

RECRUITING FOR DIFFERENCE AND DIVERSITY
IN THE U.S. MILITARY

by
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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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After shifting to an all-volunteer force (AVF) in 1973, the U.S. military was forced to expand recruiting efforts beyond the ideal figure of the white male soldier in order to meet personnel needs. Shaped by the economic realities of the AVF, such recruiting efforts sought to show individuals historically excluded from military service, namely women and people of color, that there was a place for them in the military. The presence of women and people of color in recruitment materials contributes to ideals of citizenship and articulates understanding of gender, race, sexuality, and class in relation to military inclusion. Focusing on recruitment advertisements published in three consumer magazines—*Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan*—from January 1973 to December 2014, this dissertation argues that the project of military inclusion is driven by a need to recruit bodies in maintenance of the military institution and obfuscates class inequalities critical to recruiting, reconfigures ideas about military masculinity, promotes ideologies of colorblindness, and regulates ideas about gender and sexuality.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2017, debates about who should be able to serve in the United States military have largely been settled in favor of what has come to be known as inclusion. Recent policies advocating for inclusion began in 2008 when the military officially embraced diversity as an operational goal. Two years later in 2010, gay, lesbian, and bisexual service members were permitted to openly serve. In February 2016, all ground combat units were opened to women, marking the full inclusion of women in the military.¹ Four months later the Senate approved a bill that if passed would require women to register for Selective Service.² The full inclusion of women, both in terms of access to combat positions and a sharing of the responsibility of martial service, was quickly followed by an end of the military's ban on transgender service members in June 2016.³ While it remains to be seen how inclusive policies regarding military personnel enacted from 2008 to 2016 will fare under the current presidential administration, the U.S. military, in 2017, is an Armed Forces invested in diversity and inclusion. Policies advocating for inclusion are framed as a mark of a better and stronger military, and a better and stronger nation.⁴

¹ "Implementation of the Decision to Open All Ground Combat Units to Women," § Armed Services Committee (2016), <http://www.armed-services.senate.gov/hearings/16-02-02-implementation-of-the-decision-to-open-all-ground-combat-units-to-women>.

² Jennifer Steinhauer, "Senate Votes to Require Women to Register for the Draft," *The New York Times*, June 14, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/15/us/politics/congress-women-military-draft.html>.

³ Molly Redden and Amanda Holpuch, "US Military Ends Ban on Transgender Service Members," *The Guardian*, June 30, 2016, sec. US news, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/30/us-military-ends-ban-transgender-service-members>.

⁴ "Carter Opens All Military Occupations, Positions to Women," *U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE*, accessed December 16, 2015, <http://www.defense.gov/News-Article-View/Article/632536/carter-opens-all-military-occupations-positions-to-women>; Redden and Holpuch, "US Military Ends Ban on Transgender Service Members."

In the eight years from 2008 to 2016, there was a growing emphasis on military inclusion, cast in ever-broadening understandings of who belongs in a diverse military.

The recent emphasis on inclusion, whether for women, gay, lesbian, and/or transgender service members, is rooted in a broader history of practices and policies related to managing difference in the military. The emergence of a military invested in diversity and inclusion is linked to recruiting practices and a need for qualified personnel; a practice rooted in calls to desegregate the military in the 1940s and intensified by the shift to an all-volunteer force (AVF) in 1973. Recruiting practices and representations shape and reflect perceptions of which kinds of bodies are imagined as potential soldiers, both for the general public and for the military itself. Focusing on military recruitment advertisements in print magazines from 1973 to 2015, this dissertation explores how inclusion emerged as the dominant mode for dealing with problems of difference in the U.S. military.

Propelled by recent policies espousing inclusion as a fundamental characteristic of the military institution, this dissertation interrogates how practices and representations of recruiting have contributed to a vision of a diverse and inclusive military. Informed by Jasbir Puar's exploration of connections between gender, sexuality, race, class, and ethnicity in relation to war machines, I explore how inclusion and diversity, as projects linked to ideas of difference, have become connected to, and implemented in the U.S. military, the strongest and largest war machine in the world.⁵ Policies advocating for inclusion in the last decade have been subsumed under the label of diversity and framed as an expression of American exceptionalism. The history of inclusion in the Armed

⁵ Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2007).

Forces has been based upon the economic realities of recruiting in a model of service—the all-volunteer force—that required the military to reach beyond the ideal figure of the white male soldier in order to meet personnel needs. Whereas ideas about difference often revolve around exclusion, I focus on military inclusion to explore how difference can function to construct certain bodies as able and willing to participate in the labor and risk of reproducing state institutions. In exploring military inclusion, I seek to answer three interrelated questions. The first asks how, and to what extent, different bodies are represented in military recruitment advertisements throughout the era of the AVF. The second asks how ideas about gender, race, sexuality, and class merge and intersect to frame some bodies as belonging in the military, some bodies as conditionally included in the military, and other bodies as excluded. Lastly, I ask how the project of military inclusion articulates and produces knowledge about difference. To answer these questions, I draw upon critical frameworks interrogating diversity in institutional life, the role of gender, sexuality, race, and class in processes of militarization, and the function of media and advertising in relation to military recruitment.

This dissertation argues that the project of military inclusion, as represented in recruiting ads, policy documents, and recruiting strategies, is based on distinct categories of difference, some of which are framed as virtuous markers of an inclusive military and others of which are framed as threatening to the integrity of the military institution. The ways distinct categories of difference are represented in military inclusion set the parameters of acceptable forms of difference within the military. Specifically, this dissertation argues that the project of military inclusion is driven by a need to recruit bodies in maintenance of the military institution and obfuscates class inequalities critical

to recruiting, reconfigures ideas about military masculinity, promotes ideologies of colorblindness, and regulates ideas about sexuality and gender, particularly for military women. The project of military inclusion is also a project of national inclusion, of forging the boundaries of marking some bodies, and the attendant forms of difference attributed to them, as belonging and others as not. This dissertation approaches representations and practices of military recruitment advertising as integral to the project of military inclusion and draws on feminist theory on diversity, militarization, and intersectionality to interrogate how representations of difference contribute to the maintenance of the military institution.

Conceptualizing Diversity, Inclusion, and Difference in the Military

Diversity, as a concept, practice, and mode of inclusion, served as the catalyst and justification for recent policies advocating for a more inclusive military. Diversity is a seemingly ubiquitous, highly contingent, and ultimately, very slippery term. In policy terms, diversity is often understood as the inclusion of different bodies, in which “different” tends to refer to women and racialized minorities.⁶ The vocabulary of diversity has emerged as a contemporary iteration of concepts dealing with problems of difference, such as equity, multiculturalism, and equal opportunity.⁷ The opaqueness of diversity allows it to be infused with a variety of meanings as well as to be adopted in ways that signal vague political commitment free from specific relationships of power such as racism and sexism.⁸ The vagueness with which the term diversity is used makes it

⁶ Nirmal Puwar, *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*, 1st edition (Oxford : New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004).

⁷ Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham ; London: Duke University Press Books, 2012); Gavan Titley and Alana Lentin, *The Politics of Diversity in Europe* (Council of Europe, 2008); Puwar, *Space Invaders*.

⁸ Titley and Lentin, *The Politics of Diversity in Europe*.

important to define diversity focusing on its function. In terms of the military and recruitment advertising, diversity operates as an institutional characteristic produced in representations, official discourses, and practices. Guided by Nirmal Puwar, Sara Ahmed, Anne Balsamo, and Teresa de Lauretis, I define diversity as a technology of inclusion; a term mapped onto particular bodies marked as different through representations and institutional discourses and deployed to coincide with, legitimate, and promote institutional aims and goals of the military.⁹ In using the term technology of inclusion, I am pointing to inclusion as a product of a collection of practices, including representations in recruiting ads and institutional discourses in policy documents, which have the specific effects of marking particular bodies as belonging in the military. Recruiting ads function as a technology of inclusion working in conjunction with policies and other institutional practices to shape associations between different bodies and military service. Practices of representing, targeting, and making appeals to potential recruits in recruiting ads draw on a variety of strategies, composed of both visual and textual elements, to mark particular bodies as different as well as belonging in the military. Guided by this framework, I utilize the concepts of maneuvering and intersectionality to explore the ways representations of diversity and inclusion in recruiting advertisements articulate the place of difference in the military institution.

Drawing on Cynthia Enloe's groundbreaking scholarship on gender and militarization, I use the term maneuvering to refer to the ways bodies, objects, and ideas are used, both physically and symbolically, in the maintenance of the military institution.

⁹ Puwar, *Space Invaders*; Ahmed, *On Being Included*; Anne Balsamo, *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women* (Duke University Press Books, 1995); Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Indiana University Press, 1987).

Enloe uses the term maneuvers to describe how the military institution is founded on the control of physical women as service members, military wives, and camp followers, as well as the control of ideas about femininity.¹⁰ Enloe further details how hierarchies of class, race, and sexuality contribute to the ways different women and ideas about them are utilized in the maintenance of military life.¹¹ Technologies of inclusion and maneuvering are imbricated, as inclusion signals an embrace of ideas about the place of difference in the military—though these ideas may be resisted by individuals within the military—as well as a process through which physical bodies marked as different are able to be incorporated without disrupting the military’s aims and goals. Technologies of inclusion, such as recruiting ads, are forms of maneuvering rooted in histories of inclusion and exclusion and are shaped by overlapping systems of power. In order to interrogate the interplay between overlapping systems and structures of power at work in diversity, inclusion, and maneuvering, I draw on Black feminist theory. Rooted in scholarship and activism and coined as a term by Kimberlé Crenshaw, intersectionality is an analytical tool for addressing the ways structures of power, such as racism and patriarchy, interact and situate people as subordinated and/or privileged within multiple systems of power.¹² In her seminal article, Crenshaw explores manifestations of the interplay of racism and patriarchy and the implications for women of color. In doing so, Crenshaw contends that intersectionality offers a mode for exploring social and legal

¹⁰ Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives*, First Edition edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

¹¹ *Ibid.*; Cynthia H. Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?* (London: Pluto Press, 1983); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, updated edition (University of California Press, 2000).

¹² Kimberle Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99, doi:10.2307/1229039; Combahee River Collective, “The Combahee River Collective Statement,” 1982.

phenomena in which some differences are held to matter while other differences are not.¹³ The incorporation of difference, whether in reference to incorporating race as an influential difference in anti-violence policy or in reference to including racial difference as a symbol of military diversity, raises issues of power.¹⁴ Within the military institution, questions of differences that matter are laden with power; the power to exclude groups from full inclusion as citizens, to include certain groups when bodies are needed in warfare, and to include certain forms of difference as symbols of a diverse military. Guided by concepts of diversity, inclusion, maneuvering, and intersectionality, this dissertation explores representations in recruiting advertisements as evidence of a history of negotiating these forms of power, marked through the inclusion of different bodies within the military institution. In reading military recruitment advertising as a site of contestation, I draw on media studies scholarship demonstrating the ideological importance of advertising. In doing so, I situate military recruitment advertising as a material and symbolic process linked to the nation and shaped by historical contexts and shifting personnel needs.

Military Recruiting, Advertising, and Public Relations

Military recruitment advertisements serve a range of practical and ideological functions. As an organization, the military requires bodies and the ultimate goal of recruitment advertising is the reproduction and maintenance of the military institution. The maintenance of the military institution entails speaking directly to potential recruits and crafting a vision of military service for the broader public. The objective of military recruitment advertising is to encourage enlistments, increase awareness of military

¹³ Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins."

¹⁴ Ahmed, *On Being Included*.

service, and promote favorable opinions of the military, military service, and military service members. Broadly speaking, military recruitment advertising is concerned with awareness and attitudes.¹⁵ Recruitment advertisements seek to make potential recruits and influencers aware of military service as a possible opportunity and then to persuade them to develop positive attitudes towards the military. Various branches of the military thus utilize advertising efforts to promote a unique vision of their branch-specific brand and signal possible pathways through which individuals can identify themselves in relation to the military. As such, military recruitment advertisements function in two ways: as forms of advertising speaking directly to and creating awareness amongst potential recruits and as forms of public relations in promoting favorable opinions of the military.

Media studies scholars have demonstrated that advertisements represent cultural values and dominant notions of personal identity while shaping and reinforcing popular attitudes.¹⁶ Advertisements promote visions of, and aspirations for, the good life, and in so doing, craft a particular symbolic universe in which some cultural values are promoted and sanctioned and other values are marginalized or erased.¹⁷ Roland Marchand sees the symbolic universe crafted through advertising as a social mirror distorted by fantasy and aspiration.¹⁸ In many contexts, advertisements contain a particular aspirational logic motivated by the economic goal of moving merchandise. In serving a particular economic function, advertisements serve an important cultural function as well, signaling the

¹⁵ United States Marine Corps Awareness and Attitude Tracking Study, Spring 1995, J. Walter Thompson Company, Account Files, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

¹⁶ Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (Basic Books, 1995); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (University of California Press, 1985).

¹⁷ Lears, *Fables of Abundance*.

¹⁸ Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*.

parameters of which cultural values are to be aspired to and who are seen as able to fulfill such aspirations. Military recruitment advertisements function similarly in articulating personal and social values but do so by promoting military service as a product. A sale in the context of military advertising is “an enlistment or a contractual commitment by a youth”.¹⁹ In striving to meet the goal of procuring an enlistment, military recruiting ads represent and construct idealized individuals imagined as aspiring to military service and the values they possess. For example, many recruiting ads during WWI and WWII often made appeals to the patriotism of potential recruits, expressed through values of freedom and self-sacrifice, with a focus on longstanding links between whiteness, maleness, and military service.²⁰ In doing so, recruiting ads first envisioned who was seen as recruitable and likely to express patriotic values and then strove to speak directly to those individuals. However, messages of patriotism and military service in such ads also spoke to the broader public. Melissa T. Brown contends that recruiting ads not only give potential recruits reasons to serve but also present a public face of the military and attempt to legitimize military service.²¹ Military recruitment efforts are also concerned with reaching figures known as influencers, such as parents and other adults who can persuade or encourage youth to enlist and whose opinions are valued by potential recruits.²² Military recruitment advertisements strive to reach a broad range of

¹⁹ James Dertouzos and Steven Garber, “Effectiveness of Advertising in Different Media: The Case of U.S. Army Recruiting,” *Journal of Advertising* 35, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 111.

²⁰ Loren Miller, “Glamorous G.I. Girls: Constructing American Servicewomen’s Identities During World War II” (American University, 2015); Melissa T. Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity: The Construction of Gender in US Military Recruiting Advertising During the All-Volunteer Force* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

²¹ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

²² T Reichert, J.Y Kim, and I. Fosu, “Assessing the Efficacy of Armed-Forces Recruitment Advertising: A Reasoned-Action Approach,” *Journal of Promotion and Management* 13, no. 3–4 (2007): 399–412.

individuals, not just those whose enlistment would constitute a successful sale, and as such function as a form of public relations.

Public relations initiatives seek to define a corporation's image and present it to the public as part of a quest for social and moral legitimacy.²³ Marchand contends that public relations initiatives focus on the establishment of a corporate soul with which members of the public can identify.²⁴ The military's standing as an embodiment of state power and as a physical representation of the state²⁵ has meant that efforts to communicate a vision of the military's image are deeply linked to ideas of the image and soul of the nation. Closely tied to ideas of nation and the construction of a military soul for national interests, there have been debates and crises over how the military represented itself and who was seen as embodying the soul of the Armed Forces. Perhaps the most enduring figure of the soul of the U.S. Armed Forces is that of Uncle Sam, a figure devised by James Montgomery Flagg in 1917 as a visual way to express the state and America's relationship to World War I.²⁶ Christopher Capozzola found that the figure of Uncle Sam contributed to a culture of coercive voluntarism in which obligation was the primary pathway through which Americans could identify their relationship to war and to state institutions.²⁷ As a figure of the military's soul, Uncle Sam articulated a specific set of social and cultural values, namely obligation and sacrifice, which functioned to delineate who was being a good citizen. The culture of obligation promoted

²³ Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*, New Ed edition (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2001).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

²⁶ Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

²⁷ Ibid.

through the figure of Uncle Sam was further linked to the introduction of the Selective Service Act and America's first mass conscription.²⁸ The Selective Service system was composed of local draft boards that followed federal guidelines in assigning draft classifications and was the structure for all national drafts until 1973.²⁹ The example of Uncle Sam points to the interplay between symbolic representations and physical realities of recruiting while signaling how representations of military recruiting articulate social and cultural values of nationalism.

In the context of military recruitment advertisements, nationalism is expressed through shifting discourses that function to detail available pathways, often aspirational in nature, through which individuals can identify themselves in relation to the military as an institution. Representing nationalism is not an explicit objective of military recruitment advertising, but the presence of nationalism in recruitment materials speaks both to cultural perceptions of the military's role in relation to the nation and the history of recruitment advertising as a form of state propaganda. Recruitment advertisements connect individuals with ideas about the nation and their place within it. Just as Uncle Sam portrayed a culture of obligation in which civic duty was the primary mode through which individuals could relate to the military and the nation during WWI, other figures have constructed different pathways for the expression of nationalism. In a study of military recruiting ads during World War II, Loren Miller found that the figure of the glamorous G.I. girl was integral to recruiting efforts focused on women.³⁰ The glamorous

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Dorit Geva, "Different and Unequal? Breadwinning, Dependency Deferments, and the Gendered Origins of the U.S. Selective Service System," *Armed Forces & Society* 37, no. 4 (October 1, 2011): 598–618, doi:10.1177/0095327X09358654.

³⁰ Miller, "Glamorous G.I. Girls: Constructing American Servicewomen's Identities During World War II."

G.I. girl was based on fantasies of military life stressing whiteness, heterosexuality, and consumerism as essential to communicating directly to the aspirations of potential recruits while also articulating a version of femininity seen as acceptable by military personnel.³¹ Women were not required to register for the Selective Service system and as such were not eligible for the draft and required a different pathway for identifying with the war effort. The very real personnel needs during WWII, corresponding with changing ideas about the role of women in the military, contributed to a shift in portraying the glamorous G.I. girl as a figure of nationalism and military service.

The figure of the G.I. girl demonstrates the link between military recruiting as a form of advertising, public relations, and nationalism crafted at the convergence of symbolic and material concerns. The figure of the glamorous G.I. girl would not have been necessary if there were no need for women to serve in support positions in the Armed Forces and would not have been possible without the enactment of policies forming all-women branches of the military during WWII. The emergence of the glamorous G.I. girl reflects a moment of crisis in portraying the soul of the Armed Forces in recruitment efforts. Unable to meet all their personnel needs through volunteers and a draft that forcibly procured service members, military advertisements had to devise a new figure to speak to women as potential service members and to legitimate women service members to the public. Moments when the military needs more service members than can be drafted or persuaded to volunteer require a shift or expansion of who is seen as a figure of the military, of who is included within expressions of the military's soul. The symbolic function of military recruitment advertisements corresponds with physical policies of enlistment, which have shifted over the course of the military's history. The

³¹ Ibid.

shift to an AVF in 1973, in which conscription ended and the military needed to advertise to recruits in a new way, is the largest and most influential shift in military policies of enlistment and had profound implications for practices and representations of military recruiting as a form of advertising, public relations, and an expression of nationalism.

The All-Volunteer Force and the Military Advertising Industry

Planning for the AVF began in 1968 and was initiated by President Richard Nixon's formation of the Gates Commission in 1969, tasked with developing a plan for eliminating the draft.³² Planners of the AVF were deeply concerned with how the American public viewed the military and initial surveys found that the American public supported an AVF.³³ The American public's support of an AVF was linked to opposition to American involvement in Vietnam and to the Selective Service draft system.³⁴

Inequalities in the draft system resulted in draftees being more likely to be assigned to combat assignments and created a draft that relied heavily on working-class, poor, and minority Americans.³⁵ Beth Bailey contends that concerns over social inequality in the Selective Service system converged with movements for social change, including calls for racial equality, women's equality, and gay rights, to make the shift to the AVF possible.³⁶ Social concerns surrounding the Selective Service system, along with physical realities of personnel needs and casualties during the war in Vietnam, altered links

³² Willard Latham, *Modern Volunteer Army: The Modern Volunteer Army Program: The Benning Experiment, 1970-1972*, CMH 90-2 (Department of the Army Publications, 2010).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Robert K. Griffith, *The US Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force, 1968-1974*, Army Historical Series, CMH Pub 30-18 (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1997).

³⁵ Ibid.; Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Geva, "Different and Unequal?"

³⁶ Beth L Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force* (Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard University Press, 2009), <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10402486>.

between military service and expressions of nationalism. Expressions of nationalism articulated through values of patriotism, obligation, and duty were unpopular with many Americans who felt that the draft disproportionately burdened them with the risks and consequences of war. The shift to the AVF was made politically possible due to the unpopularity of the draft and transformed relationships between Americans and military service. The notion of an entirely voluntary Armed Forces framed military service not as an obligation or requirement, but rather as a choice. The change in policy was influenced by, and influenced shifting ideologies surrounding nationalism and military service and required a reconsideration of how to sell the idea of military service to potential recruits and the broader public. Concerns over how to sell the AVF to the American public were central to the planners of the AVF.

An essential aspect of preparation for the AVF was the development of a positive public relations image, which required increasing the budget and reach of recruiting and advertising efforts.³⁷ While different branches of the military debated the merits and effectiveness of advertising, the shift to the AVF led the Armed Forces to increasingly turn to paid advertising as a tool for reaching potential recruits.³⁸ Following an initial investment in advertising in planning for the shift to the AVF, advertising became increasingly important in helping the Armed Forces reach recruits and meet personnel needs.³⁹ In 1971, before the shift to the AVF, the Army—the largest branch of the military and the branch in need of the most recruits— had an advertising budget of \$18.5

³⁷ Latham, *Modern Volunteer Army: The Modern Volunteer Army Program: The Benning Experiment, 1970-1972*.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Reichert, Kim, and Fosu, “Assessing the Efficacy of Armed-Forces Recruitment Advertising: A Reasoned-Action Approach.”

million, a budget estimated to be over \$300 million in 2016.⁴⁰ Since the implementation of the AVF, budgets for recruiting and advertising for the military as a whole have grown to a more than one billion dollar a year industry. The proposed budget for 2016 includes \$856 million for recruiting and \$507 million for advertising for all branches of the Armed Forces.⁴¹ While different branches of the military worked with advertising agencies prior to the AVF, the new need for personnel resulted in an unprecedented scale of military advertising efforts. The increased investment in recruiting to maintain the AVF has intensified relationships between the military and civilian advertising agencies, resulting in the formation of the military advertising industry. The military advertising industry refers to a coordinated network of relationships between military personnel and civilian advertising agencies. Specifically, the military advertising industry consists of representatives from different branches of the Armed Forces—including recruiting and public affairs units for the Army, Coast Guard, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force,⁴² Department of Defense advertising and market research programs such as the Joint Advertising Market Research & Studies (JAMRS) group and the Joint Recruiting Advertising Program (JRAP), and advertising agencies awarded military advertising contracts as well as smaller agencies sub-contracted by the primary agencies. Each branch of the Armed Forces has their own recruiting and advertising units, their own

⁴⁰ Bailey, *America's Army*; "Operation and Maintenance Overview: Fiscal Year 2016 Budget Estimates" (Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller)/Chief Financial Officer, February 2015).

⁴¹ "Operation and Maintenance Overview: Fiscal Year 2016 Budget Estimates."

⁴² It must be noted that the Coast Guard occupies an ambivalent relation to the Armed Forces. At times, the Coast Guard has been listed as a branch of the Armed Forces in recruiting ads while at other times it has not. The unique nature of the Coast Guard's position in the Armed Forces will be discussed further in Chapter VI. Though omitted from some scholarship on military recruitment, Coast Guard advertising is included in this dissertation due to the incidence of Coast Guard advertising in the three publications and the significance of Coast Guard advertising in relation to military inclusion.

budgets, and awards contracts to different advertising agencies. Military personnel and advertising agencies often work in close relationships with one another to craft recruiting materials and portray a vision of military service. For example, all recruiting materials produced for the Marine Corps by J. Walter Thompson—who have been the Corps primary advertising partner since the 1940s—feature images of actual Marines and are presented to focus groups of Marines before publication. Working in cooperation with one another, members of the military advertising industry are tasked with creating an image of military service for the various branches of the Armed Forces and are held accountable for creating advertising materials that help the military meet enlistment goals. The implementation of the AVF, which signaled the end of the draft as a reliable mode of procuring enlistments during times of need, has led to a recruiting environment in which the primary competition for military recruitment advertising is recruitment efforts made by other branches of the military.

For example, Marine Corps recruiting plans during the era of the AVF frequently mention the other major branches of the Armed Forces as their primary competition in the marketplace.⁴³ In order to procure enlistments, branches of the Armed Forces were faced with developing unique brand identities. Sarah Banet-Weiser contends that branding attaches social and cultural meaning to commodities as a mode of making them resonate with consumers.⁴⁴ The AVF led to a shift in which choice became the primary pathway through which individuals could now relate to military service. The shift also led to a recruiting environment in which recruits had first to choose military service then

⁴³ United States Marine Corps FY97 Recruitment Advertising Plan, J. Walter Thompson Company, Account Files, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

⁴⁴ Sarah Banet-Weiser, *Authentic(TM): The Politics of Ambivalence in a Brand Culture* (New York: NYU Press, 2012).

choose which branch to serve in. As such, each branch's individual brand spoke to individuals in different ways, promoting different tangible and intangible benefits of military service and in so doing, articulating different values. For example, the Marine Corps has consistently relied on a branch image of the "Elite Warrior" and intangible benefits of transformation and elitism as the primary values gained by enlisting in the Corps.⁴⁵ In contrast to previous expressions of military service as an expression of civic duty, patriotism, and national pride, military service during the AVF has been framed as an individual choice made by weighing benefits and costs.

In a study of military recruitment materials and representations of masculinity, Melissa T. Brown contends that recruiting during the AVF revolves around appeals based on what individuals could get out of military service.⁴⁶ As individuals had to weigh whether the educational or financial benefits of military service outweighed costs of enlisting, the military advertising industry weighed what kinds of recruits were wanted for military service. Recruiting plans for the Marine Corps during the AVF generally focused on young white men as the most desirable potential recruits while acknowledging that recruiting small numbers of racial minorities—specifically Black Americans and Hispanics—and women was necessary to meet enlistment needs and minority officer quotas.⁴⁷ The military advertising industry's concern with reaching desirable recruits, particularly in relation to gender and race, points to a complicated recruiting environment during the AVF less focused on ideals of patriotism and civic duty and more focused on

⁴⁵ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*; United States Marine Corps FY01 Recruitment Advertising Plan, Account Files, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

⁴⁶ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

⁴⁷ J. Walter Thompson Company Proposal Reference Solicitation #M00027-78-R-0026 to United States Marine Corps, October 31, 1978, J. Walter Thompson Company, Account Files, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

identifying what groups of people are willing to consider enlisting and then working to target them with recruiting materials. Scholars have noted that propensity, meaning expectancy of serving in the military, is not the same as desire to serve.⁴⁸ Some groups may perceive the military as a site of opportunity not available in civilian life and expect to serve despite not wanting to be in the military.⁴⁹ As such, many recruitable individuals may most identify with the military as a way to obtain an education or get a steady paycheck, rather than as an expression of patriotic duty. Different branches of the military have developed different brand images, speaking to the variety of motivations for enlisting during the era of the AVF. Brown has noted that each branch of the Armed Forces has their own incentives for service that rely on different versions of masculinity.⁵⁰ The military advertising industry constructs unique brand images for each branch of the military as a way of distinguishing various forms of military service from one another in a competitive recruiting environment and in doing so, contributes to ideas of who is seen as desirable to serve in different branches of the Armed Forces.

The development of the military advertising industry was made possible by the AVF and has contributed to its success. The increased investment in recruitment advertising throughout the era of the AVF has led to a proliferation of recruiting materials that signify shifts in how military service is represented, who is seen as recruitable, and different pathways through which individuals can identify with the military institution. Spanning more than 40 years, the process of constructing recruiting materials during the era of the AVF took place against a backdrop of significant shifts in regards to the size of

⁴⁸ David R. Segal et al., "Propensity to Serve in the U.S. Military: Temporal Trends and Subgroup Differences," *Armed Forces & Society* 25, no. 3 (April 1, 1999): 407–27, doi:10.1177/0095327X9902500304.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

the military, enlistment goals, as well as varying social, political, and cultural contexts. Since the shift to the AVF in 1973, the overall size of the military decreased from 1.9 million enlisted personnel to less than 1.2 million.⁵¹ Over the course of the AVF, the number of accessions needed to maintain the military peaked at over 500,000 a year in 1977 and decreased to fewer than 200,000 in the 2010s.⁵² As the overall size of the military and the number of recruits needed to maintain the military declined, the military has become more diverse. The number of women in the military grew dramatically during the AVF from just over 42,000 in 1973 to more than 160,000 in 2015.⁵³ The percentage of Black service members in the military has been larger than their representation in the civilian population throughout the AVF, peaking in the late 1970s and remaining high until a decline in Black enlistments in 2001.⁵⁴ The number of Hispanics serving in the Armed Forces since the shift to the AVF in 1973 has increased as Hispanics have made up an increasing percentage of newly enlisted service members, particularly after the mid 1980s.⁵⁵ Pointing out demographic shifts over the course of the AVF signals how the era of the AVF is not a monolithic era, but rather is composed of multiple converging chronologies.

⁵¹ Eileen Patten, “Women in the U.S. Military: Growing Share, Distinctive Profile,” *Pew Research Center’s Social & Demographic Trends Project*, December 22, 2011, <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/12/22/women-in-the-u-s-military-growing-share-distinctive-profile/>.

⁵² David J. Armor and Curtis L. Gilroy, “Changing Minority Representation in the U.S. Military,” *Armed Forces & Society* 36, no. 2 (January 1, 2010): 223–46, doi:10.1177/0095327X09339900.

⁵³ Patten, “Women in the U.S. Military”; “Population Representation in the Military Services” (Office of the Under Secretary of Defense, Personnel and Readiness, 2015), <https://www.cna.org/pop-rep/2015/index.html>.

⁵⁴ “Population Representations in the Military Services” (Office of the Under Secretary of Defense, Personnel and Readiness, 2011), <http://prhome.defense.gov/portals/52/Documents/POPREP/poprep2011/index.html>; Armor and Gilroy, “Changing Minority Representation in the U.S. Military.”

⁵⁵ Armor and Gilroy, “Changing Minority Representation in the U.S. Military.”

As discussed, the size and composition of the military underwent significant changes from 1973 to 2015; changes that influenced the numbers of recruits needed to maintain and reproduce the military. During this same period there were numerous policy changes, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter II, shaped by political and social debates about the role of gender, race, sexuality, and class in relation to the military and military service. The chronology of the military advertising industry, informed by the recruiting market and economic reasoning tied to advertising and public relations, is driven by a logic of targeting and reaching recruits. This logic guides the military advertising industry and is pointedly unconcerned with commenting on the state of the military or of the nation and leads to representations in recruiting ads that vary in their responsiveness to, recognition of, and disavowal of broader social and political changes, including policy changes and military conflicts. However, the convergence of military policies, changing views on military service, and movements challenging social inequalities that made the AVF possible do resonate in recruiting materials published during the era of the AVF. While the goals of recruitment advertisements remained remarkably consistent throughout the era of the AVF, recruitment advertisements contain traces of the various forces shaping their creation, including military policies, creative decisions, cultural ideas about military service, and personnel needs. In order to explore how military recruitment advertisements shape the parameters of acceptable forms of difference in the military, this dissertation focuses on an analysis of recruitment advertisements published in print magazines.

Consumer Magazines and Military Recruitment Advertising

Since the implementation of the AVF, the military has utilized a variety of media outlets in its recruiting efforts. The choice to focus on print advertisements in consumer magazines was driven by the consistency with which the military advertising industry has utilized print advertising in magazines to reach potential recruits. While television advertising has composed the largest share of military advertising budgets during the AVF and the military advertising industry has increasingly turned to online advertising in the 2000s, advertising in magazines has been linked to successful enlistments and is the most cost effective media site for recruitment advertising.⁵⁶ Specifically, in a study of the effectiveness of Army recruitment advertising in different media in the 1980s, magazines were found to be effective in persuading youth to contact recruiters or move forward in an already initiated enlistment process.⁵⁷ While radio and television advertising were also found to be effective in persuading youth to enlist, magazines offer the most positive enlistment effects at the lowest spending levels.⁵⁸ Other desired effects of recruitment advertising, including building brand-images and improving public perception, have proven difficult to measure and justifications for advertising budgets primarily revolve around the effectiveness of advertising to increase enlistments.⁵⁹ In the early years of the AVF, magazines were the primary site of recruitment advertising efforts and were seen as an efficient media for reaching potential recruits.⁶⁰ For example, a 1979 advertising plan

⁵⁶ James Dertouzos, “The Cost-Effectiveness of Military Advertising” (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2009); Dertouzos and Garber, “Effectiveness of Advertising in Different Media: The Case of U.S. Army Recruiting.”

⁵⁷ Dertouzos and Garber, “Effectiveness of Advertising in Different Media: The Case of U.S. Army Recruiting.”

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Dertouzos, “The Cost-Effectiveness of Military Advertising.”

⁶⁰ J. Walter Thompson Company Proposal Reference Solicitation #M00027-78-R-0026.

for Marine Corps recruiting stated that magazines produced the best leads for recruiters, were best at selectively targeting potential recruits, and were the primary national media vehicle in recruitment advertising efforts.⁶¹ Although recruitment advertising efforts focused more on television in the 1990s, magazines continued to be the number two source of advertising awareness among potential recruits.⁶² In her book on masculinity and recruiting, Brown found consumer magazines to be rich sites for exploring representations in recruitment materials.⁶³ As a whole, consumer magazines both reflect and construct social realities and contain narratives that articulate national ideals.⁶⁴ Specifically, the three magazines selected as sites of study—*Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan*—each function as crucial sites for the construction of specific markets and identities, namely white masculinities, Black identities, and white femininities.

Founded in 1954, *Sports Illustrated* became a profitable publication in the mid-1960s as coverage shifted to focus on sports such as football, basketball, and baseball.⁶⁵ This shift coincided with an increased investment in male consumers and led to the view among consumers and advertisers that *Sports Illustrated* was not a sports magazine, but a men's magazine.⁶⁶ The link between *Sports Illustrated* and men as a target for advertisers

⁶¹ United States Marine Corps Recruitment Advertising Plan FY'79, J. Walter Thompson Company, Account Files, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

⁶² United States Marine Corps Attitude and Awareness Tracking Study - Summary Report and Findings - Male, October 1997, J. Walter Thompson Company, Account Files, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University; United States Marine Corps Attitude and Awareness Tracking Study - Summary Report and Findings - Female, June 1998, J. Walter Thompson Company, Account Files, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

⁶³ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

⁶⁴ Leo R. Chavez, *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁶⁵ Laurel R. Davis, *The Swimsuit Issue and Sport: Hegemonic Masculinity in Sports Illustrated* (SUNY Press, 1997).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

and primary audience reflects connections between representations of sports and ideals of masculinity. Scholars have noted how media representations of sports are influential in reflecting and constructing ideals of masculinity, particularly in relationship to ideas about the military and nationalism.⁶⁷ Samantha King contends that sporting events function to reproduce ideas of militarism and nationalism while reflecting ideals of masculinity, race, and military service.⁶⁸ Through an analysis of football, King demonstrates how media coverage of sports, on television and in magazines like *Sports Illustrated*, is symbolically and institutionally entangled with war.⁶⁹ The entanglement between *Sports Illustrated*, as a popular sports publication geared towards a mostly male audience, and war is also evident in practices of military recruitment advertising. Brown found that recruiting advertisements published in *Sports Illustrated* during the era of the AVF were influential in constructing understandings of military masculinity.⁷⁰ Immediately following the implementation of the AVF, the military advertising industry found *Sports Illustrated* to be an efficient publication for reaching their target audience of potential recruits. When planning to utilize paid print advertising as part of recruiting efforts in 1974, *Sports Illustrated* was recommended to the Marine Corps as a way to reach a high concentration of potential recruits, specifically young men ages seventeen to

⁶⁷ Thomas Oates and Zack Furness, eds., *The NFL: Critical and Cultural Perspectives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015); Thomas P. Oates, "The Erotic Gaze in the NFL Draft," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (March 1, 2007): 74–90, doi:10.1080/14791420601138351; Nick Trujillo, "Hegemonic Masculinity on the Mound: Media Representations of Nolan Ryan and American Sports Culture," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 8, no. 3 (September 1991): 290.

