or as in recent changes are privatized by government contract in the confines of the gated community, as defined by a geographical boundary.
[5] Off post is defined as life outside the gated community off of the military installation. Off post housing is not governed by the military, but rather by the civilian population depending on city and county ordinances.

families are exempt from certain taxes that normally would have been channeled into the local economy. As an example of this, the federal government allows the soldier to claim residency in another state for his/her "home of record," or where soldier expects to retire or settle one day for the purposes of taxing military pay and allowances (Servicemembers Civil Relief Act, 2004, Section 571). In such cases, they contribute less to taxes that support the state and local governments, and do not vote in local elections (Peck, n.d.).

Businesses in the local civilian community use past historical relationships to provide goods or services that soldiers and their families would not otherwise receive on the military installation. Sometimes, businesses have used these past relationships to exploit or take advantage of soldiers and/or their families, e.g., the provision of cash advances or "payday loans" (Schumer, 2004). More recently, however, many civilian communities, through their efforts with local Chambers of Commerce, have applied rezoning and other measures to "clean up" the plethora of bars, strip clubs, and tattoo parlors and have represented themselves as "family friendly" (Nelson, "Lack of Regulations leaves county vulnerable to sexually oriented businesses," 2004, A9).

Al Qaeda attacks within the U.S. on September 11, 2001, prompted an increase in mass deployments of the military, both domestically in support of Operation Noble Eagle and overseas in deployments to Afghanistan, Iraq, the Horn of Africa, and the Philippines, among others, increasing the use of the Reserves and National Guard, as well as more frequent and longer duration of deployments of the Regular Army (Kapp, 2005). This created a second-order impact on the military communities, because family members demonstrated a propensity to leave the area during deployments in order to return "home" to where their nuclear or extended family lived (Harrell, 2008). However, a notable exception occurred with those families living on the

military installations. This may be attributed to an older Army Regulation that stated if a house located on-post is unoccupied for more than thirty consecutive days, the occupants can be terminated (i.e., evicted) from post housing based on individual installation regulations (Department of the Army, AR 420-1, 2008), rather than to the desire to remain on the military installation during the soldier's deployment.[6]

A variety of reasons exist for military family members to leave the area. First and foremost, the family from "home" can help a soldier's spouse who is left behind during a deployment, with raising children: providing physical, emotional, and financial support; as well as, in some cases, having an extended relative of the same gender as the deployed soldier to serve as a surrogate, gender-based role model. Childcare comes at a premium during long deployments, as demand far outstrips supply, and the resulting costs are prohibitive for junior enlisted[7] military families because dual military and single parent families have priority in child-care slots, affecting a shortage of an estimated 35,000 slots across the Armed Forces (Schumer & Maloney, 2007, p. 5). For spouses without children, the support of extended family during a military deployment is still often sufficient to provoke a departure from the installation and surrounding community until their soldier returns. This "thinning of the ranks" among family members that remained on or near the installation became a problem for both Army and civilian leaders during deployments. Army leaders had difficulty contacting family members to convey vital information, and they were also unable to verify the initiation and receipt of certain,

[6] Since the multiple deployments and the signing of the AFC, many of these regulations have been changed to allow more flexibility to the service member and his or her family. Also, with privatization of housing to contractors, as long as the soldier's "rent" is continuing to be paid on allotment, the housing office does not seize the property. (Ms. Yolanda McDaniel, Chief, Housing Services Office Fort Campbell, Kentucky, personal communication, 5 March 2010).

[7] Junior enlisted is the rank of Private to Specialist or pay grade E-1 to E-4.

deployment-related entitlements by Army families (Ms. Kim Hooks, Dir. Fort Campbell Family Resource Center, personal communication, April 2, 2010).

Tertiary effects on the local civilian community by the military deployments and temporary departure of military families included a decline in the economy as businesses suffer or even fail with the loss of potential customers (Harrell, 2008). Civilian community leaders saw businesses struggle, classroom sizes contract, and neighborhoods empty. Both the military and civilian communities forged new relationships to create innovative ways to encourage family members to remain in the area or "remain local."

No matter the individual reason for leaving or staying, they all encompass one idea: quality of life. If the quality of life is agreeable, the family stays. If the quality of life is poor, then the family attempts to rectify it in any way they can, including temporary relocation from the area. This has been an ongoing issue that Army leadership has always faced for retention concerns in the AVF: You recruit the soldier, but retain the family (Preston, 2005, Para. 7). Finding ways to encourage the soldier and family to stay is done by creating a justification as to why the job is important…a value must be added. An example can be found from the Cold War film *Strategic Air Command* (Mann, 1955) where the threat of communism is personalized through the portrayal of the protagonist, a former WWII pilot who is called back to active service to fly B-36 bombers, the first delivery system for the hydrogen bomb,[8] their mission of which was to prevent war and contain the Soviet Union. Interestingly, his wife Sally fits the archetypal 50s-era wife and even though she is not happy with her husband's return to service, she is supportive and follows him, wherever the Air Force sends him. As such, the portrayal of the

[8] Of note, the lead in the film is played by Jimmy Stewart, who also flew in WWII and retired from the Air Force Reserves in 1968 as a Brigadier General (Jimmy Stewart Museum, 2006).

cohesive, patriarchal family becomes the ideal to be emulated by others in this film. Additionally, his wife Sally, as well as the pilot, believes in their mission to the point that he remains in the military and gives up his professional baseball career he was pulled from.

Even though families were beginning to follow their soldiers to Europe, Japan and Korea in small amounts through "command sponsorship[9]" and thereby forming "military communities" (Johnson, 2004, p. 195), it was not until after the Vietnam War that retaining the soldier through family support programs became an elevated priority in the United States. As a result of a variety of issues that developed early during the Vietnam War, Army Community Services (ACS)[10] began as an ad hoc service organization of senior and/or experienced Army wives helping junior and/or younger wives acculturate into the military (Moore & Galloway, 1992, p. 323), thereby improving the quality of life through education of and increased awareness of local services. When these experienced wives were first breaking ground in the social service arena, very few military men had wives or families living with them at their duty stations (Wickham, 1983, pp. 2-3). In 1965, the Army Chief of Staff for Personnel established ACS as a formalized program (Baird, 1986). Now most ACS programs are standardized across U.S. Army installations (LaFollette, 2009).

In 1983, Chief of Staff of the Army General Wickham established a panel to work with spouses and family members in order to encourage dialogue between commanders, ACS, and other government organizations. Army spouses were frustrated with their families' standard of living. Spouses volunteered their time and experience to develop a list of issues and offer solutions and recommendations for change (Army Reserve Family Programs Website, n.d.).

[9] Command sponsorship is necessary for family members to be allowed to accompany their soldiers overseas. If the installation does not have enough resources for the family member, they are not authorized and thereby the command is not "required" to give them support (Department of the Army AR 55-46, 1994, Para. 1-10 and 1-14).
[10] ACS is a social service network today that offers anything from financial counseling to family counseling to education and employment services and falls under the Family Morale and Welfare Recreation services.

These actions led to the formation of what is now an Army-wide program called the Army Family Action Plan (AFAP) (Wickham, 1983). Out of this program, over the last twenty-five years, quality of life issues have been brought to the attention of Army and civilian leadership that address the total Army, of which there have been 95 changes to legislation, 137 changes to Army policy, and 153 improvements to Army programs and services (MyArmyOneSource.com Website, n.d.). The AFC is one such response to these dialogues.

As a first step, the Army leadership introduced the AFC as a commitment towards improving the quality of life on the military installation, declaring:

> "We recognize what it takes to be an Army Family, and that our Soldiers draw great strength from their Families," said Army Chief of Staff GEN George W. Casey, Jr. "The welfare of Army Families is increasingly important to all of us," he said, adding that the Army was committed to building a partnership with Families. That partnership is embodied in the AFC. (Army Family Action Plan Website, n.d.)

Some of the promises outlined in the AFC include the standardization of Army Family Programs and services across military bases (see Appendix A and B). This effort entails that no matter what installation a soldier and his or her family move to, all of the family programs services (e.g., financial readiness services, relocation assistance, alcohol treatment programs, counseling services, etc.) are identical in the nature and scope of services provided, thereby creating a consistent expectation of services between posts and reducing the stress on soldiers and families. Other promises made by the AFC are for the Army to increase accessibility to health care, improve soldier and family housing, resolve local child, youth and school service issues, and expand education and employment opportunities for family members. All of these

AFC commitments are ultimately intended to improve what the Army calls "Family Readiness": the preparation of the family to be able to function while the soldier is deployed for training or operations over extended periods of time. The concept of family readiness is that, if the family is adequately prepared, then the soldier may focus his or her efforts on the completion of the mission.

General Casey felt it was also necessary to formalize commitments that local civilian leaders were already making to some Army installations. Hence, he initiated the development of the ACC in order to meet all the promises outlined in the AFC (Mr. Robert Hansgen, Program Analyst ACC, personal communication, October 20, 2009). As of January 8, 2010, over 200 Community Covenants have been signed across the Continental United States (CONUS), Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico (ACC Events Website, 2010, pp. 1-14) and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (Donato, "U.S. Army, NMI to ink community covenant," 2008). An additional 235 were signed in North Dakota alone (ACC Events Website, 2010, pp. 15-25). The Community Covenant Website keeps a calendar and spreadsheet of each event. Since its inception, there are already renewed commitment ceremonies emerging across the United States, of which the first one took place when the Secretary of the Army was replaced this past year. Some are being held on holidays in conjunction with veterans' parades, such as Memorial Day, Veteran's Day, and 4th of July (LeDoux, "Belvoir, Prince William County renew Community Covenant in Manassas," 2009). The Community Covenant posters have been adapted to fit the unique situation of each community who wishes to participate and the website is constantly changing and providing resources (ACC Website, n.d.) thereby allowing the potential for unlimited growth.

Chapter 3. Literature Review and Methodology

A. Literature Review

I. The Concept of Community

An examination of the ACC must first explore the concept of *community*. Contributing to our understanding of community are several important works, particularly those of Tönnies and Anthony Cohen. Tönnies distinguishes between *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) by defining *Verbindung* (association) as a thing that acts as a unit both inwardly and outwardly (1957, p. 33). He continues to frame these concepts by stating that the "relationship itself, and also the resulting association" (Tönnies, 1957, p. 33) is either *Gemeinschaft* (community) or *Gesellschaft* (society). One is intimate, private and exclusive living together (*Gemeinschaft*); the other is public life or the world itself (*Gesellschaft*). This dichotomy is by no means a new development of Tönnies: Confucius, Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, and Hegel produced similar ideas (Tönnies, 1957, p. vii) and, as such, helped establish the basis for the definitions this research addresses: specifically the concept of *Gemeinschaft* and *Verbindung* and how they relate to the development of the Army Community as well as the continued re-creation and continuation of the various associations that exist within and between the Army and civilian communities in order to maintain the notion of community.

In *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (1985), Anthony Cohen approaches community as a "phenomenon of culture" (p. 38). He introduces concepts of boundaries and symbols used to contain and distinguish identities of groups. He also determines that the "consciousness of community" (Cohen, A., 1985, p. 15) is kept alive through the manipulation of symbols which can be seen at work in the development of the AFC and ACC, the subjects of this study.

Army Community

Researchers often tend to lump together all military organizations as if they are one entity. Even though there are similarities between the United States' Armed Forces and Uniformed Services, each branch of service has a unique identity. This research focuses in particular on *Army Communities* because the ACC was created solely for those entities. This distinction is necessary as we review the existing literature that addresses the Army community and Army families. To date, examinations of Army communities have been conducted primarily from psychological and sociological perspectives with an emphasis on quantitative methodology. Although this research examines an aspect of the Army communities from an interdisciplinary perspective, several works do inform our understanding of the development of this type of community and the families associated with them.

Holly A. Mayer coined the phrase "Continental Community" when describing camp followers and the community that surrounded the Continental Army during the American Revolution in her work titled *Belonging to the Army* (1996). She traces the history of camp followers and identifies them as a unique community. "Such an assembly of both military and civilian persons, as bound together by duty, economics, or affection, and governed by military rule and custom is a community" (Mayer, 1996, p. 1). She also identifies the "Continental Community" as one where it is a mobile society in which individual members often move in and out of association, compared to other groups within society (Mayer, 1996, p. 2). A large part of her focus is on General Washington's need to create a community based on a common calling (Mayer, 1996, p. 4). Of note is the claim that success of the Continental Army appeared to be dependent on a common identity (Mayer, 1996, p. 19). The Army, as an organization during this time period, felt it vital that it reflect the "image Americans had of themselves" and the image of

their new country (Mayer, 1996, p. 31). She continues to discuss the symbiotic relationship Washington desired at the local level with the civilian community (Mayer, 1996, p. 31).

Mayer also briefly addresses the concept of the Continental Community as a company town where followers (families, sutlers and other "non-soldiers") felt an obligation to the mission as much as the military member (Mayer 1996, p. 47). This author's identification of the Army community becomes distinguishable as a unique and separate identity from the rest of American communities as early as the founding of the "United States." She briefly makes underlying connections, as addressed by Anderson, in regards to nation-building; however, she does not offer insight into how these historical examples affect Army families today.

II. Social Constructions of Community in Nation

Social constructivists emphasize the historical and social processes by which nations are created by illuminating and illustrating the discourses that are common to socially constructed or engineered nations. Similar activities can create the same outcome among institutions and bureaucracies through discursive formations with the use of rhetoric and symbols. Lazuras mentions in his work *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Post-colonial World* (1999), that "nationalism is *always* an articulatory [*sic*] formation--one which popular aspirations are both partially constructed and given voice by elite representations" (p. 188). Hobsbawm, Gellner, and Anderson address these concepts in their works, as well.

Ernest Gellner's *Nation and Nationalism* (2006) speaks to the notion that nationalism is not an awakening of the national conscious that somehow has been laying dormant, as is often implied (2000, p. 46). Rather he states that nationalism is something socially and culturally constructed that uses some (not all) of the pre-existent culture and transforms them into

something that is then addressed as being natural (Gellner, 2006, pp. 46-47). This research takes this concept and applies it at the micro-level with the social and cultural construction of the United States Army through its historical transformation. Additionally, Gellner's idea of the inventive action associated with nationalism describes how when nations are transformed, traditions are invented and "pristine purities" are restored (2006, p. 54).

Hobsbawm subscribes to this concept of socially constructed nations through invention and supports Anderson work of "imagined community" (1990, p. 59). He suggests that where an "elite literary or administrative language exists, however small the number of its actual users, it can become an important element of proto-national cohesion" (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 59). He proposes that it creates a community of intercommunicating elite, where there is exclusion from the "vernacular zone" (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 59). Secondly, that when a language is constructed rather than naturally developed, it appears to be more permanent and timeless than in reality (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 61). These concepts are used in this research to illuminate the impact the ACC has as a constructed document form a subset of the American population where the language meaning may not be evident to all parties involved.

III. The Role of Nationalism and Patriotism

The foundational element of analysis in this research is the concept of an "*imagined community*" as advanced by Benedict Anderson (2006). Anderson's definition of an "imagined community" stems from his theoretical concepts of *nation* (2006, p. 6). Similar to Tönnies' descriptions of community, he describes nations as inventions that are built through associations and relationships (Anderson, 2006, p. 7). However, where Anderson's concepts of communities differ from Tönnies and A. Cohen is through his use of "imagined political communities" and how he describes the "creation of nations." He perceives that communities are fashioned to

encourage inclusion by establishing a common bond. Much of what he discusses is a genealogy or history of the emergence of print and newspaper. He briefly addresses the emergence of common bonds based on kinship and friendship rather than shared language or culture: "Thus in world-historical terms bourgeoisies were the first classes to achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis" (Anderson, 2006, p. 77).

Anderson argues that, on a larger scale, nations are formed to affect inclusion and, as such, evoke exclusion. By doing so, an "Other" is always produced because someone is always excluded. He proceeds to say that *all* communities are imagined, and as such, should be acknowledged by the way in which they are imagined (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). Furthermore, Anderson suggests that even marginalized groups, within the concept and context of a community, will treat the nation as sacred: "Finally, it is imagined as a community, because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship" (2006, p. 7). Anderson's thoughts on the nation as being sacred help us to understand the description and the application of the term "national treasure" in referring to the Army Family in the ACC.

Potential cultural rifts between civil and military society are discussed by Feaver and Kohn (2001) in their work *Soldiers and Civilians*. The edited volume includes a variety of works conducted by the Triangle Institute for Security Studies. The value of this work to the research is its acknowledgement of a perceived gap existing between military and civilian people and that it is considered a "cultural" gap. Their study offers some insight into the perspectives of the "gap" from civilian elites and military elites based on surveys the authors conducted. Additionally, they validate the necessity of a gap between military and civilian populations

despite recent fears (as it has during other periods of conflict within the United States) that the differences have become more "ominous" (Feaver & Kohn, 2001, p. 1).

Two sections, "The People of the Army: The Military Social World" and "The U.S. Army's Impact on Local Communities: Some Explored and Unexplored Pathways," of Ryan and Nenninger's (Eds.) *Soldiers and Civilians: The U.S. Army and the American People* (1987) are of particular value to this research. The nine essays contained in these sections are brief windows into scholars who have worked with the National Archives and their perception of military members and their families, and the relationships which have existed between military and civilian communities. Of note is Finlayson's recognition of Army wives' changing roles as society transforms in "Perceptions of the Army Wife: Her Role in a Changing Society (Finlayson, 1987, p. 47). She identifies that, although the expectations of service members and leaders had changed and wives were no longer expected to participate in functions on a regular basis, they still felt some disconnect from their civilian "sisters." All of the essayists' analyses in the above works are transitory in nature; as the Army community in the post-9/11 conflict requires greater spousal participation in the community of an expeditionary force vis-à-vis the force that existed during the compilation of the above-mentioned work.

Frese and Harrell offer one of the only edited works that views the United States military culture as its own unique culture from an anthropological perspective in *Anthropology and the United States Military* (2003). They acknowledge that, in addition to standard differences of race and ethnicity, an additional divide (not seen in many other organizations) is the differences between pay grade and rank and their attached social obligations. The authors also recognize the possibility of the military member as an "oppressed group" (Frese & Harrell, 2003, p. 4) and acknowledge, as Mayer does, that one must gain access both centrally and locally due to the

closed nature of the military (Frese & Harrell, 2003, p. 5). Although Frese and Harrell's work is a compilation of varied observances of military culture from an historical and anthropological perspective, it does not provide an extensive analysis of the struggles resulting from the formation of disparate identities.

Bonds of Affection by John Bodnar (1996) creates a volume of literature that addresses the concept of patriotism and the variety of ways Americans define and address it. A common theme throughout this work is Michael Ignatieff's ideas of civic versus ethnic nationalism. Ignatieff suggests that during America's quest to create a nation from individuals with special identities, a dependency begins to form on patriotic attachments to the ideals of equal rights and democracy, thereby creating a civic nationalism (cited in Bodnar, 1996, p.6). Further examination of Ignatieff's work, *Blood and Belonging* (1995) reveals his belief that even though nationalism can be a bonding and constructive force, on the opposite spectrum, fanatic individuals, believing in the nobility of their causes and sacrifices, tend to reduce everything to ethnic identity.

Language and Symbols

The exploration of the ACC, through this research, utilizes Anderson's form of analysis in which he examines "imagined communities" through the language and symbology of nationalism, and further examines it through the language and symbology of patriotism from additional authors. The literature most relevant to the ACC is that which address the language of exclusion/inclusion and kinship. *Imagined Communities* (2006) is one of the first bodies of work that defines nationalism in respect to kinship (Anderson, p. 5).

The recognition that patriotism and nationalism are often used as synonyms (Kleingeld 2000, p. 8) is addressed in my analysis through social structures created within the United States in relation to the creation of the U.S Army and is vital when addressing and examining symbols and language associated with the two. The specific interplay on language and symbols within nationalism and patriotism is addressed by Elana Goldberg Shohamy in her book, *Language Policy* (2006). She states that "Language is used to create group membership…to determine loyalty or patriotism…" (p. xv) and further discusses the use and role of language as symbols and ideology used to create inclusion, patriotism and classification of individuals (Shohamy, 2006, p. 43). Finally, Shohamy's concept of "native-style speech" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 43) is applicable in order for both military and civilian leadership to understand that the Army has its own native speech that may not translate contextually to the civilian population as it does to the military community, even though there may exist the best intentions to communicate a universal understanding.