⁶⁸ Samantha King, "Offensive Lines: Sport-State Synergy in an Era of Perpetual War," in *The NFL: Critical and Cultural Perspectives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), 191–204.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

twenty-four.⁷¹ Since then, *Sports Illustrated* has been consistently targeted by the military advertising industry to reach potential recruits, particularly in efforts to reach young men interested in sports and likely to consider enlisting. Embedded in links between sports, masculinity, and the military, *Sports Illustrated* functions as a site for expressing ideals of manhood and masculinity and targeting men interested in both sports and warfare.

Intersections of masculinities and race in *Sports Illustrated* point to representations guided by a privileging of whiteness and masculinity as part of narratives of American male heroism, although coverage rooted in racial stereotypes has lessened in the 2000s when compared with the 1970s, 80s, and 90s.⁷² Broadly speaking, the prevalence of connections between war, military service, and sports represented in *Sports Illustrated* demonstrates how the military and sports have been crucial sites for the construction of white masculinities in the latter half of the 20th century. *Sports Illustrated*'s influential role in articulating ideals of white masculinities parallels the role *Ebony* played in constructing Black identities post-WWII.

Founded by John H. Johnson in 1945, *Ebony* played an influential role in the emergence of a Black consumer market. *Ebony* was founded in recognition of a need for media that accurately represented Black Americans in the face of post-WWII media

⁷¹ U.S. Marine Corps Year One Paid Advertising Media Proposal, March 25, 1974, J. Walter Thompson Company, Account Files, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

⁷² Michael L. Butterworth, "Race in 'The Race': Mark McGwire, Sammy Sosa, and Heroic Constructions of Whiteness," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24, no. 3 (August 1, 2007): 228–44, doi:10.1080/07393180701520926; Angela Lumpkin and Linda D. Williams, "An Analysis of Sports Illustrated Feature Articles, 1954–1987," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 8, no. 1 (March 1, 1991): 16–32, doi:10.1123/ssj.8.1.16; Jennifer Byrd and Max Utsler, "Is Stereotypical Coverage of African-American Athletes as 'Dead as Disco'? An Analysis of NFL Quarterbacks in the Pages of Sports Illustrated," *Journal of Sports Media* 2, no. 1 (May 9, 2008): 1–28, doi:10.1353/jsm.0.0002.

representations grounded in racial stereotypes.⁷³ The primary way *Ebony* represented Black Americans was through a focus on model individuals and narratives of success.⁷⁴ By focusing on prosperous and positive facets of Black American life, *Ebony* offered advertisers an innocuous site for promoting products to a previously untapped revenue source.⁷⁵ Seeing the ability and opportunity to consume as an important aspect of full citizenship, Johnson sought to make the Black consumer market a distinct advertising target.⁷⁶ *Ebony* was founded as a magazine dedicated to the Black community and its identity as a publication is defined by race. However, the readership of *Ebony* has been gendered and was increasingly composed of women readers since the 1950s. Scholars have explored *Ebony* as an important site for the construction of Black women's identities and in 2014 two out of three *Ebony* readers were women.⁷⁷ The cultural, political, and economic function of *Ebony* is closely linked to relationships between Black Americans, advertising, and full acceptance as citizens. A number of branches of the Armed Forces have targeted *Ebony* as an efficient site for reaching potential recruits, particularly as part of efforts to meet minority officer enlistment goals. A communications plan for Marine Corps recruiting in 1975 named *Ebony* as a publication utilized in targeting minorities as part of efforts to increase the percentage of minority

⁷³ Lee Miller, Bonnie Brennen, and Brenda Edgerton-Webster, "Construction of Readership in *Ebony*, *Essence*, and *O, the Oprah Magazine*," *Media Report to Women*, January 1, 2005, http://epublications.marquette.edu/comm_fac/209.

⁷⁴ Noliwe Rooks, *Ladies' Pages: African American Women's Magazines and the Culture That Made Them* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ David Bell and Joanne Hollows, eds., *Historicizing Lifestyle: Mediating Taste, Consumption And Identity from the 1900s to 1970s* (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub Co, 2006).

⁷⁷ "Ebony Media Kit 2014" (Johnson Publishing Company, 2014); Adria Y. Goldman et al., *Black Women and Popular Culture: The Conversation Continues* (Lexington Books, 2014); Miller, Brennen, and Edgerton-Webster, "Construction of Readership in *Ebony*, *Essence*, and *O, the Oprah Magazine*"; Rooks, *Ladies' Pages: African American Women's Magazines and the Culture That Made Them*.

officers in the Corps.⁷⁸ The Navy's advertising plan for 1987 included *Ebony* as a publication meant to help the Navy meet goals for Black recruits and a way to ensure coverage of minority markets.⁷⁹ A 1993 media plan for the Joint Recruiting Advertising Program—meaning ads for all the Armed Forces as a whole—found *Ebony* to provide the highest coverage of Black influencers.⁸⁰ *Ebony* has been an influential site for the formation of Black identities and the formation of a distinct Black consumer market, as well as a publication targeted by the military advertising industry as a mode of reaching Black recruits. Similar to the role *Ebony* played in relation to a Black consumer market and as a mode of focused recruiting efforts, *Cosmopolitan* was influential in the development of working women as a consumer market and target for recruiting efforts.

Following Helen Gurley Brown's becoming editor-in-chief in 1965, *Cosmopolitan* became a cultural symbol of a form of femininity based on women's changing economic and sexual roles.⁸¹ Foregrounding the figure of the Cosmo girl, a fictionalized woman based on ideals of whiteness, heterosexuality, and upward mobility, *Cosmopolitan* was the first magazine to target self-sufficient working women as a consumer market.⁸² The cultural function of *Cosmopolitan* situates women's increased presence and acceptance in the consumer market as a reflection of women's mobility and agency held in balance with expectations of femininity and heterosexuality. Just as *Ebony*

⁷⁸ United States Marine Corps Communications Plan FY'75, June 1974, J. Walter Thompson Company, Review Board Records, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

⁷⁹ Navy Advertising Plan 1986-1987, September 22, 1986, J. Walter Thompson Company, New Business Records, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

⁸⁰ JRAP Non-Prior Service FY'93 Media Plan, October 14, 1992, Bates Worldwide, Client Files, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

⁸¹ Laurie Ouellette, "Inventing the Cosmo Girl: Class Identity and Girl-Style American Dreams," *Media, Culture & Society* 21, no. 3 (May 1, 1999): 359–83, doi:10.1177/016344399021003004.

⁸² *Ibid.*

espoused particular views on the place of Black Americans in narratives of American success, *Cosmopolitan* promoted working women as a valuable market while articulating ideals of heterosexual femininity. Although *Cosmopolitan* has not figured as prominently in the military advertising industry as *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* due to the privileging of male recruits, it has been understood as an efficient publication for reaching women recruits. A 1998 study on attitudes and awareness of military advertising among young women found that fashion and beauty magazines, including *Cosmopolitan*, were the most read and subscribed to publications for young women.⁸³ *Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan* are each influential publications that convey ideals of gender, race, sexuality, and class in American consumer culture and are uniquely situated within the military advertising industry as modes of reaching different targeted groups for recruitment. Guided by the influential position of the selected magazines in constructing cultural ideals of masculinity, Blackness, and femininity and in the military advertising industry, I compiled and analyzed an archive of all recruitment advertisements published in *Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan* during the era of the AVF.

Collecting and Analyzing Recruitment Advertisements

In order to collect recruiting advertisements published in *Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan* I read all issues of the three publications printed between January 1973 and December 2014. Issues of *Ebony* published monthly from 1973 to 2008 have been digitized and were viewed online at Ebony.com.⁸⁴ Issues of *Ebony* published after 2008 were located in library archives, some at the Knight Library at the University of Oregon while missing issues were requested via interlibrary loan or purchased from a secondhand

⁸³ USMC Attitude and Awareness Tracking Study, Summary Report and Findings - Female

⁸⁴ Issues of *Ebony* can be found online at <http://www.ebony.com/archives#axzz4cqO6WShR>

magazine store in Portland, Oregon. Issues of *Sports Illustrated*, published weekly, were found at the Knight Library at the University of Oregon. Thirty-three issues published between 2002 and 2014 were missing from the collection at the Knight Library, some of which were obtained via interlibrary loan while the others were located at the Eugene Public Library in Eugene, Oregon. Coinciding with Brown's findings in her study of recruitment advertisements, copies of *Sports Illustrated's* swimsuit issues were routinely missing from library collections, or if present, often had numerous pages torn out.⁸⁵ As such, my collection of advertisements is missing recruitment ads published in most swimsuit issues published between 1973 and 2014. Issues of *Cosmopolitan*, published monthly, were found at the Multnomah County Public Library in Portland, Oregon. While reading each issue I looked for recruitment advertisements for all branches of the military—the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marines, Coast Guard, and Armed Forces—and for all modes of service, including active-duty, military academies, Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), National Guard, and Reserve units. The majority of advertisements were identifiable through the caption of the ad, military branch logos and slogans, or the presence of reply cards. In total, 1620 recruiting ads were published in *Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan* between January 1973 and December 2014 (See Table 1).

The ads were captured by photograph or screen shot, then organized using Zotero, an open-source software tool designed for compiling bibliographic data and research materials. Each advertisement was entered into Zotero and labeled by branch, title, and date of publication.

⁸⁵ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

Table 1. Recruiting Ads by Publication

Publication								
	Army	Navy	Air Force	Marine Corps	Coast Guard	Armed Forces	Other ⁸⁶	Total
<i>Ebony</i>	386	154	137	71	53	32	2	835
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	31	1	0	0	0	0	3	32
<i>Sports Illustrated</i>	486	80	63	30	8	82	4	753
Total	903	235	200	101	61	114	9	1620

The process of collecting ads and organizing them into a digital archive served as a way to search for preliminary themes, which were used to add tags indicating characteristics of the representations and recruiting appeals in each ad. I created a rubric of twenty-two possible tags, attending to descriptive and thematic elements conveyed both visually and textually (See Table 2).

The process of adding tags to each ad functioned as a preliminary form of analysis and served two important purposes. Similar to undergoing content analysis, in which explicit signs appearing in media texts are accounted for, the process of tagging helped to provide a general impression of the different bodies, objects, and appeals in military recruitment ads.⁸⁷ The process of tagging also allowed me to search my digitized archive based on single tags or multiple combinations of tags. For example, I was able to search for all recruiting ads that featured representations of women, or all advertisements that

⁸⁶ The category “Other” refers to ads published on behalf on military programs, such as the Veterans Education Assistance Program or Employer Support of the Guard and Reserve, as well as ads linked to the military, such as ads for the Department of Defense and Commissary ads.

⁸⁷ Liesbet van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies* (SAGE, 1994).

made appeals based on educational opportunities and featured representations of combat equipment and men.

Table 2. Analytic Tags

Tag	
Publication Name	Which publication does the ad appear in?
Year	What year was the issue published that featured the ad?
Month	What month was the issue published that featured the ad? ^a
Branch	What branch of the Armed Forces is the ad for?
Mode of Service	What mode of service is represented in the ad?
Slogan	What is the slogan of the ad?
Gender	What gendered bodies are represented in the ad?
Race	What racialized bodies are represented in the ad?
Sexuality	Does the ad represent or discuss sexuality?
Vocation	Are vocational opportunities discussed?
Education	Are educational opportunities discussed?
Benefits	Are other benefits (pay, health care, vacation time, etc.) discussed?
Setting	Where does the ad take place?
Combat Equipment	Does the ad represent combat equipment, i.e. firearms, aircraft, tanks, helmets, missiles, etc.?
Technology	Does the ad discuss technology?
Historical	Does the ad reference the history of the branch?
Parents	Is the ad addressed to parents of potential recruits?
Influencers	Is the addressed to influencers of potential recruits that are not parents?
Equality	Does the ad represent a narrative of equality?
Race/Color	Does the ad represent race as an explicit category through textual reference or does it include racialized bodies with no textual reference?
Gender Equality	Does the ad explicitly discuss gender equality?
Race Relations	Does the ad explicitly discuss race relations?

^aFor ads published in *Sports Illustrated*, month and day were recorded, as *Sports Illustrated* is a weekly publication.

Viewing the full scope of all recruiting ads published in the three publications from 1973 to 2015, including full runs of ads and shifts between and across ads over the forty-two year period, and then narrowing the field of ads based on shared content—understood as

both visual and textual elements—allowed me to begin to see how particular representations of differently gendered and racialized bodies were linked to different appeals and representations of military service. Borrowing from cultural theorist Stuart Hall, my engagement with all the ads published, including observing the frequency with which certain representations and appeals were repeated, abandoned, and taken up again, contributed to the construction of a grammar of difference in military recruiting ads.⁸⁸

The grammar of difference in recruiting ads is conveyed through images of gendered and racialized bodies positioned in various relations to the military, including as service members, potential recruits, and their parents, as well as language speaking directly to ideas of race relations, Blackness in the military, and gender equality. Ideas about sexuality and class are included in the grammar of difference but are conveyed in less explicit ways. Sexuality is represented through imagery of couples and families and language discussing dating, marriage, and family. Class is represented through narratives of mobility, primarily expressed through images and language of financial benefits, educational opportunities, and vocational opportunities. Building upon the process of collecting, categorizing, and tagging all the ads in my archive, I undertook a process of textual analysis as a method of reading meanings in recruitment ads.

There are a number of different approaches for exploring meaning in media representations. In her influential book on the function and meaning of advertisements, Judith Williamson reads ads as signs, composed of the signifier and signified.⁸⁹ For Williamson, advertisements contribute to systems of meaning when material objects—the

⁸⁸ Stuart Hall, “The White of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media,” in *Silver Linings: Some Strategies for the Eighties* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1987), 28–52.

⁸⁹ Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (Bozars, 1978).

signifier—are inseparably linked to particular meanings—the signified. This process is referred to as advertising-work and links products as tangible objects with existing systems of social meaning.⁹⁰ Hall views this process within a model of encoding and decoding. Hall’s model of encoding/decoding argues that media messages, such as advertisements, are produced through material relations and practices within a field of meanings framed by ideas and assumptions about the audience.⁹¹ An audience’s ability to consume a message is based on the recognition of the represented meanings or codes, which can be interpreted in ways that both reinforce and challenge dominant meanings.⁹² Liesbet van Zoonen situates Hall’s encoding/decoding model as an organizing framework for feminist media studies, which interprets media as technologies of gender; sites in which a variety of meanings according to gender are produced, modified, and reconstructed.⁹³ Drawing on these insights, the process of textual analysis undertaken in this dissertation extends beyond decoding connections between military service as a product and social meanings to consider how the grammar of difference and military service constructs ideal militarized subjects. Military recruitment advertisements convey myths; a system of communication that Roland Barthes contends is defined by more than its content.⁹⁴ The meaning of a myth is rooted in a broader history and is composed of an already complete order of ideas that function to interpellate subjects within a particular motivation. Barthes analyzes an image of a young Black man in French military uniform saluting to demonstrate how myths convey ideas about history, race, nation, and the

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Stuart Hall, “Encoding/Decoding,” in *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords* (Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 166–76.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies*.

⁹⁴ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972).

military.⁹⁵ My analysis explores how recruiting ads represent gender, race, sexuality, and class as forms of difference contributing to structures of meaning that not only allow certain objects to be associated with military service but also function to construct subject positions for those imagined as potential service members. As a technology of inclusion that constructs and marks particular bodies as belonging in the military, recruitment advertisements function in coordination with other institutional discourses.

A variety of supplemental materials were also analyzed in order to situate and contextualize recruitment advertisements as operating within a broader institutional field. These materials included policy documents on inclusion and exclusion, recruiting reports, and reports on military diversity. Official policy documents, including demographic reports and diversity plans, were downloaded from official government websites, including websites from the General Accounting Office and the Department of Defense. Recruiting plans and other military advertising industry documents were found at the Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History in the Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Duke University, specifically in collections for J. Walter Thompson and Bates Worldwide, advertising agencies who have had numerous military recruiting contracts and developed campaigns for the Navy, Coast Guard, Marine Corps, and Armed Forces. The use of such materials follows Sara Ahmed's contention that in order to understand diversity in institutional life, one must follow it around as it circulates between and across various sites and documents.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ahmed, *On Being Included*.

Organization of the Dissertation

Based on the above, this dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter II establishes a conceptual and historical framework for the analysis of representations of difference in recruiting advertisements published during the AVF. Drawing on feminist scholarship on intersectionality, maneuvering, and diversity, I provide a conceptual lens for exploring representations of difference in recruiting advertisements. Through a discussion of relationships between military inclusion and citizenship, I demonstrate how questions of military inclusion and exclusion reflect and articulate broader concerns about the place of difference in the nation. A historical account of the various policies of inclusion and exclusion in the military situates my analysis of recruiting ads within broader practices of regulating difference in the military. Policies regulating physical bodies in the military institution have shaped the demographic makeup of the military; a foundation against which recruiting goals are set and recruitment advertisements are constructed. Chapters III, IV, V, and VI explore specific strategies in recruitment advertisements deployed to represent an inclusive military.

Each analysis chapter is organized by theme: Chapter III addresses strategies that contribute to a visually inclusive military, Chapter IV focuses on mobility as a consistent theme in recruitment ads that both challenges and expands understandings of military masculinity, Chapter V explores language in recruiting appeals seeking to persuade Black recruits that there is a place for them in the Armed Forces, and Chapter VI addresses strategies of representing all recruits as straight and how such representations construct that parameters of including women in recruiting appeals. Within each chapter, recruitment advertisements are analyzed chronologically by theme. Chapter III focuses

on recruitment ads that promote visual inclusion through two primary strategies: colorizing and visions of a rainbow military. Chapter III contends that practices of targeted and segmented marketing are reflected in representations that include women and people of color within a visually inclusive vision of military service. In doing so, such representations promote a particular way of thinking about difference in which difference doesn't matter beyond its deployment as a visual recognition of inclusion. Chapter IV focuses on narratives of masculinity, class, and mobility in recruiting ads and the function of mobility as a strategy of inclusion. As a consistent theme in recruiting ads, mobility speaks to the economic realities of recruiting during the AVF while presenting a strong case for the military as a site of transformation. In doing so, mobility is deployed in ways that include a variety of bodies in promises of military service as a transformative experience. Mobility functions as a language of military masculinity in ways that incorporate some bodies into visions of the military while also revealing the limits of inclusion.

Chapters V and VI engage with strategies addressing the inclusion of Black Americans and women within the military institution. Historically excluded from military service, Black Americans became a targeted demographic for recruiting efforts during the era of the AVF. Chapter V focuses on three strategies—defensive, progressive, and revisionary—utilized in military recruiting ads to explicitly discuss relationships between Blackness and military service. Contextualized as a response to a complex relationships between Black Americans and the military influenced by ideas of military service as a pathway to acceptance as citizens and concerns about the military disproportionately exposing Black service members to risks of combat, recruiting ads discussing the

inclusion of Blackness contribute to a discourse of colorblindness as framework for thinking of race in America. Chapter VI focuses on the role of sexuality and gender in strategies of inclusion. While gender and sexuality have been addressed as separate realms of difference in military policies, they are deeply entwined in experiences and representations of military service. Throughout the era of the AVF, recruiting ads have contributed to the construction of the straight soldier. Detailing how the figure of the straight soldier is crafted in recruiting materials, Chapter VI argues that representations of women service members are based on the regulation of gender and sexuality resulting in the construction of military femininity as a condition for including women in the military.

The conclusion discusses a number of contemporary diversity initiatives and recruitment advertising campaigns in the Armed Forces. In the military, diversity is framed as something to be celebrated as an indication of a multicultural, multiracial force reflective of the nation it serves. Contemporary recruiting efforts celebrating diversity as a military characteristic are situated within a broader project of military inclusion articulated through recruiting ads published throughout the era of the AVF.

Representations in recruitment advertisements create new figures emblematic of an inclusive and diverse Armed Forces whose inclusion is based on converging ideals of gender, race, sexuality, and class. In representing the military as an institution dedicated to inclusion, recruitment advertisements obfuscate class inequalities critical to recruiting, reconfigure ideas about military masculinity, promote colorblindness as a model for thinking about race, and regulate sexuality and gender. Strategies and representations in recruiting materials reveal how the emergence of diversity as a militarized practice is crafted through a narrow conceptualization of inclusion defined in close proximity to

norms of whiteness, maleness, and straightness. Technologies of inclusion in military recruiting promote ways of thinking about gender, sexuality, race, and class that obfuscate the political significance of difference and are subsumed within a contemporary emphasis on diversity as a marker of a better and stronger military. Depoliticized representations of difference are repoliticized as inclusion and diversity are deployed as tools in promoting visions of a benevolent and exceptional Armed Forces.

CHAPTER II

INCLUSION, DIVERSITY, AND DIFFERENCE IN THE MILITARY

The U.S. Armed Forces became a deliberately inclusive organization in 1948, when President Harry S. Truman issued his historic Executive Order 9981 that called for “equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services” (The White House, 1948). Since then, the U.S. military force has endeavored to become an inclusive organization dedicated to the equality of all its members, regardless of their background. *From Representation to Inclusion*, Military Leadership Diversity Commission, 2011¹

By its own account, the U.S. military has been a deliberately inclusive organization since 1948. The history of the military as an inclusive organization is a checkered one, in which inclusion has not meant the same thing for all peoples. In 1948, inclusion in the military was cast primarily as racial inclusion, particularly for Black Americans.

Although Black Americans have served in the U.S. military since the 1770s, their participation did not necessarily hinge on equality or coincide with recognition of national belonging. Policies prior to the 1940s limited the participation of Black Americans and other people of color, who served under highly segregated conditions, and the military often only used Black Americans in times of need and crisis, ignoring them during times of peace.² Executive Order (EO) 9981 (1948) focused on the integration of the Armed Forces in terms of race and ethnicity, stating, “there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed forces without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin”.³ While EO 9981 is held as the most influential policy pertaining to

¹ Military Leadership Diversity Commission, “From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military” (Arlington, VA: Military Leadership Diversity Commission, 2011).

² Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military*, 2nd prt. edition (New York : London: Free Pr, 1986).

³ Harry S. Truman, “Establishing the President’s Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces” (Division of the Federal Register: Washington, DC, July 26, 1948).

inclusion in the military,⁴ it was implemented as the military was developing an extensive apparatus for identifying and disqualifying homosexuals from service and policies limiting the participation of women to no more than two percent of the total ranks.⁵ Since the implementation of EO 9981, the military has struggled with racial integration and violent racial clashes in the 1960s and 1970s, led extensive witch-hunts for lesbian and gay service members in the 1980s, and was exposed as having a serious sexual assault problem in the 1990s.

The military has acted as an institutional model for race relations, particularly for Black men, but has also struggled to fully include women and challenge a cultural environment rife with sexual assault. The deliberately inclusive military found homosexuality to be incompatible with military service in the 1980s and has continued to disproportionately rely on service members from poor and working class backgrounds to fill their ranks.⁶ The history of military inclusion as contradictory, as providing possibilities for some individuals while foreclosing possibilities for others, shows how inclusion in the military coincides with Sara Ahmed's contention that "power can be redone at the moment it is imagined as undone".⁷ As the military undertook steps to become an inclusive organization, inclusion deliberately accounted for some bodies as able to be included and framed other bodies as unable to be included, as incompatible

⁴ Daniel P. McDonald and Kizzy M. Parks, *Managing Diversity in the Military: The Value of Inclusion in a Culture of Uniformity*, 1 edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 2011); Joseph L. Soeters and Jan Van der Meulen, *Cultural Diversity in the Armed Forces: An International Comparison*, 1 edition (Routledge, 2007).

⁵ Allan Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire* (Simon and Schuster, 2000); Margaret C. Harrell et al., *The Status of Gender Integration in the Military: Analysis of Selected Occupations*, MR-1380-OSD (Arlington, VA: RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2002).

⁶ Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*; David R. Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam: Citizenship and Military Manpower Policy* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1989).

⁷ Ahmed, *On Being Included*, 13.

with the military institution. The military's commitment to inclusion, marked by policies, recruiting practices and representations, and contemporary investments in diversity, tells a story of how the military has produced ideas about difference and military service and prioritized certain forms of difference over others in framing the military as an institution invested in inclusion and diversity.

Beginning with a discussion of the function of diversity in the military, I connect diversity to a theoretical framework based on maneuvering and intersectionality as lenses for reading difference in recruiting ads. Drawing on scholarship by Sara Ahmed and Nirmal Puwar, this chapter interrogates the function of diversity in the military, contextualizing it historically, and linking it to ideas about the place of gender, race, sexuality, and class in the military. Ideas about military diversity and inclusion are discussed in relation to citizenship, which is conceptualized as a form of recognition to which military service has been considered essential. This chapter then discusses the history of policies regulating military inclusion and exclusion. By providing a conceptual lens based on intersectionality and difference, reviewing links between military inclusion and citizenship, and historicizing military policies of inclusion and exclusion, this chapter establishes a conceptual and historical framework for exploring representations of difference in recruiting ads published during the AVF.

Diversity, Maneuvering, and Intersectionality

In 2011, the Military Leadership Diversity Commission (MLDC) released a report defining diversity:

Diversity is all the different characteristics and attributes of individuals that are consistent with Department of Defense core values, integral to overall readiness and mission accomplishment, and reflective of the Nation we serve.⁸

The above definition of diversity was adopted by all branches of the Armed Forces and prioritized institutional functions of diversity over specific definitions of the “different characteristics and attributes” comprising a diverse force. The MLDC’s definition of diversity incorporates any and all characteristics and relations of difference that reinforce military values, goals, and aims without any mention of specific markers of difference. In order to interrogate and make sense of the military’s definition of diversity I draw on the work of Sara Ahmed and Nirmal Puwar and understand diversity as a technology of inclusion; a term mapped onto particular bodies marked as different and deployed to coincide with institutional aims and goals.

Much of the literature on diversity in the military focuses on the military as a site of employment where diversity is framed as the innate potential of individual employees that provide untapped resources essential for organizational success.⁹ As noted in the introduction, diversity is often understood as the inclusion of different bodies, in which “different” tends to refer to women and racialized minorities and is a contemporary concept for dealing with problems of difference.¹⁰ Both these trains of thought are present in military approaches to diversity. Given the military’s privileged site in the national imagination in terms of articulating boundaries of citizenship and ideals of gender, race, sexuality, and class, diversity in the military functions to create a set of practical considerations as well as contributing to influential ideas about the place of difference in

⁸ Military Leadership Diversity Commission, “From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military,” xiv.

⁹ McDonald and Parks, *Managing Diversity in the Military*.

¹⁰ Puwar, *Space Invaders*; Titley and Lentin, *The Politics of Diversity in Europe*; Ahmed, *On Being Included*.

the nation. Throughout the MLDC report, racial/ethnic minorities and women are singled out as the focus of diversity efforts, including expanding recruiting strategies and eliminating barriers to promotion.¹¹ The MLDC framed a military definition of diversity as a guide for adhering to equal opportunity policies while also acknowledging the different backgrounds of service members and serving as a tool to increase military responsiveness.¹² Diversity functions as a practical guide for policy decisions, a symbolic commitment to the inclusion of different service members, and a way to promote the institutional goal of responsiveness. The commitment to inclusion, expressed in the MLDC report with an exclusive focus on gender and race, coincides with Ahmed's contention that diversity signals an organizational commitment to, and prioritization of, the inclusion of different bodies.¹³ In a subsequent strategic plan on diversity and inclusion published in 2012, diversity is framed as a commitment to inclusion enabling the military to meet personnel needs and reflect the nation it serves.

In the 2012 *Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan*, diversity is framed as “a strategic imperative, critical to mission readiness and accomplishment, and a leadership requirement... We defend the greatest nation in the world – a democracy founded on the promise of opportunity for all... To the degree we truly represent our democracy, we are a stronger and more relevant force”.¹⁴ The plan goes on to detail how inclusivity and diversity can contribute to ensuring that the military is able to recruit and retain the best the nation has to offer. Diversity is framed as an operational advantage; something enabling the military to meet personnel needs and draw on an ever-expanding talent pool

¹¹ Military Leadership Diversity Commission, “From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military.”

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ahmed, *On Being Included*.

¹⁴ “Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan: 2012-2017” (Department of Defense, n.d.), 3.

of potential service members. In linking the desire to attract recruits to a vision of democracy and of the U.S. as the greatest nation in the world, diversity is also framed as a moral advantage; something that reflects and reinforces expressions of U.S. exceptionalism. Such a framing of diversity coincides with Ahmed's contention that diversity is often used as a form of public relations; a term deployed in defense of an institution's reputation.¹⁵ Diversity in the military functions to establish and preserve a sense of relevance within a demographically changing nation, as well as promoting a global vision of American democracy based on the promise of opportunity for all. In this sense, diversity in the contemporary moment echoes the ways racial liberalism was framed as essential in securing U.S. interests post-World War II.

Jodi Melamed contends that narratives of African American integration and equality within a framework of inclusive nationalism were at the core of racial liberalism and contributed to the establishment of a moral legitimacy to U.S. global leadership.¹⁶ Traces of such a framework are evident in the framing of EO 9981 as the beginning of a deliberately inclusive military and continue in the contemporary framing of diversity. Diversity as an operational and moral advantage coincides with Ahmed's notion of diversity as subsumed within existing aims and goals of an institution and Melamed's contention that diversity functions to symbolically legitimate U.S. military interventions as ethical.¹⁷ Ideas of a diverse military as promoting a morally superior force are present in reports of the presence of women soldiers in peacekeeping missions resulting in superior treatment of local populations or ideas of a multiracial, multi-cultural U.S.

¹⁵ Ahmed, *On Being Included*.

¹⁶ Jodi Melamed, "The Spirit of Neoliberalism: From Racial Liberalism To Neoliberal Multiculturalism," *Social Text* 24, no. 4_89 (Winter 2006): 1–24, doi:10.1215/01642472-2006-009.

¹⁷ Ahmed, *On Being Included*; Melamed, "The Spirit of Neoliberalism."

Armed Forces set against intolerant Muslim or Arab terrorists.¹⁸ Military definitions of diversity frame diversity and inclusion as militarized practices, positioned as another tool to be utilized in the strategic deployment of warfare. Contemporary investments in diversity signal the latest iteration in which official policies of inclusion are sutured to expressions of U.S. nationalism.¹⁹ As diversity becomes a militarized practice, ideas about gender and race—such as the notion that the presence of women leads to a morally superior force or the presence of racial diversity justifies the war on terror—are maneuvered along with other markers of difference to articulate ideas about the military and the place of different bodies within it.

In using the term maneuvered, I am borrowing from Cynthia Enloe to refer to how bodies, objects, and ideas are used, both physically and symbolically, in the maintenance of the military institution.²⁰ Processes of maneuvering do not come to bear on material bodies in uniform or universal ways. Enloe has demonstrated how militaries have relied on women to conduct operations as well as utilized ideas about women and femininity to maintain political legitimacy.²¹ For example, ideas of patriotic motherhood and military wives have been utilized to frame the military as a masculine domain and contributed to a narrative of sending men off to war to protect women tasked with producing the next generation of military men.²² The women that the military have needed and wanted to fulfill ideological positions as wives and mothers or to fill service positions as camp followers and nurses are further defined by ideals of race, class, and

¹⁸ Soeters and Meulen, *Cultural Diversity in the Armed Forces*, 29; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*; Melamed, “The Spirit of Neoliberalism.”

¹⁹ Melamed, “The Spirit of Neoliberalism.”

²⁰ Enloe, *Maneuvers*.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*; Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?*

sexuality. Race and class have been used to delineate between trusted and distrusted women as well as to categorize officers as men in need of model military wives and enlisted men as in need of military prostitutes.²³ Ideas about gender, race, sexuality, and class have similarly been used to determine the acceptability of military men. For example, ideas of shell-shock during World War I functioned to mark certain soldiers as failures of masculinity and delineate between insiders and outsiders.²⁴ Military service has allowed men to prove their masculinity, providing them with resources consistent with dominant ideals of masculinity.²⁵ Ideas linking military service with discourses of civilization have functioned to link soldiering with middle-class, white ideals.²⁶ These examples point to the ways the military institution is predicated on a gendered-order,²⁷ crafted in conjunction with structures of race, class, and sexuality. Processes of maneuvering gender, race, sexuality, and class in defining the boundaries of the military institution regulate how physical bodies are situated in different relations to the military as well as in how those bodies are symbolically related to the nation. Scholars have noted how recruiting advertisements and other forms of media signal how ideas about gender, race, sexuality, and class are maneuvered in support of the military institution.

Melissa T. Brown found that recruiting advertisements articulate messages about gendered ideals of service members to potential recruits and to larger civilian

²³ Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?*; Enloe, *Maneuvers*.

²⁴ G. L. Mosse, "Shell-Shock as a Social Disease," *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 1 (2000): 101–8.

²⁵ Aaron Belkin, *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Facade of American Empire, 1898-2001* (Oxford University Press, 2012); Ramon Hinojosa, "Doing Hegemony: Military, Men, and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity," *The Journal of Men's Studies* 18, no. 2 (2010): 179–94.

²⁶ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917 (Women in Culture and Society)* (University of Chicago Press, 1996); Belkin, *Bring Me Men*.

²⁷ Cockburn, Cynthia, "Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War: A Feminist Standpoint," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12, no. 2 (2010): 139–57.

communities.²⁸ Other scholars, such as Judith Butler, Jasbir Puar, and Susan Jeffords, point to the importance of representations of warfare and the military institution in framing understandings of gender, race, and sexuality in relation to national ideals.²⁹ The central role of representation and media in maneuvering reveals the importance of difference—often expressed through notions of gender, race, sexuality, and class—in framing cultural understandings of what bodies are imagined to occupy particular positions within, and in relation to, the military institution. In order to explore which bodies occupy certain positions in the military institution at different times and in different relations to one another, such bodies must be thought in relation to intersectional structures of power.

As noted by scholars, intersectionality is an analytical tool that allows one to acknowledge the ways various axes of social difference build upon one another in articulating power.³⁰ Specifically this dissertation uses intersectionality as what Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge refer to as a form of critical inquiry, a mode of critiquing strategies and representations at work in military recruiting that recognizes the ways gender, race, sexuality, and class interact with one another to position different bodies in different relations to the military institution.³¹ An intersectional approach allows for an analysis of the military advertising industry and technologies of inclusion attentive to how ideas about gender, race, sexuality, and class converge in framing some bodies as included in the military.

²⁸ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

²⁹ Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?*, Reprint edition (London ; New York: Verso, 2010); Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*; Susan Jeffords, *Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

³⁰ Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 1 edition (Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2016).

³¹ Ibid.

While the use of an intersectional lens is essential for exploring relations of difference in practices of military recruiting, scholars have noted that intersectionality risks losing its critical edge in regards to questions of diversity. Ahmed and Puar both contend that associations between intersectionality and diversity, particularly in regard to institutional inclusion and celebrations of liberal multiculturalism, function to obscure difference and encase seemingly stable identities within existing structures of power.³² Taking seriously these insights, an intersectional approach is used to highlight the ways various forms of difference are positioned in relation to one another, and to the military institution, as a mode of including bodies within institutional aims. An intersectional approach is essential for exploring military recruitment materials and representations of inclusion as hierarchies of power that have historically framed visions of the ideal soldier taking shape through the convergence of multiple axes of difference. As discussed in the introduction, the military advertising industry functions to make appeals to potential service members and to promote visions of the military to the broader public. In doing so, the military advertising industry contributes to an ongoing project of imagining, regulating, and representing difference and recruiting ads acts as site in which difference is symbolically maneuvered and different bodies are represented as potential soldiers, representations deeply imbricated with ideas of citizenship.