Patriotic Rhetoric

Maurizio Viroli, in his work, *For Love of Country*, encourages the reader and scholar to approach the study of nationalism from the perspective of analyzing what authors *mean* when invoking the term "love of country" instead of trying to define nationalism through scientific means (1995, pp. 4-5). He states that "The crucial distinction lies in the priority or the emphasis: for patriots, the primary value is the republic and the free way of life that the republic permits; for the nationalists, the primary values are spiritual and cultural unity of the people" (Viroli, 1995, p. 1). His writings suggest that the cultural and sacredness of concord of its citizens becomes the ideal of the nation by sustaining and maintaining the struggle for unity (Viroli, 1995, p. 2) and illustrates how patriotic language has been used to create oppression and

discrimination. Viroli's views on nationalism today as political patriotism (Viroli, 1995, p. 19) is a helpful concept when analyzing the military community because political patriotism deals with liberty and laws in a similar manner as the Army community.

Cecelia O'Leary's chapter, "Blood Brotherhood: The Racialization of Patriotism, 1865-1918," in Bodnar's *Bonds of Affection* (1996), furthers Anderson's notion of nation as an "imagined community" through her use of the "language of patriotism" of Civil War veterans and the need to reunify a torn nation in creating nations that are "imagined" and patriotic traditions that are "invented" (O'Leary, 1996, p. 53). Additional authors in *Bonds of Affection* (Bodnar, 1996) address the ideas of a more modern definition of patriotism where citizens earn "credit" for their loyalty to the nation. Jensen discusses pledges of "undivided loyalty" in his chapter, "Women, Citizenship, and Civic Sacrifice: Engendering Patriotism in the First World War (Jensen, 1996, p. 139). She continues to address the concept of loyalty and the expectation of reciprocity associated with duty and privileges that are and should be associated with the "act" of supporting the nation. Individuals were then able to receive or should receive "civic and social recognition" for pledging their loyalty (Jensen, 1996, p. 141).

The concept of "credit" for loyalty is further addressed by Samuel in his Chapter, "Dreaming in Black and White: African-American Patriotism and World War II Bonds" (1996, pp. 191-210). His chapter discusses how William Pickens, field director of the NAACP in 1941 and head of the inter-racial section of the Treasury, used African-Americans' desires to be full members of the imagined American community to buy war bonds and thereby "allow" them to show their loyalty to the nation, a nation that still did not allow full participation as a group. Pickens did this by appealing to their sense of connection to the past (Samuel, 1996, p. 206). This lends support to Anderson's concept of how marginalized groups feel a loyalty to a nation

"regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation" as addressed by the exploitation of African Americans (Samuel, 1996, p. 205).

Finally, Westbrook briefly addresses patriotism as loyalty to the nation in his chapter, "In the Mirror of the Enemy: Japanese Political Culture and the Peculiarities of American Patriotism in World War II" (1996, pp. 211-230), by examining the two different cultures of the Japanese and Americans of the time. Interestingly, Westbrook discusses American society's confusion and lack of understanding of the Japanese society's ability to self-sacrifice. However, this is something that "generational military" families in the United States Army have always understood. Westbrook quotes Willard Price: "We believe in living for our country. The Japanese believe in dying for their country." At this point, Westbrook believes that this forced the "rights" of the individual to be subdued as they had to create a "collective spirit" for wartime solidarity in order to defeat such an enemy (Westbrook, 1996)…which is perhaps why the military understands it. Although Bodnar (1996) uses examples of typically marginalized groups of people (e.g. women, African-Americans, Japanese, etc.) in his work *Bonds of Affection*, except for Mayer (addressed below), who implies Army Families as being potentially marginalized (at least the lower classes in the Continental Community), no literature to date creates a discourse specifically identifying the "otherness" of Army Families as a community.

B. Methodology

In this study, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is applied to study community languaging within the context of the United States Army community and their adjacent U.S. civilian communities. This project defines community in the broader context, then shifts to Anderson's (2006) definition of "imagined communities" and explains how the Army Community is, in fact, an "imagined" community. Utilizing language and terminology

components with the ACC, this study reveals the impact upon perception of exclusion/inclusion within the Army Community and civilian population.

The population addressed is the Army Community and local civilian communities that are located within the Continental United States (CONUS). Texts examined in the CDA will include the ACC and its associated materials: the AFC poster and materials, the ACC Information Paper, and the ACC poster and materials.

Current literature reviews have not examined Army families nor the language and discourses associated with them from the perspective approached in this study. The exploratory nature of this research, as both a method and theory, is interwoven throughout this thesis in a qualitative manner to explore the meaning of language and its political ramifications. This study utilizes discourse analyses of nationalism and patriotism to examine the power relationships between co-existing Army and civilian communities. It is anticipated that through examining the possible effects these documents produce, the underlying social structures are identified that may be affected by word choices often associated with nation building, nationalism, and patriotism.

This research incorporates the works of authors who ascribe to Critical Discourse Analysis and uses the lens of identity, given that nationalism is interconnected with identity. Foucault and Constructivist theorists similar to Onuf are applied, since Foucault purports the use of discourse to produce an effect in the area of the social sciences, and Onuf (2003) addresses identity through language. The written contract (or poster) associated with the ACC, as well as its associated language, is analyzed within the scope of CDA methodology and available for public debate. As such, "legitimacy is best obtained from consensus and consultation, often

achieved in public debate settings" (Grovoogui, 2003, p. 134) and its adherents "analyse [*sic*] texts from a political perspective" (Mills, 2008, p. 118).

The discourses associated with current literature that focus on military communities have dealt primarily with psychological concerns of the military member and his or her family. However, no current work has examined the genealogy of the Army and the discourses associated with it, nor how these discourses have created or impacted the social structures that exist today, specifically the Army and civilian communities. As a subtle background throughout this research I infer two tropes or tools from a Post-Colonial perspective: the concepts of "othering" and the concept of the struggle for representation.

The primary tools from Post-Colonial Discourse Analysis used herein are Said's concept of "othering" (Mills, 2008, p. 96) and the struggle for representation associated with it (Mills, 2008, pp. 96-97). Edward Said's seminal work, *Orientalism* (1979), addresses the conception of the *Other*, first introduced in 1949 by Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* (1989). Beauvoir's term was used in relation to men and women, whereas Said's conception of the Other centers around how the imperial, Western societies' scholars created the image of the Colonized and produced works that are still biased and politicized, thereby creating an Other from this perspective. This representation of the Other (the Orient) was often described either in exotic terms or negatively, allowing the Western society to have a positive and civilized image (Said, 1979, p. 20).

Said's use of strategic location and strategic formation to analyze the creation of "referential power" among those who write about an Other and the "culture at large" (1979, p. 20) provides understanding of the perceptions that have been formed by civilians who have

created the image of the soldier and his or her family, and some of the issues that arise as the soldier and his family are recreated through new programs supported by Army and civilian leadership. This tool illuminates the constant struggle over representation that existed in the "New World," specifically that of second-class citizens (in relation to British loyalists) and how the concept and myth of citizen-soldier was vital to the creation of the new nation. In that, "what is commonly circulated by it is not "truth" but "representations" (Said, 1979, p. 21). As such, by discerning how these representations came about, we might be able to understand the "truths." Secondly, it addresses the struggle over representation that existed, and still exists to this day, of the Soldier and his or her family. These generalizations and stereotypes continue to be perpetuated through the discourses associated with the ACC.

The second tool emphasized here speaks to the languaging provided by post-colonial theorists, in which Foucault's concepts of "social structures and discursive formations" (cited in Mills, 2008, pp. 94-96) are generally referenced. The four basic elements of discourse, attributed to Foucault, as cited by Howarth (2000, p. 52) structure the following research: (1) Objects – about which statements are made, (2) Places of Speaking - from which statements are enunciated, (3) Concepts – involved in the formulation of discourse; and (4) Themes and Theories – developed from the previous three. Foucault's method of genealogy provides the basic framework to create a cohesive examination of the ACC. By "getting rid" of the subject (the ACC) and examining the history that has constituted the Army, its community, and its family members, as well as the separation of the Army from its civilian components, a reconstitution of the subject is found in this historical framework, also known as a genealogy of the discourses as described by Foucault in his works *History of Sexuality* (1985, 2010a, 2010b), *Power/Knowledge* (1980, p. 117) and his essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" (2010c) as

guides. Utilizing this framework, I analyze the ways these social structures and their effects have created the Army since the days of the Revolutionary war and the discursive formations that have shaped today's U.S. Army.

Foucault and Nietzche's conceptualizations of *Herkunft* (descent, stock, ancestry, parentage or affiliation, as in kinship bonds) and *Enstehung* (emergence, birth, coming into being) (Foucault, 2010c, pp. 80-84) are utilized as the underlying reference and frame when examining the transformation and production of the soldier, the Army family and the events leading up to the signing of the ACC.

Foucault's genealogy, or as he says, "effective" history, "deals with events in terms of their most unique characteristics, their most acute manifestations" (Foucault, 2010c, p. 88) and, as evidenced through the use of this frame, is the reversal of power the ACC subsumes and the entry of the "masked other" (Foucault, 2010c, p. 88). The goal of genealogy is not to have a right or wrong answer but to allow one to think differently. To be able to understand or observe a variety of perspectives or meanings associated within constructs that occur in political history. It undoes social constructs that have been imposed on groups and individuals in the creation of identities.

The tasks when conducting genealogy are two-fold: (1) "Genealogy as an analysis of descent, is thus situated within the articulation of the body and history. Its task is to expose a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history's destruction of the body" (Foucault, 2010c, p. 83), and (2) emergence is always produced through a particular stage of forces and the analysis must delineate these interactions. In fact, "the species [animal or human] must realize itself as a species, as something-characterized by the durability, uniformity, and simplicity of its

form-which can prevail in the perpetual struggle against outsiders or the uprising of those it oppresses from within" (Foucault, 2010c, p. 84).

The document could have both positive and negative consequences for possibilities of long-term projects and fostering trust between the Army and civilian communities. As the result of these critiques, this research seeks to broaden understanding of the friction that often exists between these communities. Finally, utilizing a new framework through discourse analysis, primarily as discussed by Howarth (2000, p. 141), I propose an alternative solution as to the cause for friction that often exists between these two communities that has not, as of yet, been addressed, that of exclusion/inclusion, which is acknowledged within post-colonial discourse.

Chapter 4. Pre-9-11 Development of the Professional Army and its Community

"The army had not only to win the war, but the organization and its community were supposed to reflect the image Americans had of themselves and the hopes they had for their country" (Mayer 1996, p. 31).

This chapter examines the emergence or *Entstehung* of the professional all-volunteer Army prior to the events that unfolded on September 11th, 2001. The following genealogical history surveys patriotic and nationalistic rhetoric, both in language and action from the inception of the Continental Army under the leadership of General George Washington and continue to trace the re-invention and recognition of the warrior after the Civil War. The study briefly examines the application of the call to duty inherent in the obligations of a citizen-soldier during World War II leading to the transformation from the draft to a professional army following the Vietnam War through the end of the Cold War.

The United States Army began as a temporary institution for a specific purpose of repelling British troops from the colonies to form independence. As a temporary institution there was no need to provide for a soldier's family members[11], as it was expected that the soldier (primarily the enlisted and conscripted soldier) would be away from his family for a short period of time, given that initial enlistment contracts were only six months (Kestnbaum, 2000, p. 17). From 1776-1847, the majority were not even married, as families were considered a hindrance to the efficiency of military operations. Therefore no official recognized support was in place, and it was not until 1891 that enlisted soldiers were compensated monetarily for families (Wickham, 1983, p. 2). This continued through the middle of the 20th Century; Army Regulations stated enlistees could not be married unless they were draftees (Wickham, 1983, p. 2).

[11] There is no official definition of family member, however, for the purposes of this research, family members include spouses, children (age 23 or younger), adult dependents and other dependents who are under the age of 21 who are not spouses or children of the Soldier (e.g. a mother, father, brother, sister, etc. who is dependent upon the Soldier's income). (Department of Defense 2008)

However, as the Army transformed from a model of a highly trained cadre with an ability to expand during time of war, as envisioned by Calhoun (Stewart, 2004, p. 162) to that of a large standing professional army following the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War, military service changed from a short stint of civil obligation expected of citizen-soldiers into a long-term professional career. This change became complete through the discontinuation of the use of the draft after the Vietnam War with a large-standing Army as a permanent fixture and institution, replacing conscripted forces with the AVF. As the military matured, no longer comprised of 17-20 year old conscripts, voluntary service required incentives to recruit, retain and offer a sense of stability measures to soldiers and their families.

In today's Army, the challenge is even greater to retain soldiers. With multiple deployments associated with the "Global War on Terror," soldiers and family members are being asked to "bear the burden of war for our nation" (ACC Info Paper, 2008). They find it more difficult to relate to their civilian counterparts (e.g., neighbors, colleagues, business associates) as they see that their counterparts' lives have barely changed since 9/11, while theirs is in constant upheaval. In response to these concerns made by Army Families to Army leadership, the AFC was established to validate the feeling Army families possessed in an effort to show families that the leadership supported them and would do everything they could to continue to show them their support. However, the AFC still failed to address the perception of inequality that existed outside the purview of the military leaders; that of the local civilian community, as well as the rest of the 99% of the American population not currently serving in the Armed Forces (Department of the Army, "Demographics", 2008; United States Census Bureau, 2010).[12]

[12] Based on 2008 Demographics of the Total Force -3,553,014- which includes DoD Civilians, Active Duty, Coast Guard, Ready Reserve, Retired Reserve, and Standby Reserve (Department of the Army 2008) divided by the

This failure, seen through the genealogy discourse of Howarth: "begins with the problemitization of an issue confronting the historian in society, and then seeks to examine contingent historical and political emergence" (2000, pp. 72-73). Despite the "lowly origins" and "play dominations" (Foucault, 2010c) that have produced the AFC (the genealogy of which will be discussed later in this paper) and the historical formation of the United States Army in conjunction with the building of a nation, it was necessary to create a covenant with the civilian community and its leaders: the ACC. The establishment of the ACC to bridge barriers between civilian and military community exemplifies similar techniques General George Washington used within the Continental Army to create a sense of community therein. Threads of similar language created persistent myth building or myth making to continue the transformation and continuity of the U.S. Army from its initial conception to call for arms in times of War (specifically, the Revolutionary War and World War II) to the apparent permanency of both the Cold War and the Global War on Terror as the force has changed from the combination of volunteers, conscriptions, and draftees to an all volunteer force.

A. Building a Nation: The Continental Army and General George Washington

"The central issue, then is…to account for the fact that it is spoken about, to discover who does the speaking, the positions and viewpoints from which they speak, the institutions which prompt people to speak about it and which store and distribute the things that are said" (Foucault 2010a, p. 299).

Following the signing of the Declaration of Independence, there was an air of excitement associated with the "call to arms." Militia men would stand to arms and prepare themselves to defend their local geographic space within their state. The challenge came that as the war dragged on; the initial excitement began to wane. By creating the Continental Army from the militia volunteers and establishing an institution supported by Congress, revolutionary leaders

---

population – 308,919,722- as shown at the US Census Bureau's website (http://www.census.gov) as of 23 March 2010. If instead we pull just from the Active Duty and Active Coast Guard, the percentage would be .5%.

and military commanders hoped to revitalize the people for political purposes (Kestnbaum, 2000, p. 13). These political purposes were to force an expressed political commitment as citizens. (Kestnbaum, 2000, p. 13; Washington, 1783b, para. 6).

"American elites have always faced the problem of creating a nation, a people with a common sense of we-feeling, from ethnically and culturally diverse group" (Citrin, et al., 1994, p. 5). If the community is symbolically constructed, in that it is a system of "values, norms, and moral codes" which help establish a sense of identity to its members (Cohen, A., 1985, p. 9), then in order to create the common sense of "we-feeling", similar symbolic constructions must occur in the Army as community. It is important to understand and apply the concept of community in respect to the role it played in the Continental Army because the roles we see today are not all that different than those first concepts constructed during the American Revolution by General George Washington.

The idea of community is anything but all-inclusive. Communities are fashioned to encourage inclusion by establishing a common bond for one particular group. Anderson argues that, on a larger scale, nations are formed to affect inclusion and, as such, evoke exclusion. By doing so, an "Other" is always produced because individuals and/or groups are always excluded. He proceeds to say that *all* communities are imagined and, as such, should be acknowledged by the way in which they are imagined (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). To create communities, there are always boundaries as to who is allowed membership, who meets the requirements and who will be invited into the community. As such, military service had been the shared common experience by many male citizens and garnered that "we-feeling" prior to the inception of the AVF and, as an extension, part of a community.

When observing the Continental Army as the first use of the bonding experience in the United States Army, the Army had indeed been a temporary community. Officers and soldiers had expectations to return to their homes and families. Simply signing up to join the Army in defense of their country, whatever their real motivations were, was enough of a requirement to belong to the Army. Many of the first officers did not come from one particular class or "social stratum" (Kohn, 1970, p. 217). "Coming almost exclusively from the "middling classes," the vast majority were freehold farmers and tradesmen, with some number of professionals and bourgeois in their ranks but primarily serving as officers. It was they who, in social terms, made the Continentals respectable; it was they who embodied the defense of liberty and property." (Kestnbaum, 2000, p. 17) However, this only addresses the officer corps, who was but a small percentage of the total force. Additionally, the Army had and consisted of "camp followers" composed of families, mistresses, prostitutes, tradesmen (and women) and sutlers, of which some were local civilians (Mayer, 1999, p. 6).

With the camp followers, we see the Continental soldiers and those surrounding them as the first U.S. Army Community; or as Mayer has coined: the "Continental Community" (1996). The Army Community set itself apart from the local communities because of the very "heterogeneity that allowed it to represent a national community" (Mayer, 1996, p. 1). Local communities tend to be more homogeneous either through faith, language, or common goal for the local area (e.g. farming or industry), while the Army community was a compilation of individuals from a variety of different areas, thrown together for the common goal of defense. It is an extremely mobile society, where it is one of the few associations in which individuals may come and go (Mayer, 1996, p. 2). However, what Mayer does not address is that, even though members may come and go, the shared experience while in the association is one that remains

with its members beyond the time of service and belonging within the community. The *Verbindung* (union or closed unity as adopted from Tönnies (1995, p. 191)) truly becomes binding.

Tönnies addresses this concept of community as *Gemeinschaft*: "The relationship itself, and also the resulting association, is conceived of either as real and organic life-this is the essential characteristic of the *Gemeinschaft* (community); or as imaginary and mechanical structure – this is the concept of *Gesellschaft* (society)" (1995, p. 33). Perhaps the hope of the revolutionary leaders was that the *Gemeinschaft* established in the Army Community (as citizen soldiers) would carry over to *Gesellschaft* in the fledgling nation that was beginning to form.

By creating the Continental Army and hence the groundwork for what would essentially become the American military establishment, Washington tried to build and create a community based on common interests and calling of what was then known as "the Patriot" (Mayer, 1996, p. 4; Washington, 1783b, para. 4). This concept is important to understand because it was an idea intended to create union from disunity. There was often unrest among the ranks due to friction between soldiers from different provinces and class. He was so concerned that this infighting would destroy the Army that he published General Orders (August 1, 1776) stating so:

> It is with great concern, the General understands, that Jealousies &c. are arisen among the troops from the different Provinces, …which can only tend to irritate each other, and injure the noble cause in which we are engaged, and which we ought to support with one hand and one heart.

He continues further,

> That the Honor and Success of the army, and the safety of our bleeding Country, depends upon harmony and good agreement with each other; That the Provinces are all United to oppose the common enemy, and all distinctions sunk in the name of an American; to make this honorable, and preserve the Liberty of our Country, ought to be our only emulation, and he will be the best Soldier, and the best Patriot, who may come: Let all distinctions of Nations, Countries, and Provinces, therefore be lost in the generous contest, who shall behave with the most Courage against the enemy, and the most kindness and good humour [*sic*] to each other—If there are any officers, or soldiers, so lost to virtue and a love of their Country as to continue in such practices after this order; The General assures them, and is directed by Congress to declare, to the whole Army, that such persons shall be severely punished and dismissed the service with disgrace.

For Washington, patriotism was this obligation of unity for a common cause and failure to live up to this sense of duty was disgraceful to being an American. By addressing distinctions of Nations, Countries, and Provinces and asking soldiers to lay those aside, he created "America's" Army, in essence homogenizing the group into one through the idea of patriotism.

He was adamant about being less dependent on the militia as the militia loyalty was to a province, not to the new nation as a whole. Washington realized the importance associated with a contract and obligation in which national leadership would have to play a part (Mayer, 1996, p. 4). Through creating a unified Continental Army banded together through a unity of purpose, he could rely on the militia's less, or so he thought. By formalizing the relationships, it became a legally binding document, that when patriotic stirrings no longer existed due to the reality of the situation, the soldiers' obligations could be reminded by the signing of the contract. As the war continued, General Washington continued to struggle to keep the Army intact. He realized that

he needed to devote more attention to the suppliers and camp followers surrounding the soldiers because he realized that they affected the force. They could either hinder or aid the force, and he needed their support to make the force fit to fight (Mayer, 1996, p. 30).