Ideal Soldiers, Military Inclusion, and Citizenship

Policies of exclusion and cultural understandings of military service have long positioned the figure of the white male as the ideal soldier. In General Orders issued in November 1775, George Washington wrote, “Neither Negroes, Boys unable to bare Arms, nor olde

³² Ahmed, *On Being Included*; Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*.

men unfit to endure the fatigues of the campaign, are to be inlisted.”³³ While many women acted as camp followers tasked with supporting troops during the Revolutionary War, women were officially banned from enlisting.³⁴ Set before the U.S. became a nation, the precedent of restricting military service to white men demonstrates a deeply rooted historical vision associating the figure of the ideal soldier with white men. Scholars have noted how the connection between white men and soldiering has continued throughout the history of the U.S. military.³⁵ Associations between white men and the military bolstered by policies restricting any other bodies from serving as soldiers were also echoed in rhetoric linking military service to ideals of white manhood. In the 19th century, war was seen as the province of men, as an ennobling experience that would be destroyed by the presence of women.³⁶ In the early 20th century, the deployment of the “Great White Fleet”, a fleet of Navy battle ships sent on a worldwide tour, was meant to signal American prowess and the superiority of whiteness and coincided with racially exclusive policies in the Navy.³⁷ Despite the military’s reliance on people of color and women as integral to supporting war efforts during times of conflict and need, the physical and symbolic composition of the military espoused the white male as the ideal soldier, as an archetype for American might and citizenship.³⁸

Policies and cultural understandings of the military as the province of white men have shaped, and been shaped by, associations between military service and citizenship.

³³ George Washington, “General Orders,” November 12, 1775, *The Writing of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw040088\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw040088))).

³⁴ Linda Grant de Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies: Women in War from Prehistory to the Present* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).

³⁵ Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*; Jeffords, *Remasculinization of America*; Enloe, *Maneuvers*.

³⁶ de Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies*.

³⁷ Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*.

³⁸ Belkin, *Bring Me Men*.

Military service, both historically and contemporarily, has acted as a symbolic and material pathway to citizenship. As noted by Lionel Cantú, citizenship is an identity that determines the limits of an individual's relationship to the nation-state.³⁹ Questions of citizenship are integral to understanding the construction and maintenance of difference by the state and are shaped by dimensions of gender, race, class, and sexuality.⁴⁰ In relation to the military and military service, citizenship is a form of recognition in which martial service is seen as an essential component of achieving full citizenship.⁴¹ Martial service was seen as a citizen's duty, exchanged for access to rights and benefits of membership within the nation.⁴² Military service has functioned as a resource through which select individual's can seek to clarify and solidify their relationship to the nation. In his memoir, General George Patton, one of the most celebrated American military leaders, stated that, "the highest obligation and privilege of citizenship is that of bearing arm's for one's country".⁴³ Patton echoes the importance of military service in shaping understandings of citizenship in the U.S. while also acknowledging the privilege of military service, a privilege mostly denied to all but white men. Struggles for full inclusion in the military and full recognition within the nation are deeply intertwined.

Military service has been viewed as an opportunity and a resource for groups seeking to establish their position as accepted and recognizable subjects within the nation. When Black men volunteered to fight during World War II, it was seen as part of

³⁹ Lionel Cantu, *The Sexuality of Migration: Border Crossings and Mexican Immigrant Men*, ed. Nancy A. Naples and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz (New York: NYU Press, 2009).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ilene Rose Feinman, *Citizenship Rites: Feminist Soldiers and Feminist Antimilitarists* (NYU Press, 2000).

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ George Smith Patton and Paul Donal Harkins, *War as I Knew It* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1995).

a push for a double victory against the Axis abroad and against racial discrimination at home.⁴⁴ Attempts to defend against blue-discharges—discharges that are not dishonorable discharges but are meant to get the service member out of the military as quickly as possible—of military men, in which disproportionately Black and/or homosexual men were discharged for vague undesirable character traits, sparked early organizing efforts seeking to defend the rights of gay men in the U.S.⁴⁵ Calls for women’s full membership in the military coincided with ideas of first-class citizenship as linked to martial service.⁴⁶ The consistency with which groups excluded from recognition as full citizens, including women, people of color, LGBTQ+ individuals and others, have turned to military service as a pathway towards full citizenship illustrates the influential role the military institution plays in defining the boundaries of inclusion within the nation. While calls for inclusion discussed above often framed full inclusion in the military as a symbol of recognition and acceptance within the nation, the military acts as a conduit for citizenship in material ways as well.

According to the Citizenship and Immigration Services policy manual, the practice of extending special provisions for service members to gain citizenship dates back at least to the Civil War. During World War I, promises of citizenship were used to expand the pool of eligible draftees as all male citizens and all male persons who declared intention to become citizens were eligible for the draft. If male non-citizens did not want to be drafted, and as such did not want to become citizens, they were given

⁴⁴ Lawrence P. Scott and William M. Womack, *Double V: The Civil Rights Struggle of the Tuskegee Airmen* (East Lansing, MI, USA: Michigan State University Press, 1998), <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10514506>.

⁴⁵ Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*.

⁴⁶ Feinman, *Citizenship Rites*.

sixty-five days to leave the U.S.⁴⁷ Non-citizens were among the first coalition soldiers killed in Iraq in 2003 and after their deaths legislation granting non-citizen service members posthumous citizenship was passed.⁴⁸ In 2009 and again in 2012, the Department of Defense authorized the Military Accessions Vital to National Interest (MAVNI) recruitment program. Under MAVNI, legal noncitizens are eligible to enlist allowing them the possibility of expedited citizenship. According to an official U.S. Army fact sheet, the goal of MAVNI is to naturalize all participants by the time they graduate from ten weeks of basic training, bypassing the lengthy green card process.⁴⁹ Histories of struggles for inclusion and policies regarding military service as a pathway to citizenship reflect how deeply notions of citizenship in the U.S. are imbricated with the military institution and military service. As Ilene Rose Feinman contends, in order to fully understand calls for inclusive citizenship rights linked to military service we must address questions of who gets to claim citizenship.⁵⁰ Addressing histories of military service, policies, and struggles for inclusion surrounding various forms of difference including race, gender, sexuality, and class is essential for exploring the ways recruiting materials and practices signal boundaries of inclusion within the military and subsequently within the nation.

The importance of military service in crafting symbolic and material understandings of citizenship links the figure of the white male as an ideal soldier to a figure of the white male as an ideal, exemplary citizen. The figure of the white male

⁴⁷ Cynthia H. Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies*, First Edition edition (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982).

⁴⁸ Hector Amaya, "Dying American or the Violence of Citizenship: Latinos in Iraq," *Latino Studies* 5, no. 1 (April 2007): 3–24.

⁴⁹ "MAVNI Information Sheet for Language Recruits" (US Army, n.d.).

⁵⁰ Feinman, *Citizenship Rites*.

soldier as an ideal norm is rooted in broader political thought upon which concepts of citizenship are based. As Feinman notes, calls for women's full membership in the military have often relied on logics of martial citizenship that are at the root of conceptualizations of citizenship in the United States.⁵¹ In a discussion of the emergence of the social contract in Western political thought, Puwar argues that women were excluded in the making of citizenship and that the social contract was a masculine fraternal pact.⁵² Iris Marion Young contends that the making of the modern state and citizenship, though couched in language of universal values, was based exclusively on experiences of men and linked to militarized ideas of fraternal camaraderie.⁵³ This masculine norm not only reflects and is reflected within the ideal figure of the white male soldier but is also constituted through processes of exclusion. A hierarchy of inclusion based upon the exclusion of the female body and the feminine overlaps with a racial contract marking certain racialized bodies as unsuitable participants in national spaces.⁵⁴ Both the military and the nation operate with a white male norm crafted through the exclusion of women and people of color through hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion. In regard to military service, the ideal figure of the white male soldier has been constructed and maintained through a legacy of policies and cultural understandings shaped not only by gender and race, but also by sexuality and class.

Histories of Regulating Difference in the Military

Policies and histories of inclusion and exclusion in the military balance the legacy of the white male as the ideal soldier with the requirement of responding to changing personnel

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Puwar, *Space Invaders*.

⁵³ Iris Marion Young, "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship," *Ethics* 99, no. 2 (1989): 250–74.

⁵⁴ Puwar, *Space Invaders*.

needs. Subsequent chapters will elaborate on policies of inclusion and exclusion in regards to specific aspects of difference, yet a brief discussion of such policies is necessary to highlight the ways regulations of difference, both physically and symbolically, are paramount to understandings of military service, recruiting, and the military institution. Broadly speaking, the military institution has gradually become more inclusive in terms of race and gender since 1948. Inclusion occurred much more quickly for men of color, primarily Black men, than for women. However, processes of military inclusion for Black men were rife with experiences of racism, discrimination, and perceptions that Black men were being used as cannon fodder in times of war. Since 1948, sexuality was increasingly regulated through strict policies excluding non-heterosexuals until 2010, when openly homosexual service members were granted full inclusion in the military. Despite the strict regulation of sexuality, policies banning homosexuals were ignored in times of need through stop-loss orders and the omission of questions about sexuality on entry exams.⁵⁵ Class inclusion and exclusion has been regulated through practices of enlistment, that despite changing models of enlistment from drafts to an all-volunteer force, have insulated middle and upper-class individuals from service, particularly service in combat.⁵⁶

While subsequent chapters focus on recruiting ads following the implementation of the AVF in 1973, trajectories of inclusion intensified during the AVF began with

⁵⁵ Gary L. Lehring, *Officially Gay: The Political Construction Of Sexuality*, 1 edition (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003); Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays and Lesbians in the U.S. Military* (Macmillan, 2005).

⁵⁶ Although military policies address differences as distinct, they function to create an overlapping lattice of inclusion and exclusion in which individuals are situated in complex and often contradictory ways. In the project of military inclusion, the ways differences are conceptualized as distinct influence the knowledge inclusion produces about difference, an influence that will be further discussed in subsequent chapters.

policies established in 1948. EO 9981 was signed by President Harry S. Truman in 1948 and called for “equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin”.⁵⁷ EO 9981 focused primarily on racial and ethnic differences whereas Public Law 625, also enacted in 1948, allowed women to serve in regular and reserve units. Public Law 625 granted permanent status to military women but also ordered that women be restricted to 2 percent or less of the total Armed Forces, excluding nurses.⁵⁸ As EO 9981 and Public Law 625 ordered the military to be more inclusive of racial and gender differences, the military was in the process of codifying increasingly anti-homosexual policies. Throughout the 1940s and the mobilization for WWII, the military drew on a psychiatric apparatus to screen and reject gay men and lesbians and developed a large-scale discharge system for service members presumed to be homosexuals.⁵⁹ In 1949, the Department of Defense adopted a uniform anti-homosexual policy, stating that “homosexual personnel, irrespective of sex, should not be permitted to serve in any branch of the Armed Forces in any capacity, and prompt separation of known homosexuals from the Armed Forces is mandatory”.⁶⁰ Each of the above mentioned policies regulating inclusion and exclusion based on race, gender, and sexuality were passed in the wake of American involvement in WWII, during which the military initiated the Selective Service System as a mode of drafting service members. Scholars contend that the Selective Service system, originally established in 1917 and utilized in modified forms in national drafts until 1973, often drew on and aggravated existing social inequalities of gender, race, and class in determining which men were

⁵⁷ Truman, “Establishing the President’s Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces.”

⁵⁸ Soeters and Meulen, *Cultural Diversity in the Armed Forces*.

⁵⁹ Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*.

⁶⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 261.

eligible to be drafted.⁶¹ Local draft boards composed almost entirely of white men were able to grant deferments for students, men determined to be legitimate breadwinners, and men who held jobs in occupations vital to war efforts, all of which disproportionately favored white men from privileged class backgrounds.⁶² Furthermore, forms of service that tended to be safer, such as the National Guard and Officer Corps, were most available as an option for white, middle-class men.⁶³ The Selective Service System shaped practices of inclusion and exclusion in the military until the shift to an AVF in 1973, a time period during which regulations of gender and sexuality remained consistent. However, the same time period saw a number of shifting policies addressing race and inclusion.

Although EO 9981 called for racial integration in 1948, continued segregation and racism in the Armed Forces prompted the formation of the Gesell Committee in 1962. The Gesell Committee was tasked with addressing the effectiveness of policies in regards to equality of treatment and found that the Armed Forces still promoted a culture of racial discrimination.⁶⁴ The military took steps to make the Armed Forces more inclusive of Black service members, such as policies allowing “Afro” haircuts in the 1960s.⁶⁵ Struggles over the inclusion of Black men during the 1960s and 1970s took place in a tension between competing views of the military as a site of potential racial equality and

⁶¹ Geva, “Different and Unequal?”; Paul T. Murray, “Blacks and the Draft: A History of Institutional Racism,” *Journal of Black Studies* 2, no. 1 (1971): 57–76; George Q. Flynn, “The Draft and College Deferments During the Korean War,” *The Historian* 50, no. 3 (1988): 369–85.

⁶² Geva, “Different and Unequal?”; Murray, “Blacks and the Draft”; Appy, *Working-Class War*.

⁶³ Appy, *Working-Class War*; Flynn, “The Draft and College Deferments During the Korean War.”

⁶⁴ Sherie Mershon and Steven Schlossman, *Foxholes and Color Lines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Forces* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

⁶⁵ Charles C. Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man: The Rank and File in Today’s Military* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1970).

an institution that took advantage of Black soldiers. At times, the military adopted policies that were more inclusive of Black men but also disproportionately channeled Black soldiers into dangerous combat positions. For example, in the 1960s, Daniel Moynihan saw the military as an important tool in solving the problem of Black poverty and the military instituted a program coinciding with Moynihan's views called Project 100,000.⁶⁶ Project 100,000 was meant to give skills for civilian life to the "subterranean poor" by accepting recruits who failed entrance exams. It was disproportionately composed of Black recruits; recruits who were often trained for combat and had a death rate twice as high as other American service members.⁶⁷ Perceptions that Black men were channeled to combat positions while white soldiers were not contributed to racial clashes between soldiers in the 1960s and 1970s prompting the formation of the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) in 1971 and the implementation of mandatory training in race relations.⁶⁸ Struggles with race relations, racism, and segregation between 1949 and the 1970s framed the shift to an AVF in 1973; a shift that profoundly influenced policies of inclusion in the military.

Planning for eliminating the draft and implementing an AVF began in 1968 and was deeply concerned with issues of public relations, recruitment advertising, and responding to concerns over social inequalities in the Selective Service System and perceptions that Vietnam was a working-class war.⁶⁹ In terms of policies regulating gender, sexuality, race, and class, the shift to the AVF had various effects. Broadly

⁶⁶ Appy, *Working-Class War*.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Soeters and Meulen, *Cultural Diversity in the Armed Forces*; "DEOMI History," accessed October 17, 2015, <https://www.deomi.org/AboutDEOMI/DEOMIHistory.cfm>.

⁶⁹ Latham, *Modern Volunteer Army: The Modern Volunteer Army Program: The Benning Experiment, 1970-1972*; Bailey, *America's Army*.

speaking, the move to a force composed entirely of voluntary recruits required to the military to expand the field of potential recruits to include people of color and women in order to meet personnel needs. Although the planners of the AVF hoped the shift would not significantly alter the composition of the Armed Forces, the inability of military wages to remain competitive with civilian wages led to a military composed of individuals for whom military service provided better opportunities than those in civilian life.⁷⁰ The necessity to expand the field of potential recruits to include the poor, Black Americans, and women is due, in part, to the fact that those on the periphery of the labor force, unable to get good jobs elsewhere, could be persuaded by the wages on offer in the military. This led to an increased dependence on the poor, Black Americans, and to a lesser extent, women.⁷¹ Since the implementation of the AVF in 1973, scholars and journalists have continued to debate how, and to what extent, an AVF disproportionately relies on poor and working class individuals and how the classed nature of recruiting and military service might also place burdens of service on racial minorities.⁷² Held in tension with a military institution and culture deeply rooted in visions of white men as ideal soldiers, the need for volunteers shaped, and was shaped by, changing policies in terms of gender and sexuality.

The implementation of the AVF was the most important policy leading to women's increased inclusion in the military. The shift to an AVF required the military to

⁷⁰ Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*; Mady W. Segal et al., "Gender and the Propensity to Enlist in the U.S. Military," *Gender Issues* 16, no. 3 (June 1998): 65–87, doi:10.1007/s12147-998-0022-0.

⁷¹ Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*.

⁷² Hector Amaya, "Latino Immigrants in the American Discourses of Citizenship and Nationalism During the Iraqi War," *Critical Discourse Studies* 4, no. 3 (December 1, 2007): 237–56, doi:10.1080/17405900701656841; Michael Zweig, "The War and the Working Class. (cover Story)," *Nation*, March 31, 2008; Mady Wechsler Segal et al., "Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military: Trends in Representation," *Race, Gender & Class* 14, no. 3/4 (January 1, 2007): 48–64.

expand the field of potential recruits and coincided with calls by equal rights feminists for women's full membership in the military, both of which were highly influential in expanding women's roles in the Armed Forces.⁷³ As the military transitioned to the AVF, questions regarding homosexual behaviors were dropped from forms for potential service members.⁷⁴ Despite government claims that this was about the protection of privacy, Randy Shilts contends that it was more closely related to a need for personnel and concerns about potential service members using homosexuality as grounds for getting out of service.⁷⁵ As the military maintained an official policy banning homosexuals from serving, a number of policies in the 1970s expanded the inclusion of women. In 1976, women gained admittance into military academies and in 1978 separate but equal all-female branches of the military were disbanded.⁷⁶ In 1979 the DRRI, which had provided race relations training in the early years of the AVF, was renamed the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute and began including training on issues of equal opportunity addressing sexual harassment.⁷⁷ As women were granted more access to military service, military culture and policies struggled to adapt to include women in an institution historically dominated both demographically and ideologically by men. Throughout the 1980s, policies regulating sexuality and gender spoke to the military's negotiation of needing some women to meet personnel needs while wanting to maintain the military as an institution founded on links with masculinity and maleness.

In 1982, the military adopted Directive 1332.14, which reiterated that the military was a strictly heterosexual institution, stating:

⁷³ Feinman, *Citizenship Rites*.

⁷⁴ Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Soeters and Meulen, *Cultural Diversity in the Armed Forces*; Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*.

⁷⁷ "DEOMI History."

The presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military missions. The presence of such members adversely affects the ability of the armed forces to . . . recruit and retain members of the armed forces; to maintain the public acceptability of military service.⁷⁸

The directive resulted in extensive witch-hunts throughout the 1980s meant to discredit and discharge service members perceived as homosexuals, which disproportionately targeted women.⁷⁹ The strict regulation of sexuality in the 1980s can be read as a reaction against shifting perceptions of the acceptability of a changing composition of military personnel; a reaction that had particularly negative effects for women service members. Policies excluding women from combat positions contributed to efforts to maintain the military as a demographically and ideologically male-space in the face of women's increased participation. In 1988, the Department of Defense (DoD) adopted a policy called the Risk Rule, which served as a way to evaluate positions from which women could be excluded based on risks of exposure to combat and excluded women "from noncombat units or missions if the risk of exposure to direct combat, hostile fire, or capture were equal to or greater than risk in the combat units they supported".⁸⁰ Combat experience is not only at the heart of the military's ideology and links between military service and citizenship, but also is an influential criterion for promotion. Policies like the Risk Rule, which banned women from combat positions, have contributed to the phenomenon of the brass ceiling. The brass ceiling functions as a barrier military women face when trying to obtain promotions to senior leadership positions resulting from

⁷⁸ Quoted in Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*, 378–379.

⁷⁹ Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*.

⁸⁰ "Gender Issues: Information on DOD's Assignment Policy and Direct Ground Combat Definition" (United States General Accounting Officer, 1998), <http://www.gao.gov/archive/1999/ns99007.pdf>.

policies limiting women's ability to serve in combat positions, promotion practices that disproportionately favor men, and gendered norms of military service that cast being female as incompatible with successful service in the military.⁸¹ The Risk Rule, along with Directive 1332.14 and the adoption of a "womanpause" strategy composed of decreasing recruiting efforts targeting women and redefining many occupations as combat-related, shaped the 1980s as a decade of remasculinization.⁸² This decade of resmasculinization was influenced by political struggles over the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), in which Phyllis Schlafly and others who opposed the ERA espoused the idea that women serving in the military were a threat to conservative values.⁸³ In the 1980s military women faced backlash against their increased inclusion gained in the 1970s as the military tried to assert visions of soldiers associated with heterosexuality and maleness. Just as the implementation of the AVF was a catalyst for changing policies, U.S. military involvement in the first Gulf War in the early 1990s also acted as a spark for shifts in policies regarding gender and sexuality.

The first Gulf War was broadcast into American homes as part of an increased integration of warfare with commercial television; a phenomenon that allowed for increased visibility of the 200,000 military women who served in the conflict.⁸⁴ The increased visibility of military women led to debates about the proper role women should

⁸¹ J. Norman Baldwin, "The Promotion Record of the United States Army: Glass Ceilings in the Officer Corps," *Public Administration Review* 56, no. 2 (March 1, 1996): 199–206, doi:10.2307/977208; Darlene Iskra, "Who Are the Women Who Have Broken Through the Military's 'Brass' Ceiling?," *Forum on Public Policy*, 2008, <http://www.forumonpublicpolicy.com/summer08papers/archivesummer08/iskra.pdf>.

⁸² Jeffords, *Remasculinization of America*; Feinman, *Citizenship Rites*.

⁸³ Feinman, *Citizenship Rites*.

⁸⁴ Roger Stahl, *Militainment, Inc.: War, Media, and Popular Culture*, 1 edition (Routledge, 2009); Marysia Zalewski and Jane L. Parpart, *The "Man" Question in International Relations* (Westview Press, 1998).

play in the military, and in the nation as a whole. These debates, which included concerns about women's roles as mothers and adherence to traditional family values, concerns about the capabilities of military women, and concerns that women's contributions in combat situations were going unrecognized, served to catalyze significant policy changes.⁸⁵ In 1992, the National Defense Authorization Act allowed women to be assigned to combat aircraft.⁸⁶ In 1994, the DoD developed the Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule, which was meant to clarify women's relationship to combat. The rule stated, "[s]ervice members are eligible to be assigned to all positions for which they are qualified, except that women shall be excluded from assignments to units below the brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground".⁸⁷ While allowing women to serve on combat aircraft gave military women greater access to leadership positions, the ban on ground combat reinforced the notion that combat was the domain of men. Shifts in policies including women in the early 1990s occurred in the wake of high profile incidents of sexual assault. The 1990s saw the exposure of the 1991 Tailhook Convention Scandal, during which eighty-three women and eight men reported being sexually assaulted and reports of sexual harassment and rape of female trainees by drill instructors at the Army Aberdeen Proving Grounds.⁸⁸ Rates of sexual assault in the military are twice as high as civilian rates and scholars have attributed high rates of sexual assault to a culture of masculinity, misogyny, and violence,

⁸⁵ Feinman, *Citizenship Rites*.

⁸⁶ "Gender Issues: Information on DOD's Assignment Policy and Direct Ground Combat Definition."

⁸⁷ "Report to Congress on the Review of Laws, Policies and Regulations Restricting the Service of Female Members in the U.S. Armed Forces" (Office of the Under Secretary of Defense, Personnel and Readiness, 2012), http://www.defense.gov/news/WISR_Report_to_Congress.pdf.

⁸⁸ Megan N Schmid, "Combating a Different Enemy: Proposals to Change the Culture of Sexual Assault in the Military," *Villanova Law Review* 55, no. 2 (2010): 475–508.

which is perpetuated by policies limiting women's full inclusion and has not been significantly altered by the increased presence of women soldiers.⁸⁹

As the military was reformulating the relationship between women and combat, President Bill Clinton suspended the policy banning gay and lesbian personnel from military service through a policy known as Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT).⁹⁰ DADT maintained language concerning homosexuality as part of processing enlistees and has been read as indicating the visibility of gay and lesbian service members, not their presence, as a problem for the military.⁹¹ DADT effectively called for a stop to the anti-homosexual discharge system while maintaining the function and mission of the military as founded on perceptions of heterosexuality and straightness. The policy also acted to justify stop-loss orders issued during the Gulf War, which suspended discharges of service members including those discharged on the grounds of suspected homosexuality.⁹² Both the Direct Ground Combat Rule and DADT remained in effect until the early 2010s. The late 2000s and early 2010s marked the military's official embrace of diversity as well as the beginning of policies granting full inclusion to women and homosexual service members.

In 2009, the Military Leadership Diversity Commission (MLDC) was established as part of efforts to evaluate diversity in the Armed Forces.⁹³ Prior to the formation of the

⁸⁹ Ibid.; Jessica A. Turchik and Susan M. Wilson, "Sexual Assault in the U.S. Military: A Review of the Literature and Recommendations for the Future," *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 15, no. 4 (July 2010): 267–77, doi:10.1016/j.avb.2010.01.005.

⁹⁰ Aaron Belkin, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Is the Gay Ban Based on Military Necessity?," *Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military*, July 1, 2003, <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0bb4j7ss>.

⁹¹ Cathy Cohn, "Gays in the Military: Texts and Subtexts," in *The "Man" Question in International Relations* (Westview Press, 1998), 129–49.

⁹² Lehring, *Officially Gay*.

⁹³ McDonald and Parks, *Managing Diversity in the Military*.

MLDC different branches of the Armed Forces had a variety of diversity programs, offices, and outreach and recruiting efforts targeting diverse recruits. In 2010, DADT was repealed and the military officially recognized that gay, lesbian, and bisexual service members could openly serve.⁹⁴ Statements made by President Barack Obama after the repeal of DADT positioned homosexuality as valued within the military institution, as included in a deliberately inclusive military despite policies limiting military service to heterosexual service members for much of the 20th century.⁹⁵ The MLDC released a report in 2011 proposing a uniform definition of diversity for all branches of the military.⁹⁶ In 2012, the Department of Defense released a *Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan* framing diversity as a moral and operational advantage achieved through diversity recruiting efforts and strategic communications: “Diversity is a strategic imperative, critical to mission readiness and accomplishment and a leadership requirement... We defend the greatest nation in the world – a democracy founded on the promise of opportunity for all... To the degree we truly represent our democracy, we are a stronger, and more relevant force”.⁹⁷ The military’s embrace of diversity was preceded by policies recognizing homosexual service members as included within visions of the nation and the Armed Forces and followed by a variety of policies fully including women.

⁹⁴ Jason Altmire, “H.R.2965 - 111th Congress (2009-2010): Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell Repeal Act of 2010,” legislation, (December 22, 2010), <https://www.congress.gov/bill/111th-congress/house-bill/2965>.

⁹⁵ Kori Schulman, “The President on the Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell Repeal Act of 2010: ‘An Historic Step,’” December 18, 2010, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2010/12/18/president-dont-ask-dont-tell-repeal-act-2010-historic-step>.

⁹⁶ Military Leadership Diversity Commission, “From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military.”

⁹⁷ “Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan: 2012-2017,” 3.

In 2013, Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta eliminated the exclusion of women from ground combat and called for a plan to eliminate gender-based limitations to service.⁹⁸ In February 2016, the decision to open all ground combat units to women was implemented and women were granted full inclusion in the military.⁹⁹ In June 2016, the Senate approved a bill that would require women to register for Selective Service starting in 2018, which if enacted would place women on equal footing with men in terms of access to combat positions as well as the responsibility of martial service.¹⁰⁰ By 2016, the military had enacted or planned policies of full inclusion for women, transgender individuals, bisexual and homosexual service members, and continued to implement equal opportunity training addressing issues of race, gender, and sexual harassment. These pushes toward policies of inclusion were framed as part of the military's contemporary investment in diversity, just as previous policies of inclusion were seen as part of the military's investment in equal opportunity and integration.

Beginning in 1948, policy shifts regarding the regulation of gender, race, and sexuality and changing models of enlistment shaped how the military conceived of itself as a deliberately inclusive institution. The implementation of the AVF in 1973 fundamentally altered the military's relationship to inclusion, as they were forced to expand their pool of potential recruits to include the poor, Blacks, and women in order to meet unprecedented personnel needs. Throughout the more than forty years of the AVF, changes in military policies of inclusion and exclusion dictated the extent to which women, people of color, and members of the LGBT community could serve in the

⁹⁸ Leon Panetta, "Statement on Women in Service," January 24, 2013, <http://archive.defense.gov/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1746>.

⁹⁹ *Implementation of the Decision to Open All Ground Combat Units to Women*.

¹⁰⁰ Steinhauer, "Senate Votes to Require Women to Register for the Draft."

military, as well as the types of positions they could occupy. The history of policies of inclusion and exclusion was shaped by broader political arguments about gender, race, and sexuality in the nation and questions over the role of the military as an institution able to influence social changes in civilian society. These policy shifts occurred along with and influenced changes in the demographic composition of the Armed Forces. As discussed in the introduction, the overall size of the military has declined since the implementation of the AVF and the military has become more diverse. Policy changes in the military influence material conditions and opportunities for service members as well as ideas about who can and should be imagined as an ideal service member. Situated at the intersection of material personnel needs and symbolic representations of ideal recruits, military recruitment advertising has been essential to processes of negotiating difference in the Armed Forces.

Recruiting for Difference

Since the implementation of the AVF, the military advertising industry was tasked with helping the various branches of the Armed Forces meet personnel needs. Recruiting efforts required advertisements that reached a broad array of potential recruits, including individuals for whom military service had once been an obligation of citizenship as well as for individuals historically excluded from the military. Such efforts also required representing the Armed Forces and military service members in ways that would garner positive reactions from the general public. Shifts in military policies, such as those discussed above, constructed the parameters of who could be advertised to as a potential recruit and what experiences of military service would be available to different recruits. Crafted alongside policy shifts, political and cultural debates, and changes in industry

practices, representations and strategies of military recruitment advertising produce and reflect ideas about the place of various forms of difference in the military institution. Historical links between military service, citizenship, and inclusion are represented, reflected, and contested in the military advertising industry. Turning now to recruiting efforts that coincided with industry practices of targeted advertising, Chapter III explores strategies of military advertising that represent the military as a visually inclusive institution.

CHAPTER III

TARGETING DIFFERENCE: STRATEGIES OF VISUAL INCLUSION

“Had it not been for the disproportionate representation of African Americans, and an increasing proportion of women in uniform, the recruiting goals of the volunteer force would not have been met” *Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military: Trends in Representations*, 2007¹

Throughout the era of the AVF, recruiting ads have made appeals to a variety of potential recruits. Appeals showing the military as a site where differently gendered and raced bodies were included in recruiting ads reflected a changing need for personnel during the era of the AVF. As the military became reliant solely on voluntary recruits, the military advertising industry was tasked with broadening recruiting appeals to include people of color and women alongside appeals historically focused on white men. In so doing, representations in recruiting ads spoke to broader changes at work in strategies of targeting potential recruits and the place of difference and diversity within the Armed Forces, particularly in terms of race, gender, and class. The success of the AVF was contingent on military service being perceived as an economically viable occupation for potential recruits. From 1973 to the present, military wages have fluctuated in relation to civilian wages and the Armed Forces became increasingly reliant on poor enlistees, people of color, and to a lesser extent, women, in meeting personnel needs.² The increased reliance of the Armed Forces on individuals from lower class and working-class backgrounds, people of color, namely African Americans, and women was facilitated by targeted marketing and advertising strategies as well as representations and messages in recruiting ads portraying the military as an inclusive space. Efforts to target

¹ Segal et al., “Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military.”

² Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*; Segal et al., “Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military.”

African American and women recruits are undergirded by the classed and economic logic of the AVF. Individuals at the periphery of the labor market, whether due to intersections of gender, racial, and/or class inequalities, were targeted as potential recruits due to military wages and opportunities that matched or improved upon opportunities available to them in the civilian world. The new importance of economic considerations for recruiting during the AVF required representations and appeals that portrayed the military as a space where African American and women recruits were included. This chapter situates visually inclusive recruiting ads within the context of marketing approaches adopted by the military advertising industry. As unprecedented personnel needs emerged following the implementation of the AVF in 1973 and the military coordinated with the advertising industry to meet these needs, approaches devised by advertising and marketing industries were co-opted by and further developed within the burgeoning military advertising industry. Strategies of advertising to particular demographics developed in marketing and advertising industries converged with representations of ideal militarized subjects in the military advertising industry and framed inclusion as a primarily visual characteristic. After discussing the roles of gender, class, and race in the advertising industry, I turn to ads representing two related strategies of targeting and including different recruits in crafting visions of an inclusive military—colorizing ads and promoting visions of a rainbow military, both of which address difference while minimizing its significance, using an ideology of colorblindness to do so.

Visual Inclusion in Recruiting Ads

The visual inclusion of different bodies in recruiting ads operates analogously to a coloring book. Visions of military service and the military institution construct and maintain the outlines through which the “right look” for military service members and recruits is represented. Whether or not the bodies included in recruiting ads adhere to or deviate from the ideal figure of the white male, they are all similarly represented within a bounded narrative of military service. The military institution and military service is a solid line, predicated on maintaining the military’s authority and ability to grant power to service members and transform them in a variety of ways. By incorporating a variety of bodies into narratives of military service, the look of the military institution is made visually and superficially inclusive within the existing lines and structure. Superficial inclusion, as a representational practice and logic of thinking about difference through a “blind” approach, indicates that anyone *could* fill spaces in the military. In using the term superficial inclusion, I am referring to a form of inclusion articulated primarily through imagery of military service and military recruits that robs difference of its social, cultural, and political significance. Superficial inclusion in military recruiting ads operates similarly to colorblind practices of casting in television, which marginalize and diminish the experiences of minorities while including them under the guise of diversity.³ “Blind” approaches of superficial inclusion in recruiting ads operate to erase differences in class, gender, and race. Practices of representing the military as visually inclusive through “blind” approaches are imbricated with class-based and economic considerations central to the AVF.

³ Kristen J. Warner, *The Cultural Politics of Colorblind TV Casting* (Routledge, 2015).

Concerns of economic class are built into the logic of military recruiting and advertising and are consistently expressed through narratives of mobility in recruiting ads; narratives that will be further discussed in Chapter IV. Economic behavior, wages, and ideas of class were influential in planning the AVF. The Gates Commission, tasked with orchestrating the shift to the AVF, saw remedying inequities in entry-level pay in the military and keeping entry-level military wages competitive with civilian wages as indispensable to assuring the success of the AVF.⁴ While concerns of economic class are absolutely central to targeting potential recruits and the maintenance of the AVF, recruiting ads adopt the language of mobility as a euphemism for class. In doing so, the classed foundations of military recruiting are erased and robbed of their significance in maintaining an entirely voluntary military increasingly reliant on individuals from poor and working class backgrounds while raising questions of how “voluntary” military service might actually be for individuals with few other opportunities for upward mobility. Differences of race and gender are similarly robbed of their political, social, and cultural significance in a framework of superficial inclusion. Race is often represented in recruiting ads through an ideology of colorblindness. Colorblindness is an ideology linked to discourses of equal opportunity and individualism, which perpetuates racial inequality through avoidance of racial terminology and of race as a factor in affecting life chances.⁵ Many recruiting ads, particularly those crafted through strategies of colorizing and promoting visions of a rainbow military, adhere to such a framework of

⁴ “The President’s Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force” (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, February 1970); Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*.