By November of 1775, Washington noticed the "lack of public spirit" that was leading to the disintegration of his Army. He criticized the "dirty, mercenary Spirit" that penetrated throughout and that "…there must be some other Stimulus besides Love for their Country, to make men fond of Service" (cited in Mayer, 1996, p. 31). He concerned himself so much with this that, in a letter to John Banister, a friend and Congressman on the Committee of Arrangements for the Continental Army (Colonel John Barrister Chapter of the NSDAR, n.d.), he wrote:

> We must take the passions of Me, as nature has given them, and those principles as a guide, which are generally the rule of action. I do not mean to exclude altogether the idea of patriotism. I know it exists, and I know is has done much in the present contest. But I will venture to assert, that a great and lasting War can never be supported on this principle alone – It must be aided by a prospect of interest or some reward. For a time it may, of itself, push men to action – to bear much – to encounter difficulties; but it will not endure unassisted by interest (Washington, 1778).

Washington recognized that by providing not only what was necessary for battle, but also for the soldiers' necessities in life, cohesion and loyalty would emerge and follow suit (Washingtion, 1783b; Washington, 1783a). Ironically, even though the Army Community developed around the clash of core values of duty and self-interest (recognized and satisfied to some measure by leader obligations), recruiters then and today still expound on the nobility of

sacrifice (Mayer, 1996, p. 32). But it is not only the recruiters who continue this rhetoric. It is also the legislators, Congress, and the commanders-in-chief that never let the nation or Army forget that "theirs is a sacred endeavor" (Mayer, 1996, p. 33). Presidential speeches from Washington up through Lincoln, Reagan and Obama are filled with imagery of American wars and the history of sacrifice and the endurance of the American people (Washington, 1789; Lincoln, 1865; Reagan, 1981; Obama, 2009; Obama, 2010).

The fighting force was an Army built upon patriotic symbols and sentiment. A variety of feelings supported it: pride, anger, stubbornness, and even coercion and discipline. Most were joining to fight the "Sons of Tyranny" (Mayer, 1996, p. 18). The idea of the "Sons of Tyranny" was created to provide an Other to engender a sense of "us" vs. "them:" "us" as noble and right Americans, "them" as the tyrannical and oppressive British. The increasing threat and shared experience equaled a growing sense of unity and community among people belonging to the Army. "That development, in turn, tied into a growing identification with the nation" (Mayer, 1996, p. 18).

"Thus, although the American soldier had once been only a citizen, and would again be only a citizen, and fought to remain a citizen, he could not, while he was a soldier, always conduct himself as a citizen might" (cited in Kestnbaum, 2000, p. 17). During this time, the classification of *citizen* did not fit every individual residing in America. Rather the majority were *non-citizens:* such as slaves, servants, women, Native Americans, immigrants from other nations, "and other marginal and excluded populations" (Devilbiss, 1990, p. 12). As such, the myth and discourses associated with the citizen-soldier was essential to propagate in order to create the illusion that the Army was an organization comprised of citizens for continued citizen support as well as the implication of possible citizenship attainment.

The American people never wanted a large standing army. They had seen the realities associated with the professional standing armies in Europe and considered such an institution a potential threat to liberty (Dunlap, 1994, p. 347). Therefore, not only was it imperative that civilians control any professional military forming in the new nation; it became a critical issue (Dunlap, 1994, p. 345). By encouraging officers, soldiers, and their followers to associate personal desires with national interest, or at least subordinate their personal interest to that of the nation's, Washington created a separation of this group from society through the modification of personal behavior for the public good. Washington averted a conspiracy in his 1783 address to his officers in Newburgh, New York by appealing to their "unexampled patriotism and patient virtue" (Washington, 1783, Para. 9). The potential coup was the antithesis of the concept of "citizen soldier" and, as such, the creation of an army and the development of its community by Washington produced an authoritarian sub-society that caused dismay and distrust by many Americans (Mayer, 1996, p. 69).

Yet one wonders if from Washington's perspective that without the discipline and care he gave to his troops, those fears of civil society would have been realized. Machiavelli's text in *Art of War* (2008), would appear in connection with those concepts:

> And, if in any other institutions of a City and of a Republic every diligence is employed in keeping men loyal, peaceful, and full of the fear of God, it is doubled in the military; for in what man ought the country look for great loyalty than in that man who has to promise to die for her? In whom ought there to be a greater love of peace, than in him who can only be injured by war? (p. 6)

Even in today's Army, whenever a soldier or officer re-enlists or receives their commission, they are reminded that their loyalties, with their oath of office, are given not to a particular commander or leader, but to the Constitution of the United States (Department of the Army, 2005, Para. 1-44). By taking an oath to support and defend the Constitution, a soldier accepts responsibilities to which the rest of society is not obligated to uphold. The soldier agrees "to limit his or her freedom to come and go in order to be available on short notice as readiness demands. Soldiers also subordinate certain freedoms of expression to the needs of security and disciplined organizations" (Department of the Army, 2005, Para. 1-65). The United States Army was among one of the first in the world that took an oath to "support and defend the Constitution" of the United States, not the United States itself nor the leader of the country, even though the President is the Commander-in-Chief of the forces (Oath for Commissioned Officers, 1959; Oath of Enlistment, 1962; The U.S. Constitution, 1787, Art.II, Sec. 2).

Washington determined who, from soldiers, families, and business, might be allowed into the Continental Community. He also determined where it would be located and how it would operate. He and his commanders decided everything from religion and justice to food and hygiene (Mayer, 1996, p. 69). It was clear that to belong meant conforming to a specific ideal and standard. Much of these actions were evident in 18th century regimental military doctrine – the commander as master. However, Washington allowed the inclusion of soldiers' families much more so than was usually permitted. Washington understood even during the Revolutionary period that men stayed in the service when their families could be supported. For when they could support their families, their families would support them. "The army depended on them [enlisted wives and camp followers]... to help cook the food, clean the shelters and clothing, and act for the good of their country" (Mayer, 1996, p. 152).

Since the Continental Army was disbanded to less than 100 soldiers, how do the associations and relationships continue as soldiers return to the farms, shops, and pre-war way of life? The answer to this question may be reflected in Foucault's historic-political questioning of how an "historical network" both creates and becomes part of a discourse and how languaging and behavior patterns are "put into discourse" (Foucault, 2010a, pp. 298-299). The stories of bravery and battles were told when veterans would meet at small gatherings. Sometimes the stories were accurate, at times embellished, but what was most important was the continuation of the relationship. They started with small organizations with one of the first being the Society of the Cincinnati formed in 1783 by former officers of the Continental Army (Rockoff, 2006, p. 4). Their goals were not only to continue the companionship and camaraderie formed by their war experience, but to also band together to create a reminder to the government to fulfill promises of back pay and pensions (Rockoff, 2006, pp. 6-7). These back pay and pensions were hard fought by Washington, for in order for soldiers to uphold their end of military obligations, Washington felt it his duty to ensure the government uphold its end in the fledgling nation. "Symbolic rewards can be tied to the level of external threat, that is, the state's capacity to increase artificially the demand for its protection services by exaggerating external threats: the greater the threat to the nation's existence, the more military sacrifice is seen as worthy" (Levy, 2007, 190).

Nations are inventions that are built through associations and relationships (Anderson, 2006, p. 7). Similarly, even though Stalin's definition of a nation is not without flaw, an examination of it and how it relates to what occurred with the formation of the Army is useful in identifying portions of the creation of an imagined community within the United States Army. Stalin stated, "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life a psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture" (cited in

Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 5). As such, the Army as an institution has historically evolved in a stable community of language with its own community of culture. Hobsbawm stresses concepts from Gellner, specifically that of the elements of "artifact, invention and social engineering which enters into the making of nations" (1999, p. 10). So, now we have come full circle back to Tönnies' concepts of *Verbindung*.

B. The United States Civil War and the "healing" of a Nation

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the fight as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations" (Lincoln, 1865).

When attempting to reunify the divided nation following the Civil War, the United States endeavored to re-imagine itself by inventing new patriotic traditions, particularly through the veterans of the Civil War (O'Leary, 1996, p. 53). The celebration of Memorial Day was one of these traditions, representing an evolution from the personal practice of commemorating a death of a loved one, not dissimilar to a regional practice in the formerly confederate states, but with a unifying purpose as well, that was later adopted at the national level. It was first nationally observed on May 30, 1868 when flowers were placed on the graves of both Union and Confederate soldiers in Arlington Cemetery by Maj. Gen. John A. Logan, then head of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), a Union veteran organization with his General Order# 11 (U.S. Department of Veterans' Affairs, n.d.). The creation of the United States Military Academy's (USMA) Association of Graduates (AOG) is another example of an association created due to post-Civil War reunification efforts for officers (Forman, 1950, p. 132). The discourses characterizing soldiers and their actions in battle as entities of valor, regardless of affiliation with North or South, replaced the discourses of "patriotic struggle" for racial equality used in the

North to encourage support for the war and disappeared from the Nation's memories (Bodnar, 1996, p. 12; O'Leary, 1996, p. 5).

The military profession is intentionally different than most other professions. It potentially demands the sacrifice of one's life. In most modern states military service has also become analogous of citizenship and rights within society. Very few other professions can claim this status in which short term service can lead to long term rewards in the nation (Levy, 2007, p. 191). This common demand creates a bond between soldiers within a nation, but also a mutual respect for the enemy's soldiers. For when wars are over, mutual respect allows the renewal of relationships between nations. This bond was crucial in the repair of the nation following the Civil War: an importance to distinguish the soldier from the nation's government. President Lincoln understood the importance of continuing the discursive construction of the warrior as sacred in his words to the nation as seen above: "to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan" (Lincoln, 1865) and not to distinguish between those who sacrificed who were from the North or from the South, but in the battle.

C. World War II –Duty Calls For The Citizen-Soldier

One of the most important elements that need to be addressed in today's professional Army is the cultural difference between the military and civilian mind-set and perspective. The civilian believes in living for his country; the soldier believes in dying for his country. President George W. Bush reinforced this civilian mind-set when, instead of giving a speech for a call to arms after the attack on 9/11 during an address to employees at the Chicago O'Hare airport, he encouraged people to travel, to shop, to spend money, in essence to live (Alexander & Kraft, 2008, p. 1084).

During World War II (WWII), Westbrook explains the confusion that Americans, as a society, had in understanding the concept of the Japanese ability of self-sacrifice-the Japanese were a very militant society compared to Americans (1996, pp. 211-230). Westbrook quotes Willard Price: "We believe in living for our country. The Japanese believe in dying for their country." However, this is something that "generational military"[13] families in the United States Army have always understood. When fifty-percent of able-bodied American men were called up to serve in the military during World War II, Westbrook believes this forced the rights of the individual to be subdued as they had to create a "collective spirit" for wartime solidarity to defeat such an enemy (Westbrook, 1996).

This returns us to a previously addressed item: that of symbolic rewards. Since WWII, it has been a challenge to create the illusion of external threats so terrifying as to mobilize the entire nation. Granted, the idea of the domino effect of Communism filled that void for some time and justified the lack of complete downsizing of the standing army. Americans were pleased with their victories in Europe and the Pacific and the continued occupation of Germany and Japan allowed the U.S. to recover from their own economic problems back home by creating jobs overseas through the establishment of military bases. Its "distinct way of life" is also "a network of economic and political interests tied in a thousand different ways to American corporations, universities, and communities" (Johnson, 2004, p. 5). They could see the outcomes of rebuilding efforts in both theaters. It became a challenge to find jobs for all of the returning soldiers, and programs such as the GI-Bill were established to reward soldiers for their service (both a symbolic reward as well as a monetary reward) and to help them assimilate into civilian

[13] I have coined the phrase "generational military" to refer to soldiers and or family members who have grown up as a military child and followed a mother or father into the service, thereby creating generations of military that are accustomed to the traditions and life-style or "way of life" in the Armed Services.

life (U.S. Department of Veteran Affairs, 2009). The American people were proud of their soldiers' conduct, and they saw military sacrifice as worthy. The myth of the soldier was secure.

D. The Cold War and the Professionalization of the United States Army

"to search instead for instances of discursive productions, of the production of power, of the propagation of knowledge…" (Foucault, 2010a, p. 300).

The change in the relationship between U.S. civilians and their military neighbors did not occur with the initial onset of the Cold War through the establishment of bases in Germany in Japan, as the majority of soldiers were draftees and as such did not expect the type of military community that is established through an institutional memory of entitlements and privileges of families that exists today. Rather, the turning point for many Americans and soldiers alike was the Vietnam War as soldiers felt a sense of distrust of the average American citizen due to the often misdirected war protests towards the soldier and his or her family members. Even though many soldiers did not agree with the politics of the country at the time, and many did not agree with deploying and fighting in Vietnam, many felt betrayed by American citizens when they returned home. Most of the soldiers who volunteered to go went because they were products of a generation of World War II veterans who had returned home as heroes from saving the world and the ensuing honor in serving one's country as an expected obligation.

However, when the Vietnam Veterans returned, they found a portion of the population who were angry at the government and projecting it out on them as soldiers (Wikler, 1990, p. 104; Greene, 1990, p. 11). The Vietnam War was an unpopular war that had dragged on for over ten years and the perception that the American people had lost interest or hope at a successful outcome predominated. Additionally, as time went on, there was a misperception that the demographics of the soldier had changed and created some myths that circulated depicting

soldiers as “baby killers,” “drug addicts,” and “criminals.” The Vietnam War and its soldiers have been the subject of thousands of newspaper and magazine articles, hundreds of books, movies and television documentaries. These myths portrayed by non-military about military members were based on assumptions that became perceived fact due to the political posturing, unprecedented media coverage, access, and associated discourses. The majority of discourses have inaccurately portrayed those assumptions about the soldiers and their conduct in the Vietnam War as being facts (Nixon, 1984). Many Vietnam Veterans have spoken out and are still attempting to change these assumptions through their own books, speeches, studies and think tanks (Burkett, 1998; Burns, 2002; McCaffrey, 2009). However, at the end of the Vietnam War and the beginning of the AVF in 1973, military discourse turned from its historical links of patriotism and nationalism. This change threatened the all-volunteer Army and prompted new discursive products aimed at building a professional army.

The first slogan for the all-volunteer Army, "Today's Army wants to join you” was the very first slogan targeting the new all-volunteer Army in the early 1970s followed by "Be all you can be" in 1981 (Burlas, “Army Gets New Slogan, Logo,” 2001). “Be All You Can Be” was the Army’s well-known slogan for almost twenty years before Army leadership developed, “An Army of One”[14] (Burlas, “Army Gets New Slogan, Logo,” 2001). Finally, in 2006, after only five years, the new slogan became “Army Strong” (Boyce, “U.S. Army Announces New 'Army Strong' Advertising Campaign; National Advertising Begins Nov. 9,” 2006).

[14] Interestingly, for Hispanic target audiences the phrase was “I Am The Army” (Burlas, “Army Gets New Slogan, Logo”, 2001).

Figure 1: An assembly line of pay, housing, food, and travel...complete with "native" girl (Courtesy of the U.S. Army, Copyright U.S. Army).

During the 1980s most of the "Be All You Can Be" commercials focused on learning a trade, earning comparable pay (to their civilian counterparts), receiving college money, traveling, and receiving subsidized housing (See Figure 1) [15]. When "Army of One" was launched, it focused on the 212 jobs available (Dao, "Ads Now Seek Recruits for 'An Army of One'," 2001), appealing to the concept of job progression and with less of a focus on war and more on peacekeeping opportunities. When watching one of the latest ad clips from the "Army Strong" campaign, entitled "The Way They See You," the script is most telling: it says that some see the U.S. soldier as defenders, as leaders, as friends, as a helping hand, "but no matter how they see, they have to look up…have the strength to change how people see you. There's strong, then there's Army Strong" (See Figure 2).[16] Not once do they mention war, other than in the capacity of defense; instead, the images tend to show a soldier carrying water with children beside him, more of a peace-keeping and nation-building role (See Figure 3). The idea behind most recruiting commercials is to encourage people to join to improve one's self, to become a part of something better than they are, to be looked up to. Army leadership was left with the question of

[15] For commercials see the following YouTube links: "Be All That You Can Be", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DDbNtFL2TUI, 1994, accessed April 20, 2010; "The Army Wants to Join You", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ANri2oLWjms, 1973, accessed April 20, 2010; "Be All That You Can Be", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QplWbNg57h4, 1986, accessed April 20, 2010; "Army of One", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OSsPOC4xZNM, 2004, accessed April 20, 2010.

[16] To view the video, go to the following site: "Army Strong", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g3Z8dKJv814, n.d., accessed April 20, 2010.

how to retain the family, once you recruit the soldier. The Army leadership is hoping that programs like the AFC and ACC will help with this.

Figure 2: "They have to look up." (Courtesy of the U.S. Army, Copyright U.S. Army)

Figure 3: "The way they see you." (Courtesy of the U.S. Army, Copyright U.S. Army)

The military has to draw in approximately 200,000 people a year (Sacket & Mavor, 2003, p. 219). Unlike in a civilian corporation, the people volunteering need to meet high standards of physical and mental capabilities, high moral standards, and age limits that a regular civilian organization would not focus on (Sacket & Mavor, 2003, p. 219). In that sense, the Army is not an equal opportunity employer. Due to the intense physical requirements, one could almost compare the Army to a professional sports team, so you want to recruit the best players possible.

In a survey conducted by the National Research Council (Sacket & Mavor, 2003), regardless of the public confidence in the military as an institution and its leadership, very young people do not see it as an potential option following high school (2003, p. 219). In the past, potential recruits would have had a family member with military experience they could ask questions of, but now they get most of their information from pop-culture (Sacket & Mavor, 2003, p. 223). The Army needed to create a "package" or offer that would appeal to young people who meet the requirements, just as an athletic scout and coach offer packages to professional athletes to entice them to come play for their team.

E. From War to Peacekeeping

I. Creating a sense of Normalcy: Home basing

The concept of "home basing" was initially established to create a sense of normalcy for the soldier and his or her family (Rohall, 2005, p. 2). The installation has always served as an "anchor" for Soldiers and their Families (Rohall, 2005, p. 2). As noted in a 1956 version of the *Officer's Guide*, "The officer and his family are members upon arrival at a station of the social and cultural life of the military community. This feeling of "oneness" or "belonging" is a natural outcome of the singleness of purpose of the military mission on which all are engaged. It is enhanced by the fact that the problems are within one military home, where the hopes and expectancies, even fears, are similar to those in other military homes" (Military Service Publishing Company, 1956, p. 236). When you ask an average American citizen where they are from, they generally respond with the name of a town or region. When you ask a soldier or their family, depending on how long they have been attached to the Army, they may respond with the installation or base they are currently serving at or a list of places at which they have been stationed (Rohall, 2005, p. 2).

As discussed earlier, the "Continental Community", as coined by Mayer, transformed over time to what has become the Army Community. The historical discourse and references of the development of the community to this point has been necessary to demonstrate the emergence (or *Entstehung*) of camp followers into a unique community: the Army Family. "Such an assembly of both military and civilian persons, as bound together by duty, economics, or affection, and governed by military rule and custom is a community" (Mayer, 1996, p. 1).

The success of the Continental Army was truly dependent on the ability to create a common identity, whether real or imagined (Mayer, 1996, p. 19). The continuation of the community has been in part by the myth of a common calling as initiated by General Washington from the inception of the Continental Army (Mayer, 1996, p. 4). The first step in creating the common identity first needed to be addressed through a disciplined force. Von Steuben's introduction to the Army at Valley Forge in the winter of 1778 created an opportunity to change the Army from the known British system to an Army based off of the 18th Century Prussian model of discipline. Von Steuben began by taking 120 men from the line and making them the example of what was expected of Continental Army soldiers (Doyle, 1913, p. 89). Meanwhile, Washington continued to impress upon Congress that the Army as an organization reflect the "image Americans had of themselves" and the image of their new country (Mayer, 1996, p. 31). The need to affirm that the future of the Army and American way of life were tied together formed the desire to reflect the image that Americans have of themselves.

II. Recognition of Families

The historical examination of Washington's interaction with camp followers shows that General Washington understood that without camp followers, and thereby soldiers' spouses, the laundry, cooking, sewing, and other such everyday tasks would not have been attended to. He

valued camp followers so long as they did not distract from the mission and realized that to prohibit their contact would have been demoralizing to the troops in an already desperate and tenuous situation. Washington took care to create a fine balance between acceptance of the followers and staying on task with his mission to train and lead an army. Even though, he desperately depended on Von Steuben's Prussian expertise to train his army at Valley Forge, he remained ever cognizant that *he* was their leader (Doyle, 1913, p. 82). As such, he realized that the soldiers were comprised of volunteers and those camp followers who were family members of the common soldier may not have had food or money to live while their soldier was off fighting and, by following the troops, many were able to earn some money, subsist, and even contribute within this community. Washington took great pains to ensure soldiers' pay and compensation were fulfilled even as President (Washington, 1783b, Para. 5; Grizzard, 2000, Para. 11; Kohn, 1970, p. 190) and fought to ensure women who served and the widows of those who served would be taken care of (Washington, 1779, Para 2).

Benefits and services for the soldier and family member are part of the "package deal" when signing contracts for military service. This continues in today's Army as all dental, medical, food, housing and military education are supplied by most Army installations, at least for the single soldier. This economic concept was initiated as early as the Continental Community, where they are often compared to company towns, in which followers felt an obligation to the mission as much as the military member (Mayer, 1996, p. 47), and the Army community became distinguishable as a unique and separate identity from the rest of America as early as the founding of the "United States."

As the military became more professional, voluntary, and institutionalized, the military base would become less of a focal point for service members and their families, and the base

would simply exist as a "place of work" (Rohall, 2004, p. 4). This paradigm shift became evident in the 1980s and 1990s, especially as more spouses were beginning to have their own careers not associated with the Army base, and the assignment to any particular military base lengthened to reduce costs. However, after September 11th, 2001 initiated an increase in deployments, military discourse focused on national security. The impact on the Army family resulted in an entire subgroup of one-year temporary "single"-parent family explosion on the civilian community from individual installations, requiring resources and services that may have been available to single parent families at large in the United States through social service, but not previously needed for soldiers' families (Ms. Kim Hooks, personal communication, April 2, 2010).

Chapter 5. Post-9-11 and the Continuing Development of the Army Community

In this chapter I investigate the *Herkunft* or origins of the shift in emphasis by Army leadership from focusing on the soldier to focusing on the soldier's family. Much of this shift was borne out of necessity due to the increase of deployments associated with a sense of permanency with the Global War on Terror in reaction to events of September 11, 2001. I address the previous discourses associated with soldiers and their families and how lessons of the past have created new discursive formations addressing today's soldiers and their families through the creation of the AFC. Towards the end of this chapter, I examine the AFC using not only textual, but visual semiotics.

A. Increase in OPTEMPO (Operation Tempo) and Lessons of the Past?

Viroli views nationalism today as political patriotism (Viroli, 1995, p. 19), which deals with liberty and laws. The Army community also focuses on liberties and laws and, as such, perhaps fits more in the realm of political patriotism. Political patriotism, in essence, becomes a type of political sentiment where to "move our compatriots to commit themselves to the common liberty of their people [we] have to appeal to feelings of compassion and solidarity that are—when they are—rooted in bonds of language, culture, and history" (Viroli, 1995, p. 10). The Army and civilian leadership work to translate these bonds into a love of common liberty by making moral arguments of oppression and struggle, "through stories, images and visions" (Viroli, 1995, p. 10). This is especially powerful when Army and civilian leadership attempts to invoke compassion, empathy, and sympathy within the civilian community to encourage the support of the Army and the Army family.

Images and human interest stories have been played out in the media to garnish support from the civilian community to support these families, especially in times of war or crisis. They appeal to the compassion and sympathy of the American people through patriotic rhetoric by creating "difference." When such discourses occur, "[o]ne might wonder …how far the politics of nationalism really is from the "politics of difference" (Nussbaum, n.d., Para. 6). The difference is that of the suffering and/or struggling Army family and the civilian who is no longer forced to serve through the draft and conscription. The "othering" of the Army family member ensures the support of the American people as heroes who have sacrificed themselves to live in such conditions thereby taking the place of the average American citizen. These discourses attributed to the formation of service programs for Army families.

Army Community Services became a formalized program established from what officers' and senior non-commissioned officers' (NCOs) wives had been accomplishing informally (Wickham, 1983, p. 2). In 1960, family members began to outnumber soldiers, and by 1962 the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel found it necessary to develop this family service program. The mission of the Army Community Service, as described by a Fort Hood, Texas website: "is an empowered team that provides comprehensive, coordinated, and responsive advocacy and prevention, information and referral, outreach, financial, employment, Soldier and Family Readiness, Exceptional Family Member and relocation assistance services that support the readiness and well-being of Soldiers and their Families, Civilian Employees, and Retirees" (Fort Hood ACS Website, n.d.).

Although today's families, especially junior enlisted families, have benefited from the efforts of former family members, a soldier with less than two years in the military at a pay grade of E-2 (the second lowest), their monthly salary is $1622.10 (plus $619.50 if they live off post)

(DFAS, 2010). Meanwhile, according to the 2009 Federal Poverty Guidelines, a three person family living in poverty makes $18,310, roughly $1526 a month, or less (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2009). Many soldiers are barely living over the poverty line.

Thirty percent are married and twenty-seven percent have children (Department of Defense, 2008, p. 57). This affects roughly 68,000 soldiers that are in the lowest four pay grades in the United States Army today, especially if the soldier's spouse is struggling to find a job and/or pay for child care (Wolcott, 2007b).[17] During the Cold War, the poverty of the lower pay grades was less noticeable as a soldier with the pay grade of E-2 with two years in the Army with a dependent made approximately $9,000 a year in 1980 dollars (DFAS, 1980). Meanwhile, the poverty threshold in 1980 was $5,363 in a two person family (U.S. Census Bureau, Poverty Threshold 1980, 2009). In other words, soldiers in the U.S. Army, even at the lowest pay grade were above the poverty threshold in the U.S. during the 1980s.

Martha Nussbaum, in an article for the *Boston Review*, writes, "One might wonder, however, how far the politics of nationalism really is from the 'politics of difference'" (1994). The image of the suffering soldier became a tool for political and party discourse as early as 1818 (Resch, 1999, p. 198). The political rhetoric established what Viroli might address as political patriots (1995, p. 19). The rhetoric modified the memories of the Revolutionary War and people began to view it as the people's war won by a virtuous citizenry. The political rhetoric was used to sway public opinion towards particular party leaders. The modification of memories of the Revolution "elevated soldiers above the body of the people; it made soldiers models for the people rather than symbols of the people" (Resch, 1999, p. 197).

[17] This struggle in finding a job has been a constant one for military spouses. Potential employers discriminate against Army spouses because of the knowledge that they are only in a location for a short time (Wolcott, 2007a), an average of three years. At a time when most civilian families are dual income families, this additional burden of bias and barriers for military spouses in the job market affect the ability for Army leadership to maintain retention (Wolcott, 2007a).

That same tool is in practice today. However, the discourses are shifting from the suffering soldier, to the suffering Army family. Political party leaders attempt to secure the position of "trusted and righteous defender" of liberty by supporting soldiers and their families through testifying to their bravery and patriotism in speeches, whether they are speeches denouncing war (Obama, 2002) or defending war (Bush, 2009).

The media plays a part in these discourses. Images of the suffering soldier as well as the soldier's family transcend partisanship, class, and ideology because it evokes widespread feelings of compassion and gratitude towards the veteran and his or her family. As in the times following the Revolution, "glorifying and honoring soldiers of the Revolution became the rhetorical device, adapted by both parties, to proclaim patriotism, to deliver jeremiad, and to condemn opponents" (Resch, 1999, p. 197). The discourses and their appeal to compassion of the average citizen has been an effective political tool to create the image that no "patriotic" citizen would wish to see, that of its "heroes" or "national treasures" suffering. It is these conditions that create the opportunity to introduce the AFC and ACC.

In its necessity to sustain a long-scale and somewhat unpopular war, Army and civilian leadership must learn from the lessons of the past to maintain the support of the public. The leadership cannot maintain tempo of the multiple deployments without a draft and conscription in an AVF without this support. As seen from the past, Army and civilian leadership must protect soldiers and their families from the false accusations thrown at Vietnam Vets and their families in the past to retain the soldiers they currently have. As in any profession, the difficulty of remaining in a profession that is not respected by public opinion becomes a challenge. The progress made in developing a cohesive Army Community must be allowed to flourish for the health of the Army.

B. From Supporting the War to Supporting the Soldier

In the 1990s there was a growing concern in a "gap" between the civilian population and the military (Cohn, 1999). Many of the claims were centered on the myth that the membership of the military is primarily comprised of uneducated, economically poor backgrounds and that children of the rich do not enlist. This type of discourse circulated the notion that the disadvantaged are doing the "dirty work" of the politically and economically advantaged (Inbody, 2009, p. 21). These myths are further articulated through discursive power relations as evidenced by Congressmen Charles Rangel, who in his attempt to re-introduce the Draft Bill on 14 February 2006 claimed:

> Our military is more like a mercenary force than a citizen militia. It is dominated by men and women who need an economic leg-up. Bonuses of up to $40,000 and a promise of college tuition look very good to someone from an economically depressed urban or rural community. But, as events unfold in Iran, Syria and North Korea and become even more dangerous, at what point will the risks outweigh the attraction of money--even to the hungriest recruits?

As mentioned previously, when the lower four pay grades are receiving pay that classifies them at or below the poverty line, bonuses and the promise of college tuition, seems an equitable benefit or value. Not everyone that enters the military is an economic refugee contrary to what Congressmen Rangel would like to assume (Watkins & Sherk, 2008). Additionally, since the downturn in the economy, the military can be more selective as to who they accept into the Armed Services (SGT J.T. Woods, U.S. Marine Recruiter, personal communication, September 4, 2009) since they have a larger pool of applicants to choose from.

Much of the "gap" should perhaps be attributed to cultural (or attitudes and norms) changes and discourse shifts that were most evident during and following the Vietnam War (Inbody, 2009, pp. 7-8). Not only was the dissolution of the draft a primary cause of this perceived gap, but policy changes and regulations created in the military provided more stringent consequences for activities becoming the norm in civil society but not allowed in military society (e.g. illegality of drugs) (Inbody, 2009, p. 8). What became rights for civilians were "privileges" for soldiers (Parker v. Levy, 1974).[18]

As this study shows, we are dealing with a "multiplicity of discourses" (Foucault, 2010b, p. 314) as the "gap" is observed in the decline of veterans in Congress (Zillman, 1997), thereby lending an appearance that the decision-making elite and electorate have no direct contact with active duty soldiers who are fighting the nation's war (Inbody, 2009). Interestingly, this discourse continued to play out in politics and elections following the 2000 Presidential election with media and political party recognition of absentee ballots of service members and the outcome of the contested election (Perez-Pena, "Counting the Vote: The Absentee Ballots; G.O.P. and Democrats Trading Accusations on Military Votes," 2000) in Florida.

Ironically, since less than 1% of the population serves on active duty, and even with the additional family members overseas or out of state with their soldier, sailor, or airman, the absentee ballots would not have been enough to upset the Presidential Election. Additionally, even though officers tend to be more conservative and more Republican (Inbody, 2009, pp. 115-116), 84% of the Active Armed Services is made up of enlisted soldiers (Department of the Army, "Demographics", 2008, p. 11) who are roughly similar to the civilian population in their

[18] "(The Supreme Court of the United States) has long recognized that the military is, by necessity, a specialized society separate from civilian society…(t)he rights of men in the armed forces must perforce be conditioned to meet certain overriding demands of discipline and duty." (Parker v. Levy, 1974)

political ideology, perhaps with more "middle of the road" tendencies than the civilian population (Inbody, 2009, pp. 113-114).

Up until this point, it has been important to set the stage for the *Entstehung* and *Herkunft* of both the historical events and their affectations on the mindset of Army and civilian leaders necessitating development of the AFC and ACC. In the new discourses of "recruit the soldier, retain the family" recruiting campaigns can no longer be limited to initial draw and entry of soldiers. Recruiting material must also be directed at family members and local civilian population. In essence, that is what the AFC and the ACC have become: retention posters. As such, the following sections address the semiotics in these terms.

C. Creation of the Army Family Covenant

The term "covenant" was used to create harmony between groups of communities as early as the eleventh century in China. The first community covenant in China was attributed to Lu Dajun (1031-1082 AD) titled the "Lu Family Community Covenant" (Lushi xiangyue) in Lantian, Shanxi in 1077 AD encouraging members to adhere to "Four Vows" (siyue). One of the vows was to mutually help one another in disasters and difficulties (Hauf, 1996, p. 4). However, one the challenges of covenants through China's sixteenth century was continuity, due to the lack of government power to support the various local family covenants (Hauf, 1996, p. 29).

The Judeo-Christian traditional term "covenant" implies a contract with God (Kaylor, 1998, p. 8). When looking historically in seventeenth century America, the covenant idea was also used to describe the relationships that existed between one's fellow man in the Puritan tradition (Witte, 1987, p. 579). With these concepts and notions of covenants came the idea of obligation. Covenants and agreements were considered voluntary obligations between people

where they could choose to either accept or refuse the agreement. But, "An agreement once formed, [however,]…yokes each party to the other inextricably…until the last duty is discharged" (cited in Witte, 1987, p. 596). To break one's obligation violates the covenant of works or covenant of nature. It became analogous to destroying one's honor, and the possibility would lead to the destruction of communal order and harmony (Witte, 1987, p. 600). Examples of documents that subscribe to the concept of covenant early in U.S. history are the Jamestown Charters of Virginia written in 1606, 1609, and 1611 and the Mayflower Compact written in 1620. The 1606 charter, written by King James I, gave power to the Virginia Company to appoint councils, governors and other officials and provide resources, both human and material to settle Virginia (James I, 1606). Additionally, the Mayflower Compact uses the word covenant in its actual document: "do by these presents, solemnly and mutually in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick [sic]…" (Mayflower Compact, 1620).

General Eric Shinseki first used the term "covenant" in his arrival speech to the position of Chief of Staff of the Army in 1999: "We have a covenant with our soldiers and families and will keep the faith with them" (cited in Green, 2003, p. 2). The covenant he was referring to was the de facto commitment to provide support structures and resources for soldiers and their families so that, during deployments, families would be self-reliant and soldiers would not be distracted in their missions by knowing their families were safe and well-cared for (cited in Green, 2003, p. 2). Even though General Shinseki is no longer the Chief of Staff of the Army, as the current Secretary of the Department of Veterans Affair, he recently gave a speech to the American Council on Education where he once again evoked the term "covenant":

> VA's commitment to Veterans is absolute. "To care for him [and her] who bore the battle" is more than a poetic reference to a long-ago war. It is a sacred covenant between the American people and the men and women who serve in harm's way. Their indomitable spirit, buoyant optimism, and unwavering courage deserve our commitment and best efforts on their behalf. (Shinseki, 2010, para. 26).

The covenant he is referencing is the cited speech of President Lincoln's 2nd Inaugural Address (Lincoln, 1865) as mentioned earlier in this paper.

Based on these uses of language and context, it is important to examine if the language of the AFC, the Information Paper, and the ACC reflects the act and sustainment of the continued struggle for unity within the Army as seen from the early Colonial period which has become the ideal for the nation. This sacredness of unity of its citizens: a cultural identity marker (Viroli, 1995, p. 2) has influenced the very fiber of the Army. Application of Viroli's approach in studying nationalism from the perspective of analyzing what authors meant by invoking the term "love of country" rather than defining nationalism through scientific means (1995, pp. 4-5), penetrates both the language and symbols used in the AFC, Information Paper, and ACC.

The common culture of the United States, as well as the United States Army, has been socially constructed since its inception. As discussed previously, both the nation and the institution constantly need to re-invent themselves due to their dynamic natures. When creating these social constructions and re-imagining, patriotism and nationalism are often used as synonyms to examine symbols and language associated with the two. Shohamy (2006) states: "Language is used to create group membership…to determine loyalty or patriotism…" (p. xv). The role of language takes on new meaning as symbols and ideology are used to create inclusion,

patriotism and classification of individuals (Shohamy, 2006, p. 43). An example of this is the document titled: "America's Army: Strength of the Nation™" or also known as the AFC.

I. "America's Army: Strength of the Nation™"

Once again a homogenization of the Army is brought to the forefront reminiscent of Washington's General Orders described in Chapter 4, the recreation of "America's Army," and hearkens back to the creation of an "imagined" Nation through the building of an Army. Once again the strength of the Army is the strength of the Nation. The terminology used in the title of the document, "Strength of the Nation™", refers to the newest ad campaign discussed earlier, the "Army Strong" campaign. This is particularly effective in both the AFC and the ACC to create a tie-in back to the recruitment campaign. The "strength of soldiers", "the strength of families", and the "strength of the nation" are all phrases that create equality between soldiers, families and nation through its constant repetition. Strength is imagined as many things, however, when equating it to the Army Strong commercials, one commercial in particular claims:

> There's Strong, then there's Army Strong. There is no strength like it. It is a physical strength. It is an emotional strength. It is strength of character and strength of purpose, the strength to do good today and the strength to do well tomorrow. The strength to obey and strength to command. The strength to build and the strength to tear down. The strength to get yourself over and the strength to get over yourself. There is nothing on this green earth that is stronger than the U.S. Army, because there is nothing on this green earth that is stronger than a U.S. Army soldier. Strong. Army Strong.[19]

[19] For Army Strong campaign video see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRHw_Zxyaq0, accessed April 20, 2010 (Military.com, "Army Strong", 2006).

Even though we would normally associate the words strong and strength with a soldier, most of the terms are associated with character traits and behaviors (e.g., emotion, get over yourself, do good today, do well tomorrow) and not with the images of glorified battles and carnage and destruction. This construction of what it means to be strong is echoed by General Shinseki and links together the Army family and the civilian community through mutual security and comfort. As the Army attempts to create the Covenant to appeal to both Army families and civilian community leaders through "native-style speech" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 43) it may not translate contextually to the civilian population or represent a shared discourse. Throughout the rest of this chapter, sections of the Covenant's text are analyzed to show the native-style speech of the U.S. Army. The use in the AFC is understood by the families who are the intended audience. However, as addressed in Chapter 6, the use of the Army's native-style speech in the ACC may lead to a propensity of misunderstanding dependent upon the viewer to the poster.

II. Capitalization of Soldier and Family

The most evident use of language to instill a new discourse of group membership by the Army began in late 2004, when the Joint Chiefs of Staff instituted a change into the address of Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines in matters of correspondence (Kamen, "Zoellick Keeps His Head," 2005, p. A5). The memo distributed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the rest of the Department of Defense stated that this change "is in keeping with the Services' recently announced decisions to capitalize the terms denoting the importance and emphasis on the person, especially in light of the War on Terrorism" (cited in Kamen, "Zoellick Keeps His Head," 2005, p. A5). The Army has followed this change by capitalizing the word "Family" when referring to a U.S. Army family member for internal Army correspondence (Department of the Army, 1 May

2008; IMCOM-Europe Public Affairs, "Uppercasing 'Families' highlights support," April 24, 2007).

This denotation of importance and emphasis instead of creating unity between the average civilian citizen and Army family member focuses on the perception of exclusion from the average civilian citizen. Excerpts from a military news article: "Army Families 'shoulder a great burden of sacrifice, supporting their Soldier and often enduring long periods of separation from their loved ones'" (IMCOM-Europe Public Affairs, "Uppercasing 'Families' highlights support," 2007) further widens the achievement of *Gesellschaft*. Foucault's discursive analytic method raises the following series of "doubts" (2010a, p. 298): (1) whether family separation is representative only of military families, (2) whether the shifts in languaging truly bind military and civilian citizens into a *Gemeinschaft*, and (3) whether the AFC unites the two communities, or rather unintentionally divides them further. Some might disagree with the first point, in that, civilian families also find times when they must be separated for long periods. This is especially true of immigrant families who leave their country and family behind to follow the "American dream." However, for the average U.S. civilian worker and citizen, the only comparable profession would be that of a Foreign Service worker or contractor accepting a job in a hostile environment overseas for twelve to eighteen months at a time without the company of their immediate family. Additionally, the AFC's intent is not to unite army and civilian communities; rather, its purpose is to solely provide an improvement in the quality of life of soldiers and their families.