⁵ David L. Eng, *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy* (Duke University Press, 2010); Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006); Sarah E. Turner, *The Colorblind Screen: Television in Post-Racial America*, ed. Sarah Nilsen (New York ; London: NYU Press, 2014).

colorblindness. Racial difference is visually represented but stripped of its political, social, and cultural significance. Representations of racial difference in recruiting ads are used to make appeals to different bodies and show how easily such bodies are included within the military institution. In so doing, recruiting ads represent color rather than race. While race and color are often subsumed within the same framework, I delineate between race and color in military recruiting ads. Scholars have discussed color in terms of discriminatory treatment based on skin tone and a mechanism through which people of color, including Black peoples, Latinx peoples, and others have been measured against beliefs of white supremacy.⁶ Critical diversity scholars have thought of color as a way through which race is reduced to an aesthetic in visual representations.⁷ In the context of military recruiting ads, color is used to refer to a marker of visual difference in which bodies with different skin tones are included in representations of the military institution. Informed by racialized strategies of targeting particular recruits within the military advertising industry, color is the visual representation of racial difference in recruiting ads in which a variety of bodies are included but issues of race and difference are not acknowledged or discussed. Reducing race to color not only erases racial inequality, but also allows for recruiting ads to emphasize the assimilation of different bodies into rigid outlines of military service. Many ads adopt a similar framework for including women in visions of military service, in which gender is robbed of its political significance; a gender-blind approach representing women as members of the military institution without

⁶ Cedric Herring, Verna Keith, and Hayward Derrick Horton, *Skin Deep: How Race and Complexion Matter in the "Color-Blind" Era* (University of Illinois Press, 2004).

⁷ Elaine Swan, "Commodity Diversity: Smiling Faces as a Strategy of Containment," *Organization* 17, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 77–100, doi:10.1177/1350508409350043.

an acknowledgment of the different parameters and restrictions—both formal and informal—military women face.

In discussing strategies of military advertising and recruiting ads that deploy representations of superficial inclusion, this chapter focuses on the visual construction of inclusion in military recruiting ads. The focus on strategies contributing to a visually inclusive military demonstrates how representations in recruiting ads were influenced by approaches developed in coordination with the advertising industry and result in recruiting appeals that remain consistent regardless of the bodies represented. The ability to maintain the outlines of military service while including a variety of different bodies needed to meet personnel needs is accomplished through reducing differences in class to a universal language of mobility and through thinking of differences of race and gender as optical qualities, something that can be visually included without need of reference or discussion. The construction of visual inclusion in recruiting ads coincided with changing strategies for reaching different groups of potential recruits in the shift to the AVF.

Targeting Recruits and Strategies of Military Advertising

As the military advertising industry formed in response to a new need for recruits following the implementation of the AVF, the Department of Defense began conducting surveys of youth in attempts to increase the effectiveness of recruitment advertising. Efforts to effectively target likely recruits began with the annual Youth Attitude Tracking Study (YATS) and have since evolved into the biannual Youth Poll.⁸ Questions of gender, race, and class figured prominently in measuring the likelihood of youth to join

⁸ S.G. Berkowitz et al., “Career Plans and Military Propensity of Young Men: Interviews with 1995 Youth Attitude Tracking Respondents,” DMDC Report (Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center, 1997); Ricardo S. Carvalho et al., “Department of Defense Youth Poll Wave 20 - December 2010” (Department of Defense, Defense Human Resources Activity, September 2011).

the military. Initially YATS only surveyed males aged 16-21 but changed to include both men and women aged 16-24.⁹ These surveys sought to measure factors related to enlistment, the results of which are used by different branches of the Armed Forces and their advertising agencies to craft and target messages towards potential recruits.¹⁰ Education, the economy, and employment options are influential factors in determining propensity to enlist. As youth receive increased education they are less likely to indicate military service as an expected event in their future.¹¹ Unemployed youth have a higher propensity for enlistment, as do youth who think it is difficult to get a job in their community.¹² Throughout the AVF, surveys found that Black recruits were more likely to enlist than white recruits and that Black women were more likely to serve than Black men.¹³ These differences in the likelihood of military service are attributed to gendered and racialized disadvantages at work in the civilian labor market.¹⁴ Although women were not included in planning for the shift to the AVF, it was quickly realized that increasing the percentage of women in the military could help meet recruiting goals.¹⁵ Informed by this history of disproportionate reliance on poor recruits and Black recruits, as well as an increasing recognition of women as potential (albeit limited) service

⁹ Berkowitz et al., "Career Plans and Military Propensity of Young Men: Interviews with 1995 Youth Attitude Tracking Respondents."

¹⁰ Jerald G. Bachman, Peter Freedman-Doan, and Patrick M. O'Malley, "Youth Attitudes and Military Service: Findings From Two Decades of Monitoring the Future National Samples of American Youth," DMDC Report (Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center, June 2000); Carvalho et al., "JAMRS Report No. 2011-05."

¹¹ Carvalho et al., "JAMRS Report No. 2011-05."

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.; J. Eric Fredland et al., *Professionals on the Front Line: Two Decades of the All-Volunteer Force* (Brassey's, 1996); Segal et al., "Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military."

¹⁴ Segal et al., "Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military."

¹⁵ Beth Bailey, "A Political History of the All-Volunteer Army," *The Forum* 9, no. 3 (2011), doi:10.2202/1540-8884.1460.

members, class, race, and gender have been and continue to be influential factors in the development of the military advertising industry.

As the military was implementing the AVF in 1973, the U.S. Department of Defense was entertaining proposals from civilian advertising agencies on developing research programs, recruitment plans, and communication strategies as part of efforts to meet personnel needs. A proposal prepared by J. Walter Thompson in November 1973 called for a recruiting research program for all branches of the Armed Forces. The proposal discussed how the identification of “vulnerable target groups” based on demographic characteristics and academic achievement along with the ability to designate competing civilian opportunities, including educational and work opportunities, would be essential for planning recruitment efforts in the AVF.¹⁶ The identification of important elements—demographics along with educational and work opportunities—for practices of recruiting reinforce links between class, economic inequality, and recruiting and are echoed in recruiting documents forty years later. A 2005 report from the Joint Advertising, Marketing Research and Studies (JAMRS) group—a Department of Defense research program tasked with maintaining the AVF and ensuring the efficiency of recruiting efforts—identified eighteen groups, categorized by ethnicity, income, and urbanization, which provided the highest rate of prospective recruits.¹⁷ Through language of income and competing opportunities in the civilian world recruitment advertising plans and research demonstrate the prevalence of class inequalities in planning for, and maintaining, an entirely voluntary military. The need to target and reach “vulnerable”

¹⁶ A Proposal For An Integrated Research Program for the U.S. Armed Forces, J. Walter Thompson Company. Account Files, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

¹⁷ James B. Arndorfer, “Target Practice,” *Ad Age*, November 28, 2005, <http://adage.com/article/news/target-practice/105391/>.

groups was crafted in tension with ideas about race, gender, and ideal recruits and framed who was imagined as the ideal recruit. A 1974 Account Summary for Marine Corps advertising provided a list ranking the desirability of different demographic groups as potential recruits:

- A. Male high school seniors/recent graduates
- B. Male college undergraduates/recent graduates
- C. Male graduates of two-year colleges
- D. Negro college students/recent graduates (male & female)
- E. Qualified college drop-outs (minimum two years)
- F. Graduate law students (male & female)
- G. Female high school seniors/recent graduates
- H. Female college undergraduates/recent graduates
- I. Prior service Marines¹⁸

The list of “principle target groups” details how ideas about education, gender, and race shaped military advertising industry practices. Advertising for the Marine Corps, the branch of the military most closely associated with ideals linking whiteness, maleness, and combat, was informed by ideas about white men as the best possible recruits, followed by college educated Black men and women, and white women; ideas that continued to influence strategies in the military advertising industry throughout the era of the AVF. A Marine Corps recruiting plan for 1975 indicated that the primary target of recruiting efforts was men, but that there were programs dedicated to reaching small numbers of women.¹⁹ This plan also discussed efforts to reach racial minorities as part of efforts to increase the percentage of minority officers in the Corps. An advertising proposal for 1978, also for the Marine Corps, details how male recruits should be the primary targets of advertising efforts and that “unique campaigns for minorities and/or

¹⁸ Account Summary United States Marine Corps, J. Walter Thompson Company. Review Board Records, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

¹⁹ United States Marine Corps Communications Plan FY’75.

females” were not recommended as women were already involved in existing campaigns targeting men and a minority officer recruitment campaign was already in place.

Although recruitment strategies developed during the early years of the AVF often prioritized white men, the military advertising industry became concerned with attracting recruits beyond white men. A 1987 advertising plan for the Navy contained specific recruiting goals for women, Black, and Hispanic recruits and proposed an integrated advertising campaign including these groups in recruiting appeals.²⁰ In 1992, the Coast Guard’s recruiting plan recommended that recruiting efforts focus on targeting racial minorities—specifically African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans—and women through appeals framing the Coast Guard as “gender friendly” and an “equal opportunity” employer.²¹ A 1995 recruitment advertising plan for the Marine Corps recognized that racial minorities made up a growing percentage of the recruiting market and, as such, the Corps needed to strengthen efforts to reach them.²² The details of recruiting plans discussed above detail how ideas about class, articulated through language of educational and vocational opportunities in the civilian world, gender, and race were crucial to the development of strategies for targeting potential recruits and crafting recruiting appeals.²³ The importance of class, gender, and race in the military

²⁰ Navy Advertising Plan 1986-1987.

²¹ Handwritten Notes, Bates Worldwide Records. Client Files, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University; U.S. Coast Guard Recommended Media Plan, Bates Worldwide Records. Client Files, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

²² USMC Recruitment Advertising Plan, 1995, J. Walter Thompson Company. Account Files, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

²³ It’s important to note that recruiting plans for various branches of the Armed Forces are shaped by individual branch cultures and policies. For example, as the only non-combat branch of the Armed Forces the Coast Guard was able to represent themselves as “gender friendly” due to policies granting women access to all occupations. In contrast, as a primarily combat-oriented

advertising industry reveals a convergence of ideals of military service with industrial advertising practices of imagining audiences in gendered, racialized, and classed ways.

As an institution and an industry, advertising is concerned with responding to consumers' desires and picturing life not as it is, but as it should be in capitalist societies.²⁴ There is an aspirational logic at the heart of advertising shaped by social values associated with class, gender, and race. In a study of the history of the American advertising industry, Marchand contends that ads give products a "class image", as most consumers would rather identify with scenes of higher status than with reflections of their own lives.²⁵ Notions of class not only informed images in ads but also advertisers' ideas about their audiences. Distinctions between those who can afford to buy the products featured in advertisements and those who do not qualify as consumer citizens—such as Blacks, the poor, and those with little command of English—resulted in the construction of an exclusionary audience.²⁶ Furthermore, some advertisers focused on reaching a "class audience", defined as a small elite of privileged consumers targeted in publications touting the sophistication of their readers.²⁷ Class operates as a fundamental consideration in advertising, both in terms of targeting audiences and in the very logic of advertising as promoting visions of social and cultural ideals. The same industrial history that figured class as the most important factor in identifying potential consumers and shaping messages in ads also saw women as their primary audience.

branch the Marine Corps needed recruits to fill combat positions that could only be filled by men. Distinctions between various branches shaped recruiting plans and strategies while reflecting and reifying the importance of gender, race, and class as factors influencing ideas about ideal recruits and military service.

²⁴ Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*; Schudson, *Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion* (Basic Books, 1986).

²⁵ Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

Despite the fact that women were largely excluded from participating in the advertising industry, except in narrowly defined roles, there was a general consensus that the consumer audience was mostly composed of women.²⁸ Early advertising practices in the 1920s and 1930s targeted women by composing copy based on assumptions of women as passive, irrational, and guided by emotion.²⁹ The idea of women as the primary consumers of products and targets of advertisements led to a viewpoint that emotional appeals were the best way to reach the general audience.³⁰ As the general audience was considered in feminized terms, women were employed in advertising agencies as experts on understanding a woman's frame of mind within an industry strictly segregated according to gender.³¹

The early advertising industry was not only exclusionary in terms of gender, but also in terms of race and ethnicity. Marchand contends that large advertising agencies were very ethnically exclusive, due to both deliberate and unconscious practices that carried over into representations in ads.³² Prior to calls for increased representation of Blacks in advertising as part of broader calls for recognition in other aspects of political and social life in the 1960s, advertisements were overwhelmingly dominated by whiteness.³³ Calls for the inclusion of Black Americans in advertising along with recognition of their increased purchasing power led moves toward segmented marketing

²⁸ Lears, *Fables of Abundance*; Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*.

²⁹ Lears, *Fables of Abundance*; Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*.

³⁰ Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Marilyn Halter, *Shopping for Identity: The Marketing of Ethnicity* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2007).

approaches based on race and ethnicity.³⁴ Segmented marketing approaches entail targeting particular groups, often defined as subcultures and categorized along lines of race and ethnicity.³⁵ When directed at communities and people of color such strategies are often referred to as ethnic marketing, and historically refer to efforts to reach Blacks, Hispanics, and Asian Americans.³⁶ Arlene Dávila contends that marketing and advertising strategies provide insights into the construction of public identities and cultural citizenship while illuminating the proximity of different individuals to national ideals.³⁷ The inclusion of different bodies in advertising, whether for the military or for consumer products, speaks to a changing landscape of marketing and advertising practices as well as indicating the position of different groups and populations in broader aspects of national culture. In a study of Hispanic marketing and advertising, Dávila found that the reconstitution of individuals and populations into consumers and markets is central to cultural production.³⁸ Elizabeth Chin sees Black children's experiences of the world of advertising and consumption as shaped by inequalities of gender, race, and class and defined by distance from an imagined (white) national audience.³⁹ Military recruiting advertisements in the era of the AVF were confronted with expanding their recruiting appeals while working within an advertising industry shaped by the exclusion of the very bodies the military became increasingly reliant upon to meet personnel needs.

³⁴ Robert Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), <http://nyupress.org/books/9780814793275/>.

³⁵ Marye C. Tharp, *Marketing and Consumer Identity in Multicultural America* (Sage Publications, 2001); Halter, *Shopping for Identity*.

³⁶ Geng Cui, "Marketing to Ethnic Minority Consumers: A Historical Journey (1932-1997)," *Journal of Macromarketing* 21, no. 1 (June 1, 2001): 23–31, doi:10.1177/0276146701211003.

³⁷ Arlene Dávila, *Latinos, Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People* (University of California Press, 2001).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Elizabeth M. Liew Siew Chin, *Purchasing Power: Black Kids and American Consumer Culture* (U of Minnesota Press, 2001).

After the implementation of the AVF, military recruiting ads expanded their appeals to include people of color and women in a variety of ways that align with different advertising strategies. Scholars contend that segmented ethnic marketing strategies revolve around three approaches: developing separate messages for different racial and language groups, targeting particular regions and media, and swapping white faces with faces of color or “colorizing” advertisements.⁴⁰ The military advertising industry has utilized each of these strategies in recruitment advertising. A number of ads, which will be discussed in Chapters V and VI, contain messages explicitly targeted towards people of color and women that discuss race and gender within the military institution. Other ads discuss race and gender in more coded ways. Some ads focused on mobility have slightly different messages when featured in *Cosmopolitan* than when featured in *Ebony* or *Sports Illustrated*. A number of ads, as will be discussed in Chapter IV, focus on language of mobility, as a euphemism for class and as an inclusive narrative of military service. A Navy ad published in *Ebony* in 1973 referred to a Black service member as a “young brother” and another Navy ad published in *Ebony* referred to potential recruits as “brothers”, a term rooted in a history of use by African Americans to refer to someone with whom you are closely linked.⁴¹ Such messages combine visual inclusion with text telling potential recruits that the military knows them and their communities, and that they, too, can join the military. Ads featuring messages making direct appeals to people of color and women were featured in *Ebony* and *Cosmopolitan*, but not in *Sports Illustrated*. The placement of such ads reveals the ways military

⁴⁰ Halter, *Shopping for Identity*; Tharp, *Marketing and Consumer Identity in Multicultural America*; Gail Baker Woods, *Advertising and Marketing to the New Majority: A Case Study Approach*, 1 edition (Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth Publishing, 1994).

⁴¹ Jane Ward, *Not Gay: Sex Between Straight White Men* (NYU Press, 2015).

recruiting ads adhere to a strategy of targeting particular publications to reach particular audiences. Strategies of targeting particular publications cut across other strategies at work in military recruitment advertising.

In discussing different ads, it is important to consider which publication or publications ads appeared in and how some messages are altered based on whom they intend to reach. The practice of targeting particular publications to reach a particular audience of potential recruits is crucial for understanding the significance of what I call colorizing. Colorizing refers to a practice in which military recruiting ads include a variety of differently raced and gendered bodies within advertisements representing the military institution and military service in formulaic ways. Practices of colorizing in consumer advertising often entail swapping white faces with faces of color and in the context of military recruitment advertising are based on which publication a particular ad is published in. However, given that military ads are rooted in norms of both whiteness and masculinity, colorizing in recruiting ads take a different form, in which both people of color and women are inserted into identical or similar appeals in recruiting ads. Colorizing functions to collapse any difference from a white male norm into a visual indicator; into a form of inclusion expressed visually in military recruiting ads.

Meet Today's Army Reserve: Colorizing Recruiting Ads

Immediately following the shift to the AVF, a series of ads for the Air Force and the Marine Corps appeared in both *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* demonstrating a practice of colorizing. An ad for the Air Force, published in *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* in March 1973 featured the headline “This Ad Could Put Someone In College”. The ad details the educational opportunities available when joining the Air Force ROTC program including

scholarships, a personal allowance, and free flying lessons. The ad frames the Air Force ROTC as, “A college education...free. Plus a career as an Air Force officer.” In making an appeal to potential recruits based on the educational opportunities associated with military service, the ad shows a potential recruit in civilian clothes standing on the stoop of a brick house. In *Ebony* the ad shows a young Black man; in *Sports Illustrated* the ad shows a young white man. An ad for the Marine Corps, which appeared in *Sports Illustrated* in October 1974 and in *Ebony* in November 1974, revolves around the heading, “What to tell a son who’s thinking of joining the Marines” (See Figure 1).⁴² Text in the two-page ad lists things for young men who are thinking of enlisting to consider, including an emphasis on combat, tough training, educational and vocational opportunities, and the exclusivity of the Corps. Above the text is a photo of a father and son, facing one another, arms locked about to arm wrestle. In *Sports Illustrated* the ad shows a white father and son; in *Ebony* the ad shows a Black father and son. Both ads for the Marine Corps and Air Force contain identical text and frame their appeals using the exact same language; they differ only in regard to the bodies pictured as potential recruits. We see Black bodies in *Ebony* and white bodies in *Sports Illustrated*, indicating a strategy of colorizing, of placing the “right” body in the ad based on publication and targeted audience. Strategies of colorizing, while not exclusive to the era of the AVF, were pervasive throughout the era of the AVF and demonstrate attempts to craft visions

⁴² The image featured in *Ebony* was scanned as part of *Ebony*’s digitizing process and the image in *Sports Illustrated* was scanned to be included in this dissertation. Differences between the two images reflect differences in the quality of the separate scanning processes. Subsequent images also reflect differences in scanning processes as well as differences in the color and quality of different archival materials.

of military service in which a variety of recruits could imagine themselves as members of the military institution.⁴³

A series of Army Reserve ads published twenty-two times across *Ebony*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Sports Illustrated* from 1973 to 1975 revolved around the slogan “It pays to go to meetings”.



Figure 1
Source: *Ebony* November 1974; *Sports Illustrated* Oct. 14, 1974

This series of eleven distinct ads focus on skills training, career opportunities, and pay associated with joining the Army Reserve. As a whole the ads show a diverse vision of the Army Reserve. Some of the ads feature images of Black men while others feature

⁴³ Loren Miller found that recruiting materials for the Women’s Reserves in the 1940s published in Black newspapers featured images of minority women mirroring images of white women as part of recruiting efforts specifically targeting minority women (Miller, 2015).

images of white women and white men. An ad published twice in *Ebony* features the headline, “If you’re looking for a better job you’ve come to the right page” along with text stating, “Because the Army Reserve needs men”. The image in the ad features a young Black man in civilian clothes. Another ad published in *Cosmopolitan* makes a direct appeal to women, stating, “If you’re a young woman with a skill we’re interested in, you’re in great shape. Because we want to make you a very attractive offer.” The ad features two images of a young white woman; one image shows her in civilian clothes, the other shows the woman in military uniform. The two ads demonstrate how Army Reserve ads featured images of Black men in ads appearing in *Ebony* and images of white women in *Cosmopolitan*. The ads contain similar appeals based on the skills training and extra money earned while serving part-time in the Reserve and maintain a consistent outline of military service in which Black men and white women can be imagined based on the publication in which the ad published.

Three Army Reserve ads with the same heading and similar text but with images of three different service members show how recruiting ads are colorized within a consistent outline of military service (See Figure 2). The three ads all feature the heading “In a few months we’ll teach you a skill, pay you a salary, then send you home”. Text in the ad describes the process of joining the Army Reserve and mentions how recruits have their pick of job-training courses and careers, will get in great shape in basic training, have extra money, and be “all set to go after a full-time job using the skill you just learned”. The images in the ads all follow the same layout. There are three photos: one of a service member in uniform, a photo of a check, and a photo of the same service member in civilian clothes. In the version of the ad published twice in *Cosmopolitan* in

1974 there is a photo of a white woman in military uniform seated wearing headphones, as a white man stands behind her. She is then shown in civilian clothes standing alone. This ad depicts a particularly gendered vision of military service, consistent with other Army Reserve ads appearing in *Cosmopolitan*. Of the four different ads featuring images of white women, all the images of women in uniform show them with a white man in uniform visible in the background. The inclusion of a male service member in the background of the photo showing a woman Reservist points to the limits of visually including women in the military. The woman is included in a vision of military service where women will be working with, and for, men. In imagining a woman service member, the image includes a man, indicating that the military can't be represented without the presence of men. In another ad featured in *Cosmopolitan* the male service member in the image has more ribbons on his uniform than the woman, denoting his position of authority as a higher-ranking service member. These ads, though making appeals to women recruits, reinforce a vision of a military dominated by men, where women serve in subordinate positions. Such images create an outline of military service in which women can be included in a context where the presence of men is necessary and those men are represented as being in charge of women service members. Although women are included, ads in which female service members are shown with male service members point to the parameters limiting how women can be imagined in the military, limits apparent in ads including women but not in ads including service men of color.

The version of the ad published in *Sports Illustrated* in October 1973 shows an image of a young white man in Army uniform leaning over an engine with a wrench in one hand and a screwdriver in the other. He is then shown smiling in civilian clothing

facing the camera with a coat draped over his right shoulder. The version of the ad featured in *Ebony* seven times from 1974 to 1975 shows an image of a young Black man in nearly identical settings. He is shown in Army uniform leaning over an engine with a screwdriver in one hand and a wrench in the other. He is then shown smiling in civilian clothing facing the camera with a coat draped over his right shoulder.

**IN A FEW MONTHS WE'LL
TEACH YOU A SKILL,
PAY YOU A SALARY, THEN
SEND YOU HOME.**



Treasurer of the United States
PAY \$300.35
TO THE ORDER OF DONNA JUMI TURNERSVI

Here's the deal.
First you get a quick visit to the Army Reserve Career center you. They show you a list with more than 400 different job-training courses. They level with you, too, that not every unit can offer you every job. After you've picked a career you'd like to try, they check to make sure there's an opening for it in the unit.

Then you're on your way. A few weeks of basic. A few months of job-training, depending on which career you choose. (As you might expect, some specialties take longer.) Now you take off for home. If you're big on saving, you've probably got as much as \$2,000 stashed away in your pocket. Don't forget, while you're away, your living expenses are on us.

Once you're home, you're all set to get after a full-time job using the skill you just learned.

Meanwhile, you're depositing that skill one weekend a month with the Army Reserve. That one weekend a month will also earn you about \$40.

In the summer, you'll get two more weeks of the same at summer camp. And that's about the size of it. If you're interested—and if you're 18 through 34—we can help you pick a career to try. And to take home with you.

THE ARMY RESERVE. IT PAYS TO GO TO MEETINGS.

Send for more information: Write: Army Reserve Organization, P.O. Box 100, Philadelphia, Pa. 19112. Name: _____ Address: _____ City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

**IN A FEW MONTHS WE'LL
TEACH YOU A SKILL,
PAY YOU A SALARY, THEN
SEND YOU HOME.**



Treasurer of the United States
PAY \$284.36
TO THE ORDER OF EUGENE DAVIS 49 BRYANT ROAD

Here's the deal.
First you get a quick visit to the Army Reserve Career center you. They show you a list of different job-training courses. They level with you, too, that not every unit can offer you every job. After you've picked a career you'd like to try, they check to make sure there's an opening for it in the unit. Then you're on your way.

Eight weeks of basic training gets you both in great shape. Then comes a few months of job training. How many depends on the job you want to learn.

Now you take off for home. If you're big on saving, you've probably got close to \$1,000 stashed away in your pocket. Don't forget, your living expenses are on us.

Once you're home, you're all set to get after a full-time job using the skill you just learned.

Meanwhile, you're depositing that skill one weekend a month with the Army Reserve. That one weekend a month will also get about \$40 more in your wallet.

In the summer, you'll get two more weeks of the same at summer camp. All you have to do now is figure out which career you'd like to try.

THE ARMY RESERVE. IT PAYS TO GO TO MEETINGS.

Send for more information: Write: Army Reserve Organization, P.O. Box 100, Philadelphia, Pa. 19112. Name: _____ Address: _____ City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

**IN A FEW MONTHS WE'LL
TEACH YOU A SKILL,
PAY YOU A SALARY, THEN
SEND YOU HOME.**



Treasurer of the United States
PAY \$300.35
TO THE ORDER OF EUGENE DAVIS 49 BRYANT ROAD

Here's the deal.
First you get a quick visit to the Army Reserve Career center you. They show you a list of different job-training courses. They level with you, too, that not every unit can offer you every job. After you've picked a career you'd like to try, they check to make sure there's an opening for it in the unit. Then you're on your way.

Eight weeks of basic training gets you both in great shape. Then comes a few months of job training. How many depends on the job you want to learn.

Now you take off for home. If you're big on saving, you've probably got close to \$1,000 stashed away in your pocket. Don't forget, your living expenses are on us.

Once you're home, you're all set to get after a full-time job using the skill you just learned.

Meanwhile, you're depositing that skill one weekend a month with the Army Reserve. That one weekend a month will also get about \$40 more in your wallet.

In the summer, you'll get two more weeks of the same at summer camp. All you have to do now is figure out which career you'd like to try.

THE ARMY RESERVE. IT PAYS TO GO TO MEETINGS.

Send for more information: Write: Army Reserve Organization, P.O. Box 100, Philadelphia, Pa. 19112. Name: _____ Address: _____ City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Figure 2
Source: *Cosmopolitan* April 1974; *Sports Illustrated* October 22, 1973; *Ebony* March 1974

The “right look” for young men in the Army Reserve is identical for both Black and white recruits. In terms of visual representation, differently raced bodies are interchangeable in the ads. These ads reflect a strategy of colorizing in which a white face is swapped for a Black one and racial difference is portrayed as color. As discussed, color in recruiting ads refers to the visual representation of racial difference and contributes to an ideology of colorblindness. The name on the check in each ad is even the same; both are made out to “Eugene Davis” at “49 Bryant Road”. The two versions of the ad featuring men show an outline of the right look for military service that easily includes men of color and white men in the same vision of military service. Narratives of the Army Reserve as a site of mobility and career opportunities are easily colorized, easily able to incorporate both Black and white men in visions of military service.

However, such a vision of life in the Army Reserve is only able to include women when the outline of military service has gendered contours. In showing a woman in the Army Reserve, the ad changes settings—the woman is shown inside rather than outside leaning over an engine—and a male service member is also included. Furthermore, text in the ads details a slightly different gendered experience of basic training. The ads featuring images of men mention how “[e]ight weeks of basic training get your body in great shape” while the ad featuring a woman mentions only “a few weeks of basic”. Such a distinction between gendered ideas of service, particularly in regards to basic training, which has a certain cultural significance as an integral step in transforming boys into men, indicates a distinction between gender and color in relationship to visual inclusion. Women can be included in visual representations of military service but aren’t represented as having the same experiences of military service as men. The gendered

distinction between these ads reveals how the inclusion of women is shaped by material differences in the roles in which women and men can serve in the military as well as deep anxieties about how enlisting in the military threatens to overly “masculinize” women service members; anxieties that will be further explored in Chapter VI. Men of color and white men are easily included in an identical vision of military service, where basic training transforms your body and military service, as a whole, functions as a site of mobility.

A number of other recruiting ads similarly represented an inclusive vision of military service based on appeals portraying military service as a site of mobility. From 1979 to 1981 a series of three different ads for the Army Reserve were published in *Ebony* and *Cosmopolitan* revolving around the slogan, “Meet Today’s Army Reserve”. The three ads are similar in a number of ways. While each ad features a different heading, they all contain text emphasizing the benefits of serving in the Army Reserve. Each of the ads mention the part-time aspect of service in the Reserves, the skills training you’ll receive, the pay you’ll receive while getting trained, and the age and educational requirements for enlistment. All of the ads follow a similar layout: three photos, two of which show visions of military service, another which shows a smiling service member or members in civilian clothes, as they hold their Reserve uniforms, along with text and different headings. One of the ads, published four times in *Ebony* and once in *Cosmopolitan*, featured the heading “How To Go Into The Job Market With More Than Just Enthusiasm”. The version of the ad appearing in *Ebony* draws on an image of Sergeant Charles Washington, a Black man serving in the Army Reserve, to make an appeal to recruits. The ad features two other photos. The larger photo shows a Black man

seated in a bulldozer as two white men stand on the side of the bulldozer. The smaller image shows a Black man, a white woman, and two white men, all in white lab coats, as they are working in a laboratory setting. The version of the same ad featured in *Cosmopolitan* shows a photo of Specialist Juanita Jarvis, a white woman serving in the Army Reserve, rather than a photo of Sergeant Washington. Specialist Jarvis is shown smiling, holding a purse over one shoulder and her Army Reserve uniform over the other. Rather than showing a photo of three men with a bulldozer, the ad features a photo of a white woman in uniform holding a handheld speaker microphone as she is working at a console of electronic equipment. The smaller photo of service members in white lab coats is featured in both ads. The text in each version of the ad is nearly identical—the only difference being a forty-eight dollar discrepancy in detailing monthly wages.⁴⁴

Another of the ads, with the heading “Meet Today’s Army Reserve”, also published four times in *Ebony* and once in *Cosmopolitan*, has nearly identical versions with the exception of the service member pictured. The version from *Cosmopolitan* shows the same photo of Specialist Jarvis as in the ad previously discussed. The version from *Ebony* features a photo of Sergeant Charlie Boyd, a Black man serving in the Army Reserve, smiling in civilian clothes with his uniform draped over his shoulder. The text in each version of the ad is nearly identical and the two other images are the same. There is a large image of a number of service members; all seated smiling facing the camera. There is also a smaller image of a number of individuals in uniform, walking outside, in front of a building. The only major difference in the ads is the representation of Sergeant

⁴⁴ The discrepancy in monthly wages is a reflection of the different years—1973 and 1974—the ads were published and changes in military pay rates during that time. Detailed information on changes in military pay over the course of the AVF can be accessed through the Defense Finance and Accounting Services website at <https://www.dfas.mil/militarymembers/payentitlements/military-pay-charts.html>

Boyd in the version from *Ebony* and of Specialist Jarvis in the version from *Cosmopolitan*. The third ad in the series, featured only in *Ebony* has the heading “One Weekend A Month Behind Our Wheels Can Help You Get Behind Yours Every Day!” and follows a similar layout. Text details the benefits of service along with three photos. The larger photo in this ad is a split image, the top image showing two Black service members in uniform, one man and one woman, working on a Jeep while the bottom image shows the same individuals in civilian clothes standing next to a car. The smaller photo shows six individuals in uniform gathered around the back of a large truck. The last photo focuses on an image of Private First Class Raymond Ross and Staff Sergeant Patricia James, a Black man and Black woman serving in the Army Reserve. Private First Class Ross and Staff Sergeant James are shown in civilian clothes, smiling as they hold their uniforms over their shoulders. While this last ad does not have a corresponding version featured in another publication, it is in the visual representations of military service and service members where differences between the ads reveal a strategy and representational logic of inclusion.

Each of the three ads, including the different versions of each ad, makes a similar appeal. The Army Reserve is framed as a great part-time opportunity for individuals who might want some extra income and job training while staying close to home. In making such an appeal, the ads draw on an image of service members in civilian clothes, smiling as they hold their Reserve uniforms. These service members—Sergeant Charles Washington, Specialist Juanita Jarvis, Sergeant Charlie Boyd, Private First Class Raymond Ross, and Staff Sergeant Patricia James—represent the types of people you’ll meet when you meet today’s Army Reserve: you’ll meet Black men, Black women, and

white women. The individuals featured in the ads show an inclusive and diverse vision of military service members. A variety of individuals beyond the figure of the white male are included in the same ads and appeals as well as in a vision of the Army Reserve. This vision of an Army Reserve including people of color and women was exclusive to *Ebony* and *Cosmopolitan*—not a single Army Reserve ad was published in *Sports Illustrated* during the time frame from 1979 to 1981.⁴⁵ The placement of this particular campaign—Meet Today’s Army Reserve—in *Ebony* and *Cosmopolitan*, with its inclusive vision of the Army Reserve, reflects a strategy of targeting people of color and women through particular publications with specifically tailored representations of military service.

In implementing the AVF, the military needed to extend appeals to include a variety of bodies in efforts to meet enlistment goals, particularly for the Army, the largest branch of the Armed Forces. The Army Reserve ads discussed above demonstrate how the military advertising industry targeted *Ebony* and *Cosmopolitan* as way to reach people of color and women through ads depicting them in visions of military service. In doing so, the ads expanded visual elements to include a variety of bodies, but did not expand the recruiting appeal itself. Service in the Army Reserve is held as a constant—a site of opportunity, benefits, and mobility—able to incorporate a variety of different bodies. The incorporation of people of color and women into these recruiting ads reflect a strategy of colorizing visions of military service consistent with a framework of visual inclusion. In featuring images of Black men, Black women, and white women, the ads show that today’s Army Reserve can include a variety of bodies, with no mention of the experiences of people of color and women in an institution organized around whiteness

⁴⁵ There were no Army Reserve ads featured in *Sports Illustrated* from October 22, 1973 until February 1, 1982.

and male dominance. It is important to note that these inclusive appeals for the Army Reserve are not reflected in other visions of military service in recruiting ads for the Marine Corps and Army.

During the same time frame, Marine Corps ads featured in *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* showed an exclusively male vision of military service focused on narratives of toughness and challenge. While the Marine Corps ads show an exclusively male vision of military service, they do include a variety of raced bodies indicating that processes of visual inclusion operate within branch specific cultures. Similar to the Army Reserve ads, provided the men pictured in Marine Corps ads adhere to an outline of service composed of toughness, exclusion, and challenge, they can be incorporated into an existing vision of military service. Other ads for the Army, featured in *Ebony* at the same time, made direct appeals to women, but did so in ways that emphasize the gendered differences expected of women in the Army—as will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI. In pointing to these examples in recruiting ads that reflect different strategies of inclusion, I am indicating that processes of visual inclusion took place alongside a variety of other strategies of negotiating difference in the military advertising industry. Visual inclusion reflects a targeting of a specific publication and is conveyed through representations that avoid addressing difference. Rather, difference is incorporated into existing outlines of military service. However, some outlines are more easily able to incorporate difference than others. The Army Reserve, as part of the largest branch in need of the most recruits and as a part-time option of military service, is easily able to include people of color and women within a vision of military service as a site of opportunity, benefits, and mobility. These series of ads exemplify a process of visual inclusion that is superficial, including

gender and racial difference while reducing its significance. Potential recruits reading *Ebony* and *Cosmopolitan*, imagined to mostly be Black individuals and women, are able to see an Army Reserve in which they can see themselves.