III. Visual: A Discourse of Inclusivity?

From a distance, the AFC appears to be a recruiting poster, or rather retention poster, for family members. Based on the recent discourse of Army leaders that they "recruit soldiers and

retain families" it would seem logical to use similar means and tactics of "recruiting" to preserve the family in the Army community. The Army's use of traditional heraldry in their symbols within regulatory guidelines (Department of the Army, AR 840-1, 2009) is broadly incorporated into the AFC poster and document. Four principle colors (black, gold, white, and grey) are reminiscent of the Army Strong™ and Army of One campaigns. Additionally, the poster contains the words "Soldiers, Families, Army Civilians" in gold, perhaps an added dimension of recognition to government civilian employees as part of the Army family. There is a faint grey impression of the soles of combat boots in the bottom right corner of the poster. When examining the observance of heraldry, as the Army subscribes to it in its crests and flags, the colors take on new meaning. Green symbolizes youth, growth and hope; black indicates grief or penitence; gold or yellow stands for honor and loyalty; and silver or white represents faith and purity (Birren, 1945, pp. 179-180; Birren, 1961, p. 173). Yet, other cultures may read this differently and can, therefore, create a challenge when attempting to build a document that subscribes to inclusivity.

In this way, Faber Birren, an authority in the field of industrial color (Saxon, "Faber Birren, 88, Expert on Color," 1988), distinguished modern symbolism of color both in objective and subjective impressions (Birren, 1961 p. 143). Hence, color could be perceived both objectively and subjectively. In this case, when reviewing the colors associated with the AFC, green may be seen as quiet and peaceful, in the objective sense, but when viewed from the subjective it may be associated with disease, terror and guilt. White is not only associated with purity, cleanliness, and youth, but subjectively as brightness of spirit and normality. Gold is cheerful, vital and inspiring, but can also be associated with health and high spirit. Conversely, black, has the same general meaning both objectively and subjectively…that of death. However,

in recent studies of product marketing, black has been associated with strength and masculinity (Grossman & Wisenblit, 1999, pp. 82-83). As these various color meanings suggest, space begins to open for interpretation of the document as a whole when viewing the complexities of symbolism and meaning behind color. Purely from an advertising perspective, however, as the document indeed has the Army Brand logo prominently displayed, a viewer of the document may assume that the AFC subscribes to the same marketing strategies as the Army Strong™ campaign: that of black to indicate strength (as described textually on the document), green meaning peaceful, gold as inspiring, and white as brightness of spirit (Birren, 1961, p. 143).[20] Army families like Army soldiers are strong, peaceful, inspiring and bright with spirit.

The pictorial image that was chosen to appear on the first AFC and signed by the Secretary of the Army, the Chief of Staff of the Army, and the Sergeant Major of the Army in October 2007 (see Appendix A) failed in its attempt to represent an understanding of the Army family to the those it purported to represent: the Army family. All the ranks of the men in uniform are perhaps purposefully unclear to provide a picture of inclusivity of all ranks - other than that of the First Sergeant (1SG), wearing a special uniform called the "Dress Blue". The 1SG is a career soldier and a symbol of authority in the unit of a company and as such provides authority within the photograph that the AFC is a document that is supported by Army leadership. The seriousness in the expressions of the men also invokes images of the warrior and gravity of their profession, yet by placing them behind smiling women and children, their expressions are softened and appear more as a protective measure rather than as a menacing manner. The physical closeness and touching of the subjects in the picture invoke closeness in spirit. The softening and muting of the colors within the picture give an affective field, one of a

[20] Of course, from a practical perspective, green is also the color of the soldier's combat uniform and as such is the color most often associated with the soldier.

softness of the Army or that of a nurturing Army. The implication by the soldiers standing behind is that of "family first," Army professional second.

Ironically, even though war creates injuries and casualties, there are no apparent wounded warriors or even family members who appear disabled in the picture; they are all a picture of health and well-being. They are all very "American" and become a living portrait of the American ideal…classless. The women all appear average and middle class. And yet, there is a somewhat patriarchal quality to the picture as the 1SG is in a position of authority, front and center, surrounded on the left and right with women and children.

Within this picture of inclusivity, there appears to be very few minorities, no female soldiers, no one with an apparent disability, and no families that appear to be of a different race, absolutely no inter-raciality at all. In reality, there are 37.3%, of the Army that classify themselves as minorities based on ethnicity (Department of the Army, "Demographics", 2008). There are also no apparent "career" women. There are no teenagers that appear to be family members as well as no apparent spouses of other, non-European descent. There exists some uncertainty of which spouse goes with which soldier and whether a woman is a single parent that happens to be in civilian clothes for the picture. Although the picture invokes an image of "families," it falls short in representing to the Army community the true domain of family composition in the Army.

When re-examining the purpose of the AFC, in that its purpose to solidify commitments Army leadership has made to Army families because of the importance of "retaining the family," the AFC becomes a recruiting tool for families similar to that of the Army Strong recruiting poster encouraging the enlistment of soldiers (see Figure 4). Because the photo is a group photo,

if a family member viewing the publicly displayed poster cannot find a commonality by appearances only, then the individual may wonder where they fit in.[21]

Figure 4: Army Family Strong (Courtesy of the U.S. Army, Copyright U.S. Army). Visual for the AFC was taken from a recruiting website (goArmy.com website).

The Army states in its 2008 U.S. Army Posture Statement:

> The Army draws strength from its ethnic and cultural diversity. Dimensions of diversity among U.S. Army workforce members include race, culture, religion, gender, age, profession, organizational or functional area, tenure, personality type, functional background, education level, political party, and other demographic, socioeconomic, and psychographic characteristics. The concept of diversity refers to the collective mixture of human differences and similarities (Army Workforce Diversity Info Paper, 2008).

These demographics are quite detailed and explicit. Based on the picture in the first AFC, it does not represent the Army's definition of diversity. The definition as described above is more than just looks, but the picture fails even in that. As addressed in the above selection: "The concept of diversity refers to a collective mixture of human difference" (Army Workforce Diversity Info

[21] What is interesting is that this is the picture they chose to place on the first AFC from the video. To see the video go to http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Li5EtTLd1eE, accessed May 10, 2010 (Army Family Strong, 2008).

Paper, 2008). It becomes a challenge to show culture, religion, profession, tenure, personality type, and education level in a photograph. Many of these "differences" could be addressed on style of dress or stance; however, the civilians in the picture are all dressed exactly the same way as would be attempted in a family picture.

Based on recent Army demographic only 62% of the total Army is white, however, within the photograph, 90% of the people in the picture appear to be white. That means 40%, based on race alone would not identify with the visual cues expressed in the document and may thereby be unable to see themselves as continuing to be a member of the organization. Additionally, a family where the woman is the soldier would not be able to identify at all. Meanwhile, as discussed below, with a new change of visual representations of soldiers and their families on the recently signed AFC, individual demographics become less important as half the individuals represented are non-white.

The most recently signed AFC (see Appendix A) on October 6, 2009 by the new Secretary of the Army, John M. McHugh, demonstrates pictorial images that have changed significantly. The photos are now snapshots representative of the Army and Army family population. Two photos are of soldiers returning home from what we assume to be war. They are smiling and celebrating, each holding their child. One is a male soldier, while the other is female. There are two photos of family portraits. They both appear to be racial minority families representing different elements of Army demographics; however, there is not mixing of the too; no element of inter-raciality. Everyone is smiling, and soldiers are with their families. What is most interesting is the positionality of the people in the portraits. The portraits are the traditional definition of a family: Man, woman and child or children. The men are sitting front and center, as in the first AFC picture of the 1SG. The backgrounds of the pictures are exactly

the same and the soldiers are wearing the identical uniforms. A child is sitting on the soldiers' laps; the wife is embracing the soldier from behind. They are surrounding the soldier in a physically close way, as if offering protection to the soldier. Again, as with the first AFC, the clothes they wear do not distinguish class other than that of average middle class.

The last two snapshots are interesting in that one is a picture of a soldier from the "Old Guard[22]" and the other is a crowd of older veterans watching a parade. The soldier from the "Old Guard" is standing next to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, which is erected in Arlington National Cemetery. His eyes are hidden under the bill of his headgear and the sunglasses he is wearing, hiding any apparent emotion were they exposed. His direct look into the camera appears emotionless, strong, and dutiful like any other soldier from the Old Guard, carrying out his mission of protecting the "sacred" resting place of those who committed the ultimate sacrifice. The soldier's image partially blocks the image of the tombstone behind him in a protective stance. Meanwhile, the second picture portrays a crowd of older veterans standing, some saluting, apparently watching a parade. They are wearing medals and caps with their unit affiliations; seemingly enjoying the memories of comradeship and feelings of pride celebrated through the action of a parade. They are able to "see" the appreciation of their sacrifices of the people through the closure of Main Street, the symbolically representative street for commerce in a town, for the parade.

Although the snapshots appear as separate actions and give the illusion of a creation of boundaries between the families as subjects, in reality, they offer a glance of an event or action and invoke feelings that all soldiers and family members have experienced: the joy of the

[22] The Old Guard is a military unit assigned to the District of Columbia and is the "oldest active-duty infantry unit in the Army" in service since 1784 (Arlington National Cemetery website, n.d.). To learn more about the official duties of the Old Guard, to include conducting ceremonies for the president as well as its duties associated with Arlington Cemetery, see http://www.arlingtoncemetery.org/ceremonies/old_guard.html.

returning loved one, the security of the entire family sitting for a family portrait, the pain of burying a family member and the sacrifice of life associated with it, and pride of affiliation watching a parade go by with old veterans and families in attendance. The fact that the individuals in the pictures have potentially different demographics or life experiences than the viewers of the AFC does not create divisiveness; rather actions occurring in the pictures create the myth of inclusivity for *all* Army families and soldiers as well as snapshots that could appear in any soldier and family members' personal album. While the first visual associated with the AFC fell short of invoking a sense of unity and common purpose even to the Army family, this second visual elicits feelings of *Gemeinschaft* for the Army family and *Gesellschaft* within the civilian community perspective.

Chapter 6. From Army Community to Army Community Covenant

"The Army Family, with more than two million Soldiers, spouses and children, is shouldering the load for 300 million Americans. The health of the All-Volunteer Force depends on "the health of the Army Family" (Geren & Casey, 2008, Addendum H).

Similar to Chapter 5, in this chapter I continue the analysis of the textual and visual semiotics applied to the AFC, but as practiced towards the implementation of the AFC and, thereby, the succeeding Information Paper leading to the creation of the ACC. The analysis in this chapter addresses the challenges associated with the intended purpose of the document to improve the quality of life of soldiers and their families, provided as an Army leader initiative, and rather than placing the onus of execution on the Army's leadership, it instead places the onus of execution of the AFC promises on civilian community members.

A. The Army Community Covenant as a Tool for Implementation of the Army Family Covenant

I. "The Family Covenant symbolizes the Army's commitment to Soldiers and their Families, a national treasure" (ACC Info Paper, 2008).

A national treasure implies a symbol of a nation, something sacred. They are fixed in time and are guarded to insure they remain inalterable. They must be maintained in their original context to keep its value. Treasure implies a limited quantity which thereby encourages an increase in value. Examples of U.S. national treasures are the original signed documents of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. National treasures are often kept within the confines of museums or vaults under guard and maintained with loving care by curators and experts. A national treasure is the symbol of a shared culture. Both General Washington and Valley Forge have been labeled "national treasures."[23] Within the context and

[23] The Smithsonian Institute has a dedicated website that is labeled, "George Washington, a National Treasure" which depicts facts and figures of the first president of the United States (http://www.georgewashington.si.edu);

concept of community, even marginalized groups will treat the nation as sacred: "Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 2006, p.7). Defining the Army family as a national treasure appears to be an attempt to evoke horizontal comradeship within the civilian community. Yet, the term itself implies a lack of accessibility to all and only accessible to a few. The Information Paper preceding the ACC uses the term "national treasure" describing the concept of the ACC to the Army Families and community members. Although it is an altruistic idea to elucidate and formalize these commitments, the language that exists in the Information Paper reinforces an identity for Army families that can be interpreted to exclude civilian families in that it describes only the Army family as a "national treasure" (ACC Info Paper, 2008).

The ACC does not include the term "national treasure" and only addresses families as the focal point in an effort to appeal to bonds of kinship within the civilian community. The ACC evokes a relationship of an extended family similar to those families providing support and comfort to the departing military families during times of deployments. This depiction is useful when "imagining" a community (Anderson, 2006) that transcends the previously existing boundaries, whether physical (Army base entrance and civilian town street) or cultural (language and life-style).

II. "The commitment is a formal recognition of their sacrifices…" (ACC Info Paper, 2008).

The symbiotic relationship that Washington desired at the local level (Mayer, 1996, p. 31) was constantly nurtured both while he was General of the Army and as the President.

---

meanwhile, as part of the national park system, Valley Forge is classified as a "national treasure" (http://www.nps.gov/vafo/index.htm; http://www.infoplease.com/spot/nps1.html).

Throughout history since that time, this relationship has sometimes been nurtured better than others. United States Army installation leaders host a formal ceremony, the Army Community Covenant Signing Ceremony - - some might even say ritual - - to encourage community members to attend and sign the ACC. A detailed Army website exists to assist installation leaders to ensure the best ceremony is attained, providing everything from directions on how to write invitations, with examples and proposed lists of invitees, to recommended signatories for an installation-specific ACC (ACC Website, n.d.).

Army leadership encourages local civilian leaders to sign an ACC by appealing to their sense of patriotism and support of what Army leadership has called a "national treasure," the Army families. The language of the document may have different interpretations contextually, depending on who is reading it. From one perspective, the language may be intended to comfort and stir emotions of pride in the "sacrifices" that Army families make every day. Yet, by choosing to join the Army, whether as a soldier or as a family member by marrying someone in the Army, the sacrifices are those affected by deliberate choice, and may not engender the assumed sympathy of someone outside the Army community. From another perspective, the term "sacrifices" may intimate that Army families should be rewarded for doing something "I" (i.e., a member of a civilian community family) do not wish to do. Furthermore, if soldiers and their families did not make such "sacrifices," the needs for trained military personnel may require the re-institution of a military draft for service, and "I" (i.e. a member of a civilian community) would no longer have a choice.

These patriotic undertones are intended to create a pride in a way of life and endow a sense of identity in a multi-cultural "class-free" nation. However, the language of the documents may also evoke the images and ideas of inclusion and exclusion, thereby undermining the very

purpose of the ACC. Additionally, the languaging of the ACC suggests an overlap of nationalism with patriotism. This overlap creates a fog that can lead to frequent misinterpretation regarding the language associated with these terms. It is essential to show a distinction between the two: "The crucial distinction lies in the priority of the emphasis: for patriots, the primary value is the republic and the free way of life that the republic permits; for the nationalists, the primary values are spiritual and cultural unity of the people" (Viroli, 1995, p. 1).

Portions of the civilian population should wonder what might happen to those civilian leaders who do not wish to sign and whether they will be considered unpatriotic. The civilian community relies in some sense on the Army for their economic survival. Most civilian community members have already established relationships because of this economic survival mode. They should also question whether nonparticipation as a signatory to an ACC ought to imply a threat to these established, informal relationships. Although patriotism and nationalism are often understood as similar concepts and frequently used as synonyms in our language, the goal of the ACC may not translate contextually to the civilian population as it does to the Army community even though there may exist the best intentions.

B. The Army Community Covenant

I. "Support from communities through local and national programs helps keep our Army strong" (ACC Info Paper, 2008).

"The crucial distinction lies in the priority of the emphasis: for patriots, the primary value is the republic and the free way of life that the republic permits; for the nationalists, the primary values are spiritual and cultural unity of the people" (Viroli, 1995, p. 1). Without explicitly stating so, the ACC emphasizes to the civilian community that their freedoms are due

to the sacrifices of the soldier and his or her family, thereby appealing to the patriotism of the civilian to continue his or her support of the soldier and the Army family. It also appeals to the spiritual and cultural unity of the two communities through the act of signing of the document and the language associated with it. Through unifying with and contributing to the entity that sacrifices via military service, the civilian community, in turn, may be invited to participate.

II. "Together, We…" and "We, the Community…"

The ACC espouses to show unity between the signatories (e.g., Governor, Mayor, and Commander) and Anytown, USA as the speaker (See Appendix A). And yet, with the very first sentence which says "Together, We are committed to building strong communities," the term "we" can often be viewed as exclusive or inclusive. "We" becomes the "language of participation" and implies an accord between the speaker/writer/director and the listener/ reader/audience (cited in Bastow, 2008, p. 142) where none actually exists but also the language of exclusion for those not invited to participate. This is the only time throughout the ACC the "We" capitalized, not at the beginning of the sentence but within the sentence, signifies the importance of the all-inclusive "We." Once an observation is made as to the pronoun in context, it is obvious that the "we" forces the Community to act: in the form of recognition of the families and soldiers and in the form of commitment to support and assistance (Bastow, 2008, p. 146). The "we" creates an homogenous "us" as unique individualities disappear. This is the only evidence in the document that purports a shared responsibility by members of the entire Community, whereas elsewhere in the ACC the onus of responsibility falls upon the Community of civilians. These boundaries can easily be obscured in the ceremonial excitement, however, they exist nonetheless.

III. Where's The Sacrifice?

As similarly discussed above with the term covenant in relation to the AFC, an additional series of doubts (Foucault, 2010a, p. 298) evolve, yet again: (1) how much of the civilian community voluntarily accepts the agreement other than the Mayor, Governor or other such representative for the people; (2) the actions of the leaders may be well-intentioned, but at what point has the community been given the opportunity to refuse or alter the agreement; and (3) if Army Family members feel that the civilian community is no longer abiding by the signed agreement, at some point it destroys the feeling of harmony between the two communities with the lost sense of obligation, once the population tires of the formalities.

IV. Visual: Community celebration on "Main Street"

The ACC has been in circulation for over a year. The official website is a resource for other communities and has become a depository of "best practices." It allows civilian and military communities to observe how similar organizations are personalizing their covenants by posting them for others to use (ACC Resources Website, n.d.). The example given by the ACC website for best practices that was used by the majority of the first users shows two pictures across the top of the document. The first picture shows a large gathering of people releasing yellow balloons into the air. It is a clear day without a cloud in the sky. We see three flags, one of which is the American flag. There are two soldiers off to the side that we barely see in the picture off to the right. Some of the balloons appear to have writing on them.

The second picture denotes people cheering soldiers marching down a street with weapons slung over their shoulder, or in the case of the color guard shouldered on the right shoulder. Civilians are holding banners that say "Hero" on them and are holding and waving small American flags. The attention of the people behind the barrier is focused to the right

behind the soldiers. The soldiers' faces are apparently emotionless. The people are wearing civilian clothes and appear to be smiling and cheering.

Both pictures create the impression of celebration. However, in the first picture, the use of the color yellow creates a dichotomy. In heraldry, yellow is associated with honor and loyalty but in later years, came to also symbolize cowardice. Conversely, to the Army family member, yellow is associated with support of the soldier and the ongoing hope of being reunited with their loved ones as described in the songs "Round Her Neck She Wore a Yellow Ribbon," found popular in the Civil-War era movie of the same title starring John Wayne in 1949 (Farrell & Ford, 1949), and "Tie a Yellow Ribbon 'Round the Old Oak Tree" (Levine & Brown, 1973). Interestingly, both pictures create a visual divide between the Army and the civilian. The picture of the balloons show the celebrants physically separated from the two visible soldiers by space, and the second picture has a physical barrier of white tape separating them. That is not to say that the people in the picture wearing civilian clothes are not Army families, but it is not necessarily apparent that Army families are interspersed within the crowd of civilian families in the pictures. The soldiers are marching with weapons along what is to be a symbolic Main Street, the weapons are held in a non-threatening way, resting on the shoulder of the soldier. Even though the soldiers are not smiling, the act of resting the weapon is a sign of a relaxed state.

The flexibility of the document was intended to allow the covenant to fit the needs of the community around it. However, by changing the layout of the covenant, it changes some of the perceptions as well. One such example is the Morris County's Armed Forces Community Covenant (See Appendix C). The only pictures on the poster are the five military emblems of the four Department of Defense uniformed services, Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marines; the

emblem of the Coast Guard; the emblem of the Army National Guard, as well as the emblem of the Morris County League of Municipalities. There are no pictures of people. The emblems are small and at the bottom of the page. It implies the support of the institutions and not the people. The wording of the document has been changed as well: Soldier and Family has been changed to Service Member and Family; Army Family Covenant has been changed to Armed Forces Covenant; and lastly, instead of the title of the document being "The Army Community Covenant: Supporting Those Who Serve" as in the original document, the title is "Morris County Armed Forces Community Covenant: Together, We are committed to building strong communities."

Once again, through an examination of meaning of color, as addressed by Birren (1961, p. 143), color may be perceived both objectively and subjectively. As such, red may be viewed by the onlooker as both passionate and active, or intensity and fierceness, even rage. Silver is represented both as faith and purity, as is white; however, silver can also evoke importance. Meanwhile, blue is that of sobriety, contemplation and gloom. Once more, the colors and their various meanings are left open to interpretation based on the observer. Yet, taken in context of the attempt of a civilian community wishing in their own unique way to espouse patriotic feelings and a show of support for their entire military community, it would be logical to interpret the document of colors as attributable to the American flag. As such, the flag's colors would be interpreted from heraldic devices which transform the meaning of blue from gloom to that of piety and sincerity (Birren, 1945, p. 180); now the covenant's colors are that of passion, faith and sincerity.