Visions of a Rainbow Military

Army Reserve ads from the early 1970s show how recruiting ads colorized visions of military service as part of efforts to target potential recruits. One series of these ads—Meet Today’s Army Reserve—shows how inclusive visions focused on specific service members contribute to broader visions of a diverse military (See Figure 3). These ads featured images of differently gendered and raced individuals in the military while also featuring a large number of service members, all seated, smiling, facing the camera. In the photo we see service members in a variety of uniforms, reflecting a variety of occupations in the Army Reserve. Of the thirteen fully visible service members, there are eight white men, one Black man, and four white women. The image in the ad, though dominated by whiteness and maleness, begins to show a vision of the military composed of a number of differently raced and gendered bodies. Photos of groups of diverse service members appeared in a number of recruiting ads during the era of the AVF and contribute to visual inclusion and visions of a rainbow military.

A series of two ads for the Army National Guard, published in *Ebony* and *Cosmopolitan* four times from 1974 to 1977, featured images of different individuals in civilian clothes with the heading “Be one of the New Minutemen”. Each of the ads contends that the “New Minutemen” are “your friends, and your neighbors” and “civilians, like you”. In showing civilians, friends, and neighbors, each ad draws on a diverse group of individuals. One version of the ad, appearing in *Cosmo* and *Ebony*,

shows six individuals: two white men, one Black man, two white women, and a Black woman.

MEET TODAY'S ARMY RESERVE.

There are enlistment incentives, too. Now, many units can offer you either an enlistment bonus of \$1,000 or up to \$2,000 toward college expenses, if you don't split your training.

PLUS THE BENEFIT OF STAYING HOME.
With more than 1,000 Reserve Centers around the country, there's bound to be one right near you.

JOIN DURING HIGH SCHOOL.
If you're a high school senior, you can now join the Army Reserve up to six months before your graduation.

Mail the post card for more information. To locate the Reserve Center nearest you, call 800-433-1234 toll free (except in Alaska and Hawaii). In NY, call 800-243-6379.

PART-TIME JOBS WITH FULL-TIME PRIDE.
Today's Army Reserve is a part-time job that can really pay off. With a good part-time career, extra income, new friends, and the satisfaction of serving your country.

ARMY SKILL TRAINING.
When you join the Army Reserve, you get to choose one of the many job training opportunities available. Like Medical Technology, Surveying, Communications, or depending on your qualifications and your unit's needs, one of the other 300-plus career specialties.

You'll get a top-notch Army school. The Communications School, for instance, where you learn to work with anything from individual portable radios to multi-channel transmitters.

EARN WHILE YOU LEARN.
After eight weeks of learning basic Army skills, you'll spend an average of two to four months at an advanced skill training school. If you like, you can split your training and take Basic one summer and Advanced Training the next. While you're away, you'll earn full Army pay. Our \$400-a-month Black bonus, you'll practice your new skill 36 hours a month (usually on a weekend) and two weeks during the year. For your efforts, you can make over a thousand dollars a year to start. With opportunities for promotions and pay increases.

PART-TIME JOBS WITH FULL-TIME PRIDE.
Today's Army Reserve is a part-time job that can really pay off. With a good part-time career, extra income, new friends, and the satisfaction of serving your country and responsibly.

ARMY SKILL TRAINING.
When you join the Army Reserve, you get to choose one of the many job training opportunities available. Like Medical Technology, Surveying, Communications, or depending on your qualifications and your unit's needs, one of the other 300-plus career specialties.

You'll go to a top-notch Army school. The Communications School, for instance, where you learn to work with anything from individual portable radios to multi-channel transmitters.

EARN WHILE YOU LEARN.
After eight weeks of learning basic Army skills, you'll spend an average of two to four months at an advanced skill training school. Then, one option, you can split your training and take Basic one summer and Advanced Training the next. While you're away, you'll earn full Army pay. Our \$400-a-month Black bonus, you'll practice your new skill 36 hours a month (usually on a weekend) and two weeks during the year. For your efforts, you can make over a thousand dollars a year to start. With opportunities for promotions and pay increases.

There are enlistment incentives, too. Now, many units can offer you either an enlistment bonus of \$1,000 or up to \$2,000 toward college expenses.

PLUS THE BENEFIT OF STAYING HOME.
With over 1,000 Reserve Centers around the country, there's bound to be one near you.

JOIN DURING HIGH SCHOOL.
If you're 17 or older, join us any time during your last three years of high school.

Mail the postcard for more information. To locate the Reserve Center nearest you, call 800-433-1234 toll free. In N.Y., call 800-243-6379. In Alaska or Hawaii, check the Yellow Pages under "Reservist."

© 1979 U.S. Army Reserve. All rights reserved. The Army Reserve is a part-time job that can really pay off. With a good part-time career, extra income, new friends, and the satisfaction of serving your country and responsibly.

Figure 3
Source: *Ebony* June 1979; *Cosmopolitan* October 1979

While the same individuals are featured in each version of the ad, they are situated differently in each version. In the version featured in *Ebony*, one of the white men and the Black man are in the foreground of the photograph. In the version from *Cosmopolitan*, the three women are in the foreground of the image. This slight difference in the ads indicates a strategy of colorizing within a portrayal of a diverse group of potential recruits. The other ad in the series was published in *Ebony* and shows eight individuals: three white men, two Black men, two white women, and one Black woman. These ads show potential recruits as a diverse group of individuals yet frame the groups of individuals as friends, neighbors, and citizens, not as soldiers.

Other ads draw on images of a variety of differently raced and gender service members to portray an inclusive and integrated military in making appeals to recruits. A number of recruiting ads for the Army from 1974 and 1975 revolved around the slogan “Join the people who’ve joined the Army” and focused on images of groups of diverse recruits. An ad published in both *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* in August 1974 features a large group of men in uniform running in a field. The group of men is racially diverse, with a number of white men, Black men, and other men of color visible. Another Army ad, published in November 1974 in *Sports Illustrated* shows a racially diverse group of men in uniform doing jumping jacks as the heading tells recruits “In 8 weeks, you’ll be keeping up with the Joneses, the DeSantis, the Ryans, the Majeskis, and the Smiths”. Each of these ads portray the Army as a racially diverse space, where white men and men of color can imagine themselves joining soldiers who look like them.

A series of three ads, focused on the same slogan—Join the people who’ve joined the Army—and featuring photos of groups of soldiers, published in *Cosmopolitan* expanded visions of a racially diverse Army to include women. An ad published in August 1974 featured a large image of a number of service members in uniform seated in a classroom (See Figure 4). In the image a number of differently raced and gendered soldiers are visible. The soldiers are seated in five rows, and each row contains a variety of individuals. For example, the first row shows two white men, a Black man, and white woman. The third row includes two white men, a white woman, and a Black woman. Another Army ad published in November 1974 focuses on an image of six service members in uniform, smiling facing the camera, while standing in front of a bank of electrical equipment. The group of six soldiers includes three white men, a Black man, an

Asian American man, and a white woman. A third Army ad, published in March 1975, shows a large photo of four soldiers—two white men, a white woman, and a Black man—surrounding a jeep in the middle of a field. In portraying soldiers in uniform as white men, white women, Asian American men, and Black men, these ads portray the Army as a visually diverse space; an institution in which a variety of individuals can imagine themselves.



Figure 4
Source: *Cosmopolitan* August 1974

These ads for the Army feature images portraying a variety of gendered and raced soldiers and signal a vision of a rainbow military. The rainbow has served as a metaphor, along with metaphors such as the melting pot and the mosaic, for imagining and celebrating diversity in media.⁴⁶ Such metaphors act to celebrate and acknowledge

⁴⁶ Pushkala Prasad et al., *Managing the Organizational Melting Pot: Dilemmas of Workplace Diversity* (SAGE Publications, 1997).

difference within a set of defined parameters that reduce difference to a set of visual features.⁴⁷ In using the term rainbow military, I am drawing on the use of the rainbow metaphor as a powerful signifier of visual inclusion to illustrate how such images in the military act to include different bodies while erasing the political, cultural, and social significance of racial and gendered difference. While these ads imagine the military as an inclusive space in terms of race, the different settings of the ads—as well as the bodies included in those settings—point to the limits of inclusion in recruiting ads. The Army ads focused on images of physical training are racially inclusive and gender exclusive; we see men of different races, but *only* men, running and doing jumping jacks. The ads showing service members in a classroom, inside, or seated around a jeep, are both racially and gender inclusive. As military recruiting ads continued to draw on photos of groups of a variety of individuals to frame the military as inclusive throughout the era of the AVF, cues such as setting and uniform reveal how a rainbow model of inclusion is superficial and constrained by the limits of an institution in which people of color and women were not fully integrated within all aspects of the military.

An Air Force ad, published ten times in *Sports Illustrated* and six times in *Ebony* from 1987 to 1989, focused on an image of five airmen in making appeals to potential recruits (See Figure 5). The ad featured the heading, “Some of the Best Jobs in the Air Force Never Leave the Ground” and showed an image of three white men, a Black man, and a white woman in different uniforms. Similar to other images of groups of diverse service members in ads during the 1970s, the majority of service members in the image are white men. However, the ad does include an image of a white woman and a Black man alongside other service members in depicting a vision of life in the Air Force. The

⁴⁷ Swan, “Commodity Diversity.”

text in the ad stresses the “more than 200 training opportunities” in the Air Force including “work in security, engineering, pharmaceuticals, surgical operations or fire fighting.” The ad goes on to detail other benefits of joining the Air Force, such as tuition assistance for continuing your education and the great “Air Force life-style”. The image represents the possibilities and limits of life in the Air Force for differently gendered and raced recruits. The three white men are shown in different uniforms corresponding with different occupations. One white man is shown in surgical scrubs, another is shown in green fatigues, while another is shown in battle dress uniform holding a M16 rifle. These uniforms picture white men as being surgeons, as combat airmen, and as general airmen in the Air Force. The white woman is shown in a white blouse while holding a blue folder indicating a clerical occupation, while the Black man is shown in a firefighting uniform. The different uniforms and their corresponding occupations show how white men, Black men, and white women might be socially located within the Air Force, albeit in different ways. White men can see themselves in a variety of occupations, including occupations associated with highly technical medical training and combat, while Black men and white women can see themselves in support positions. The ad frames the Air Force as visually inclusive through images of a rainbow military while still protecting links between maleness, whiteness and privileged positions in the Air Force.

A series of Navy ads appearing in *Sports Illustrated* and *Ebony* from August 1999 to December 2000 focused on the journeys of a variety of service members and the slogan “Let The Journey Begin”. Five unique ads were published, each of which focused on a particular service member in the Navy. Two of the ads, both published in *Sports*

Illustrated, focus on images of lone service members in different settings. One ad features an image of Markeeva Morgan, a young Black man, standing in civilian clothes.



Figure 5
Source: *Ebony* July 1987

A timeline of Morgan’s journey tells us Morgan is an electrical engineering student at the University of Mississippi enrolled in the Navy Baccalaureate Degree Completion program. The other ad focuses on the timeline of Alexander C. Uribes, a young white man who served in the Navy before going on to a civilian job with Qualcomm Incorporated. Uribes is shown in civilian clothes standing in front of several large satellite dishes. The remaining three ads show service members in groups of three or more. One ad published in *Sports Illustrated* focuses on the experiences of Loree Hirschman, a white woman serving as a pilot and officer in the Navy. Hirschman is shown in a flight suit, with two other service members—another white woman and a white man—standing with her. Another ad, which appeared in both *Sports Illustrated* and

Ebony, shows four young men—three Black men and a white man—all holding musical instruments while standing onboard a ship. The timeline focuses on the journey of Aaron Womack, a Black man in the Navy who plays in a band with three fellow sailors. The third ad, also published in *Sports Illustrated* and *Ebony*, details the experiences of Tim Suhr, a white man serving in the Navy. Suhr is pictured along with three other sailors—another white man, a Black man, and a white woman—all in white service uniforms, standing on a bridge with a Japanese temple visible in the background. Taken together, the five ads display a diverse array of service members in the Navy.

The ads feature images of sailors showing a vision of the Navy where white men, Black men, and white women are present in a variety of occupations and positions. One ad shows a white woman serving as an officer and a pilot, along with another white woman and white man, all of whom work with aircrafts in the Navy. Another ad shows of group of four men, three men of color and one white man, who serve and fraternize together while serving in the Navy. Another ad shows a variety of service members—two white men, one Black man, and one white woman—who have traveled and seen the world while serving in the Navy. By showing differently raced and gendered service members in a variety of positions and settings, the ads construct an inclusive vision of Naval service 25 years after Army ads began doing so in 1973. The consistency of a strategy of portraying a rainbow military, and its use in ads for different branches of the military, speaks to the ubiquity of inclusion as a primarily visual characteristic. The Navy is framed as a place where a variety of individuals can see themselves taking advantage of the opportunities and benefits associated with military service. While the series of Navy ads show a rainbow military, it is still a military mostly populated by male bodies.

The dominance of male bodies in visions of a rainbow military reflects the actual composition of the Armed Forces, as well as the limited opportunities available for women in the Armed Forces during the era of the AVF.

A recruiting ad for the Army, published three times from 1998 to 1999, featured the headline “Learn to Make Noise” and showed a diverse group of service members (See Figure 6). The image in the ad shows nine service members in combat uniform, standing in front of, and on top of, a tank. Of the nine soldiers, five of their faces are clearly visible. There are two Black men and two white men standing around a man of color. The soldiers are patting each other on the back and shaking hands, all with smiles on their faces. The differently raced soldiers are shown in the same setting, linked to combat by uniform and the highly visible tank in the background. The ad shows a rainbow military composed of differently raced bodies in the same uniforms and same combat-oriented setting. The image portrays a military in which a variety of raced bodies happily serve together and are fully integrated into combat positions in the Army.

While the ad shows a racially diverse rainbow force, the ad also points to the limits of visual inclusion in a military where all bodies can’t serve in similar capacities or similar positions. All of the soldiers pictured are men. The Army is framed as a space where a variety of differently raced bodies can be all they can be, provided they are men and men alone. The Army ad, along with the Navy ad discussed above, reflect a military institution where although they may be included in visions of a rainbow military women are underrepresented and not fully integrated in all aspects of military life. The limits of visual inclusion are most clearly evident in ads representing combat-oriented visions of military service, such as the Army ad discussed above. A recruiting ad emphasizing

combat as an aspect of military service, as part of an appeal to potential recruits, must show a male-only vision of the military corresponding with policies banning women from serving in combat positions. As gender is controlled for in combat-oriented visions of military service, racial difference is easily framed as color; as a marker of a rainbow military. An ad for the Marine Corps, published in *Sports Illustrated* and *Ebony* from 2013 to 2014, similarly shows a colorful, male-only military. The ad features the headline “Missions May Change, But Our Commitment Never Will” and focuses on four Marines. The Marines, two Black men and two white men, are shown in full combat gear as a plane passes overhead. Similar to the Army ad, the image shows a racially diverse rainbow military that when in combat-oriented visions of military service is composed solely of men.

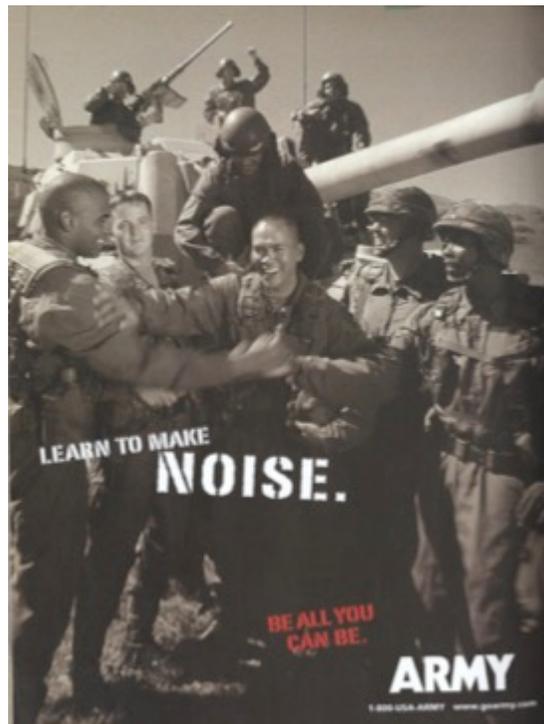


Figure 6
Source: *Sports Illustrated* October 26, 1998

Recruiting ads for the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps showing visions of a rainbow military were consistently published throughout the more than forty years of the AVF. Visions of a rainbow military include difference while reducing its significance. Images of men and women of color serving alongside white women and men emphasize how a variety of different individuals are part of the same group; they are all soldiers, airmen, sailors, or Marines. Consistent with other images of diversity, images of a rainbow military are mobilized in support of a particular way of thinking about difference. Differences in gender and race are relegated to visual markers of difference, erasing the political, social, and cultural significance of difference within the military institution. Visions of a rainbow military emphasize the sameness of the individuals pictured and the idea that a variety of individuals can imagine themselves as, and even become, soldiers. In the interplay between representations of color and gender, the limits of visual inclusion become apparent. While visions of a rainbow military allowed for the inclusion of women, certain settings reflect the official and unofficial barriers limiting women from participating in combat positions or occupations such as piloting. Distinctions in the visual representations of color and gender in visions of a rainbow military reflect different policies and strategies of inclusion at work in the military institution.

The Limits of Visual Inclusion

Throughout the era of the AVF, recruiting ads have deployed strategies of colorizing ads and portraying a rainbow military. These strategies reflect changes at work in the military advertising industry based on the targeting of different recruits as part of efforts in maintaining the AVF. Colorizing ads and portraying images of a rainbow military are

consistent with segmented advertising practices and promote a particular way of thinking about difference in which difference doesn't matter beyond its deployment as a visual recognition of inclusion. Strategies of visual inclusion promote an optics of inclusion in military recruiting ads in which race is reduced to color and gender difference is included within a set of strict parameters. While visual inclusion, as a form of representation and a way of thinking about difference, acts to erase the significance of difference not all differences can be equally erased in the military. In combat-oriented visions of the military, gender difference cannot be erased because of strict policies banning women from combat. The limits of visual inclusion point to a particular anxiety about including women within an institution steeped in traditions of manliness and masculinity. While recruiting ads indicate the ease with which race is reduced to color and included in visions of military service, the visual inclusion of difference in ads coincided with changing ideas about masculinity, class, and military service necessitated by the implementation of the AVF.

CHAPTER IV

THE GUNS AND OPPORTUNITIES ARE REAL: CLASS, MOBILITY, AND MASCULINITY

Kiss Your Momma Goodby. No, this isn't some far-off foreign jungle. It's your own state. But these are your buddies. The guns are real. And so is the adventure. You're part of the 450,000-man backbone of American resolve: The Army National Guard. You work part time. The pay is good. True, duty in the Guard won't be the easiest way to spend a Saturday afternoon. But it will make your momma proud she raised a man.
Army National Guard Recruiting Ad, *Sports Illustrated*, November 19, 1986

The above quote is featured in text of a recruiting ad for the Army National Guard. The ad focuses on a photograph of four men standing knee-deep in water, guns at the ready, and the slogan "Irresistible Force". The men are shown in camouflage uniforms, their faces masked with camouflage paint, their waists, shoulders, and necks wrapped in branches and leaves. One of the men has a long belt of linked ammunition draped around his neck. The image and text of the ad make clear the Army National Guard is a place for men; a place where guns are real and absent mothers are proud of their sons. Yet, it's also a place close to home; a part-time job where friends rather than enemy soldiers surround you. The vision of military service in the ad is simultaneously adventurous and safe. The four men appear ready for combat, yet the ad makes clear that these men aren't actually engaged in combat; they haven't even left their own state. The Army National Guard is a place where you can feel like part of the backbone of American resolve, take part in an adventure on a Saturday afternoon, and get good pay for doing so. In representing the Army National Guard as an adventure in manliness that looks like war while being a part time job close to home, the ad demonstrates tensions at work in cultural understandings and representations of the military. The military is an employer of one of the largest workforces in the world as well as an important institution in crafting symbolic

understandings of masculinity and the nation. Recruiting advertisements published during the era of the AVF represent a tension between a military long organized around the ideal figure of the white male soldier and a military in need of a variety of capable and qualified volunteers.

This chapter explores the central role of class in recruiting ads at a point in time when the military, in order to meet personnel needs, had to persuade individuals who had the choice not to enlist. Beginning with a discussion of relationships between class, manliness, and military service, this chapter analyzes recruiting ads featuring appeals based on promises of mobility. Some recruiting ads made appeals to poor and working-class men through traditional narratives of manliness and military service, as exemplified by ads for the Marine Corps. Other ads made appeals to a broader array of potential recruits, while maintaining a reliance on economically marginalized recruits, by targeting individuals who want to get ahead, who want to make a good wage, who want to attend college, or want to get job training. By reframing enlisting in the military as a job, recruitment ads promised tangible benefits and promoted military service as a financial, educational, and vocational resource. These different appeals feature different visions of military service, yet all emphasize language of transformation and mobility. Language of transformation is consistent with histories linking military service to a form of masculinity expressed through dominance and authority, and is often represented through portrayals of male bodies. Additionally, language of mobility in recruiting ads, while linked to ideals of transformation, dominance, and authority, is tied to broader representations of military service. Ads touting the military as a pathway to economic mobility can function to reiterate links between male bodies, military service, and

masculine dominance, but can also function to challenge and expand connections between male bodies and the military as a site of opportunity. As a consistent appeal through which the military advertising industry could reach persuadable recruits, mobility is the language through which recruiting ads promised differently gendered and raced individuals that enlisting in the military could help them get ahead, get an education, a good paycheck, or quality job training. The different guises through which the military sold economic mobility reveal anxieties and tensions around the roles of gender and race in an all-volunteer military structured upon class inequalities. There are three primary references framing the Armed Forces as a site of mobility: pay and benefits, educational opportunities, and vocational opportunities. These three references articulate gendered ideas about who can take advantage of different opportunities. Discourses of mobility emphasizing pay and benefits are easily associated with representations of economic mobility available to both women and men whereas discourses emphasizing educational and vocational opportunities, particularly those reliant on images linked to combat, frame mobility almost exclusively through representations of men. As a strategy of inclusion, promises of mobility function to expand military masculinity to include bodies beyond the figure of the white male while also reinforcing links between men and combat oriented visions of military service.

Masculinity, Class, and Military Service

The military has long been organized around the figure of the ideal soldier as white and male.¹ Historian Gail Bederman defines masculinity as a dynamic process through which men claim certain kinds of authority.² The military and warfare have been key sites

¹ Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*.

² Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 1996.

through which masculine authority could be claimed. Scholars have demonstrated links between war and ideals of manliness and masculinity, from 19th century attitudes about war as an ennobling experience for men to contemporary views that enlisting provides men with symbolic resources aligning with dominant ideals of masculinity.³ R.W. Connell asserts that the image of the hero, which has been used for purposes of military recruitment, is central to understandings of masculinity and that the military has been absolutely integral to definitions of dominant masculinity in American culture.⁴ In discussing links between military service and masculinity, masculinity is often reduced to the male body and an equivalency with men. However, insights from queer theory have challenged such an approach to masculinity and have focused on masculinity as sets of practices, processes, and discourses utilized to signal a position of dominance within gendered power dynamics.⁵

In a study of military masculinity, Aaron Belkin conceptualizes masculinity as a process enabling individuals to claim authority and dominance.⁶ Belkin argues that women and racial minorities played a crucial role in structuring and maintaining ideals of masculinity, and as such need to be considered in explorations of military masculinity.⁷ Building on these insights, along with the importance of class in histories of military service, I conceptualize masculinity in recruiting ads as a process of granting power, authority, and dominance to a variety of gendered and raced bodies through narratives of

³ de Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies*; Hinojosa, “Doing Hegemony: Military, Men, and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity.”

⁴ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities: Knowledge, Power and Social Change* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2005).

⁵ Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 1 edition (Duke University Press Books, 1998); C. J. Pascoe, *Dude, You’re a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School* (University of California Press, 2007).

⁶ Belkin, *Bring Me Men*.

⁷ Ibid.

transformation and mobility. In recruiting ads, military masculinity is an institutional characteristic deployed to maintain a vision of a transformative military. Representations of military masculinity signal ways that men and women can claim authority while signifying ideals of citizenship, the nation, and American empire.⁸ While both men and women can make claims to military masculinity, such claims are generally more available to, and represented through, men. In an exploration of cultural representations of Vietnam, Susan Jeffords found that representations of war act to present and construct cultural ideals of masculinity where the male body is on display as a weapon of war.⁹ Brown further contends that movies, video games, novels, and toys act as sites where men are encouraged to pursue relationships with the military.¹⁰ Popular films such as *American Sniper* (2014), *Lone Survivor* (2013), *Black Hawk Down* (2001), and *Top Gun* (1986), to name a few, were made with military cooperation and celebrate associations between men, combat, and military service.

Ideals of manliness, masculinity, and military service cannot be considered apart from issues of class.¹¹ Drawing on Joan Acker's discussion of inequality within organizations, I use class to refer to a social formation embedded in differences of access to and control over economic and social resources.¹² When discussing class in relation to military service and the military, class refers to two intertwined discourses. When discussing issues of the draft and military service, scholars often use class to refer to

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

¹⁰ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

¹¹ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, Women in Culture and Society edition (University of Chicago Press, 1996).

¹² Joan Acker, "Inequality Regimes Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations," *Gender & Society* 20, no. 4 (August 1, 2006): 441–64, doi:10.1177/0891243206289499.

ideas about socio-economic status, including median family incomes and educational attainment.¹³ However, when discussing class in terms of ideals of military service and representations of the military institution, class refers to a socially constructed category tied to race and a history of access to economic resources. The military has long desired troops from the most trusted class and racial groups in society and white middle-class ideals were influential in discourses of civilization and militarism at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁴ While ideal figures of manly soldiers have been linked to the middle-class, realities of military service have more often entailed the enlistment of poor and working-class men. The military's hierarchical structure according to rank is deeply tied to class distinctions. Enlisted culture is a mostly working-class culture composed of poor and working-class individuals while the officer corps is generally composed of higher-class individuals and reflects more of a middle-class culture.¹⁵ Distinctions between the enlisted ranks and officer corps have been enabled by systems of conscription that protected privileged individuals from military service.

The first national draft began in 1863 during the Civil War and allowed for able-bodied men to be drafted into military service.¹⁶ Although notions of the military as a civilizing force linked to middle-class ideals are part of the military tradition, wealthy draftees during the Civil War could hire substitutes to serve on their behalf.¹⁷ The next conscription was during World War I, enacted with the Selective Service Act of 1917, which required male citizens to enroll and established local draft boards tasked with

¹³ Appy, *Working-Class War*; Carvalho et al., "JAMRS Report No. 2011-05."

¹⁴ Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?*; Belkin, *Bring Me Men*.

¹⁵ Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*.

¹⁶ Griffith, *The US Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force, 1968-1974*.

¹⁷ Susie Jacobs, Ruth Jacobson, and Jennifer Marchbank, *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

managing the selection process.¹⁸ The World War I draft ended after the war and was followed by the first peacetime draft in 1940. The peacetime draft lasted through World War II and though debated and contested was generally accepted by Americans until increased drafts calls in the mobilization for the Vietnam conflict.¹⁹ Class was the primary factor influencing which Americans fought in Vietnam.²⁰ Individuals from poor and working-class backgrounds, white and Black alike were more likely to be drafted, channeled into combat positions, sent to Vietnam, and to die.²¹ In all the aforementioned conflicts, from WWI to Vietnam, there have been a variety of exemptions for particular professions as well as for university students that have acted to protect privileged individuals from military service.²²

Class was also particularly important in shaping ideas about recruitment and military service in planning the shift to an AVF. As discussed in Chapter III, the AVF was founded on the notion that if entry-level military wages were competitive with civilian wages, the military would get enough high-quality recruits.²³ While the implementation of the AVF significantly altered the ways the military met personnel needs, it further increased the military's reliance on individuals from poor and working-class backgrounds.²⁴ Ideals of manliness and military service are rooted in links between soldiering and middle-class men, yet the realities of military service and practices of recruiting are based on a reliance on poor and working-class men. Men who have served

¹⁸ Griffith, *The US Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force, 1968-1974*.

¹⁹ Bailey, *America's Army*; Griffith, *The US Army's Transition to the All-Volunteer Force, 1968-1974*.

²⁰ Appy, *Working-Class War*.

²¹ Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*; Appy, *Working-Class War*.

²² Jacobs, Jacobson, and Marchbank, *States of Conflict*.

²³ Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*. High quality recruits are defined as high school graduates with high scores on the Armed Forces Qualification Test. (Fredland et al., 1996)

²⁴ Ibid.

in the military have come to the military from a variety of class backgrounds, though disproportionately from poor and working-class backgrounds, and practices and representations in recruiting materials emphasized links between male bodies, masculinity, and warfare.

Representing Men and Class in Recruiting Ads

As Melissa T. Brown found in a study of recruiting ads during the era of the AVF, each of the four major branches of the military—the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps—constructed different ideals of masculinity in making appeals to potential recruits. The Marine Corps focused on an ideal of warrior masculinity and the Army maintained an emphasis on traditional forms of masculinity while shifting to incorporate forms of masculinity revolving around economic success.²⁵ The Navy has made appeals focused on young men based on visions of adventure, challenge, and links to institutional traditions.²⁶ The Air Force focused on representations of the plane and technology as a symbol of masculine advantages of mastery, dominance, and control.²⁷ Recruiting ads for the Coast Guard, while not considered in Brown’s analysis, also contribute to gendered ideals at work in military service. Occupying a unique position in the Armed Forces, the Coast Guard was a part of the Department of Transportation and later the Department of Homeland Security. While the Coast Guard is not a combat branch, during times of war or at the direction of the President, the Coast Guard serves as part of the Department of

²⁵ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

the Navy. Recruiting ads for the Coast Guard are similar to Navy ads, oftentimes making appeals based on adventure and a sea-faring form of masculinity.²⁸

No branch of the Armed Forces has touted ideals of manliness, masculinity, and military service in recruiting ads as consistently as the Marine Corps. From 1974 to 1988, twenty-four recruiting ads featured in *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* for the Marines revolved around the slogan, “We’re looking for a few good men.” Marine Corps recruiting ads focused on a vision of the Corps as a transformative institution able to confer manliness to potential recruits. In representing the Marine Corps as the most challenging and elite branch of the military, recruiting ads often relied on a contrast between the Corps and other branches of the Armed Forces. Ads from the early 1970s had headlines stating, “If you’re thinking about the military, you’ve got three choices or one challenge” and “You can earn the same good pay in any branch of the service. So is it worth the sweat to be a Marine?”. To portray the Marines as a distinct option within the Armed Forces, recruiting ads focused on images of male bodies and text emphasizing the manliness of the Corps.

An ad published in *Sports Illustrated* in 1984 contends that the Marines “take young men, good men, and make them better” (See Figure 7). An ad published in both *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* in 1974 shows an image of a father and son—a white father and son in *Sports Illustrated* and a Black father and son in *Ebony*—arms locked, about to arm wrestle. Text in the ad states: “Nobody likes to fight, but somebody has to know how.... Your son is aiming for the top. Going for a proud title: *Marine*. He’ll be one of the

²⁸ Prior to 2015 the Coast Guard was the only branch where all positions and job categories were open to women while women were banned from combat positions in the other branches. Gendered representations in Coast Guard ads reflect their unique policies of gender integration and will be discussed in Chapter VI.

few. One of the finest. A member of an elite group of extraordinary men.” The emphasis is on elitism and its connection to knowing how to fight; an emphasis reinforced in numerous Marine Corps recruiting ads. For example, a 2014 ad featured in *Sports Illustrated* shows a number of Marines in combat gear, running alongside three armored vehicles with a helicopter overhead. The caption of the ad states, “Anyone can hear chaos. Marines move to silence it.” Portraying a vision of the Marines as an elite, combat-oriented branch of the Armed Forces, recruiting ads for the Corps relied almost exclusively on representations of male bodies.

Of the one hundred and one recruiting ads for the Marine Corps featured in *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* from 1973 to 2014, only eight ads reference the possibility of women in the Corps.²⁹ Six of the ads contain references to women in text of ads featuring images of male Marines. Only two ads—one published in *Ebony* in 2012, the other published in *Ebony* in 2007—show images of women Marines, both of which feature Black women in dress uniform in non-combat settings. The overwhelming reliance on male bodies to portray the Marine Corps is consistent with an idea of the Marine Corps as offering a rite of passage into manhood.³⁰ In the majority of recruiting ads published during the AVF, the Marine Corps foregrounded images of men along with discussions of combat, challenge, and elitism in making appeals to potential recruits.

²⁹ Another ten ads for the Marine Corps feature images of women as mothers of current Marines pointing to the ways that images of militarization rely on maneuvering women in a variety of positions. Images of potential recruits as having proud, straight parents were a pervasive theme in recruiting ads throughout the era of the AVF, including ads for the Marine Corps, Navy, Army, and Armed Forces. No recruiting ads for the Marine Corps were published in *Cosmopolitan* from 1973 to 2015.

³⁰ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.



Figure 7
Source: *Sports Illustrated* September 5, 1984

The manliness of the Marine Corps is rooted in a distinctly classed culture of the Corps in which there is more of an emphasis on the disproportionately large enlisted ranks, on rank and file Marines serving in the trenches.³¹ As such, recruiting ads for the Marines espousing the manliness of serving in the Corps emphasize a vision of the ideal Marine not just as any kind of man, but the kind of man wanting to prove himself in the working-class culture of the enlisted ranks. Representations of men in Marine Corps recruiting ads demonstrate how military ideals of manliness are simultaneously ideals of class. Such recruiting ads indicate that the Marines are primarily looking for men desiring the power and transformation promised in the Corps, men who want to participate in a tradition linking maleness, combat, and military service.

³¹ Thomas E. Ricks, *Making the Corps* (Simon and Schuster, 1998).

The various forms of masculinity espoused in recruiting ads for the different branches are linked to ideas about class, economic mobility, and qualifications for potential recruits. Brown found that Army ads generally follow an economic track promising upward mobility and a personal transformation track allowing the Army to make appeals to a broad array of potential recruits, a necessity for the largest branch of the Armed Forces.³² Both the Navy and Air Force relied on offers of economic mobility but did so through an emphasis on technology and technical skills.³³ The Air Force, in particular, has generally been able to attract highly qualified recruits due to associations with technology, associations that shifted from a “blue-collar” vision of mechanical skills linked to job sites such as garages, airports, and manufacturing plants in the 1970s to high-tech appeals in the 1990s and 2000s.³⁴ As discussed, the Marine Corps have emphasized appeals based on a working-class form of masculinity and promises of inclusion into an exclusionary fighting force. As a whole, recruiting ads throughout the AVF have represented military service through appeals based on what individuals can get out of serving.³⁵ Despite differences in branch cultures and ideals of masculinity, the most pervasive appeals to recruits in ads published in *Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan* are based on a vision of the military as a site of economic mobility.

As the Marine Corps was making appeals to a “few good men” in the early 1970s, they were also advertising the Corps as a way to get an education, gain technical skills, and make a little extra cash. A 1974 ad focused on an image of a father and son arm-wrestling also mentions the educational opportunities in the Corps, including, “programs

³² Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

where he can earn college credits, or even study for a degree.” Another 1974 ad published in *Sports Illustrated* touts, “the number of programs by which a Marine may further his academic, non-military education”. An ad also featured in *Sports Illustrated* in 1974 features the headline “The Marine Corps teaches valuable technical skills, just like any other service”, going on to discuss opportunities in electronics or aircraft maintenance. A series of four ads for the Marine Reserve, all published in *Sports Illustrated*, mention the skills gained in the Corps, the extra \$43.48 a month, and the \$600 a year that could be earned. Narratives such as these, based on classed ideas of mobility and opportunity foreground the importance of class, expressed through the language of mobility, as absolutely central to messages in recruiting ads during the era of the AVF. The Marine Corps ads discussed above reveal the central role of class and promises of mobility in experiences of military service and representations of recruiting. In making appeals to a variety of gendered and raced bodies during the era of the AVF, recruiting ads frame the military as a site able to transform boys into men, but also able to transform hobbies into marketable skills and to transform high school graduates in college-educated officers.