A particularly striking visual aspect of this document is the amount of signatories associated with it. Visually, the signatories take up two-thirds of the main body. This could be

conveyed that the signatories are more important than the words of the text listed on the side. Furthermore, the use of silver for the background of the signatories and the title of the document could be misconstrued as to the importance of the signatories, that of a group who are pure and have power, perhaps even "treasured" themselves (Birren, 1961, p. 143).

The changes in the Morris County Covenant would appear to be more inclusive to include the services that most likely operate in that particular county. However, by changing the document to be more inclusive, they have lost focus of the purpose of the document: to assist in the implementation of the "Army Family" Covenant. Since no "Armed Forces" Covenant currently exists (see Appendix C) there should be no purpose in establishing an Armed Forces Community Covenant in Morris County. [24]

Additionally, Morris County's example of the Armed Forces Covenant shows no relationship logo or advertisement-wise to the Army Strong campaign which was reflected in the AFC to retain soldiers' families. The ACC is an effort to similarly recruit civilian participation into the support of Army Families, thereby allowing the Army leadership to maintain its promises outlined in the AFC. This purpose appears lost in the new iteration of the Morris County Covenant as the only ties to the original document are through the text, albeit changed slightly and even the colors have been changed from black, white, green and gold (the Army) to red, white, blue (the colors of the national flag, thereby transforming it into a nationalistic effort, invoking patriotic emotions) and silver for the space allotted to the signatories and the text of the title of the document. One wonders whether this alters the purpose of the AFC or reflects the

[24] Through phone calls and e-mails with a representative from the Morris County Chamber of Commerce, I requested information regarding their Armed Forces Community Covenant. As of April 9, 2010, no one from their office has been able to determine whether an Armed Forces Covenant (the replacement of the Army Family Covenant in their document) exists and have forwarded my request to one of their freeholders (Ms. Diane Ketchum, personal communication, April 9, 2010).

blending of the civilian community in the ACC. A civilian community such as this county may be composed of veterans from all the Armed Forces, not just the Army. Perhaps this change was an attempt by this community to include rather than exclude many of its valuable members and supporters of this covenant.

C. The Garnering of Continued Civilian/Citizen Support

I. From the Language of War to the Broader Language of Commitment

The ACC appears to shift in expression and rhetoric from the language of War and the recognition of family impact on Army readiness to the broader language of Commitment and support of these families within the civilian community, including all actions short of war. Commitment implies an agreement, a pledge, an obligation, a duty, or a responsibility to maintain an action, indefinitely or until a specified end point. Commitment may also imply financial obligations, especially when we find that people are "committed to a cause." It appears as if the ACC can become an avenue for civilian citizens to document their patriotism and to earn recognition and "credit"[25] for their loyalty to the nation by committing to the cause, supporting Army Families, through signing the ACC. The commitments as defined by the document are bounded, yet, the potential for greater civilian contributions and sacrifices in partnership are not. This is consistent to nation building's discursive concepts of pledging undivided loyalty and the expectation of reciprocity associated with duty and privileges that are and should be associated with the "act" of supporting the nation. Individuals are then able to receive or should receive "civic and social recognition" for pledging their loyalty (Jensen, 1996, p. 141).

[25] Credit implying some form of payment. While military members' payment is potential loss of life, civilian citizens are expected to pay monetarily (e.g., jobs, donations, and other such community support functions).

Chapter 7. Different Meanings, Disparate Interpretations

"There is the (1) correct way of saying something; then (2) there is what is actually said; and (3) in between lies the field of discursivity or 'the law of the difference'" (Howarth, 2002, p. 52).

> A volunteer Army reflects the most central and sacred vow that citizens make to one another: soldiers protect and defend the country; in return, the country promises to give them the tools they need to complete their mission and honor their service, whatever the outcome (Thompson, "Exhausted troops. Worn out equipment. Reduced training. The lessons of Iraq and Afghanistan—and how to undo the damage," 2007).

This chapter addresses how AFC and ACC posters, documents, and/or agreements provided by Army leadership may create conflict depending on the position and/or perception of the reader. Also introduced is evidence of continuing discourses in which the Army is not privy to, but that is evident in the civilian community through popular culture and the speeches made by civilian leadership to the civilian communities when the support of the civilian population is needed as perceived gaps appear to widen. There seems to be an overrepresentation of key words and phrases that show an underlying message that may be interpreted differently depending on context. In the AFC these words are, in order of amount of repetition: Family (and some variations of them), Strength, Committed, and Soldier. In the ACC, these words are: Strength, Community, Families, and Soldiers. Both documents are appealing to a particular social group: the first, the Army family with the concepts that show the importance of the commitment of the family leads strength to the soldier. The second appeals to a civilian audience that signifies the strength of the community supports families and soldiers. Viroli (1995, p. 2) identifies that patriotic language, such as that reviewed in the AFC and ACC has been used to create feelings of oppression and discrimination.

The difference or "gap" between the two communities widens through perceptual interpretation of documents such as the AFC with its emphasis on a visual prototypical American in uniform that does not exist demographically. The practice of separating by both military leadership and civilian communities and the acts directly and indirectly, leads to the marginalization of soldiers and their families and has created a group that is perceived by both as reliant on particular entitlements and benefits. This in no way denigrates their merits in earning these entitlements through the sacrifices they make in defense of the United States, their country. Yet, because of these benefits and entitlements, they have been established into a space created for them in a special status of "national treasure:" a category that can suggest to civilian families exclusivity instead of unity.

A. Perceptions of Marginalization in the Army Community: Culture, Language, Life-style

The ACC invites the civilian community to join, but in a specific role. The discourses are similar to that of the Continental Army and the sutlers attached to them: they were allowed access, but with restrictions. Belonging denoted access. Even as far back as the Continental Community as described by Mayer (1996), the Continental Community was a "restricted as well as restrictive community" (p. 35). Interpreting the term community by the *use* of the word has begun to embody a sense of discrimination. In other words, it has created boundaries between one group and another as it begins to express a "relational" idea (Cohen, A., 1985, p. 12). By differentiating between the "Army Community" and the "Civilian Community" these boundaries become more established.

B. "Cultural identity…is a matter of 'becoming' as well as 'being'" (Hall, 1989, p. 70).

The histories associated with the Army have helped create the cultural identity which exists within the Army community. As the nation's civilian culture was changing throughout the history of the United States, the Army's culture changed as well. The issues have remained constant. An example of which, is an article written in the *New York Times* in 1908 by Colonel H.O.S. Helstand. The topics he addresses in the article deal with the citizens' misperception of the Army and the fear of "militarism," the disconnection between the population and its soldiers, and the opportunities for a profession that exist within the Army (Helstand, "The United States Army as a Career," 1908, p. SM1). Follows is a selection from the article:

> If there in one institution of the Government less appreciated and understood than another it is probably the regular army.
>
> This condition is the result, among others, of two principal causes: First, prejudice against armed forces as a possible menace to liberty – a prejudice inherited from the founders of the republic through a widespread misunderstanding of their position; second, public indifference, largely due to commercial pursuits and the field offered to energy in the development of natural resources in a comparatively new country. (Helstand, "The United States Army as a Career," 1908, p. SM1)

Machiavelli's concept of the citizen-soldier is still much studied today by the United States Military Academy, West Point (Gail Yoshitani, Academy Professor, personal communication, March, 31 2010). An encompassing theme in his work, *Art of War* (2008) is that only a good soldier is a good citizen and a good citizen is a good soldier. He felt that no great or true citizen breaks laws and creates havoc during times of peace because they live there

and are citizens of the place, rather instead: "But those who were Captains, being content with the triumph, returned with a desire for the private life; and those who had taken up; and everyone returned to the art (trade or profession) by which they ordinarily lived;" (Machiavelli, 2008, p. 14).

It is not necessarily that soldiers and their families are different from their civilian counterparts, but that they are perceived as being different through the many discursive formations that have existed and continue to exist. Kohn makes an excellent argument in his Chapter, "The American Soldier: Myths in Need of History" from the volume, *Soldiers and Civilians: The U.S. Army and the American People* (1987):

> American and foreign observers, assuming that we [Americans] are somehow unique, have created stereotypical images in attempting to discover the military essence in our character as a people. These myths are perpetuated also by scholars, who in the pursuit of "social science" or in the service of a government practicing "human engineering" – psychologists Robert Yerkes's charming phrase in 1941 – ask all the same questions, using the same categories, in the same research for all-encompassing generalizations about Americans in service. Far and away the most pernicious myth of all is that there was, or is, any such thing as the American soldier--a prototypical American in uniform--or that our military forces, either as institutions or as collections of individuals, reflect our true character as a people and as a nation. (p. 53)

It must be asked whether the citizen-soldier really exists. Although most of the members of the first Continental Army were not themselves classified as "citizens," they had a type of

community membership, and expectation of shared purpose, which has the following historical acknowledgement and value: as Machiavelli[26]

> I conclude then that without having armes [*sic*] of their owne [*sic*], no Principality can be secure, or rather is wholly oblig'd to fortune, not having valour to shelter it in adversity. And it was alwayes [*sic*] the opinion and saying of wise men, that nothing is so weak and unsetled [*sic*], as is the reputation of power not founded upon ones owne [*sic*] proper forces: which are those that are composed of thy subjects, or Citizens, or servants; all the rest are mercenary or auxiliary… (2008, p. 190).

Perhaps the ultimate success of the AFC and the ACC to engender support from both military and civilian communities and to create a bond between them that reflects the common goals of each other lies in the genealogy of its discourse. A discourse that lives through the citizens who become soldiers; a heritage that thrives as civilian families become military families. It has often been said the U.S. Army reflects society. In a *Time Magazine Cover Story* (17 April 2007), Mark Thompson wrote the following:

> The Army is the heart of the U.S. military, practicing what democracies sometimes manage only to preach. All soldiers are created equal; race and class defer to rank and merit. Except for the stars, the general wears the uniform of the private in combat. The Army is the public institution that sets the pace for others to follow, makes the stakes higher, the demands greater. Its rewards are paid in glory and blood.

[26] In *The Prince.*

Chapter 8. Conclusions and Recommendations

A. Summary

My goal upon the completion of this research was not to develop a solution. Rather, my task was to initiate a discussion of which, to date, has been absent from the public discourse. As stressed in Chapter 1, since the inception of the AVF in 1973, the Army consistently struggles with the same challenges as any modern day employer: the expectation of benefits and services for the employee and his or her family. The Army has slowly shifted its focus from only recruitment of soldiers, but also to the retention of family members through the development of the AFC and subsequent ACC, both as family retention tools that are similarly used in Army recruiting campaigns. I have analyzed the language in the AFC and the ACC, and illuminated the use of patriotic and nationalistic rhetoric to imagine, create, and build a community surrounding the military installations; I demonstrated how the U.S. Army creates an "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006) and group identity through language and selected visual compositions. I have explained the possibility of the repercussions from the utilization of the term "national treasure," as referenced to the Army family and as applied to the ACC, and how it subsumes the "ideal American" myth.

Within each of these analyses, I utilized tropes found in post-colonial theory when explicating the relationship that has long existed between the United States Army and its citizens due to the nation's historically colonial background and nuances associated with the development of a national army and its unique characteristics. Through the use of this post-colonial lens, it enabled me to describe the perceived "uniqueness" of the American Army and its soldiers and family members. I have shown that the early memories of American wars, beginning with the Revolutionary War, have been filled with nationalistic rhetoric that has

consistently been modified to "elevate soldiers above the body of the people" (Resch, 1998, p. 197). I have detailed in this research how these memories are collective in nature within an historical context of the institution of the Army and of the national government.

Chapter 2 began with a brief historical background of the ACC and its development, from initial quality of life complaints addressed by Army wives just prior to the initiation of the AVF to the ongoing response of Army and civilian leadership. Chapter 3 described the current available literature and its existing gaps in regards to the study of the Army and Army families in general. This chapter also described how I planned to approach these shortcomings by applying Focuault's example of a genealogical method of Critical Discourse Analysis to the narrative emergence of the ACC.

In Chapter 4, I introduced the genealogy of the history of the soldier and the Army family by examining the materialization of the professional all-volunteer Army prior to the events that unfolded on September 11th, 2001. This genealogical history described patriotic and nationalistic rhetoric and actions from the inception of the Continental Army under the leadership of General George Washington, followed by the continued re-invention and recognition of the warrior after the Civil War, the application of the call to duty inherent in the obligations of a citizen-soldier during World War II, and the transformation from the draft to a professional all-volunteer army following the Vietnam War through the end of the Cold War.

The shift in focus of Army leadership from the soldier to the soldier's family was examined in Chapter 5. This chapter addressed the previous discourses associated with soldiers and their families and how lessons of the past created new discursive formations addressing today's soldiers and their families through the creation of the AFC. The implementation of the

AFC, and thereby the succeeding Information Paper leading to the creation of the ACC, was the primary focus of Chapter 6. The analysis in this chapter addressed the challenges associated with the intended purpose of the document (i.e., to improve the quality of life of soldiers and their families) and an Army leader initiative, and also described how the onus of execution of the Army leaderships' promises as placed upon civilian community members. Since I analyzed the textual and visual semiotics of the AFC and ACC in both Chapters 5 and 6, I was able to address how these posters, documents, and/or agreements may create conflict depending upon the position of the reader, as well as supplying an additional example of the perpetuation of myths through discourse currently evident in the civilian community through popular culture, as set forth in Section D of this chapter.

B. Limitations

"The object was to learn to what extent the effort to think one's own history can free thought from what it silently thinks, and so enable it to think differently" (Foucault, 1985, p. 2).

As with all methodologies, there are limitations. Discourse, by its very nature, lends clarity to a facet of political science but rarely lends itself to conclusions in absolute. Since there are no "absolute" truths when conducting discourse, "competing claims are possible regarding the same discourse" (Powers, 2001, p. 64). However, the goal of this research is to elevate the consciousness of the respective communities, analyze relevant discursive genealogy, and to initiate a discussion, that, to date, has been absent in the public debate.

The challenge in examining such a new Department of the Army concept and associated documents is that, as more communities sign the ACC, the access to information via websites is constantly changing. Documents are removed and replaced by new ones (as in the Army Community Covenant Information Paper, 2008). However, the fluid nature of these documents and their transformation are as central to this research as the initial concept that fashioned them.

The initial language, rhetoric and continued discourses have significant import with regard to these documents and the use of imagery to convey the idea of "community." I have found the dialogism is occurring in additional iterations and changes to the document have added to the discursive formations that create the emergence of identity among the people associated with them.

My status as a volunteer with the Department of the Army's Volunteer Corps and Core Trainer for the Department of the Army's Family Morale Welfare and Recreation Command, in addition to my thirty plus years of living as an Army "dependent" daughter, active duty officer, and "dependent" wife create an inextricably linked bias to the nature of my analysis in sympathy with the Army soldier and his/her family. Having stated these potential biases, I have conducted this research with an ever-present cognizance of this limitation and challenged my preconceptions through theory and discourse analysis. As Foucault says: "But if one is interested in doing historical work that has political meaning, utility and effectiveness, then this is possible only if one has some kind of involvement with the struggles taking place in the area in question" (1980, p. 64).

C. Future Research

This research created as many questions as provided answers. There are many viable directions to expand or break from this material. The visual aspects, the discourses associated with the media, the concept of "identity through census," more in-depth examination of recruiting videos, blogs, and the dialogues that are created around them lead to rich material that still has yet to be examined and discussed. One direction in which I would like to continue my research is to examine movies before, during, and after a war. I would like to compare the movies based on the discourses that are occurring in the political realm that address the

perspective of "popular" and "unpopular" wars and examine the portrayal of soldiers and, separately, family members.

As the United States was formed from the dissolution of the dominion held by British imperial power, it might be interesting to explore and delve deeper into the impacts of colonization and the effects associated with the formation and mindset of the United States military. Even though colonization affected the United States differently than currently classified "third world countries," the consequences of colonization have had profound effects on the military as an institution in the United States to this day; specifically its concern with avoiding the term colonizer and preferring the terms occupier or supporter. U.S. Army discourse rarely addresses the U.S. Army as a colonizing force.

A third possibility for the extension of this current research is to examine the ACC information paper and website for the causes associated with the discrepancy between North Dakota's ACC signings and the rest of the country (See Appendix B, para. 3.b.). There are no current active duty Army unit installations in North Dakota, therefore implying a large support network established for Army Reserve and National Guard soldiers.

D. Conclusion

The ACC is written by Army leadership, yet addressed from the civilian community to the Army families and communities. This dichotomy between the first person author and signatory is troublesome, particularly since the document outlines expectations of what the civilian community will do for the Army community. It utilizes "we" intending to be inclusive and subsume all varieties of identity but through an in-depth analysis of the document it is evident that boundaries and exclusion are reinforced.

Leaders in the civilian community have an invested interest in demonstrating support for the military. Each time a large deployment occurs from their neighboring military base, businesses struggle, classroom sizes contract, and neighborhoods empty. However, the document does not define a "conjoined military and civilian community" or expectations for the entire community as a whole. The linkage between military and civilian communities so carefully crafted through documents such as the ACC continue to reflect the historical (and Machiavellian) concern by military leaders that only "citizen soldiers" will protect their country. The need to "conjoin" military and civilian communities is reflected in Secretary Cohen's 1998 speech at Ohio Wesleyan University when he remarked on the lack of Americans who have "fathers and mothers or brothers and sisters who are wearing a uniform" (Cohen, W., 1998, Para. 26). He continued by saying that "one of the challenges that we have in peacetime is to prevent any kind of gap from developing between the military and civilian worlds" (Cohen, W., 1998, Para. 27). One of the assumptions Secretary Cohen makes is by the existence of a lack of association, there must be a lack of support. It is possible that the apparent constructed and manipulated public support by local civilian leaders, through the agreement associated with the ACC, will breed an awareness of services and support the soldier and his/her family have and the lack of services and support provided the civilian and his/her family (Gronke and Feaver, 2001, p. 130). Instead of creating unity of purpose, perceptions may lead to bitterness and resentment. Further research is needed to closely examine, through interview and discourse, the reactions and perceptions of civilian community leaders and members who sign and participate in their ACC. Objective measurements can be conducted to evaluate civilian community involvement as well as Army and Civilian family perception of inclusion or exclusion.

Figure 5: The myth of the warrior as portrayed through song (Dick Clark Productions, 2009).

The AFC and the ACC reflect the military's historical attempt to counter many of the original assumptions created by fears of civil society of armies they had experienced from the European tradition and associated with soldiers and camp followers. A discursive formation developed, characterized by patriotic rhetoric and the conceptualization of a soldier-warrior imbued with loyalty, honor, and courage. The myth of the warrior has continued its reinvention in new ways in 2009 through public and celebrity support of organizations such as the "Wounded Warrior Project." Examples of which are songs like Trace Adkins' "Til the Last Shots Fired" (Crosby & Johnson, 2008)[27] traces the history of battles (See Figure 5) and performed to emphasize the sacrifices soldiers may have to make, illustrated as a Marine from the Wounded Warrior Project wheels onto the stage in his dress uniform introducing the song during the 2009 Country Music Awards. This act illuminated discursive formations and continued constructions of an identity, an image; or as Hall says, the production of identity through the retelling of the past (1989, p. 69). The Marine's caveat prior to the song: "It's not about the War, it's about the Warrior" (See Figure 6).

[27] Sung on-stage at the 2009 Country Music Awards with the West Point Cadet Glee Club singing accompaniment (Dick Clark Productions, 2009). To view the video see YouTube: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_0mm4u2VzDs, accessed April 20, 2010.

Figure 6: "It's not about the war, it's about the warrior." (Dick Clark Productions, 2009)

Lastly, albeit directed towards influencing a specific outcome from the Army's perspective, there appears to be some flexibility in the ACC, because it has possibilities of changing based on the needs of the community. This is evidenced in the aforementioned example of Morris County's Armed Forces Community Covenant. Although gathering and signing of this document had become the predominant event, it is not clear if they understood the purpose and meaning of what they were signing. This may be evidence that signing and symbology have replaced content in the next evolution of the Covenant. Or it may be evidence of a discursive evolution of the ACC as a civilian community attempts to create a document that truly represents the civilian community as well as the military.

REFERENCES

Alexander, Y. and Kraft, M. B. (2008). *Evolution of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy*. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International.

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities*. New York, NY: Verso.