Slogans about transformation, possibility, opportunity, and success are absolutely central to the military. Slogans from the various branches of the Armed Forces indicate how the military, as a whole, is framed as a transformative site of possibility where military service confers power to service members. The Coast Guard’s primary slogan from 1973 to 1981 was, “Help Others. Help Yourself”. Ads for the Navy from 1973 featured the slogan, “Be A Success in the New Navy” while ads from 1974 to 1976 state, “The Opportunity Is For Real... and So Are We”. Air Force recruiting ads from 1982 to

1995 revolved around the slogan, “Aim High” and ads for the Armed Forces represented military service as, “A Great Place to Start”. Recruiting ads for the Army from 1981 to 1999 called on potential recruits to, “Be All You Can Be”. More than four hundred and eight recruiting ads featured these slogans, each of which frame the military as a site of opportunity and transformative possibility. Recruiting ads, while reflecting the unique cultures of the different branches of the military, make appeals to potential recruits based on a vision of military service as a transformative possibility through three primary references: pay and benefits, educational opportunities, and vocational opportunities. Ads touting the pay and benefits available in the military reflect realities of recruiting when military service had to be framed as a viable economic option for potential recruits while also articulating ideas about class, gender, race, and military service.

Pay & Benefits: \$307 a Month Isn't Everything

Ads with aspirational slogans stress intangible benefits of military service such as confidence, respect, and courage. Embedded within appeals based on these intangible benefits of military service, several recruiting ads also emphasized the pay and benefits of military service. In the decade following the implementation of the AVF, recruiting ads for the Navy, Army, and Armed Forces explicitly detailed the monthly wages recruits could earn by serving in the military. Two ads for the Navy published in *Sports Illustrated* in 1973 detailed the “[m]ore than \$340 a month after just four months” recruits could make in the Navy. A series of Army ads featured in *Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan* from 1973 to 1974 contained text referencing monthly salaries in the Army ranging from \$307.20 for new recruits to \$363.30 after four months of service. A series of recruiting ads for the Armed Forces—meaning the Army, Navy, Air

Force, and Marines—were published in *Sports Illustrated* from 1982 to 1984 and emphasized the “more than \$550 a month” new recruits could earn in the military. In detailing the monthly wages of military service, each of the ads gives military service a distinct monetary value. The time frame—1973 through 1984—in which appeals touting the monthly pay in the military were published reflects the historical context in which military advertising industry was tasked with persuading recruits to enlist. In the wake of Vietnam, the military advertising industry needed to convince recruits, particularly those from poor and working-class backgrounds who’d been disproportionately drafted and killed in combat, that enlisting was a good idea. By explicitly stating the monetary value associated with service as something recruits would gain, enlisting was framed as something from which recruits could directly and immediately benefit. Framing military service through a specific dollar amount reflects the economic thinking at work in planning the AVF and the necessity of competitive wages for convincing recruits and the broader public that choosing to enlist could be a good decision.

Potential recruits needed to see military service as being economically competitive with civilian wages in order for the military to meet personnel needs. The changes in dollar amounts—from \$307 in 1973 to \$550 in 1984—reflect how the military advertising industry emphasized competitiveness with civilian wages in crafting messages to potential recruits. In the early years of the AVF, from 1973 to 1976, the recruiting environment was characterized by rising military pay, an increased investment in recruiting resources, and high youth unemployment.³⁶ Each of the ads provides recruits with a clear dollar amount to reflect military pay raises. By enlisting, recruits could bring home a good wage of more than \$300 a month their first month. In the late 1970s military

³⁶ Segal et al., “Propensity to Serve in the U.S. Military.”

pay was less competitive with entry-level civilian wages as the labor market recovered.³⁷ The Armed Forces ads from the early 1980s reflect a response to the poor recruiting environment of the late 1970s by emphasizing pay increases in the military. Each of the three ads tells potential recruits that “the pay is higher than ever” and touts the more than \$550 a month recruits could earn in the Armed Forces. These ads are indicative of a changing recruiting environment in which raising military wages made military service more competitive with entry-level civilian jobs.³⁸ Ads detailing specific monthly wages of military service reflect a new need caused by the implementation of the AVF for the military advertising industry to present military service as a viable way to make a living, as a compelling and competitive economic opportunity for recruits.

In stressing monthly wages, military service is framed as a job. Representing military service as a job reflects a professionalization of the military and a shift away from language of military service as a patriotic obligation of citizenship deployed in recruiting efforts prior to the implementation of the AVF. An Army ad from June 1973 asks recruits to consider “a job with today’s Army” going on to mention the “job” of being a soldier four more times. An Army ad from August 1973 refers to the Army as an “employer” (See Figure 8). In the early 1970s the military was characterized by a process of professionalization in which the military functioned less as a total institution and increasingly shared attributes with large-scale bureaucracies.³⁹ As the military was organized to function more like a professional organization, such shifts were reflected in language used in recruiting ads. Rather than being framed as a patriotic duty or an obligation of citizenship (and a potentially dangerous one), military service was framed

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*.

as a job; a job made desirable by having competitive wages and benefits. The shift to professionalization reflected real shifts in military life while also serving a powerful ideological function. By framing the military as an employer and military service as a job, recruits could imagine themselves more as employees and less as soldiers. Through language of employers, jobs, wages, and benefits, recruiting ads portrayed military service detached from combat. Of the ten Army ads published in 1973 and 1974 in *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* that discussed monthly wages and talked of military service as a job, only three show images of individuals in Army uniforms; a strategy reflecting concerns about potential risks of death in combat.



Figure 8
Source: *Ebony* Magazine, August 1973

An ad published in July 1973 shows a drill sergeant in uniform facing a group of young men in civilian clothing as they get off a bus. An ad featured in *Ebony* the following month, August 1973, features four photos of a young Black man in uniform in

four different settings: holding a tray of food, a stack of books, a medical chart, and a pile of clothes. An ad published in October 1973 in *Sports Illustrated* features six images, two of which show individuals in uniform. One photo shows soldiers in uniform at a firing range, while another shows soldiers in uniform standing next to three tanks. While each of the ads show service members in military uniforms, none of the ads show military service members in combat settings. We see military uniforms on a drill sergeant meeting new recruits, on a young man taking advantage of the free food, medical care, and clothing provided by the military, and on soldiers stationed in Europe. By focusing on images of military service far from combat and using language of monthly wages and other tangible benefits in the military, the ads position enlisting as a job opportunity removed from the risk of death in combat. Given concerns that the Vietnam War disproportionately burdened poor and working-class individuals with risks of combat and the reliance of the AVF on an economic logic, the military advertising industry needed to craft recruiting appeals that distanced visions of military service from combat while framing military service as an economically competitive option for potential recruits and a route to upward mobility. The emphasis on military service as a job competitive with opportunities in the civilian market in terms of wages and similar in terms of risks and opportunities not only reflected concerns in meeting personnel requirements but also functioned to broaden recruiting appeals to include people of color and women.

Ads reflecting the professionalization of a military in competition with other employers for recruits both reinforced and challenged links between men, masculinity, and military service. A series of Armed Forces ads published in *Sports Illustrated* in the 1980s detailed monthly wages while representing a predominantly white and male vision

of military service (See Figure 9). Across the four distinct ads, there are seventy-one images. Only four of the images contain representations of women service members, while thirteen images feature service members of color. Images of men in the ads show male service members engaging in aspects of military service consistent with links between men and military service in various ways. Men in uniform are shown holding rifles at the ready, working on planes, helicopters, and engines, and saluting next to American flags. Such images link male service members to visions of military service associated with technological mastery, combat, and patriotic duty while text in the ads details that such forms of military service come with the highest pay ever—more than \$550 a month. Such an appeal includes potential recruits looking to participate in traditional visions of military service linked to ideas of patriotic duty, obligations of citizenship, and combat while also letting them know they can earn a good wage for doing so. The appeal also includes potential recruits who may not have a strong desire to serve but are compelled by the wages detailed in the ad. Studies of military recruiting have found that propensity of service is shaped in a tension between individuals' desire to serve and their expectancy of serving due to not having similar opportunities available in the civilian sphere.⁴⁰ This tension is reflected in ads that draw on narratives of pay and benefits that both reinforce and challenge links between men, masculinity, and military service. For example, images of soldiers holding firearms or saluting American flags function to reach recruits who may have a strong desire to serve based on ideas linking military service to combat and patriotic duty. For recruits desiring such experiences of military service, images in the ad show that there is a place for them in the military. Other images in the ad speak to recruits who may expect to serve in the military as a route to

⁴⁰ Segal et al., "Propensity to Serve in the U.S. Military."

upward economic mobility but do not desire to participate in a lineage of military service, combat, and patriotic duty. Images of soldiers holding textbooks or working on mechanical equipment function to show recruits that military service can be a site for acquiring skills or mastering a trade. By including these two kinds of appeals, the ad is able to simultaneously speak to recruits who desire to serve and those who expect to serve. In so doing, the ad positions differently gendered and racialized bodies as included in the military, albeit in different settings and occupations and serving in different ways. Military men in the ads are represented in ways that reinforce links between male service members, technological mastery, combat, and patriotic duty. The inclusion of different bodies in the Armed Forces ads still reflects a vision of the military dominated by whiteness and maleness but also expands the military's transformative power. The Armed Forces is framed as "A Great Place to Start" for all the individuals included in the ads; all of who are able to receive the same increased pay. Narratives of pay and benefits, while still embedded in the military's institutional culture, can function as a universal and inclusive language in recruiting ads, as reflected in a series of Army ads published from 1976 to 1979. The ten Army ads, published nineteen times across *Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan*, focused on a variety of service members and occupations in the military while emphasizing pay and benefits as a universal appeal applicable to all potential recruits.

All of the ads follow a similar layout: a large photo focusing on a particular service member in the Army, along with a large caption, a quote attributed to the service member, the slogan "Join the people who've joined the Army", and a small block of text in the upper right-hand corner with the heading "Pay & Benefits".



Figure 9
 Source: *Sports Illustrated*, February 14, 1983

Different ads espouse different characteristics of military service, and of the service members represented, including, “Country”, “Training”, “Fighter”, “Leader”, “Discipline”, “Growing”, “Honor”, “Specialist”, and “Decision”. The “Pay & Benefits” section in each of the ads begins by stating, “If you enlist in the Army, you’ll start with good pay” before going on to discuss paid vacation, job training, and other benefits of military service. The good pay service members’ start with is framed as a common characteristic across each of the ads, focusing on a variety of occupations and individuals serving in the Army.

An ad published in *Cosmopolitan* in September 1978 features PFC Marie Gerstenberger, a white woman serving as a helicopter pilot in Stuttgart, Germany. A series of two ads featured in *Ebony* six times from 1976 to 1978 focus on SP4 Jerry

Gaskins, a Black man working in communications at Fort Carson, Colorado. Another ad, published in *Sports Illustrated* in April 1978 discusses the experiences of SP4 Mike Lovell, a white man serving at Fort Riley, Kansas. The three ads reflect a strategy of representing a particular gendered and racialized body based on the publication the ad was published in—a white woman in *Cosmopolitan*, a Black man in *Ebony*, and a white man in *Sports Illustrated*—while also including women and Black men in similar recruiting appeals. Regardless of the gender or race of the service member, or their military occupation, pay and benefits are what they all share. Pay and benefits act as a universal language for making appeals to a variety of different individuals. Language of pay and benefits are inclusive in recruiting ads, functioning to expand recruiting appeals to include a variety of different bodies, including white men, Black men, and white women. As a way of signaling the inclusivity of the military, language of pay and benefits contributes to a particular way of thinking about difference as well as upholding national ideals of mobility. As pay and benefits are emphasized in ads containing representations of a variety of raced and gendered service members, the military is framed as level-playing field; as a free market in which any individual with “Discipline”, “Honor”, and “Training” can get “good pay”. Representations of pay and benefits as an inclusive language of equality are consistent with a politics of colorblindness claiming racial difference has given way to individualism and merit as well as the idea that anyone in America with discipline and drive can achieve upward mobility.⁴¹ An emphasis on pay and benefits in recruiting ads foregrounds the opportunity for economic equality in the military while reflecting assumptions of a shared need for upward mobility—expressed

⁴¹ Eng, *The Feeling of Kinship*; Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (The New Press, 2012).

through a shared desire for competitive wages, tangible benefits, and stable employment—at work in the military advertising industry. While not all recruiting ads discussing pay and benefits are inclusive, the language of pay and benefits can be deployed in inclusive ways. Class inequality, as a foundation for recruiting practices, allows for appeals based on pay and benefits to enlist other forms of difference. Other appeals in recruiting ads deploy narratives of mobility in order to expand appeals to variety of different potential recruits, including appeals based on the educational opportunities available for military service members.

Educational Opportunities: This Ad Could Put Someone in College

A number of recruiting ads published during the AVF portrayed the military as a pathway to mobility through emphasizing various programs that paid for service members to receive a college education. The primary educational programs featuring in recruiting ads during the era of the AVF are the Veterans Educational Assistance Program, the GI Bill, Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) programs, and recruitment ads for the military academies. Of these programs, the GI Bill and ROTC are the most influential.⁴² ROTC programs produce twice the number of officers as the five military academies and the GI Bill has been credited with greatly improving economic and educational opportunities for veterans.⁴³ ROTC programs began in 1916 and entail students participating in military

⁴² The GI Bill and ROTC programs both provide service members with financial assistance for education. However, they do so through different relationships to military service. The GI Bill is granted to service members after they complete their service and provides funding for a variety of educational and vocational training, including university. ROTC programs provide college students with financial aid and scholarships in exchange for a commitment to accept a commission as an officer in the Armed Forces following their graduation.

⁴³ David L. Leal, “Students in Uniform: ROTC, the Citizen-Soldier, and the Civil-Military Gap,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* null, no. 03 (July 2007): 479–83, doi:10.1017/S1049096507070977; Ronald Roach, “From Combat to Campus,” *Black Issues in Higher Education* 14, no. 13 (August 21, 1997): 26.

training and military science courses then accepting commissions as officers in the military after graduation from university.⁴⁴ The GI Bill has undergone a variety of different iterations, but all versions of the GI Bill provide veterans with monthly stipends for college and other training.⁴⁵ Both ROTC programs and the GI Bill have altered perceptions of relationships between military service and class. As noted, class distinctions within the military's hierarchical structure reflect class inequalities in civilian society. By providing recruits with a college education, allowing them to enter the military as officers and as members of the middle-class culture of the officer corps, which comes with higher pay and other tangible benefits, ROTC programs expand the officer corps to include individuals from class and racial backgrounds who otherwise might not be able to become officers. ROTC scholarships are disproportionately given to racial minorities and a large number of Army ROTC scholarships in particular are designated for historically black colleges and universities.⁴⁶ ROTC programs, though historically rooted in the military's broader goal of cultivating white manhood and reinforcing links between whiteness and military masculinity, were designed to safeguard against the formation of an elitist officer corps by drawing on cadets from a variety of social backgrounds.⁴⁷ ROTC programs, and the scholarships associated with them, have functioned as a way of targeting and persuading recruits from different class and racial backgrounds to consider careers in the military as well as a way for the military to

⁴⁴ Leal, "Students in Uniform."

⁴⁵ G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery, "The Montgomery GI Bill: Development, Implementation and Impact," *The Educational Record* 75, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 49.

⁴⁶ Bryan W. Leach, "Race as Mission Critical: The Occupational Need Rationale in Military Affirmative Action and beyond," *The Yale Law Journal* 113, no. 5 (2004): 1093–1141, doi:10.2307/4135711.

⁴⁷ Isaac Hampton, *The Black Officer Corps: A History of Black Military Advancement from Integration through Vietnam* (Routledge, 2012).

address racial inequities in the officer corps. The GI Bill allows for enlisted service members to obtain a subsidized college education after completing their terms of service, an opportunity many poor and working-class individuals might not otherwise have. However, as noted by Lizabeth Cohen, the rhetoric of the GI Bill as a pathway to social mobility has translated unevenly to veterans' experiences. Post World War II, the benefits of the GI Bill were not extended to service members who received dishonorable discharges, dismissals disproportionately given to Black and homosexual service members.⁴⁸ Furthermore, evidence suggests the GI Bill favored veterans who had educational and financial resources prior to serving and channeled benefits into existing institutions, such as banks and colleges, which often had longstanding discriminatory practices.⁴⁹ In spite of findings that challenge the extent to which the GI Bill enabled veterans the opportunity to be upwardly mobile across classed hierarchies, the rhetoric of upward mobility in the GI Bill has influenced understandings of military service, education, and mobility.

The very notion of higher education as a transformative experience is linked to the development of the GI Bill. Scholars have argued that the GI Bill altered perceptions of the place of college education in American society. Successes of veterans attending college through the GI Bill after WWII altered perceptions of the accessibility of college leading to an increasingly popular view of college as an avenue to social uplift.⁵⁰ In changing perceptions between military service and class, both the GI Bill and ROTC

⁴⁸ Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2008).

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Daniel A. Clark, "'The Two Joes Meet. Joe College, Joe Veteran': The G. I. Bill, College Education, and Postwar American Culture," *History of Education Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1998): 165–89, doi:10.2307/369985.

programs allow military recruiting ads to frame military service as a fundamentally transformative experience through emphasizing the educational opportunities associated with military service. Recruiting ads emphasize educational opportunities in a variety of ways, yet I want to focus on two particular strategies of framing the military as a site of educational opportunity. The first strategy frames education as *the* reason to join the military, representing military service as a pathway to college; a way of making higher education possible. The second strategy frames educational opportunities as a benefit of joining the military, something soldiers can access after they've completed their service. Each strategy adopts different representations of military service in ways that both reinforce and challenge links between particular bodies, military service, and combat.

In March 1973, two Air Force ROTC ads published in *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* featured the heading, “This Ad Could Put Someone in College” (See Figure 10). The ads feature a photograph of a young man—a white man in *Sports Illustrated* and a Black man in *Ebony*—in civilian clothes standing on the steps of a house. Text in the ads states:

There are many qualified students who have all but given up on the chances for a college education (and all that comes with it.) They have given up because funds for college seem out of reach. This ad might just give you the information you need to make college possible...Sound great? It is. A college education...free. Plus a career as an Air Force Officer...And you thought you couldn't afford college.

The ad places funds for college at the forefront of its appeal. The opportunity to get a college education is framed as the reason to enlist in the Air Force ROTC. Military service is a secondary consideration; an Air Force career is an added bonus of receiving a free college education. College is also framed as a pathway to upward mobility and greater opportunity; recruits will get the chance for a college education and “all that

comes with it". The images in the ad show young men in need of a chance to get a college education; straight-faced young men in civilian clothes in need of assistance to better their circumstances, assistance provided by the military. Potential recruits are portrayed as young men in need of a break, in need of something transformative: a college education made possible by joining the Air Force ROTC. A series of recruiting ads for the Armed Forces similarly situates the opportunity to attend college at the forefront of its appeal to potential recruits but do so by showing happy recruits who have benefitted from the Montgomery GI Bill.

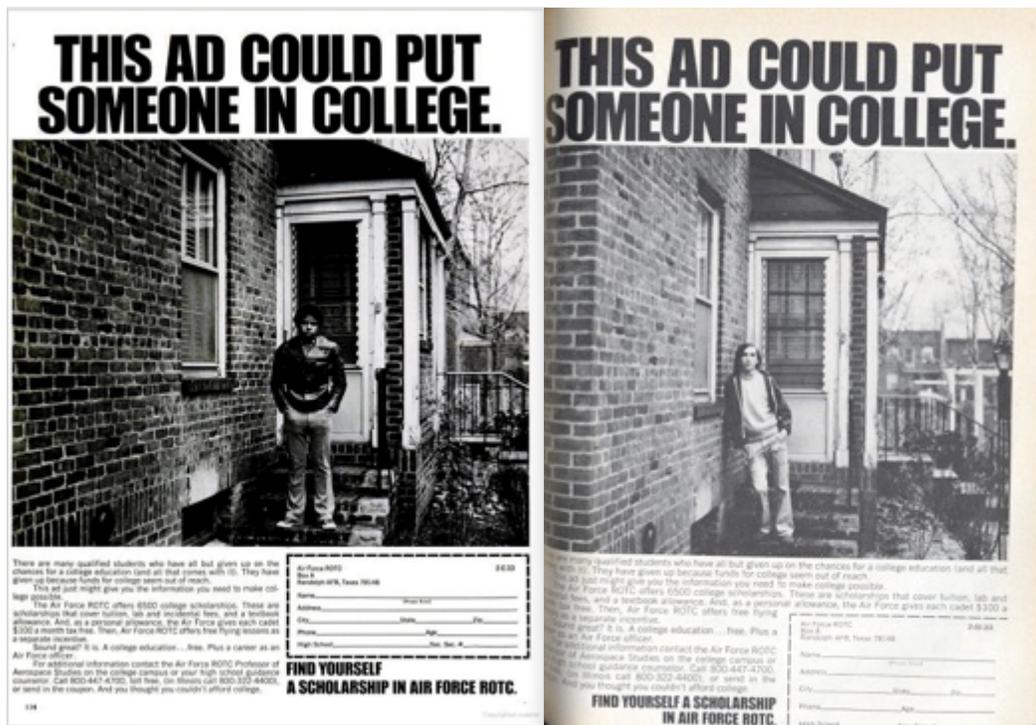


Figure 10
 Source: *Ebony* March 1973, *Sports Illustrated* March 5, 1973

An Armed Forces ad, published in *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* in 1990, features the heading “Joey’s big sister went to school on the GI Bill. Now Joey’s signed up, too” (See Figure 11). From left to right, the ad shows three individuals: a young white man in academic regalia (presumably Joey), a young white woman in a blue coat and white

blouse (Joey's big sister), and a Black man in academic regalia (Joey's high school teacher or principal). Joey, his big sister, and his high school teacher are all smiling as text in the ad states:

The Montgomery GI Bill was created precisely for outstanding young people, like Joey and his sister, to help cover the cost of continuing their education. If they invest a few years serving in any of the Military Services, or part-time in the National Guard or Selected Reserves...we'll invest in their future with thousands of dollars in tuition assistance for courses at approved colleges, vocational or technical schools.

In leading with a discussion of the GI Bill and what it does for young people looking to cover costs of higher education, the ad situates educational opportunities at the forefront of its appeal. The ad frames the GI Bill as being “created precisely for people...like Joey and his sister”; people who want to continue their education but need assistance to do so. Similarly to the Air Force ad, educational opportunity—whether in the form of ROTC programs or the GI Bill—is framed as a transformative experience, a pathway to upward mobility made possible through military service. In contrast to the Air Force ROTC ad, we see smiling individuals benefiting from the GI Bill rather than straight-faced individuals in need of assistance. Despite differences in representations, each of the ads frame educational opportunities as the primary motivation for recruits to enlist. Another ad for the Armed Forces, published four times in *Sports Illustrated* from 1991 to 1992, features an image of a young white male in civilian clothes with other individuals studying in a library visible over his shoulder. The heading of the ad says, “In the Armed Forces, I earned a lot more than stripes...” with text continuing, “I also earned tuition assistance with the Montgomery GI Bill. The GI Bill made higher education a reality for me. And it can for you too”. The ad emphasizes educational opportunities made possible by the GI Bill, opportunities that without the aid of the military are unrealistic for

potential recruits. Military service is absent in the image of the ad, rather we see a young man in an academic setting, which he was able to access by joining the military. While the three ads are different in terms of representations and slogans, each of the ads has a similar appeal based on ideas about class, education, and mobility.

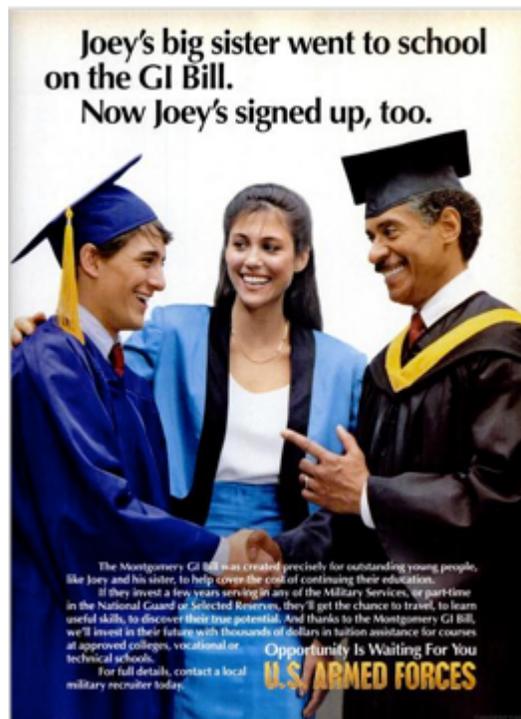


Figure 11
Source: *Ebony* Magazine, May 1990

For all the recruits and service members featured in the Air Force and Armed Forces ads discussed, college is something that though desirable, is not easily attainable. Higher education is made attainable through military service. By representing higher education as a transformative opportunity made possible by joining the military, military service itself is framed as having transformative potential: it can put someone in college, can assist outstanding young people, can make higher education a reality. The representations in the ads showcase the transformative potential of the military through images of civilian life and academic settings. Uniforms, military equipment,

technologies, and weapons are conspicuously absent from the ads. In the Air Force ad from 1973, the distance from more traditional portrayals of military life could be read as a reaction to anti-war sentiment and risks of death in combat during the Vietnam conflict. The ad portrays military service as a benefit of a free education, as a pathway to upward mobility instead of a pathway to a potential death in combat. Distancing visions of military service from combat not only allow the military advertising industry to make appeals to recruits with very real fears of the risks of combat in the wake of Vietnam but also to expand their base of potential recruits. A college education is framed as the reason to enlist, opening appeals to potential recruits who want to go to college, who want to get ahead, but might not want to go and fight in a war. Recruits—represented as Black men, white men, and white women—who can see themselves as being in need of help with access to college or with tuition expenses can imagine themselves joining the military. While the three ads all portray potential recruits as in need of access to higher education as a pathway to upward mobility, there is a racial distinction at work in the ads. Only one of the ads—the Air Force ROTC ad published in *Ebony* in 1973—shows a Black recruit. ROTC programs, as noted, were designed to combat the formation of an elitist officer corps and function to recruit cadets from a variety of social backgrounds. The inclusion of a Black recruit in an ad for an ROTC program indicates a connection between ROTC as an early iteration of a diversity initiative, meant to craft a socially diverse officer corps, and bodies of color. The focus on white recruits in the Armed Forces ads that emphasize the GI Bill reveal a representation of educational spaces dominated by whiteness. While one ad features a Black man as a teacher or principal, the three students shown taking advantage of the GI Bill are white. The predominantly white vision of the

GI Bill reinforces Cohen's argument that the GI Bill worked in conjunction with existing discriminatory practices in institutions, such as universities and colleges.⁵¹ Despite the distinction that positions Black and white recruits in different relations to the two primary educational programs advertised during the AVF, each of the ads frame the military as a pathway for gaining access to higher education far from visions of combat. Other recruiting ads published during the 1990s emphasized educational opportunities in ways that did not distance military service from visions of combat but rather embedded educational programs within visions of camouflage-wearing, weapon-carrying soldiers.

A series of Army ads published seven times in *Sports Illustrated* from 1991 to 1995 feature an image of five soldiers walking in front of a tank, each of whom appear to be white men in combat uniforms, wearing combat helmets with guns at the ready (See Figure 12). The headline of the ad asks, 'Can you find the \$30,000 in this picture?'"⁵²

Text in the ads answers the question:

The soldier on the right has. So does the soldier on the left. In fact, all the soldiers in this picture have the opportunity to earn \$20,000, \$25,000, or up to \$30,000 for college... You can too... Along the way, you'll also learn things like confidence, teamwork, and self-discipline. The thing that will make you better prepared for college. And for life.

The ad makes clear that potential recruits will be soldiers first and students second. The ad locates educational opportunities made possible by the GI Bill within the very soldiers portrayed. In answering the question of where the \$30,000 is in the picture, the ad points to the individual soldiers. Money for college and the promise of economic mobility associated with it is embodied by weapon-carrying soldiers in combat gear. Rather than

⁵¹ Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*.

⁵² Versions of the ad published in 1991 and 1992 mention an amount of \$25,200 while later versions mention \$30,000. This difference reflects changes in the amounts allocated for education under the GI Bill and are further reflected in text of the ads.

smiling recruits in academic regalia, the ad features soldiers in a combat setting. Images of soldiers in combat gear carrying guns are at the forefront of the appeal while money for college and the GI Bill are secondary benefits of military service. The strategy of framing educational opportunities as a secondary benefit of military service is reflected in other Army ads from 1990s, including a 1995 ad also published in *Sports Illustrated* featuring an image of three white men in combat uniform in a Humvee with the heading, “We’ll not only give you the money to get to college, we’ll give you the drive”. Text in the ad tells recruits: “If you want to go to college, the Army can get you there...And remember, your education never stops while you serve. You’ll learn things like teamwork, confidence and self-discipline, important tools that help you in college and all through life”. The ad offers potential recruits a vision of military service replete with guns, camouflage, and combat while framing the military as a transformative institution. Military service is framed as something that transforms recruits into soldiers as well as something that transforms soldiers into successful students. By joining the military and serving in combat-related occupations recruits get money for college and learn things “like teamwork, confidence and self-discipline” that make them better prepared to succeed in college and in life. In framing military service as a transformative experience, both in terms of individual transformation and educational opportunities, the ads function to expand appeals to recruits who want to enlist; who want to go and fight. Military service grants recruits the authority, dominance, and control associated with becoming a soldier first and foremost. In addition, military service grants recruits the resources to attend college after transforming their abilities and opportunities to succeed in college, and in life. This series of Army ads display how the military advertising industry

deployed educational opportunities in appeals to recruits who want to become soldiers as well as in appeals to recruits who want a college education but cannot otherwise afford one and want a pathway to upward mobility but cannot otherwise access one.

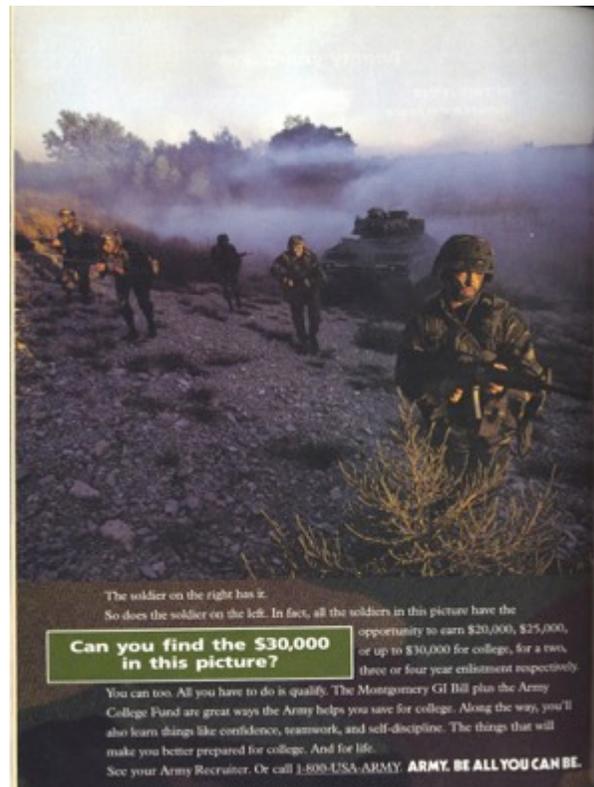


Figure 12
Source: *Sports Illustrated*, December 18, 1995

The Army ads discussing the GI Bill as a benefit of being a soldier show a narrow view of potential recruits with an exclusive focus on images of white men. The ads show how the language of mobility and transformation can work alongside appeals to manliness and military service. The military institution is portrayed as being able to grant masculinity to recruits in different, yet converging, ways. The military can grant recruits authority and dominance through transforming them into soldiers, then transforming soldiers into upwardly mobile college graduates. While ads showing recruits in educational settings far from combat include women and people of color in their appeals,

ads exclusively featuring white men as soldiers show how some forms of authority are more easily mapped onto particular bodies. Narratives of mobility can expand some appeals to include bodies not traditionally associated with soldiering and military service, but can also be deployed to bolster associations between men and military service. Ads emphasizing mobility through narratives of educational opportunities and pay and wages were often deployed to expand the scope of potential recruits beyond the ideal figure of the white male. However, the limits of mobility as an inclusive appeal revealed in Army ads from the 1990s are further reflected in recruiting ads making appeals based on the military as a site of vocational opportunity.

Vocational Opportunities: Prepare Yourself for the Working World

From the late 1980s to the early 2000s five different Army ROTC ads were published one hundred times across *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* with the slogan “The Smartest College Course You Can Take”.⁵³ The most frequently published ad features an image of two resumes next to one another with the heading, “Which One Would You Rather Write?” and text stating:

Fact is when you graduate from college with a Lieutenant’s gold bar, you’ll bring more than a degree and a better resume to a job interview. You’ll bring confidence and the knowledge that you’ve done something that will make you a desirable candidate in the job market...It just might help potential employers take a good look at you.

⁵³ The popularity of Army ROTC ads in this time period reflects the fact that Army ads for all modes of service made up over half of all recruiting ads published in the three publications. The ubiquity of Army recruiting ads reflects the Army’s status as the largest branch of the military and in need of the most recruits. While the slogan “The Smartest College Course You Can Take” was featured in one hundred ads, the number must be understood in the context of the overall number of Army ads published from 1973 to 2015. Over nine hundred recruiting ads for the Army were published in the three publications and other slogans, including “Be All You Can Be”, which was featured in over three hundred and seventy ads, were also popular.

The ad frames joining the military as a benefit in the civilian job market. The text does not mention that after you graduate with a Lieutenant's gold bar, you'll be serving in the military. The ad bypasses military service entirely, moving straight from the ROTC as a college course to what such a course can do for you in the civilian job market. The other four ads similarly frame the ROTC as a pathway to success in the civilian job market with little mention of military service. An ad published fourteen times shows an image of a mountain along with text saying, "Army ROTC is a college elective that'll help you develop those leadership skills, for success in college and in the military or civilian world beyond". Another ad focuses on a photo of a Black man in a suit with the heading, "In college, he decided to take Army ROTC. Today, he's deciding the future of a company".

Text in the ad states:

Army ROTC is more than just a college course—because it could change the course of your life. ROTC teaches you how to be a leader, to manage your time and to make decisions. And those are exactly the kinds of qualities that can help bring you immediate responsibility, benefits, and growth opportunities in whatever career field you choose.

The last two ads feature photos of a shark and a lion with headings, "Only the strong survive" and "It's a jungle out there". The ads represent the Army ROTC as a way to "go out into the world and tear it up", "take charge of any situation", "succeed in any profession" and "be king". In framing military service as a college course that helps recruits get ahead in the civilian marketplace, the ads feature images of resumes, mountains, men in boardrooms, and animals. There are no uniforms, no weapons, and no military technology. The vision of military service in the ads is devoid of signifiers of the military. Instead military service is represented as a pathway to success in the civilian marketplace. Ads for the Army ROTC are consistent with Brown's findings that Army

recruiting ads validated the business world as a source of status and prestige associated with masculinized visions of the military.⁵⁴ While a number of other ads, including for the Air Force, Army, and Navy, contain similar appeals, they all do so with a focus on male bodies. Ads making appeals based on vocational opportunities as a narrative of upward mobility demonstrate the limits of mobility as an inclusive language, particularly in regards to associations between military service, dominance, success, and male bodies.

A series of three ads for the Air Force published in both *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* in 1973 portrayed military service as a pathway to success in the civilian job market through an exclusive focus on male bodies. One ad featured the heading “You Can’t Forecast How Far An Air Force Skill Will Take You” along with a photo of a young man in a suit standing in front of a weather forecasting map (See Figure 13). Text in the ad states:

One thing is certain, however: in today’s economic climate, the man who has a solid technical skill to build on has a better chance to go places...you might be laying the foundation for a career in broadcasting. Or with an airline. Or find out that you’ve learned so much about physics, electricity, mathematics, electronics and instrumentation that moving into other scientific and technical fields is as easy as pie.

The ad frames military service as a way to get a solid foundation of technical skills that can be beneficial to men in the civilian marketplace. Other ads in the series feature similar portrayals of military service. An ad with the headline “You Never Know What An Air Force Skill Will Spark” featured an image of a young man in a hard-hat leaning over a blueprint with text saying, “we’ll see to it you get the thorough technical training that will help you get the most out of any career opportunity that comes along”. Another ad featured an image of a young man in a suit and tie in front of a bank of computers with

⁵⁴ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

the headline “You Can’t Compute What An Air Force Skill May Be Worth To You” and text stating, “Whether you want to learn engineering or accounting, refrigeration, carpentry, mechanics or communications, the Air Force is the best place to learn about it. And nobody appreciates it more than the civilian employer who hires you fully trained later”. Each of the ads represents military service through visions of men succeeding in civilian occupations.



Figure 13
 Source: *Sports Illustrated* March 19, 1973; *Ebony Magazine*, May 1973

In representing the Air Force as a technical training school, the ads exclusively feature images of men; ads published in *Sports Illustrated* feature images of white men, while ads published in *Ebony* feature images of Black men. The ads reflect a strategy of colorizing ads and also reveal how mobility can incorporate some forms of difference, in this case racial difference, but does so in ways that reduce that difference down to a

single issue of class and mobility. The ads acknowledge the economic climate of 1973, marked by high youth unemployment and the role of military service as a tangible way to get ahead in an increasingly competitive job market.⁵⁵ The ads foreground economic opportunities provided by military service through representations of success in the civilian job market; opportunities that reinforce links between male bodies, technology, and the Air Force.⁵⁶ The language of mobility could be an inclusive appeal according to both gender and race, but ideas about men, technology, and the Air Force limit access to vocational opportunities provided by joining the Air Force to male recruits. The Air Force ads show how the language of mobility is confronted with limits enforced by traditions of different military branches, a limit similarly expressed in a series of Navy ads published in the mid 1970s.

Two Navy ads published in *Sports Illustrated* in 1975 focused on the headline, “A Navy career. Because there’s more to life than a paycheck” with text stating, “We’ll give you an honest opportunity to succeed. At a challenging job”. The ads frame Naval service as a career in and of itself. Joining the Navy can provide recruits with a career in over 70 different fields along with ongoing education and the opportunity to travel. The images in the ads focus exclusively on men. One version of the ad has photos of a line of men pulling a rope on the deck of a ship and of three men on a submarine. Another version of the ad has the same two photos along with images of men in welding helmets, playing in the Navy band, and smiling in their dress uniforms. Naval service is career for men, and men alone, but can include both white men and Black men. The language of mobility is represented as racially inclusive, but exclusive according to gender. The exclusivity of

⁵⁵ Segal et al., “Propensity to Serve in the U.S. Military.”

⁵⁶ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

the appeal reflects the fact that women could not serve onboard ships until the late 1970s as well as the Navy's admission that it didn't seriously attempt to recruit women until the 1990s.⁵⁷ The gendered limits of Navy careers also reflect a military culture dominated by men, in which women faced penalties, including career limitations, if they were perceived as too successful—too masculine—or too weak—too feminine.⁵⁸ The language of mobility is constrained by formal and informal ideas about gender that have restricted women from accessing the vocational opportunities associated with career service in the military. Ads for the Navy represent how policies and informal forms of gender policing in the military function to limit the ability of vocational appeals to be inclusive. Narratives of vocational opportunities offer a language of mobility and reinforce the importance of class in military advertising. A variety of recruits may want to join the Navy as way to combat high unemployment and a difficult civilian job market but the military is only offering vocational opportunities to men. A series of Army recruiting ads, published from the late 1980 to the mid 1990s further limit the language of mobility through a reliance on representations of male soldiers in combat settings to frame the military as a site of vocational opportunity.

The Army ads portray military service as a pathway to vocational opportunities through an emphasis on high-tech training only available in the military and through narratives granting individuals skills highly valued in the civilian marketplace. In doing so, the ads feature images of male soldiers, high-tech weaponry, and combat. The series of Army ads consists of five unique ads published across *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated*. Each of the ads combines a headline and text against a camouflage background along

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Melissa S. Herbert, *Camouflage Isn't Only for Combat: Gender, Sexuality, and Women in the Military* (NYU Press, 1998).

with images of weaponry and combat equipment. One ad features the headline, “Every year, we prepare thousands of people to work for other companies” and an image of three men in combat uniform, rifles slung over their shoulders. Another ad features an image of men in combat uniform rappelling from a helicopter with the headline, “Before you start your career, it pays to learn the ropes” (See Figure 14). A third ad combines the headline “Before you start your career, give it a little firepower” with an image of tanks with a tank gun pointed at the camera. Text in each of these three ads emphasize qualities recruits will develop in the Army, including responsibility, motivation, teamwork, dedication, dependability, and self-discipline. The qualities developed through military service are linked to success in the civilian marketplace: “In a national survey, more than 850 employers said these are the qualities they desire most in employees”, “9 out of 10 employers name these the most desirable qualities in job applicants”. Links between representations of military men with combat equipment and qualities desired by employees perpetuates ideas behind the gendered division of labor both within and beyond the military. Men who succeed in a combat-oriented vision of the military, which is represented exclusively through male bodies, are poised to succeed in an implicitly masculinized civilian work force. Visions of military service associated with weaponry, combat, and exclusively male bodies are linked to personal transformation that makes soldiers successful in the civilian marketplace. The other two ads in the series focus on vocational opportunities associated with military service by emphasizing military technologies.

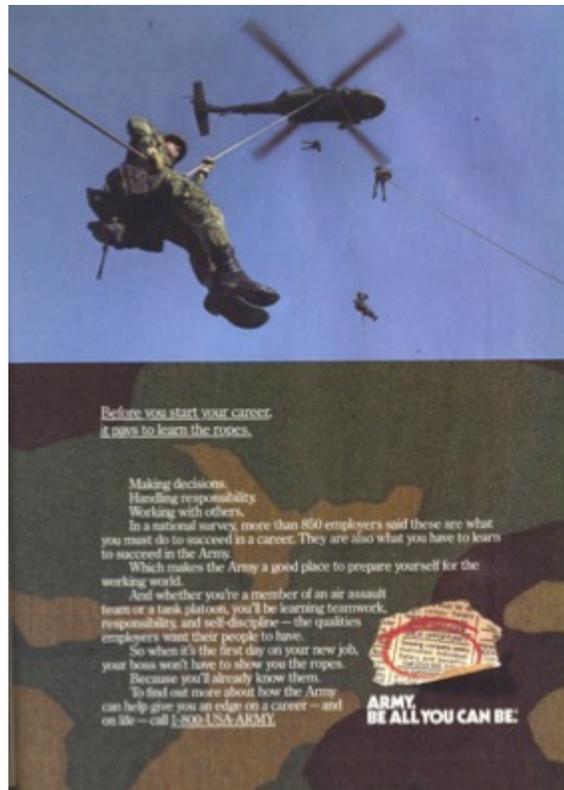


Figure 14

Source: *Sports Illustrated*, October 19, 1992

The first ad features an image of a white man seated at a console with headphones on and the headline, “If you’d like a career with a high-tech company, start with one of ours”. Text in the ad goes on to state, “From telecommunications centers to laser technology to advanced radar systems, you’ll work with the most sophisticated technology in the world, as a member of an Army company. Which means you’ll gain the skills it takes to get an edge on the high-tech job market”. The opportunity to work with military technology positions the U.S. military in the vanguard of developing technology while providing recruits with skills placing them on a path to upward mobility in the civilian job market. In this particular ad, this opportunity is framed as a job—you can work for a high-tech company after working for an Army company (an Army unit)—and represented through an image of white male service member. The second ad features the

headline “By the time some of our technology lands in the civilian world, we’ll have you trained to service it” with a collage of images of military equipment including satellites, computer chips, and two service members—a Black man and a white woman—working on a helicopter rotor. Text in the ad states, “Right now, the Army can offer you advanced skill training in exciting areas like helicopter repair and avionics, computer maintenance and more. You’ll enjoy success in the Army—and in your career beyond. Because when the future arrives in civilian technology, you’ll prove to employers you’ve already been there”. The ad reinforces ideas of the military’s technological dominance while framing military service as a way to anticipate and be ahead of the civilian job market. Advanced skills training in the Army provides recruits with the opportunity to surpass forms of training available in the civilian world, making them poised for upward mobility and success after they’ve succeeded in the Army. While the image shows a white woman and a Black man working on a helicopter—a support position that maintains piloting and mastery of the advanced technology as the domain of white men—the ad as a whole foregrounds representations of technological objects. Helicopters, satellites, and computer chips dominate the frame and directly link the appeal to the technologies themselves; technologies only available in the military that predate and predict technological developments in the civilian world. In each of the ads, opportunities to work with military technologies are framed to emphasize their usefulness in a competitive civilian job market. As a whole, the series of Army ads frame military service as a step on the road to success in the civilian job market and in doing so express the limits of mobility when framed in connection to visions of combat and military technology.

The five ads show an overwhelmingly male vision of military service—only one ad has an image of a woman. The ads reinforce Brown’s contention that Army recruiting ads utilized narratives linking soldiering, male bodies, and forms of masculinity valued in the business world to make appeals to potential recruits.⁵⁹ Text in the ads focuses on what recruits can do after military service—succeed in business or high-tech occupations—while images in the ads focus on what recruits gain in the process of becoming soldiers. In drawing on traditionally militaristic images of soldiering, the ads demonstrate how forms of authority and power associated both with soldiering and success in the civilian market are more easily granted to men than to women. Promises of mobility and transformation in the ads are linked to a vision of military service, that though somewhat inclusive in terms of race—of the three ads showing soldiers in detail, two feature Black men—are exclusive in terms of gender.⁶⁰ Ads stressing images of military service linked to weaponry, adventure, and combat alongside text stressing benefits of being a veteran in the civilian marketplace embed a classed narrative of mobility into traditional recruiting appeals. Recruits who want to join the military to fire weapons and go fight and recruits looking for an edge in a competitive job market are targeted together in the appeal. Regardless of what recruits might be looking for, they all get the opportunity to develop valuable qualities and high-tech job skills. In contrast to the language of mobility present in ads stressing pay and benefits and educational opportunities, ads emphasizing vocational opportunities more closely adhere to combat-oriented visions of military

⁵⁹ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

⁶⁰ Other Army ads emphasizing vocational opportunities of military service through narratives of technological training and qualities valued in the job similarly focus on images of men. A series of four Army ads published in *Sports Illustrated* from 1993 to 1996 featured headlines with messages stressing success in the business world and high-tech job market along with images of men, weaponry, and combat equipment.

service exclusive to men. The use of combat-oriented visions of military service with men reinforces historical links between manliness and combat in the military, while speaking to anxieties about the increased participation of women in the military and what their participation would mean for connections between men and military service. Technological changes over the course of the AVF and the representation of technology in recruiting ads function as sites through which these anxieties are articulated.

Representations of technology, including firearms and satellites, along with discourses of high-tech skills, reveal the importance of technology as a selling point for recruits and a site of gendered and racialized anxieties in a changing military. As noted by Moore, technological changes post-WWII allowed the military to employ large numbers of women and racial minorities in support and clerical positions while maintaining a hierarchy with men positioned at the top, in command and pilot positions and thus in control of the most advanced technologies.⁶¹ By most often associating images of white male soldiers with representations and discourses of a high-tech military, recruiting ads emphasize vocational opportunities while reinforcing cultural practices and meanings of technology that imagine the default users of technologies as white and male.⁶² These representations also imply that the vocational opportunities resulting from training gained in military service imagine default employees as white and male as well. While visions of combat technologies are integral to many ads touting vocational opportunities, the ads distance themselves from visions of actual combat by stressing

⁶¹ Brenda L. Moore, *To Serve My Country, to Serve My Race: The Story of the Only African-American WACS Stationed Overseas During World War II* (NYU Press, 1997).

⁶² Lisa Nakamura, *Digitizing Race: Visual Cultures of the Internet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Alondra Nelson, Thuy Linh N Tu, and Alicia Headlam Hines, *Technicolor: Race, Technology, and Everyday Life* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

opportunities soldiers have after they are out of the military. Vocational opportunities are represented through links to images of combat as a valuable form of job training rather than a potentially fatal and devastating risk.⁶³ Recruiting ads stressing vocational opportunities make appeals through language of mobility focusing on civilian life after military service while relying on representations of weaponry and combat. In melding these appeals, vocational opportunities are framed as racially inclusive but as primarily available to men. The promise of mobility has limits, limits based on ideas about power, authority, and dominance in different branches, settings, and experiences of military service.

Inclusion, Mobility, and Institutional Masculinity

The language of mobility is present in appeals in recruiting ads stressing pay and benefits, educational opportunities, and vocational opportunities associated with military service. In recruiting ads, mobility is the promise of opportunity. The language of mobility is a compelling one, both ideologically and materially, which reflects the importance of class in the implementation and maintenance of the AVF and is represented in ways that expand visions of military service to include people of color and women. Mobility is deployed as a euphemism for class and is an important tool in reconfiguring portrayals of military service to include different bodies and address different motivations for enlisting in the Armed Forces. Different appeals of mobility include different representations of military service and different parameters for including a variety of bodies in promises of military service as a transformative experience. Some

⁶³ While technological advancements and changes in combat tactics have decreased casualties among service members, military service still entails a great deal of risk. Close to twenty percent of veterans deployed to Afghanistan and Iraq suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder and major depression and have experienced a probable traumatic brain injury during deployment (Tanielian, *Invisible Wounds of War*, 2008).

narratives of mobility—appeals based on monthly wages, pay and benefits, and appeals based on educational opportunities—expand military masculinity to include a variety of different bodies. As a strategy of inclusion, the language of mobility is highly contingent upon how it is represented in relation to different visions of military service. In ads stressing pay and benefits through visions of recruits in civilian clothes and service members far from combat, there is more inclusion. Similarly, in ads stressing educational opportunities beyond and outside of the military institution—though enabled by military service—there is more inclusion. In ads representing combat, uniforms, and soldiers there is a focus on men. Representations of mobility linked to visions of combat are granted the most authority in narratives of vocational opportunities and function to constrict the language of mobility to men alone. The language of mobility, in all its guises, works as a language of military masculinity, by proffering recruits promises of authority.

The language of mobility grants authority to recruits in different ways, through personal transformation into soldiers and through material transformation granted via wages, education, and job training. In adopting a language of mobility as a pervasive appeal in recruiting ads, the military is able to reconfigure institutional masculinity to include different bodies. Expanding recruiting appeals to include women and people of color doesn't weaken the military's transformational authority; it reconfigures and bolsters it. Faced with the task of meeting unprecedented personnel needs following the implementation of the AVF, the military advertising industry deployed class mobility as a universal language through which recruits could gain authority, dominance, and control. The language of mobility is able to incorporate other forms of difference but does so in ways that reduce difference down to a single issue of class and recruits' desires for

transformation. As Brown points out, messages of military recruiting are shaped by ideas of what individuals can get in exchange for military service.⁶⁴ The language of mobility speaks to the fundamental importance of class in the military advertising industry and in realities of military service. Appeals based on the promise of mobility assume that all potential recruits share an experience of lacking the resources to attain economic security—whether through the inability to get a stable job, pay for college, or compete in a changing job market—and assert that the military can give you that security. The language of mobility posits that all recruits need and can get an experience that will transform their lives; yet mobility has limits. These limits are based on histories and cultures of military service deeply embedded with the notion of the white male as the ideal soldier. Women and people of color are included in recruiting ads based on a universal language of mobility and the perception that all recruits need to get something if they are going to volunteer for military service. But who is represented as able to get what out of military service shows a complex negotiation of forms of authority granted to different bodies. Mobility as a universal language reaches its limits when reliant on combat-oriented visions of military service, a functionally and culturally exclusive form of military service. As the military continued to rely on recruiting advertisements in attempting to meet personnel needs, mobility could only go so far leading to a variety of recruiting appeals based on a more direct negotiation of difference, including appeals based on the inclusion of Blackness within the military institution.

⁶⁴ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

CHAPTER V

YOU CAN BE BLACK AND NAVY TOO: BLACKNESS AND INCLUSION

It is a commentary on our nation that many black youths, by seeking to enter and remain in the armed forces, are saying that it is even worth the risk of being killed in order to have a chance to learn a trade, to make it in a small way, to get away from a dead-end existence, and to become part of the only institution that seems really to be integrated. Charles Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*¹

The above quote, from eminent military sociologist Charles C. Moskos' book on the cultural image of the American enlisted man, speaks volumes about the role of racial difference in shaping the U.S. military institution. Written before the shift to an all-volunteer force, the participation of Black individuals in the military was shaped in a tension between opportunity and risk. Military service—both voluntary and involuntary—could be an economic opportunity, a pathway to acceptance as a citizen, and a potentially fatal risk. In the decade leading to the shift to an all-volunteer force, a higher proportion of eligible Black individuals entered the Armed Forces than eligible white individuals.² During Vietnam Black soldiers were disproportionately represented in combat units and as such suffered a greater percentage of the wounded and killed than their representation in the Army would indicate.³ Experiences of Black soldiers in the late 1960s and early 1970s were influential in shaping debates about military service, inclusion, and practices of segregation and discrimination within, and beyond, the military. The shift to the AVF in 1973 took place against a backdrop of tensions about the roles of race, risk, opportunity, and equality in shaping military service. Histories of Black soldiers being burdened with equal risks as soldiers in combat while not being

¹ Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*, 133.

² Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*.

³ Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*.

granted equal status as citizens contribute to a particularly fraught relationship between Blackness and the military institution. As such, as the military advertising industry began targeting Black recruits during the AVF in order to meet personnel needs a number of ads focused on crafting messages discussing the inclusion of Blackness within the military institution.

Beginning with a discussion of military policies negotiating racial difference, I explore how military advertising strategies in the AVF contribute to an ideology of colorblindness as a framework for thinking about race in American society. This chapter analyzes ads that exemplify the three primary rhetorical strategies—defensive, progressive, and revisionary—through which military recruiting ads sought to portray the military as an institution in which Black service members could be and have been included. Through a defensive strategy, recruiting ads from the early 1970s focus on the current presence of a few Black service members in the Navy and the Air Force to combat perceptions of a racially unequal military. A series of recruiting ads for the Navy, published in the mid 1970s adopt a progressive strategy, in which past instances of racial inequality are drawn upon to frame the Navy as a newly inclusive institution invested in racial equality. Lastly, a revisionary strategy uses historical examples of exceptional Black service members to portray the military as always including Black individuals in narratives of military service. Taken together, these three strategies reflect, promote, and reinforce a colorblind ideology of racial difference in the military institution and lay the foundation for a contemporary military invested in diversity.

Representing Blackness in a Colorblind Military

Prior to the 1940s, whiteness was maintained as the ideal in the military institution through exclusionary practices limiting the participation of people of color. In 1948, Harry S. Truman signed Executive Order (EO) 9981 stating: “there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin”.⁴ EO 9981 contains a discourse of equal opportunity and set the precedent for a model of race in the Armed Forces while also being motivated by a need for an efficient, combat ready force.⁵ In response to continued racism within the military and the influence of the Civil Rights movement, policies in the 1960s sought to ensure a racially equitable military. In 1962, President John F. Kennedy formed the Committee on Equality of Opportunity in the Armed Forces—also known as the Gesell Committee—tasked with assuring equality of treatment for all service members throughout the military.⁶ The recommendations of the Gesell Committee resulted in DoD Directive 5120.36, titled *Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces*.⁷ The directive required all military departments to develop regulations for ensuring equal opportunity and stated that every military commander had the responsibility to foster equal opportunity and oppose discriminatory practices.⁸ As the most influential policies addressing inclusion in the military prior to the implementation of the AVF, both EO 9981 and the Gesell Committee

⁴ Truman, “Establishing the President’s Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces.”

⁵ Leach, “Race as Mission Critical.”

⁶ McDonald and Parks, *Managing Diversity in the Military*.

⁷ Military Leadership Diversity Commission, “From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military.”

⁸ Mickey R. Dansby, James B. Stewart, and Schuyler C. Webb, *Managing Diversity in the Military: Research Perspectives from the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute* (Transaction Publishers, 2012); “The Secretary of the Army’s Senior Review Panel Report on Sexual Harassment, Volume One” (Department of the Army, July 1997), <http://www.whs.mil/library/Dig/The%20Secretary%20Of%20The%20Army%27s%20Senior%20Review%20Panel%20Report%20On%20Sexual%20Harassment%20%28Vol.%201%29.pdf>.

viewed all service members regardless of race as equal subjects under the law coinciding with an ideology of colorblindness.

As defined in Chapter III in relation to representations of color, colorblindness is an ideology linked to discourses of equal opportunity, which perpetuates racial inequality through avoidance of racial terminology and of race as a factor in affecting life chances.⁹ While colorblindness erases race and reduces it to color in visual representations of inclusion in recruiting ads, within ads analyzed in this chapter colorblindness operates to dismiss the importance of race in a different way. The three primary strategies of targeting Black recruits developed by the military advertising industry visually represent the military as a racially inclusive institution but also feature appeals based on direct and explicit discussions of Blackness. These appeals name and acknowledge race, specifically Blackness, while disregarding racial inequality and racial forms of power. Composed of both visual and linguistic elements, the recruiting ads analyzed in this chapter further contribute to a politics of colorblindness. Within a politics of colorblindness race is acknowledged, while forms of racial power and inequality are dismissed.¹⁰ Kimberlè Crenshaw refers to this as non-recognition, as a process of noticing but not considering race leading to the erasure of dynamics of racial power.¹¹ Roopali Mukherjee contends that the politics of colorblindness operate through a framework of post race, in which the historical significance of race is acknowledged as a mode of rendering moot its impact in the present.¹²

⁹ Eng, *The Feeling of Kinship*; Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists*; Turner, *The Colorblind Screen*.

¹⁰ Herring, Keith, and Horton, *Skin Deep*.

¹¹ Toni Morrison and Claudia Brodsky Lacour, *Birth of a Nation 'hood: Gaze, Script, and Spectacle in the O.J. Simpson Case* (Pantheon Books, 1997).

¹² Turner, *The Colorblind Screen*.

Colorblindness arose as a widespread belief and a model for thinking about race in the wake of legislation in the 1950s and 1960s that, similar to military policies discussed above, saw Americans of all races as equal subjects under the law.¹³ As a framework for thinking about racial inequality, colorblindness was crucial to U.S. global ascendancy and claims to moral legitimacy post World War II.¹⁴ Scholars have argued that the military served as a model of race relations for civilian society in the 1950s and remains the nation's most significant institution organized by the least amount of racial separation.¹⁵ Recruiting advertisements targeting Black recruits contain messages built on colorblind strategies of racial inclusion demonstrating how colorblindness, as a framework for thinking about racial difference, in military policies was reflected and configured in military recruitment advertisements.

Defending Against Perceptions of Racial Inequality

In the years immediately following the implementation of the AVF, a series of advertisements for the Air Force and Navy defended against perceptions that Blackness was a barrier to military inclusion. An ad for the Air Force, published in *Ebony* in 1973, featured the heading, "10 Pieces of Baloney Could Be Standing Between You and a \$50,000 Scholarship" along with the slogan, "Find Yourself in the Air Force" (Figure 15). Ten numbered bullet points address concerns potential recruits may have about

¹³ Warner, *The Cultural Politics of Colorblind TV Casting*; Eng, *The Feeling of Kinship*.

¹⁴ Melamed, "The Spirit of Neoliberalism."

¹⁵ Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*; Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2005).

access and opportunities in the Air Force Academy, three of which explicitly discuss and acknowledge Blackness.¹⁶

1. A Black can't make it at the Air Force Academy. Really? 13 graduated last year, 17 will graduate this year, 17 should graduate next year.

...

7. Blacks don't get promoted. Wrong. In this man's Air Force, they promote Blacks the same as anyone else, and you can bet that plenty of Air Force Academy grads will wear eagles and stars. You could be one of them someday.

...

9. There's no sensitivity to Black Culture. No? Who do you think it was that sponsored the first Festival of Black Culture at a service academy?

Each of the three points begins with a statement confirming perceptions of racial inequality in the Academy. While the ad initially seems to acknowledge racial inequality, it focuses on the presence of a limited number of Black cadets to defend against such perceptions and to signal the Academy's commitment to including Black service members. The claim that Blacks are promoted the same as anyone else and the presence of an Air Force Festival of Black Culture provide further evidence for the defense against perceptions of racial inequality. In defending against perceptions of racial inequality, the ad first acknowledges such perceptions; perceptions reflecting a history of racial discrimination and exclusion in the Air Force. The Air Force has a legacy of exclusionary practices and segregation, which have forged an institutional culture deeply shaped by racial inequality. Piloting is at the heart of Air Force culture, an occupation from which Black service members have largely been excluded.¹⁷ Black service members were restricted from learning to fly prior to WWII, faced many barriers to becoming pilots

¹⁶ A fourth point discusses Blackness in the response with a focus on social life: “**5. There's not much social life...**No, the Air Force Academy is not the Black party school of the West, but with Colorado Springs and Denver nearby, it's easy to find a party or throw one” (emphasis original).

¹⁷ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

since then, and remain underrepresented as pilots today.¹⁸ The exclusionary nature of Air Force culture and history meant that for a Black cadet to make it at the Air Force Academy in the 1970s they had to navigate an overwhelmingly white institution. The seventeen Black cadets mentioned in the ad were the only Black individuals in a graduating class of more than 800.¹⁹ Though the Academy was able to recruit a small number of Black cadets, it often had trouble keeping them in the Academy.²⁰ It is not that a Black cadet couldn't make it or get promoted in the Air Force. Rather, it is that in order for Black cadets to find themselves in the Air Force they had to contend with the reality of finding themselves in an Academy shaped by racial inequality. Another Air Force Academy ad, published in 1974 in *Ebony*, similarly defended against perceptions of racial inequality.

The heading of the ad states, "You and the Air Force Academy", "Street talk vs. straight talk". A photo of three young Black men is centered between columns of text which say, "A lot of young men are getting the inside scoop about the Air Force Academy from the outside. But what you hear isn't always what you get." Racial difference is discussed twice:

Like, "There's no way for the so-called minority group to make it in the Air Force Academy." The fact is that this group increases every year, and we're looking for more next year and in the years ahead... And in every discussion about us, social life comes up. "There's nothing for the minorities to do at the Air Force Academy in Colorado." Nothing? Except ski, go to dances, parties, and many other activities.

¹⁸ Lisa Burgess, "Despite Recruitment Efforts, Few Black Pilots Land in Air Force, Navy Cockpits," *Stars and Stripes*, June 22, 2003, <http://www.stripes.com/military-life/despite-recruitment-efforts-few-black-pilots-land-in-air-force-navy-cockpits-1.11138>; Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*.

¹⁹ Judith Stiehm, *Bring Me Men and Women: Mandated Change at the U.S. Air Force Academy* (University of California Press, 1981).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

10 PIECES OF BALONEY COULD BE STANDING BETWEEN YOU AND A \$50,000 SCHOLARSHIP.

- 1.** A Black can't make it at the Air Force Academy. Really? It graduated last year, it will graduate this year, it should graduate next year.
- 2.** You've got to have connections, know a Congressman. No, you don't. Write to your Representative and both your Senators. Tell them about yourself and ask for a recommendation. Members of Congress consider it an honor and a duty to discover promising young men for the Academy.
- 3.** You've got to be top man in your high school class. Smart, yes. But you don't have to be a genius.
- 4.** The Academy takes your individuality away. No, the whole idea here is to strengthen your individuality. Give you complete command of yourself and your talents, so that you can better command others.
- 5.** There's not much social life. Not much except skiing, ice skating, tennis, golf and dances. And there are plenty of parties. No, the Air Force Academy is not the Black party school of the West, but with Colorado Springs and Denver nearby, it's easy to find a party or three one.
- 6.** There's not much money in it. While you're in school you get a monthly allowance, your room, meals, books, and just about everything else. When you graduate you start at as much as \$9,700 a year. Know any other college graduates who are guaranteed that much on their first job?
- 7.** Blacks don't get promoted. Wrong. In this man's Air Force, they promote Blacks the same as anyone else, and you can bet that plenty of Air Force Academy grads will wear eagles and stars. You could be one of them some day.
- 8.** Everything is by the numbers. You must be thinking of some other place. The academic atmosphere is relaxed. You're encouraged to ask questions, think for yourself.
- 9.** There's no sensitivity to Black Culture. No! Who do you think it was that sponsored the first Festival of Black Culture at a service academy?
- 10.** Getting into the Air Force Academy is a long, slow process. Well, there's a grain of truth here, but you could say the same for any other top college. We recommend that you begin your application at least by the junior year of high school. First step: mail in the coupon. The easier the better.

Air Force Academy	10-100
Box 4	
Brookings AFB, Texas 76030	
Name _____	Home Phone _____
Address _____	
City _____	State _____ Zip _____
Sex: <input type="checkbox"/> M, <input type="checkbox"/> F	Age _____

FIND YOURSELF IN THE AIR FORCE ACADEMY.

Figure 15
Source: *Ebony Magazine*, March 1973

The ad discusses racial difference through a reference to “minorities” and the “so-called minority” group while focusing on an increasing presence of, and opportunities for, “minorities”.²¹ However, the list of activities for “minorities to do” reveals an environment of racial inequality upon which social life at the Academy was built. Skiing is one of the most racially exclusive leisure activities in America.²² In the 1970s, when the ad was published, the population of Colorado Springs, where the Air Force Academy is located and where Black cadets were told they could go to dances and parties, was 93%

²¹ Though the ad doesn't use the word Black, the photo of young Black men links the term “minority-group” to Black recruits.
²² Anthony Kwame Harrison, “Black Skiing, Everyday Racism, and the Racial Spatiality of Whiteness,” *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 37, no. 4 (November 1, 2013): 315–39, doi:10.1177/0193723513498607.

white.²³ To counter the idea that Black cadets—at an institution where they make up less than 2% of all cadets—have nothing to do the ads suggests skiing, a sport where keeping skiing white is seen to be good for business, or going to dances and parties in an overwhelmingly white, conservative community with a history of racism.²⁴ By focusing on the current presence of a small number of Black cadets, the ad doesn't account for an environment and history of racial inequality in the Academy and the surrounding community. The ad avoids discussion of racial inequality and distorts the factors influencing the ability of the “so-called minority group to make it in the Air Force”. Any failure of Black or other minority cadets to succeed at the Academy is attributed to their individual shortcomings rather than the influence of an institutional culture and environment founded on racial inequality. At the same time the Air Force was making appeals to recruits focused on the presence of a few Black individuals as a defense against perceptions of racial inequality, a series of ads for the Navy focused on two specific individuals to do the same.

The two recruiting ads for the Navy, both featured in *Ebony* in 1973, focused on the experiences of Dr. Walter McCallum and Evangeline Bailey. Dr. McCallum's experiences in the Navy ROTC are used to emphasize the educational and vocational opportunities available for service members in the Navy while Evangeline Bailey's experience as a member of the U.S Navy Band is used to show recruits that “there's real opportunity in the Navy.” The stories of Dr. McCallum and Miss Bailey, including experience leading to a private dental practice and a successful audition for the Show

²³ Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, “Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places in the United States,” Population Division (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, February 2005), <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.pdf>.

²⁴ Harrison, “Black Skiing, Everyday Racism, and the Racial Spatiality of Whiteness.”

Unit of the Navy Band, show that Black service members can and do succeed in the Navy.²⁵ Slogans at the bottom of each ad state:

“There’s opportunity—real opportunity in many areas—for you in the New Navy, because you *can* be Black *and* Navy too” (emphasis original)

...

“P.S. FOR PARENTS: Your son or daughter *can* be Black *and* Navy too”. (emphasis original)

The success stories of Dr. McCallum and Miss Bailey are held as evidence in defending against the perception that being Black and being Navy are incompatible. The successes of two Black service members show that there is a possibility of being both things—Black and Navy—at the same time. The successes of Dr. McCallum and Miss Bailey are qualified with a recognition of their Blackness, wherein their success results from their ability to integrate into the Navy. The ad acknowledges that there is something particular about being Black in the Navy—as opposed to an unspoken norm of whiteness—while contending that being Black in no way impedes success in the Navy. Race figures as a symbolic marker of identity, not as a form of structural inequality. The ads portray a vision of military service where Black service members can don Navy uniforms and succeed despite the institution’s entrenched history of racial inequality. While these ads combat perceptions that you *can’t* be Black and Navy too by focusing on the current presence of two exemplary Black service members, other Navy ads turned to the past and adopted a progressive strategy to frame a new Navy committed to racial inclusion and equality.

²⁵ The titles of “Dr.” and “Miss” are used in the text of the ads and reveal how recruiting messages including Black individuals in portrayals of military service also reflect ideas about the role of gender in the military, as will be discussed in depth in Chapter VI.

The New Navy: Racial Progress in the Military Institution

A series of three Navy ads, all published in *Ebony* from 1976 to 1977, conveyed a similar message by focusing on a history of racial inequality: in contrast to an “old” Navy rife with racism and segregation, the “new” Navy holds equal opportunities for Black men. Each of the ads focuses on a past of racial inequality and by firmly rooting racial inequality in the past, frame the “new” Navy as progressive, as being a newly leveled playing field for Black men. The first ad, published in October 1976, features the heading, “Twenty years ago, few black men would have advised their sons to join the Navy” (Figure 16). The accompanying text begins with a discussion of the history of Blacks in the Navy: “Twenty years ago, Blacks made up less than five percent of the Navy. Almost all were in the lower ranks—black chiefs were rarities, black officers virtually nonexistent.” The “old” Navy is represented as a space of exclusion both in terms of numbers of Black sailors as well as in terms of their ability to occupy positions of authority. The second ad, appearing in November 1976, answers the heading “Does a black man have a chance in the Navy?”: “Not in the old days he didn’t. Most black men who joined the Navy to serve their country wound up serving coffee and donuts to officers. Very few had the opportunity to get into other jobs.” Both of the ads acknowledge the history of the Naval institution founded on racial exclusion, discrimination, and segregation. By pointing out the small percentage of Black service members in the Navy, their concentration in lower ranks, and limited opportunities, the ads include Blackness in visions of military service while acknowledging racial inequality. However, racial inequality in the Navy is framed as a historical inequality, relegated to the past, something from the old days, from the Navy of twenty years ago.

Practices of exclusion, segregation, and racism enabled and encouraged for much of the Navy's history are used to set up a progressive narrative.

**Twenty years ago,
few black men
would have advised
their sons to join
the Navy.**



Twenty years ago, Blacks made up less than five percent of the Navy. Almost all were in the lower ranks—black chiefs were rarities, black officers virtually nonexistent.

Things have changed a lot since that generation. Today there are black petty officers in every specialty from advanced electronics to nuclear propulsion, black captains commanding ships and shore installations, black admirals making policy decisions at high executive levels. It's a different Navy, and a better one.

If your son is through high school—or will be soon—ask him to check with us. If he qualifies, we can train him in one of over 60 career fields. He'll have travel, free medical and dental care, thirty days of vacation with pay. And, with the Navy Campus For Achievement, a chance to work for college or vocational credits—right in the Navy.

Your Navy recruiter has all the details. Call toll free, 800-841-8000. (In Georgia, 800-342-9825.) The world has changed a lot in a generation. So has the Navy.