Arlington National Cemetery Website. (n.d.). *Ceremonies. The 3rd U.S. Infantry.* Retrieved April 24, 2010. Website: http://www.arlingtoncemetery.org/ceremonies/old_guard.html.

Army Community Covenant Info Paper. (2008). *2008 U.S. Army Posture Statement*. Retrieved January 11, 2010. Website: http://www.army.mil/aps/08/information_papers/sustain/Army_Community_Covenant.html.

Army Community Covenant Website. (n.d.). Retrieved December 1, 2009. Website: http://www.army.mil/community.

Army Community Covenant Events Website. (2010). *Community Covenant Ceremonies by Date* [Spreadsheet]. Retrieved April 4, 2010. Website: http://www.army.mil/community/downloads/CCEvents.pdf.

Army Community Covenant Frequently Asked Questions Website. (2010). Retrieved March 31, 2010. Website: http://www.army.mil/community/faq.html.

Army Community Covenant Resources Website. (n.d.). Retrieved March 31, 2010. Website: http://www.army.mil/community/resources.html.

Army Family Action Plan Website.(n.d.). Retrieved October 18, 2009. Website: http://www.myarmyonesource.com/FamilyProgramsandServices/FamilyPrograms/ArmyFamilyActionPlan/Default.aspx.

Army Family Covenant Website. (n.d.). Retrieved October 20, 2009. Website: https://www.myarmyonesource.com/communitiesandmarketplace/armyfamilycovenant/default.aspx .

Army Family Strong Commercial. (2008, May 10). Families are Strong. U.S. Army Families are Army Strong [videofile]. Retrieved April 28, 2010. Website: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Li5EtTLd1eE.

Army of One Recruiting Commercial. (2004). The Creeds [videofile]. Retrieved April 20, 2010. Website: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OSsPOC4xZNM.

Army Reserve Family Programs Website (n.d.). "How It All Began." Retrieved October 19, 2009. Website: http://www.arfp.org/skins/ARFP/display.aspx?Action=display_page&mode=User&ModuleID=8cde2e88-3052-448c-893d-d0b4b14b31c4&ObjectID=9cfaa53a-6153-4c39-8e14-dff127c24c73.

Army Strong Commercial. (n.d.). The Way They See You [videofile]. Retrieved April 20, 2010. Website: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g3Z8dKJv814.

Army Strong Commercial. (2006, October 25). 2006 U.S. Army Recruiting Campaign "Army Strong" [videofile]. Retrieved April 10, 2010. Website: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRHw_Zxyaq0.

Army Workforce Diversity Info Paper. *2008 U.S. Army Posture Statement*. Retrieved April 10, 2010. Website: http://www.army.mil/aps/08/information_papers/sustain/Diversity.html.

Baird, E. (1986). Army Community Service History. Enclosure from Chief, Army Community Service Division, E.G. Vivalda. 1988, February 25. Alexandria, Virginia: Department of the Army.

Bastow, T. (2008). Defence discourse II: A corpus perspective on routine and rhetoric in defence discourse. In A. Mayr (Ed.), Pp. in *Language and Power: An Introduction to Institutional Discourse* (pp. 138-162). New York: Continuum.

Be All That You Can Be Commercial. (1986, May 8). A Path to College [videofile]. Retrieved April 20, 2010. Website: http://youtube/watch?v=QplWbNg57h4 .

Be All That You Can Be Commercial. (1994). So What's On Your Resume? [videofile]. Retrieved April 20, 2010. Website: http://youtube/watch?v=DDbNtFL2TUI.

Beauvoir, S. (1989). *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books.

Birren, F. (1945). *Selling With Color*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Birren, F. (1961). *Color Psychology and Color Therapy*. Secaucus, N.J.: University Books, Inc.

Bodnar, John. (1996). The Attractions of Patriotism. In J. Bodnar (Ed.), *Bonds of Affection* (pp. 3-18). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Boyce, P. (2006, October 9). U.S. Army Announces New 'Army Strong' Advertising Campaign; National Advertising Begins Nov. 9. *Army.mil/new release*. Retrieved March 27, 2010. Website: http://www.army.mil/-newsreleases/2006/10/09/363-us-army-announces-new-army-strong-advertising-campaign-national-advertising-begins-nov-9.

Burlas, J. (2001, January 26). Army Gets New Slogan, Logo. Army News Service. Retrieved March 28, 2010. Website: http://www.amc.army.mil/amc/pa/febissue.html.

Burns, R.R. (2002). *Pathfinder: First In, Last Out*. New York: Ivey Books.

Burkett, G.B. and Whitley, G. (1998). *Stolen Valor: How the Vietnam Generation was Robbed of its Heroes and its History*. Dallas: Verity Press, Inc.

Bush, G.W. (2009). *Farewell Address to the Nation (January 15, 2009)*. Retrieved April 10, 2010. Website: http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/4450.

Chastain, S. (1986, May 27). GIs' Loved Ones Bite the Bullet. Chicago Tribune (1963-Current file), D3. Retrieved May 4, 2010, from ProQuest Historical Newspapers *Chicago Tribune* (1849 - 1986). (Document ID: 1087694822).

Cohen, A. P. (1985). *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. New York: Tavistock Publications.

Cohen, W. S. (1998). Secretary Cohen's Remarks at Ohio Wesleyan University Graduation, May 10, 1998, St. Delaware, Ohio. Retrieved April 3, 2010. Website: http://www.defense.gov/Transcripts/Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=1146.

Cohn, L. (1999). "The Evolution of the Civil-Military 'Gap' Debate" paper prepared for the TISS Project on the Gap Between the Military and Civilian Society. Retrieved March 25, 2010. Website: http://www.poli.duke.edu/civmil/cohn_literature_review.pdf.

Colonel John Barrister Chapter of the NSDAR. (n.d.). Retrieved March 27, 2010. Website: http://www.coljohnbanister.org/banister.htm.

Constitution of the United States. (1787). Retrieved April 1, 2010. Website: http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html.

Citrin, J., Haas, E., Muste, C., and Reingold, B. (1994). Is American Nationalism Changing? Implications for Foreign Policy. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Mar., 1994), pp. 1-31.

Crosby, R. & Johnson, P. (2008). 'Til the Last Shot's Fired [Recorded by Trace Adkins]. On *X* [Compact Disc]. Nashville: Capitol Nashville.

Dao, James. (2001, January 10). Ads Now Seek Recruits for 'An Army of One'. *The New York Times.* Retrieved March 27, 2010. Website: http://www.nytimes.com/2001/01/10/us/ads-now-seek-recruits-for-an-army-of-one.html?pagewanted=1.

Defense Finance and Accounting Service (DFAS). (1980). Monthly Basic Pay (Table). Retrieved April 23, 2010. Website: http://dfas.dtic.mil/militarypay/militarypaytables/militarypaypriorrates/1980.pdf.

Defense Finance and Accounting Service (DFAS). (2010). Military Pay (Table). Retrieved March 27, 2010. Website: http://www.dfas.mil/militarypay/militarypaytables/2010WebPayTable34.pdf.

Department of the Army. (20 June 1994). *Transportation and Travel: Travel Overseas*. Army Regulation (AR) 55-46. Washington, D.C.

Department of the Army. (2005). *The Army (FM-1)*. Retrieved March 20, 2007. Website: http://www.army.mil/fm1.

Department of the Army. (1 May 2008). Information Management Staff Action Process and Correspondence Policies. *HQs DA Memo 25-52*. Washington, D.C.

Department of the Army. (2008). *Demographics 2008: Profile of the Military Community*. Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Military Community and Family Policy). Washington, D.C.

Department of the Army. (2008). *Facilities Engineering Army Facilities Management*. Army Regulation (AR) 420-1. Washington, D.C.

Department of the Army. (2009). *Heraldic Activities: Department of the Army Seal, and Department of the Army Emblem and Branch of Service Plaques*. Army Regulation (AR) 840-1. Washington, D.C.

Devilbiss, M.C. (1990). *Women and Military Service*. Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air University Press.

Dick Clark Productions. (2009, April 5). Academy of Country Music Awards: Trace Adkins and the West Point Glee Club, USMA [videofile]. Las Vegas, CBS, Inc. Retrieved April 20, 2010. Website: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IqjpG9xYjOc .

Donato, A. E. (2008, June 27). U.S. Army, NMI to ink community covenant. *Saipan Tribune*. Retrieved April 14, 2010. Website: http://www.saipantribune.com/newsstory.aspx?cat=1&newsID=81206 .

Doyle, J.B. (1913). *Frederick William von Steuben and the American Revolution*. Steubenville, OH: The H.C. Cook Company.

Dunlap, C.J. (1994). Welcome to the Junta: The Erosion of Civilian Control of the U.S. Military; Wake Forest Law Reviw, Vol. 29. (2). pp. 341-392.

Farrell, L. (Producer) & Ford, J. (Director). (1949). *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* [Motion Picture]. United States: Argosy Pictures.

Feaver, P. D. and Kohn, R. H. (Eds.) (2001). *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Finlayson, E. M. (1987). Perceptions of the Army Wife: Her Role in a Changing Society. In G.D. Ryan & T.K. Nenninger (Eds.), *Soldiers and Civilians: The U.S. Army and the American People*, (pp. 47-52). Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration.

Flyvberg, B. (2007). *Making Social Science Matter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Forman, S. (1950). *West Point: A History of the United States Military Academy.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Fort Hood Army Community Service Website.(n.d.). Retrieved March 27, 2010. Website: http://www.hoodmwr.com/acs/.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews 1972-77,* ed. Gordon, C. N.Y.: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1985). *History of Sexuality, Vol II.: The use of Pleasure*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (2010a). History of Sexuality, Vol I: We "Other Victorians." In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (pp. 292-300). New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (2010b). History of Sexuality, Vol I: The Repressive Hypothesis. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (pp. 301-330). New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (2010c). Nietsche, Geneaology, History. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (pp. 76-100). New York: Vintage Books.

Frese, P. R. and Harrell, M. C. (Eds.) (2003). *Anthropology and the United States Military*. New York: Palgrave McMillan.

Gellner, Ernest. (2006). *Nations and Nationalism.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Geren, P. and Casey, G.W., Jr. *2008 Army Posture Statement*. 2d Session, 110th Congress, 26 February 2008.

GoArmy.com Benefits website. (n.d.). Retreived March 31, 2010. Website: http://www.goarmy.com/benefits/money_allowances.jsp?bnrcd=A607-ITBP-ACNP-01012010-07-07021-TEXTAD.

Green, S. (2003). *Army Family Programs, Past, Present, and Future: A Strategic Perspective.* Retrieved from Storming Media. (A280514)

Greene, Bob. (1990). *The Homecoming*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Grizzard, Frank E. (2000). "George Washington and the Society of the Cincinnati." The Papers of George Washington Articles. Retrieved March 16, 2010. Website: http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/articles/grizzard_2.html.

Gronke, P. and Feaver, P. D. (2001). Uncertain Confidences: Civilian and Military Attitudes about Civil-Military Relations. In P. Feaver & R. Kohn (Eds.), *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (pp. 129-162). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Grossman, R.P. and Wisenblit, J.Z. (1999). What we know about consumers' color choices. *Journal of Marketing Practice: Applied Marketing Science,5*(3), 78-88.

Grovoogui, S.N. (2003). Criticism and Form: Speech Acts, Normativity, and the Post-Colonial Gaze. In Francois Debrix (Ed.), *Language, Agency, and Politics in a Constructed World* (pp. 121-142). New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

Hall, S. (1989). Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation. *Framework, 36*, 68-81.

Harrell, M. B. (Producer). (2008). Central Texas College [Special Episode]. *Insight with Mary Beth Harrell*. Podcast retrieved from http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-5339268297516254001#.

Hauf, Kandice.(1996). The Community Covenant in Sixteenth Century Ji'an Prefecture, Jiangxi. *Late Imperial China*. Vol 17, (2). Pp. 1-50.

Helstand, H.O.S. (1908, September 6). The United States Army as a Career. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 1, 2010. Website: http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9F07E3D61631E233A25755C0A96F9C946997D6CF.

Hobsbawm, E.J. (1990.) *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Howarth, D. (2000). *Discourse*. Philidelphia: Open University Press.

IMCOM-Europe Public Affairs. (2007, April 24). Uppercasing 'Families' highlights support.*Army.mil/News*. Retrieved March 27, 2010. Website: http://www.army.mil/-news/2007/04/24/2831-uppercasing-families-highlights-support/.

Inbody, D. S. (2009). Grand Army of the Republic or Grand Army of the Republicans? Political Party and Ideological Preferences of American Enlisted Personnel. *Faculty Publications-Political Science.* Paper 51. http://ecommons.txstate.edu/polsfacp/51.

Ignatieff, M. (1995). *Blood and Belonging: Journeys Into the New Nationalism.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

James I, King. (1606, April 10). *First Charter of Virginia*. Retrieved April 23, 2010. Website: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va01.asp.

Jensen, K. (1996) Women, Citizenship, and Civic Sacrifice: Engendering Patriotism in the First World War. In J. Bodnar (Ed.), *Bonds of Affection* (pp. 139-159). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jimmy Stewart Museum. (2006). Hometown Boy. Retrieved April 22, 2010. Website: http://www.jimmy.org/biography.

Johnson, C. (2004). *The Sorrows of Empire*. New York: Holt Paperbacks.

Kamen, A. (2005, April 20). Zoellick Keeps His Head. *Washington Post*. Retrieved March 27, 2010. Website: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A2433-2005Apr19.html.

Kapp, L. (2005, February 16). *Operations Noble Eagle, Enduring Freedom, and Iraqi Freedom: Questions and Answers About U.S. Military Personnel, Compensation, and Force Structure.* Congressional Research Service Report. Order Code RL31334. Retrieved April 22, 2010. Website: http://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL31334.pdf.

Kaylor, R.D. (1988). *Paul's Covenant Community: Jew and Gentile in Romans*. Atlanta: John Knox Press.

Kestnbaum, M.(2000). Citizenship and Compulsory Military Service: The Revolutionary Origins of Conscription in the United States. *Armed Forces and Society*, *27*(1), 7-36.

Kleingeld, P. (2000). Kantian Patriotism. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, *29* (4), 313-341.

Kohn, R. H. (1970). The Inside History of the Newburgh Conspiracy: America and the Coup d'Etat. *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, *27*, (2), 188-220.

LaFollette, V. (2009). *Army Community Services (ACS) Facilities Standardization Plan (Feb 2009)*. Retrieved November 1, 2009. Website: http://www.myarmyonesource.com/cmsresources/Army%20OneSource/Media/PDFs/Family%20Programs%20and%20Services/Information%20Papers/ACSStandardizedFacilities.pdf.

Lazuras, N. (1999). *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Post-colonial World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LeDoux, J. (2009, November 16). Belvoir, Prince William County renew Community Covenant in Manassas. *Army.milNews*. Retrieved April 4, 2010. Website: http://www.army.mil/-news/2009/11/16/30472-belvoir-prince-william-county-renew-community-covenant-in-manassas.

Levine, I. & Brown, L.R. (1973). Tie a Yellow Ribbon 'Round the Old Oak Tree [Recorded by Dawn]. On *Dawn Featuring Tony Orlando Single* [Record Vinyl]. Location unk: Bell.

Levy, Y. (2007). Soldiers as Laborers: a Theoretical Model. *Theory and Society*. Vol. 36 (2). Pp. 187-208.

Lincoln, Abraham. (1865, March 4). 2nd Inaugural Address. Retrieved March 22, 2010. Website: http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3512.

Luke, T.W. (2006). Finding New Mainstreams: Perestroika, Phronesis, and Political Science in the United States. In S. Schram & B. Caterino (Eds.) *Making Political Science Matter: Debating Knowledge, Research, and Method* (pp. 252-268). New York: New York University Press.

Machiavelli, N. (2008). *The Art of War & The Prince*. Radford, V.A.: Wilder Publications, Inc.

Mann, A. (Director). (1955). *Strategic Air Command* [Motion Picture]. United States: Paramount Pictures.

Mayer, H. A. (1996). *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and the Community during the American Revolution*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Mayflower Compact. (1620, November 11). Retrieved April 23, 2010. Website: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/mayflower.asp.

McCaffrey, B. (2009). BR McCaffrey Associates LLC. Retrieved March 27, 2010. Website: http://www.mccaffreyassociates.com/pages/news.htm and http://www.mccaffreyassociates.com.

Military Service Publishing Company. (1956). *The Officer's Guide (22nd Edition)*. Harrisburg, PA.: The Telegraph Press.

Mills, S. (2008). *Discourse*. New York: Routledge.

Moore, H.G. and Galloway, J. (1992). *We Were Soldiers Once…and Young*. New York: Random House, Inc.

MyArmyOneSource.com. (n.d.) *Army Family Action Plan.* Retrieved November 1, 2009. Website: https://www.myarmyonesource.com/FamilyProgramsandServices/FamilyPrograms/ArmyFamilyActionPlan/Default.aspx .

Nelson, R. (2004, August 13). Lack of Regulations leaves county vulnerable to sexually oriented businesses. *Kentucky New Era*, p. A9.

Nixon, R. M. (1984). *No More Vietnams*. New York: Arbor House.

Nussbaum, M. (1994). Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism. *Boston Review,19* (5). Retrieved April 4, 2010. Website: http://bostonreview.net/BR19.5/nussbaum.html.

Oath for Commissioned Officers. (1959). DA Form 71, 1 August 1959. Retrieved April 1, 2010. Website: http://www.history.army.mil/faq/oaths.htm.

Oath of Enlistment. (1962). Title 10, US Code; Act of 5 May 1960 replacing the wording first adopted in 1789, with amendment effective 5 October 1962. Retrieved April 1, 2010. Website: http://www.history.army.mil/faq/oaths.htm.

Obama, B. (2002). *Remarks of Illinois State Sen. Barack Obama Against Going to War with Iraq (October 2, 2002)*. Retrieved April 10, 2010. Website: http://www.barackobama.com/2002/10/02/remarks_of_illinois_state_sen.php.

Obama, B. (2009). *Inaugural Address (January 20, 2009)*. Retrieved March 20, 2010. Website: http://millercenter.org/scripps/archives/speeches/detail/4453.

Obama, B. (2010). *State of the Union Address (January 27, 2010)*. Retrieved March 20, 2010. Website: http://millercenter.org/scripps/archives/speeches/detail/5706.

O'Leary, C. E. (1996). Blood Brotherhood: The Racialization of Patriotism, 1865-1918. In J. Bodnar (Ed.) *Bonds of Affection* (pp. 53-81). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Onuf, N. (2003). Parsing Personal Identity: Self, Other, Agent. In F. Debrix (Ed.) *Language, Agency, and Politics in a Constructed World* (pp. 26-49). New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

Parker v. Levy, 417 U.S. 733 (1974).

Peck, A. D. (n.d.). Military Spouse Residency Relief Act approved in Senate. *MilSpouse.com*. Retrieved April 1, 2010. Website: http://www.milspouse.com/military-spouse-residency-relief-act.aspx.

Perez-Pena, R. (2000, 19 November). Counting the Vote: The Absentee Ballots; G.O.P. and Democrats Trading Accusations on Military Votes. *The New York Times.* Retrieved March 28, 2010. Website: http://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/19/us/counting-vote-absentee-ballots-gop-democrats-trading-accusations-military-votes.html.

Powers, P. (2001). *The Methodology of Discourse Analysis*. London: Jones and Bartlett Publishers, Inc.

Preston, K. O. (2005, February 16). "House Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Quality of Life and Veteran's Affairs." Verbal testimony given Before the House Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Quality of Life and Veteran's Affairs. Washington, D.C. Retrieved April 2, 2010. Website: http://www.ausa.org/programs/nco/nconews/Pages/PrestonTestimony.aspx .

Rangel, C. (2006). "Rangal Reintroduces Draft Bill." Press Release, Office of Congressman Charles Rangal, 15th District New York. Retrieved March 25, 2010. Website: http://www.house.gov/list/press/ny15_rangel/CBRStatementonDraft02142006.html.

Reagan, R. (1981). *First Inaugural Address (20 January 1981)*. Retrieved March 20, 2010. Website: http://millercenter.org/scripps/archives/speeches/detail/3407.

Resch, J.P. (1999). *Suffering Soldiers: Revolutionary War Veterans, Moral Sentiment, and Political Culture in the Early Republic.* Boston: Sheridan Books, Inc.

Rico, A. (2003, December 18). Breaking the bubble of isolation: Fort Drum offers resources for off-post communities - Part II. *Fort Drum Blizzard*. Retrieved April 1, 2010. Website: http://www.drum.army.mil/sites/postnews/blizzard/blizzard_archives/news.asp?id=2&issuedate=12-18-2003.

Rockoff, H. (2006). Veterans. In S.B. Carter, S.S. Gartner, M.R. Haines, A.L. Omstead, R. Sutch, and G. Wright (Eds.) *Ed of Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Ed.ESS.02.

Rohall, D. E. (2005, August 12). "Making a Base into a Home: A Qualitative Study of Base and Local-Area Conditions Most Important to Military Families." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Marriott Hotel, Loews Hotel, Philadelphia, PA Online <PDF>. 2009-05-25 from http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p23345_index.html.

Ryan, G. D. and Nenninger, T. K. (Eds.) (1987). *Soldiers and Civilians: The U.S. Army and the American People*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration.

Sacket, P. and Mavor, A. (2003). Military Advertising and Recruiting. In P. Sacket & A. Mavor (Eds.) *Attitudes, Aptitutdes and Aspirations of American Youth* (pp. 218-249). Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press.

Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Samuel, L. R. (1996). Dreaming in Black and White: African-American Patriotism and World War II Bonds. In J. Bodnar (Ed.), *Bonds of Affection* (pp. 191-210). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Saxon, W. (1988, December 31). Faber Birren, 88, Expert on Color. *New York Times (Obituaries)*. Retrieved April 10, 2010. Website:

http://www.nytimes.com/1988/12/31/obituaries/faber-birren-88-expert-on-color.html?pagewanted=1 .

Schneider, Robert J. and Martin, James A. (1995). Military Families and Combat Readiness. In F.D. Jones (Ed.), *Textbooks of Military Medicine, Volume I: Military Psychiatry-Preparing in Peace for War* (pp. 19-30). Washington, D.C.: Borden Institute.

Schumer, C. E. (2004). "Schumer Warns Capital Region Military Families To Beware Of Payday Loan Scams That Prey On Soldiers & Rip Them Off With 900% Interest." Press Release, Office of Senator Charles E. Schumer, United States Senator, New York. Retrieved April 1, 2010. Website: http://schumer.senate.gov/new_website/record.cfm?id=264780.

Schumer, C. E. and Maloney, C. (2007). "Helping Military Moms Balance Family and Longer Deployments." *The Joint Economic Committee.* Retrieved April, 1 2010. Website: http://jec.senate.gov/archive/Documents/Reports/MilitaryMoms05.11.07Final.pdf.

Servicemembers Civil Relief Act of 2004, Pub. 108-189 50 U.S.C. App. §§501–596 (19 Dec 2003) as amended by Public Law 108-454 (10 Dec 2004). Retrieved April 1, 2010. Website: http://www.justice.gov/crt/military/scratext.htm.

Shinseki, E. (2010, March 9). Remarks to American Council on Education. Phoenix, Arizona. Retrieved May 4, 2010. Website: http://www1.va.gov/opa/speeches/2010/10_0309.asp.

Shohamy, E. G. (2006). *Language Policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches.* New York: Routledge.

Stewart, R.W. (2004). *American Military History, Vol. 1: The United States Army and the Forging of a Nation, 1775-1917.* United States Government Publishing Office.

The Army Wants to Join You Commercial. (1973). Assembly Line of Benefits [videofile]. Retrieved April 20, 2010. Website: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ANri2oLWjms.

Thompson, M. (2007, April 16). Exhausted troops. Worn out equipment. Reduced training. The lessons of Iraq and Afghanistan -- and how to undo the damage. *Time Magazine*. Retrieved March 31, 2010. Website: http://www.military-quotes.com/forum/why-our-army-breaking-point-t35178.html.

Tönnies, F. (1995). *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*. Translated and Edited by Charles P. Loomis. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

United States Census Bureau. (2009). *Poverty Thresholds 1980*. Retrieved April 23, 2010. Website: http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/threshld/thresh80.html.

United States Census Bureau. (2010). *Population Clocks*. Retrieved March 23, 2010. Website: http://www.census.gov/.

United States Department of Health and Human Services. (2009). *The 2009 HHS Poverty Guidelines.* Retrieved March 27, 2010. Website: http://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/09poverty.shtml.

United States Department of Veterans' Affairs. (2009) Memorial Day History. Retrieved March, 22, 2010. Website: http://www1.va.gov/opa/speceven/memday/history.asp.

Viroli, M. (1995). *For Love of Country: An essay on patriotism and nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.

Washington, G. (1776). *General Orders, August 1, 1776*. Headquarters, New York. Retrieved April 8, 2010. Website: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw050316)) .

Washington, G. (1778). *Letter to John Banister*. Retrieved from The Papers of George Washington Documents. Retrieved March 16, 2010. Website: http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/documents/revolution/banister.html.

Washington, G. (1779). *Letter from George Washington to Continental Congress, August 24, 1779*. West Point, New York. Retrieved April 3, 2010. Website: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw160191))#N0224-379 .

Washington, G. (1783a). *Newburgh Address (March 15, 1783)*. Newburgh, New York. Retrieved April 9, 2010. Website: http://presidentialrhetoric.com/historicspeeches/washington/newburgh.html.

Washington, G. (1783b). *Washington's Farewell Address to the Army (November 2, 1783)*. Rocky Hill, New Jersey. Retrieved March 16, 2010. Website: http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/documents/revolution/farewell/index.html.

Washington, G. (1789). *First Inaugural Address (April 30, 1789)*. Retrieved April 1,2010. Website: http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3446.

Watkins, S. and Sherk, J. (2008). *Who Serves in the U.S. Military? The Demographics of Enlisted Troops and Officers.* Washington, D.C.: Center For Data Analysis Report on National Security Defense. Retrieved April 23, 2010. Website: http://www.heritage.org/Research/Reports/2008/08/Who-Serves-in-the-US-Military-The-Demographics-of-Enlisted-Troops-and-Officers.

Westbrook, R. B. (1996). In the Mirror of the Enemy: Japanese Political Culture and the Peculiarities of American Patriotism in World War II. In J. Bodnar (Ed.), *Bonds of Affection* (pp. 211-230). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wickham, J. A. (1983). "The Army Family" *White Paper 1983*. Department of the Army. Washington, D.C.

Wikler, N. (1990). Hidden Injuries of War. In C.R. Figley and S. Leventman (Eds.), *Strangers at Home: Vietnam Veterans Since the War* (pp. 87-108). New York: Brunner/Mazel, Inc.

Witte, J. (1987). Blest Be the Ties that Bind: Covenant and Community in Puritan Thought. *Emory Law Journal, 36*, 579-601.

Wolcott, J. (Ed.) (2007a, December 1). "Now Hiring." (Cover Story). *Snohomish County Business Journal*. Retrieved April 1, 2007. Website: http://www.snohomishcountybusinessjournal.com/article/20071201/SCBJ01/8099492.

Wolcott, J. (Ed.) (2007b, December 1). "Spouse's story spurns chamber action." *Snohomish County Business Journal*. Retrieved April 2, 2007. Website: http://www.snohomishcountybusinessjournal.com/article/20071201/SCBJ01/416232777.

Zillman, D. N. (1997). Essay: Where Have All the Soldiers Gone: Military Veteans in Congress and the State of Civil-Military Relations. *Maine Law Review,49* (149), pp. 86-108.

Appendix A: Army Family Covenant

1. The First Army Family Covenant, October 17, 2007

AMERICA'S ARMY:
THE STRENGTH OF THE NATION™

Army Family Covenant

We recognize...

... The commitment and increasing sacrifices that our Families are making every day.
... The strength of our Soldiers comes from the strength of their Families.

We are committed to...

... Providing Soldiers and Families a Quality of Life that is commensurate with their service.
... Providing our Families a strong, supportive environment where they can thrive.
... Building a partnership with Army Families that enhances their strength and resilience.

We are committed to Improving Family Readiness by:

- Standardizing and funding existing Family programs and services
- Increasing accessibility and quality of health care
- Improving Soldier and Family housing
- Ensuring excellence in schools, youth services and child care
- Expanding education and employment opportunities for Family members

Kenneth O. Preston
Sergeant Major of the Army

George W. Casey, Jr.
General, United States Army
Chief of Staff

Pete Geren
Secretary of the Army

SOLDIERS • FAMILIES • ARMY CIVILIANS
ARMY STRONG.

2. Army Family Covenant, October 6, 2009 (With new Secretary of the Army's signature)

Appendix B. Information Paper for the Army Community Covenant

DAIM-IS
23 Oct 09

SUBJECT: Army Community Covenant Information

1. Purpose: To provide an Army Community Covenant overview.

2. Background:

a. In October 2007, the Secretary of the Army initiated the Army Family Covenant which symbolizes the Army's commitment to Soldiers and their Families, a national treasure. The commitment is a formal recognition of their sacrifices, and the fact that they are shouldering the burden of war for our nation. The senior leaders substantively backed up their commitment through funding a number of quality of life programs. The Army continues to find ways to improve the quality of life of our Soldiers and their Families, thus improving readiness.

b. The Community Covenant was the natural next step to formalize support from local communities across America. The program is designed to foster and sustain effective state and community partnerships with the Army to improve the quality of life for Soldiers and their Families, both at their current duty stations and as they transfer to other states. It is a formal commitment of support by state and local communities to Soldiers and Families of the Army – Active, Guard and Reserve.

c. Community Covenant signing ceremonies are a community's public commitment to build partnerships that support the strength, resilience and readiness of Soldiers and their Families, and assist with implementation of the Army Family Covenant. The first official Community Covenant signing took place in Columbus, Ga., on April 17, 2008, with the Fort Benning community. In 2008, 85 Community Covenant signing ceremonies were conducted around the country recognizing the strength of Soldiers and their Families, as well as the support of the communities in which they live and work. In 2009, the program extended beyond Army installations and reaches communities away from installations.

3. Facts:

a. Since the program's inception in April 2008, there have been 359 signing ceremonies in 46 states, three territories, and the District of Columbia. Nearly 50 ceremonies are scheduled and an additional 200 more are planned into early 2010.

b. North Dakota has conducted 198 of the 359 ceremonies. North Dakota's League of Cities set a goal to be the first state in the nation to have all cities and counties sign a community covenant document. North Dakota has 357 cities and towns, and 53 counties. Similar initiatives are being established in North Carolina and Wyoming.

c. Community Covenant signing ceremonies also raise awareness of the sacrifices of Soldiers and their Families and the need to support them before, during, and after deployments. Best practices are discussed in the planning of ceremonies and during the events in an effort to collect existing programs and promote to Soldiers and their Families. New programs are announced at signing ceremonies when applicable.

d. A new Community Covenant Web site was launched in August 2009 which provides linkages between Soldiers and their Families, as well as community organizations, and needed programs and services. Presently, the Web site lists 88 national programs. Additionally, 243 local best practices have been identified by state as well as 225 support programs and services outside the gates of Army installations. The programs are categorized based on needs of Soldiers and Families. www.army.mil/community.

e. The categories and some sample programs include:

(1) Deployed Soldier/Unit Support: A number of Adopt-A-Unit programs have developed as a result of Community Covenant in locations such as El Paso, Texas, Central Florida (National Guard) while others have expanded (Fort Drum). Operation Gratitude, the USO and many others send care packages to deployed Soldiers.

(2) Education Support: Tuition assistance and scholarship programs for Soldiers, spouses and family members are highlighted.

(3) Employment Support: Hire a Hero, Spouses to Teachers, MilSpouse.org, and Nurse Licensure Compact help both veterans and Spouses with employment opportunities and training.

(4) Family Support: American Freedom Foundation raises money to support welfare and educational issues of wounded and their families. Our Military Kids provides support to children of deployed Guard and Reserve members. Believe In Tomorrow provides hospital and respite housing services to critically ill children and their families with priority for military children. Fisher House, National Military Family Association and Military Child Education Coalition are also featured.

(5) Financial Support: USA Cares, Army Emergency Relief (AER), and Operation Homefront are just a few programs which assist Families struggling financially, especially due to deployments.

(6) Support for Surviving Spouses: Four prominent programs are featured through Community Covenant, all providing various forms of support to spouses and family members of fallen Soldiers: American Widow Project, Tragedy Assistance Program for Spouses (TAPS), Helping Unite Gold Star Survivors (HUGSS), and the American Legion Legacy Scholarship Fund.

(7) Wounded Warrior Support: Wounded Warrior Project, American Freedom Foundation, and Intrepid Fallen Heroes Fund are featured on the site along with a number of programs which build or renovate homes for wounded Soldiers. Challenge America works with

communities across America to support the development of recreational and occupational programs for returning injured Military and their Families. The American Legion Operation Comfort Warrior program provides comfort items and other goods for patients at military hospitals.

f. The new Community Covenant Facebook page provides an opportunity for distributing information as well as gain feedback from Soldiers and their Families. Soldiers and their Families, as well as the general public, become a "fan" of the program and automatically receive information posted by the Community Covenant team about new programs or media stories related to community support. Fans also comment on programs and share information about services they have received or can provide.

4. Way Ahead:

a. An engagement plan is under development to market Community Covenant to Soldiers and their Families to ensure they are aware of the community-based programs and services. Community Covenant will also target Americans wanting to get involved in supporting Soldiers and their Families and share best practices. The plan includes utilizing Army communication tools and targeted events as well as external media and other means to reach specific audiences.

b. A formal partnership with Army One Source (AOS) is under development. Community Covenant and AOS programs complement each other by sharing programs and highlighting best practices. The AOS Community Support Coordinators help connect Community Covenant programs to Soldiers and their Families.

Prepared by: Laura DeFrancisco/703-601-7492
Approved by: James Matthews/703-601-7497

Appendix C. Army Community Covenant

1. Example for wide dissemination of The Army Community Covenant.

AMERICA'S ARMY:
THE STRENGTH OF THE NATION™

Army Community Covenant

SUPPORTING THOSE WHO SERVE

Anytown, USA

Together, We are committed to building strong communities.

We, the Community, recognize...

… The commitment Soldiers and their Families are making every day.
… The strength of Soldiers comes from the strength of their Families.
… The strength of Families is supported by the strength of the Community.
… The strength of the Community comes from the support of Employers, Educators, Civic and Business leaders, and its Citizens.

We, the Community, are committed to...

… Building partnerships that support the strength, resilience, and readiness of Soldiers and their Families.
… Assisting in the implementation of the Army Family Covenant.

Bob Smith Governor	**Sally Johnson** Mayor	**MG Frank Jones** Commander

U.S. ARMY

SOLDIERS • FAMILIES • ARMY CIVILIANS

ARMY STRONG.℠

2. Example Armed Forces Community Covenant, April 21, 2009

Morris County Armed Forces Community Covenant

Together, We are committed to building strong communities.

We, the Community, recognize…

…The commitment Service Members and their Families are making every day.

…The strength of Service Members comes from the strength of their Families.

…The strength of Families is supported by the strength of the Community.

…The strength of the Community comes from the support of Employers, Educators, Civic and Business leaders, and its Citizens.

We, the Community, are committed to…

…Building partnerships that support the strength, resilience, and readiness of Service Members and their Families.

…Assisting in the implementation of the Armed Forces Covenant.

Honorable Rodney P. Frelinghuysen
Congressman, NJ 11th Congressional District

Honorable Anthony R. Bucco
Senator, NJ 25th Legislative District

Honorable Michael Patrick Carroll
Assemblyman, NJ 25th Legislative District

Honorable Robert J. Maguire
NJ Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army

Honorable Gene Feyl
Director, Morris County Freeholder

Cyril Wekilsky
Mayor, Boonton

Thomas Donadio
Mayor, Boonton Township

Joseph P. Heywang
Mayor, Butler Borough

V. Nelson Vaughan, III
Mayor, Chatham Borough

Kevin R. Tubbs
Mayor, Chatham Township

Dennis Verbaro
Mayor, Chester Borough

William Cogger
Mayor, Chester Township

P. Ted Hussa
Mayor, Denville Township

James Dodd
Mayor, Town of Dover

Joseph Pannullo
Mayor, East Hanover Township

R. Scott Eveland
Mayor, Florham Park Borough

Len Fariello
Mayor, Hanover Township

Louis Lanzerotti
Mayor, Harding Township

Russell W. Felter
Mayor, Jefferson Township

Glenn L. Sisco
Mayor, Kinnelon Borough

David A. Runfeldt
Mayor, Lincoln Park Borough

George Vitureira
Mayor, Long Hill Township

Mary-Anna Holden
Mayor, Madison Borough

Neil J. Henry, Jr.
Mayor, Mendham Borough

Frank V. Cioppettini, Jr.
Mayor, Mendham Township

Richard E. Leary
Mayor, Mine Hill Township

Deborah Nielson
Mayor, Montville Township

Frank J. Druetzler
Mayor, Morris Plains Borough

H. Scott Rosenbush
Mayor, Morris Township

Donald Crestiello
Mayor, Morristown

Arthur R. Ondish
Mayor, Mount Arlington Borough

David M. Scapicchio
Mayor, Mount Olive Township

Stephen H. Shaw
Mayor, Mountain Lakes Borough

Joseph Nametko
Mayor, Netcong Borough

Michael M. Luther
Mayor, Parsippany-Troy Hills Township

Joseph L. Jorgensen
Mayor, Pequannock Township

Edward A. Metz
Mayor, Randolph Township

William Budesheim
Mayor, Riverdale Borough

Kathyann Snyder
Mayor, Rockaway Borough

Louis Sceusi
Mayor, Rockaway Township

Kathy DeFillippo
Mayor, Roxbury Township

Betty Sue Simmons
Mayor, Victory Gardens Borough

Kenneth Short
Mayor, Washington Township

William J. Chegwidden
Mayor, Wharton Borough

John Franklin
Chief Executive Officer of the United Way of Morris County

Laura Zink Marx
Executive Director NJ 2-1-1 Partnership

Paul Boudreau
President of the Morris County Chamber of Commerce

Patrice Picard
Executive Director Family Service of Morris County

Joseph Cavone
President, Daily Record

Commander Jack Sassaman
VFW District 10

Commander Brian Adams
Morris County American Legion

Commandant John Andrews
L/Cpl R.J. Slattery Detachment

MG Glenn K. Rieth
The Adjutant General, NJ

BG Larry D. Wyche
Commanding, JM&L LCMC Picatinny Arsenal

COL Russell J. Hrdy
Acting Senior Mission Commander Picatinny Arsenal

LTC John P. Stack
Garrison Commander, Picatinny Arsenal

CSM Larry C. Taylor
JM&L LCMC

CSM Rodney J. Rhoades
Garrison, Picatinny Arsenal

1st Sgt Kevin L. MacCheyne
Golf Co, 2/25th Marines

MAJ John Chacko
Golf Co, 2/25th Marines

COL Kim R. Brooks
U.S. Air Force

LT Raymond Yau
U.S. Navy

FS1 Albert Scales
U.S. Coast Guard

1SG Paul S. Wilcock
U.S. Army

MORRIS COUNTY LEAGUE OF MUNICIPALITIES

Appendix D: Copyright Permission and Fair Use Documentation

1. Copyright permission from U.S. Army.

Copyright Permission for Figures 1-4. (Suzanne Nagel, Personal e-mail communication, May 4, 2010)

Nagel, Suzanne S Ms CIV USA TRADOC USAAC [SUZANNE.NAGEL@USAAC.ARMY.MIL]

Erin -- The Army has no objection to you using the Army TV commercials, Web videos or other marketing materials as examples in your graduate thesis at Virginia Tech.

All materials should be credited with "Courtesy of the U.S. Army, Copyright U.S. Army."

If you need a more formal rights release, please let me know.

Respectfully,

SUZANNE NAGEL | YC | MEDIA, WEB AND LICENSING BRANCH CHIEF | U.S. ARMY ACCESSIONS COMMAND | BUILDING 203 | 232 OLD IRONSIDES AVE, 2ND FLOOR | FORT KNOX, KY 40121-5163 | DSN: 536-0853 | P: 502.626.0853 | F: 502.626.1146

2. Fair Use Analyzer

Virginia Tech ETD Fair Use Analysis Results for Figures 5-6.

Name: Erin Lunday

Description of item under review for fair use: Dick Clark Productions. (2009, April 5). Academy of Country Music Awards: Trace Adkins and the West Point Glee Club, USMA [videofile]. Las Vegas: CBS, Inc. Retrieved April 20, 2010. Website: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IqjpG9xYjOc.

Report generated on: 05-04-2010 at : 11:34:47

Based on the information you provided:

Factor 1

Your consideration of the purpose and character of your use of the copyright work weighs: in favor of fair use

Factor 2

Your consideration of the nature of the copyrighted work you used weighs: against fair use

Factor 3

Your consideration of the amount and substantiality of your use of the copyrighted work weighs: in favor of fair use

Factor 4

Your consideration of the effect or potential effect on the market after your use of the copyrighted work weighs: in favor of fair use

Based on the information you provided, your use of the copyrighted work weighs: in favor of fair use.