NAVY

Figure 16
Source: *Ebony* Magazine, October 1976

The ad published in October 1976 contends that, “Things have changed a lot since that generation...It’s a different Navy, and a better one”. Next to text relegating racism in the Navy to the past, a photograph shows two Black men standing side-by-side, smiling, their arms around one another. They are represented as father and son; a Black father who is clearly proud that his son joined the new Navy. The photo bolsters evidence of a different and better Navy where a father and son can be happy about conditions of service for Black men in the Navy. The ad published in November 1976 states, “The Navy’s come a long way since then.” Each ad focuses on a narrative of things being better now than in the past, relegating racial inequality to the past. The third ad, published three

times in *Ebony* from 1976 to 1977, features the heading, “What every black parent should know about the Navy”. It similarly focuses on a narrative of progress and change: “Every black parent should know one thing about the Navy. It’s a lot different from when you were your son’s age.” The ad goes on to detail what exactly is different about the new Navy:

Today there are black lieutenants flying jets, black captains commanding ships, black admirals holding down key positions. In the enlisted ranks, a growing corps of senior black petty officers has changed the whole atmosphere for a young man coming up—made promotion fairer, and hard work more certain to be rewarded.

The ad details the presence of Black service members in key positions of authority. The representation of Black men flying jets and commanding ships acts as evidence that the Navy is now a level-playing field where hard work pays off. The transformation to a new level-playing field is echoed in the first ad:

Today there are black petty officers in every specialty from advanced electronics to nuclear propulsion, black captains commanding ships and shore installations, black admirals making policy decisions at high executive levels.

The presence of Black service members indicates that race is no longer an obstacle to commanding ships and making policy decisions. By first acknowledging racial inequality and then relegating it to the past, the ads frame the Navy as a newly leveled playing field where the presence of Black sailors in positions of authority demonstrates a commitment to racial equality. Images of smiling Black fathers and their sailor sons show a vision of a happy institution where the only reason race matters is to provide evidence that it doesn’t matter anymore.

While the ads adopt a progressive narrative to contend that race doesn’t matter in the Navy anymore, experiences of service members in the mid-1970s reveal an institution struggling to put their recruiting messages of racial equality into practice. In the mid

1970s, the Navy had the lowest percentage of Black service members among all branches of the military and Black service members continued to face persistent racism.²⁶ It is not as though the Navy of twenty years ago, founded on a history of racial exclusion and segregation, was suddenly able to transform its institutional structure and culture. The ability of Black sailors to advance to positions of authority, to be promoted to higher-ranking positions is represented in the ads as taking place in a race-neutral context. The series of Navy ads uses the presence of Black service members in a variety of positions—as pilots, as officers—in the whitest branch of the military to advertise the excellence of the Naval institution as racially equitable although such a vision of the Naval institution is in contrast to historical and demographic realities. Black sailors’ presence as pilots, captains, and admirals is advertised as evidence of an institutional transformation in which racism, segregation, and discrimination are posited as things of the past. Discussions of a racially inequitable past were essential to progressive strategies in Navy ads during the mid 1970s. Recruiting ads for all four major branches of the military—the Air Force, Army, Navy, and Marine Corps—focused on past histories as part of revisionary strategies including Black service members in the military institution.

Revising the Spirit of ‘75

In 1975, an ad published in *Ebony* focused on the 200th anniversary of the Navy. Under the heading, “The Spirit of ’75 Is For Real” there are two photographs: one black-and-white photo of a group of seven Black sailors and one color photo of two sailors, one Black and one white, seated at a bank of electrical equipment (see Figure 17). Text below the photos elaborates on “The Spirit of ‘75”: “The Spirit of ’75...salutes the spirit that helped make the Navy what it is today. A spirit made up of pride and professionalism.”

²⁶ “Population Representations in the Military Services”; Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*.

The photographs show Black men as present throughout the history of the Navy, while the accompanying text frames the Navy's history as racially inclusive:

Black seamen were a part of that proud Navy spirit. In the Civil War, Black seamen fought alongside Admiral David Farragut in the Battle of Mobile Bay. And at Pearl Harbor, a Black seaman named Dorie Miller, for his courage and quick thinking, was awarded the Navy's highest medal—the Navy Cross. Subsequently, Seaman Miller became one of the few Black Americans to have a ship named in his honor—the U.S.S. Miller. Whenever there was a need, courageous Black seamen have answered the call. The need was real then...and it's real now!

In contrast to Navy ads from the same time period that explicitly discussed a history of racism and discrimination, this ad frames historical experiences of Black service members not as a struggle but through an emphasis on courage, pride, service, and honor. An emphasis on a racially inclusive vision of courageous service functions in two ways; it obscures an institutional history of racism and includes Black individuals in a national lineage of patriotic Naval service.

The ad reframes the parameters of Naval service for Black seaman in the Civil War to coincide with a “proud Navy spirit” and represents the Navy's history as racially inclusive. However, Black enlistees were recruited under the expectation that they would serve as laborers and servants.²⁷ The participation of Black seamen in the Civil War was not part of a push towards racial equality in the Navy but rather was tolerated due to the difficulty of recruiting white Americans and the geographical convenience of recruiting in ports that happened to have large Black populations.²⁸

²⁷ Joseph P. Reidy, “Black Men in Navy Blue During the Civil War, Part 2,” *Prologue* 33, no. 3 (Fall 2001), <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/fall/black-sailors-2.html>.

²⁸ Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*.

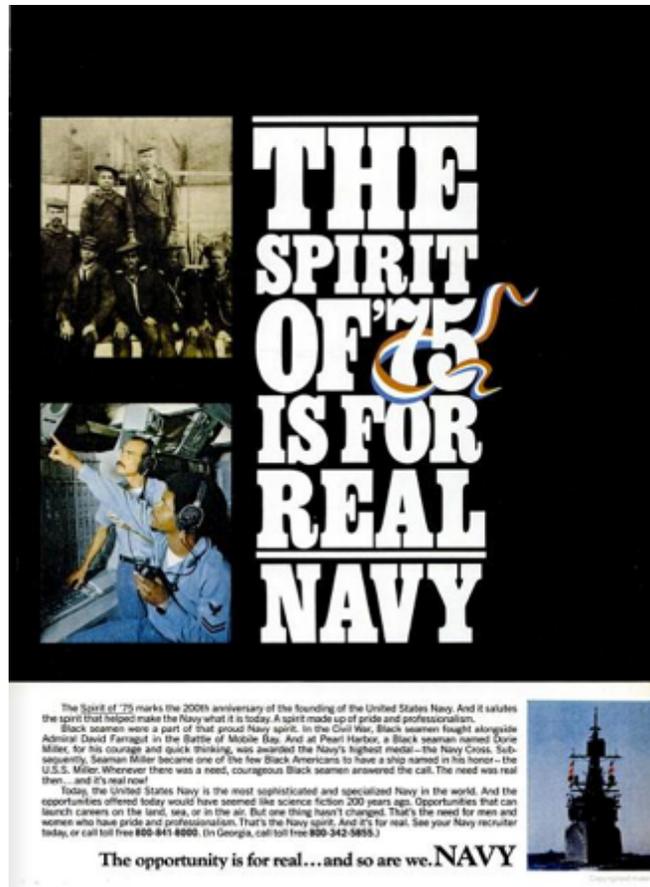


Figure 17
Source: *Ebony* Magazine, April 1975

The participation of Black seaman in the Civil War is consistent with histories of sailing in which captains, naval officers, and ship owners recruited sailors from poor and often ethnically diverse populations and ships were crewed by diverse crews who worked together under harsh conditions.²⁹ By erasing how racial inequality was central to the very possibility of Naval service for Black men during the Civil War, the ad portrays the Navy as a historically equitable institution. Extending a historical vision of an equitable and inclusive Navy, the example of Dorie Miller is espoused as evidence of the exemplary service of Black seamen. Dorie Miller's courage at Pearl Harbor, where he

²⁹ Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, US: Beacon Press, 2000), <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10014732>.

manned a machine gun and shot down a number of Japanese planes after carrying his wounded captain to safety, is heralded as an individual act removed from a context of racial inequality. Miller was assigned and trained as a messman—serving in the kitchen—and did not receive the Navy Cross until after protest by the Black press.³⁰ Miller’s position as a messman reflects the Navy’s history of racial discrimination and occupational segregation that continued through WWII.³¹

Drawing on histories of exemplary Black service members while omitting how their contributions occurred in spite of institutionalized practices of racial inequality situates current and potential Black service members within a revisionist and inclusive history of Naval service. The Navy is represented as a site where Black success has not only been possible, but as an institution historically enabling Black success corresponding with a legacy of courageous Naval service. The ad relies on stories of Black seamen who served under conditions of segregation and racism to represent the history of the Navy as racially equitable. The relationship between Black Americans and the Navy is framed through a narrative of need—“the need was real then...and it’s real now!” The implementation of the AVF created a new need; an unprecedented need for a military composed entirely of voluntary recruits. Black service members from the past, many of whom died in military service while serving under conditions of racial inequality, are used as a resource to represent Black individuals as being able to fill that need.³² While Blackness is used to make a direct appeal to Black recruits to participate in a history of courageous service by answering the call of the Navy, the ways racial

³⁰ Neil A. Wynn, *The African American Experience during World War II* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010).

³¹ Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*.

³² Dorie Miller died in November 1943, less than two years after Pearl Harbor when the ship he was serving on was sunk in the Pacific (Wynn, 2010).

inequality shaped experiences of military service for Black men are erased. The “Spirit of ‘75” is the first ad during the era of the AVF to adopt a revisionary strategy to represent the military as an inclusive institution. In order to fully understand the process of revision undertaken in the ad, narratives of Black success must be re-contextualized within a broader history of racial power dynamics. Revisionary strategies were the most popular strategy for including Black individuals in military recruiting materials and were also deployed in series of ads for the Air Force and Marine Corps.³³

The Tuskegee Airmen and Black Success in the Air Force

Twenty-seven years after “The Spirit of ’75” Navy ads celebrated the service of Dorie Miller and other Black sailors as part of appeals to potential Black recruits, the Air Force featured a series of ads focused on the Tuskegee Airmen. The three ads, appearing in *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* in the early 2000s, all follow a similar layout: sepia-toned photographs from the 1940s of various Tuskegee Airmen and their planes are positioned alongside text and the Air Force logo (see Figure 18). During WWII, political struggles over whether or not to give Black service members the opportunity to fly resulted in the formation of the now celebrated Black aviation program at Tuskegee Air Base, Alabama.³⁴ Though the formation of an all-Black unit of combat pilots, known as the Tuskegee Airmen, was criticized by the NAACP and the *Chicago Defender* for the highly segregated training conditions and choice of Alabama as a training site, their success was seen as a key part of a broader civil rights struggle surrounding military service as an

³³ Recruiting ads for the Army also utilized revisionary strategies in making appeals to potential recruits. A series of Army National Guard ads celebrated the service of Sergeant William H. Carney, who served in the 54th Massachusetts Colored Infantry Regiment during the Civil War, to frame appeals to recruits in the mid-1970s. Other Army ads from the 2000s drew on the experiences of the Black men who served in the Korean War and during the late 19th century as part of revisionary appeals to recruits.

³⁴ Wynn, *The African American Experience during World War II*.

indication of full citizenship for African Americans.³⁵ The plane is absolutely central to Air Force culture and was an important site of debates and struggles over racial inclusion. The ability to be a pilot was linked to racialized narratives of technological competency. Debates over the abilities of African Americans to serve as military pilots often focused on questions of education, skill, and training.³⁶ As Black service members were excluded from positions as pilots, particularly combat pilots; they were also excluded from being officers. Most pilots in the Armed Forces are officers and the officer corps of the Air Force remains overwhelmingly white.³⁷ While the first of the three ads alludes to the Tuskegee Airmen breaking the “race barrier”, as a whole the ads revise the history of the Tuskegee Airmen to frame the Air Force as a racially inclusive institution.



Figure 18
 Source: *Ebony* Magazine, May 2002, May 2003, September 2002

The first of the three ads featured the heading, “Before The Air Force Shattered The Sound Barrier, These Airmen Shattered The Race Barrier.” Two photographs in the

³⁵ Scott and Womack, *Double V*.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Burgess, “Despite Recruitment Efforts, Few Black Pilots Land in Air Force, Navy Cockpits.”

ad show five members of the Tuskegee Airmen and Lieutenant Charles B. Hall. Text from the ad details Hall's position with the 99th Fighter Squadron:

In 1943, while flying over the coast of Sicily in his P-40 Warhawk, he downed a German Focke-Wulf 190 fighter and, with it, all the misconceptions of what a black pilot was capable of. Charles Hall was part of a group of pilots known as the Tuskegee Airmen, black combat pilots who didn't settle for being as good as other pilots, they were determined to be even better.

The ad interweaves two appeals—one based on technology and the plane, the other based on Hall and the Tuskegee Airmen as evidence of Black exceptionalism—to include Black service members in the Air Force. Through references to the sound barrier and specifics of Hall's aircraft, the ad reinforces an emphasis on technologies and machines consistent with other Air Force recruiting ads during the AVF.³⁸ Charles Hall and the other Tuskegee Airmen are included in this appeal, represented as participating in a legacy of piloting in the Air Force. The ability of the Tuskegee Airmen to participate as combat pilots is attributed to their determination. The determination of the Tuskegee Airmen to succeed as combat pilots was shaped by an Air Force culture of racial exclusion. In the face of segregated training conditions, constant criticism, and commanding officers' attempts to discredit them, the Tuskegee Airmen's determination to be better than other pilots was a response to institutional practices of discrimination and racism. As Black men are included in a legacy of Air Force service based on planes and technology that led to the breaking of the sound barrier, the Air Force is credited as a site of opportunity that led to the breaking of the race barrier. In combining these appeals, the ad obscures the active steps the military took to maintain the race barrier. The Air Force is framed as a racially inclusive institution that gave Black men the opportunity to challenge racial barriers rather than as an institution that actively discriminated against them.

³⁸ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

The second ad directly addresses conditions of racism and segregation faced by the Tuskegee Airmen. Above the heading, “They Escorted Bombers Into Europe and Equality Into America” there are three photographs of Black men in flight gear, standing next to planes, and seated in a cockpit. Text in the ad begins by stating,

Racism, segregation, ignorance—the flying conditions for the Tuskegee Airmen were less than perfect. There was a belief that black men lacked the intelligence, skill and courage necessary to become combat pilots. These men had to fight two wars: one against prejudice and the other against Nazism. They won both.

The ad acknowledges the role of race in debates about technological competency and qualifications for combat pilots. The ad also represents piloting as an important aspect of struggles for civil rights. However, in doing so the ad obscures the military’s active role in perpetuating prejudice, racism and segregation. The belief that Black men were incapable of becoming combat pilots was perpetuated by the military. Statements were made by commanding officers portraying the 99th Fighter Squadron as lazy, cowardly, and undisciplined in attempts to discredit their abilities and service.³⁹

The Tuskegee Airmen, whose opportunity to succeed in the face of racism was only granted on the condition of segregation, are represented as contributing to an idea of the military as a hallmark of racial equality. Text in the ad goes on to state, “The many achievements of the Tuskegee Airmen spoke volumes, and President Harry Truman listened. In 1948, he desegregated the armed forces. It was the first step toward true equality in America.” While Truman’s Executive Order 9981 in 1948 was influential in promoting racial equality, it was a step resisted by the military. Racial attitudes in the military based on presumptions of a natural racial inferiority of Black people and social benefits of segregation remained unchanged and the status of Black service members

³⁹ Scott and Womack, *Double V*.

grew worse after EO 9981.⁴⁰ Piloting in the Air Force remains an occupation dominated by whiteness in which Black service members are highly underrepresented.⁴¹ The successes of the Tuskegee Airmen, while profoundly shaped by racial inequality, are utilized to show that race no longer matters in the Air Force. The military is represented as a site where racial inequality didn't stop the Tuskegee Airmen from succeeding, an example that exemplary individuals can succeed in spite of segregation and racism. The success of the Tuskegee Airmen is represented as leading to EO 9981, a policy at the vanguard of a colorblind approach to race, and a key step leading toward an era of colorblindness.

As the second ad links the Tuskegee Airmen to the first true step towards equality in America, the third ad focuses on connections between the Tuskegee Airmen and the Civil Rights Movement. Under the heading, "Did The Civil Rights Movement Start In The Streets of America Or In The Skies Over Europe?" there is large photo of seven Black men in flight gear. Text in the ad states:

Fifteen years before Rosa Parks refused to yield her seat on a bus, Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin O. Davis refused to yield the skies over Nazi Germany. Colonel Davis was commander of the Tuskegee Airmen, units created to prove the capability of black combat pilots and crews. At a time when black people mostly worked as waiters and shoeshine boys, President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave them a chance to become heroes through the Tuskegee Airmen.

The ad compares Rosa Parks, whose refusal to give up her seat on a Montgomery bus became an important symbol of the Civil Rights Movement, with Colonel Davis and points out that Davis' actions predated Parks'. In doing so, the ad frames the military institution as a unique site where Black people were given the opportunity to push back against racism and segregation well before such actions were possible in civilian society.

⁴⁰ Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*; Mershon and Schlossman, *Foxholes and Color Lines*.

⁴¹ Burgess, "Despite Recruitment Efforts, Few Black Pilots Land in Air Force, Navy Cockpits."

The ad represents the successes of the Tuskegee Airmen as a result of a military seeking to prove that Black pilots and crews could succeed rather than as a unit formed under highly segregated conditions, whose training was postponed as long as possible where the majority of enlistees were assigned to housekeeping, maintenance, and labor chores.⁴²

By obscuring the influence of racism and segregation in shaping the formation of the Tuskegee Airmen, the ad paints a narrow and favorable view of the military institution's role in the Tuskegee Airmen's struggles for equality. The Tuskegee Airmen's "chance to become heroes" was only attainable after an intense training program in a highly segregated community and psychological tests overseen by mostly southern white flight instructors.⁴³ The success of the Tuskegee Airmen in combat was undoubtedly an important step in proving that Black men were capable of serving in the one of the military's most difficult occupations. However, the ad fails to mention that Black service members were not just refusing to yield to Nazi Germany but also were refusing to yield to the institution of which they were a part. In 1945 members of another segregated unit of Black aviators, the 477th Bombardment Group, staged a non-violent protest against the Army Air Force's discriminatory policies.⁴⁴ Sixty officers, some of them combat veterans, were arrested for attempting to enter a segregated officers' club and over 100 officers were arrested for refusing to sign an order maintaining segregated quarters.⁴⁵ Situating representations of the Tuskegee Airmen within a broader context of struggles over racial inclusion illuminates the myriad ways Black service members in the

⁴² Scott and Womack, *Double V*.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

1940s were struggling against, and within, a military institution that actively fought to exclude and discredit them.

As a whole, the series of ads represent the Tuskegee Airmen in a narrow way utilizing individual accomplishments and struggles of Black service members to signal characteristics of the military institution. The military is framed as a site where Black success has long been possible, rather than as a site that actively combatted providing opportunities for Black service members to succeed. All of the ads mention accomplishments of the Tuskegee Airmen—over 15,000 sorties flown, destroying hundreds of German aircraft, never losing an escorted bomber—and then frames them as being an indication of the Air Force’s commitment to racial inclusion. Each of the ads ends by stating: “Thanks in part to the Tuskegee Airmen, when you Cross Into The Blue in the United States Air Force, the world of opportunity and honor is available to everyone. They made the most of their opportunity. What will you do with yours?” Racism and segregation are firmly situated in the past, something overcome by the Tuskegee Airmen through opportunities granted by military service. The Tuskegee Airmen are represented as a group of exemplary individuals who distinguished themselves in combat in the face of racial inequality. The Air Force is framed as the institution that gave the Tuskegee Airmen the opportunity to succeed and dispel perceptions about the capabilities of Black men. In framing the Tuskegee Airmen as exemplary while ignoring the Air Force’s own practices of segregation and racism, the ad uses narratives of Black exceptionalism to convey the exceptional nature of the Air Force. The Air Force is represented as an exemplary institution by framing the

experiences of the Tuskegee Airmen as being enabled by the oasis of opportunity and racial equality offered by the military.

Black Exceptionalism and the Marines of Montford Point

During the era of the AVF, no branch of the Armed Forces relied on revisionary strategies in representing Black service members to the extent of the Marine Corps. As discussed in Chapter IV, Marine Corps culture is rooted in a particular gendered vision of military service based on an aggressive, combat-oriented form of masculinity. After WWII, as other branches attempted to stress broader opportunities for Black service members, the Marine Corps maintained a strong resistance to Black Marines.⁴⁶ As the Marines slowly opened their ranks to Black service members a series of violent incidents revealed predominant attitudes toward racial difference in the Corps. In 1970 over 1000 violent racial incidents in the Marines were recorded.⁴⁷ In response to such incidents, Marines often resorted to an idea that Black recruits were “dark greens” and that there were no white or Black Marines, only green ones.⁴⁸ Retired Marines have indicated that Marine Corps culture, which is seen as central to the Corps’ distinct identity in the Armed Forces, has a problem with racist attitudes and is particularly difficult to navigate for Black Marines.⁴⁹ While Marine Corps ads included images of Black Marines in recruiting ads during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s consistent with visual representations of inclusion, language of inclusion was absent from Marine Corps ads until ads published in the 2000s and 2010s.

⁴⁶ Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*.

⁴⁷ Ricks, *Making the Corps*.

⁴⁸ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*; Ricks, *Making the Corps*.

⁴⁹ Ricks, *Making the Corps*.

After the 2000s, a number of Marine Corps ads highlighted the historical contributions of Black Marines, including references to particular individual Marines and a group of the first Black Marines, known as the Montford Point Marines. Ads appearing in *Ebony* from 2009 to 2011 focused on Lieutenant General Frank Petersen, the first Black pilot in Marine Corps history, and Major General Charles Bolden Jr., the first Black Marine to become an astronaut, to include Black recruits in historical narratives of military service. Ads from 2007 to 2013 focused on a celebration of the Montford Point Marines (see Figure 19). All the ads gloss over a history of institutional racism and frame the Marine Corps as a site where Blackness is celebrated as an indication of equal opportunities available for Black recruits. While Air Force ads from the early 2000s explicitly discussed conditions of racism and segregation, the Marine Corps ads featuring the Montford Point Marines focus on language of bravery, honor, and commitment to portray exemplary Black Marines as included within an existing framework of Marine Corps values. The ads maintain an exclusive vision of the Marine Corps as an elite institution but extend it to include Black men within existing Corps values of bravery, honor, and commitment.

The first of the Montford Point Marines reported for duty in August 1942 at Camp Montford Point, a segregated training facility deep in the South.⁵⁰ An ad featured in *Ebony* in 2006 features a black-and-white photograph of four Black Marines saluting under the heading, “Few In History STAND TALLER”. Imposed alongside the photo, there is a color photo of a Black Marine standing at attention. Text in the ad states:

⁵⁰ Melton A. McLaurin, *Marines of Montford Point: America's First Black Marines* (Chapel Hill, NC, USA: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10351508>.



Figure 19

Source: *Ebony* Magazine, February 2007, May 2012, February 2013

The first African Americans to earn the title United States Marine trained at Montford Point Camp in New River, North Carolina. Between 1942 and 1949, the men who passed through these gates took their place among the world's mightiest force. They went on to play critical roles during some of history's fiercest battles – including the legendary Battle of Iwo Jima. Today, African Americans throughout the Corps proudly continue the legacy of the Montford Point Marines.

In detailing the contributions of the Montford Point Marines, the ad includes Black Marines within a legacy of heroic service in combat. This legacy of service coincides with other Marine Corps ads focusing on the Corps as an elite force characterized by their position as warriors.⁵¹ While the ad situates the Marines of Montford Point taking their place within the world's mightiest force, it obscures the struggles faced by the Montford Point Marines to become Marines in the first place. Upon arrival to Montford Point, an all-white training staff, some of who were openly racist and hostile, greeted the first Black Marines.⁵² Though Black Marines replaced the white drill instructors before the end of 1942, many Montford Point Marines recall instances of racism and discrimination. While included in the Corps the Marines of Montford Point encountered an institution

⁵¹ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

⁵² McLaurin, *Marines of Montford Point*.

undertaking steps to actively maintain white dominance. The officer corps was strictly composed of white Marines ensuring that at no point would a Black Marine be in position to give orders to white Marines.⁵³ The conditions under which the Montford Point Marines earned the title of Marine points to legacy of Black Marines serving in an institution openly opposed to racial equality.

The ad focuses on the role the Marines of Montford Point played at the Battle of Iwo Jima, yet offers an incomplete account of the conditions of their participation. Descriptions of the treatment of Montford Point Marines who engaged in combat at Iwo Jima paint a picture of Black Marines distinguishing themselves in spite of an institution struggling to maintain an image and culture based on white supremacy. The majority of Marines trained at Montford Point did not serve in combat and those who did at Iwo Jima had the least combat training and engaged in combat while trying to fulfill their duties of moving supplies and munitions to the front lines.⁵⁴ After the Battle of Iwo Jima, a Black Marine recalled military film crews turning their cameras away as Black Marines walked into the camera's view.⁵⁵ These incidents point to an institution trying to maintain a racially exclusive vision of the Marine Corps as an elite fighting force. The legacy of the "world's mightiest force" which Black service members currently in the Marines are said to be continuing is founded on practices of exclusion and discrimination. By utilizing the accomplishments of the Montford Point Marines while obscuring the struggles they faced in the Corps, the ad acknowledges race only in so much as it allows for a portrayal of the military institution where Blackness has always been included in legacies of valorous service. The accomplishments of the Montford Point Marines are represented as being

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

enabled by the traditions of the Marine Corps, rather than being achieved in spite of them.

The Montford Point Marines were also central to a series of two ads appearing in *Ebony* in 2012 and 2013 with the headline, “They Set Out To Make A Difference And Ended Up Making History”. Each ad follows the same layout; a full-page sepia toned photograph of the Montford Point Marines, the slogan, “Marines. The Few. The Proud.” and text stating, “Montford Point Marines. See how these brave men earned the nation’s highest civilian award, the Congressional Gold Medal”. One ad shows a photograph of a Black Marine in drill instructor uniform standing in front of two rows of Black Marines. The other ad shows a photograph of four rows of Black Marines in combat gear, all standing at attention. The ads provide few details regarding the conditions or context under which the Marines of Montford Point served. The reference to the Congressional Gold Medal lauds the Montford Point Marines for their service including them within a vision of the Corps characterized by distinction as exemplary service members among the Armed Forces. However, the Congressional Gold Medal is not a military award and was awarded by President Obama in 2011, nearly 70 years after the first Black Marines reported to Montford Point. At the time of their service, the very thought of a Black Marine was so improbable that one of the Montford Point Marines recalled being arrested for impersonating a Marine during a visit home.⁵⁶ Through an omission of conditions of segregation, racism, and discrimination faced by the Marines of Montford Point, the ads promote a revised history of racial inclusion in the Corps in contrast with a reality of racial exclusion.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

By celebrating past contributions of Black service members, recruiting ads present revisionary histories of race and military service utilized to make appeals to potential recruits while celebrating the military institution as a unique site of Black success. This is not to discredit the contributions of the Tuskegee Airmen, the Montford Point Marines, or the myriad other Black service members throughout American history, but rather to point to the way that narratives of Black exceptionalism contribute to a way of thinking about race that erases histories and dynamics of racial power. As Michelle Alexander argues, Black exceptionalism is critical for the maintenance of racial inequality in an era of colorblindness.⁵⁷ Highly visible stories of Black success function to show that racial inequality is irrelevant and that anyone can make it if they try hard enough.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Mukherjee contends that myths of meritocracy and figures of striving individuals are absolutely essential to a racial order of colorblindness.⁵⁹ The use of particular bodies—such as Dorie Miller—or groups of bodies—such as the Tuskegee Airmen and the Montford Point Marines—operate to show how Black service members have been and are able to succeed on the basis of merit in the military. The military institution is founded on a culture of being the ultimate merit based organization, where being colorblind is a point of pride. The Marines don't have black or white Marines, only green ones.⁶⁰ In the military, you become a soldier, airmen, sailor, or Marine; a marker of identity that once achieved surpasses and encompasses all others. While policies and

⁵⁷ Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Roopali Mukherjee, *The Racial Order Of Things: Cultural Imaginaries Of The Post-Soul Era*, (Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2006).

⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that a similar rhetoric is deployed in brochures published in 2015 geared towards women recruits, with slogans like, “There are no female Marines. Only Marines” and “We are not female Marines... We are Marines”. The representation of the military as a “gender-blind” institution and how it relates to gendered dynamics of power will be further discussed in Chapter VI.

regulations have historically limited who has been able to participate in the transformative process of becoming a member of the military, the military has a distinct ability to implement policies of inclusion and equality with faster efficiency and quicker results than in civilian society. A culture predicated on ideas of individual merit and institutional colorblindness can enable faster processes of inclusion and integration, but also completely erases racial power. By drawing on narratives of exemplary Black individuals, recruiting ads use revisionary strategies to frame the military as a site where dynamics of racial inequality are nullified promoting a vision of colorblindness as a model for thinking about race in America.

Race, Recruiting, Colorblindness, and Military Service

Throughout the era of the AVF, the military advertising industry has represented Blackness as part of efforts to include Black service members in the military institution. Recruiting ads utilized three strategies to advertise the military as a site of racial equality and equal opportunity for Black recruits. The timing of the three strategies indicates how recruiting appeals are situated in broader contexts. Ads featuring defensive and progressive strategies were published in the 1970s, in the initial years of the AVF. Published in the wake of Vietnam, during which there were perceptions of the military as disproportionately exposing Black soldiers to risks in combat, and following Civil Rights struggles which viewed American involvement in Vietnam as perpetuating white colonialism and contributing to the oppression of people of color, defensive and progressive strategies sought to situate the military as an institution challenging broader narratives of racial inequality. These two strategies were abandoned in recruiting appeals published after the mid-1970s, indicating a military advertising industry no longer

concerned with combatting perceptions of racial inequality in the military, with discussing histories of racial inequality in the military, and with challenging broader narratives of racial inequality. In contrast to defensive and progressive strategies, ads featuring revisionary strategies were consistently published at varying points throughout the more than forty years of the AVF. Revisionary ads frame the military as a unique and ahistorical site of racial equality. The past, when reframed and revised, acts a resource for recruiting and for representing the military as inclusive in ahistorical ways as well. Revisionary strategies only reference historical context as evidence of the military as a site of racial inclusion and are used as a resource for recruiting regardless of the broader context. These primary strategies—defensive, progressive, and revisionary—articulate a vision of a colorblind institution, in which race is acknowledged but dismissed as a factor in perpetuating inequality. Defensive strategies acknowledge race to combat perceptions of racial inequality. In doing so, the current presence of a few Black individuals is utilized as evidence of an institutional commitment to racial inclusion and equality. Progressive strategies discuss histories of racial inequality and acknowledge the significance of race as a factor in experiences of military service only to frame the current moment as one in which race doesn't matter anymore. Both defensive and progressive strategies show how Black service members are able to be included and be successful in the military. The third strategy, a revisionary strategy, shows that Black service members have been, and can be, included in ideals of military service. Stories of Dorie Miller, the Tuskegee Airmen, and the Marines of Montford Point are used to show that Black service members can embody values of military service, such as honor, bravery, courage, and commitment. In this way, revisionary ads fully include Black service members in both

physical and ideological spaces of the military institution. Through narratives of Black exceptionalism, revisionary ads recast histories of military service as wholly inclusive, framing the military as a unique site of racial equality where Black service members, past and present, can excel and become extraordinary. In portraying past, present, and future Black service members as included in the military institutions, strategies in recruiting ads laid the foundation for portrayals of a military invested in diversity.

Each of the three strategies deployed in military recruiting ads to include Blackness coincides with ideas about difference consistent with contemporary discourses of diversity. Focusing on the current presence of limited numbers of Black service members, defensive and progressive strategies contend that the presence of Black airmen and sailors indicates an institutional commitment to racial equality. In doing so, the ads frame the presence of service members who do not embody the ideal of the white male soldier as embodiments of racial equality, as embodiments of diversity. Ahmed contends that framing individuals marked as different as embodiments of diversity is one of the primary ways of thinking about diversity in institutional life.⁶¹ Such thinking allows for the presence of a few individuals to stand in for taking seriously structural processes of exclusion and inclusion. Ahmed further argues that contemporary frameworks for thinking about diversity herald the arrival of those marked as different as evidence of good practice.⁶² Both Air Force and Navy ads used the arrival of small numbers of Black service members—the seventeen cadets in the Air Force Academy and Dr. McCallum and Miss Bailey in the Navy—as symbols of racial equality. Progressive ads draw on images of smiling Black fathers and son to show the Navy as an institution where race

⁶¹ Ahmed, *On Being Included*.

⁶² Ibid.

doesn't matter anymore and everyone happily gets along, another key aspect of inclusion in an era of diversity.⁶³ Revisionary strategies in recruiting ads further contribute to portrayals of small numbers of Black service members as indicators of a racially equitable military but do so in ways that speak to the military's contemporary institutional legitimacy. In a discussion of affirmative action in the military, Bryan Leach contends that highly visible examples of minority officers function to further visions of diversity as a form of institutional legitimacy.⁶⁴ In recruiting ads, highly visible examples of Black service members fully participating in valorous narratives of military service frame the military as having been, and continuing to be, invested in inclusion. Taken together, the three primary strategies of including Blackness in recruiting ads reveal a particular approach to thinking about difference that coincides with contemporary ways of thinking about diversity and an ideology of colorblindness.

As recruiting ads represent and use Blackness in portraying a colorblind vision of the military institution they simultaneously articulate gendered understandings. As discussed, a Navy ad from 1973 focused on Evangeline Bailey, a Black woman in the Navy, and was the only ad to discuss racial inclusion through an exclusive focus on a woman. Since the implementation of the AVF, Black women have been highly overrepresented in the military yet are conspicuously absent from recruiting ads discussing Blackness. Visions of the military as racially inclusive take shape through images of an exclusively male institution. Recruiting ads representing Blackness present what Crenshaw calls a flattened plane, in which intersections of gender, race, and class are reduced and the achievement of equality is attributed to the simple removal of explicit

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Leach, "Race as Mission Critical."

racial barriers.⁶⁵ In doing so, recruiting ads rely on a gendered vision of racial difference, limited almost exclusively to representations of Black men aligning with gendered ideals of military service. As the military advertising industry expanded representations of racial difference to include Black men, gender difference was regulated. The overwhelmingly male vision of military service in ads utilizing Blackness indicates a relationship between race and gender as forms of difference in the military institution. Blackness is emphasized as a symbol of the military's commitment to racial inclusion and colorblindness provided it does little to upset the gendered balance of the military institution as a space dominated by men and maleness. The maintenance of masculinity as a foundational characteristic of a military institution making appeals to Black recruits points to an institution unable to think intersectionally; unable to think more than one degree removed from the figure of the white male as the ideal soldier. Turning now to representations of sexuality and gender, Chapter VI discusses how the military advertising industry crafted appeals foregrounding the inclusion of women in recruiting ads while maintaining the military as a space characterized by straightness.

⁶⁵ Morrison and Lacour, *Birth of a Nation'hood*.

CHAPTER VI

THE BEST MAN DOESN'T ALWAYS GET THE JOB: SEXUALITY, GENDER, AND CONSTRUCTING MILITARY FEMININITY

Women represent greater than half our population and the Army intends to take full advantage of this talent pool.

*Senate Committee on Armed Services Hearing, February 2, 2016*¹

Forty-three years after the implementation of the AVF, the U.S. military fully opened all positions in the Armed Forces, including combat positions, to women. Within two months of receiving the order to fully integrate all positions in the military according to gender, recruiting materials were published touting newly opened combat positions for women and high-ranking military officials publicly stated that women should register for Selective Service.² While public calls from military officials for women to register for Selective Service may have been unprecedented, the publication of recruiting materials featuring images of women soldiers and recruiting appeals based on newly opened positions for women mirrored recruiting advertisements published consistently during the era of the AVF. The pervasiveness of recruiting advertisements targeting and representing women during the AVF coincided with a growth in the number of women serving in the military. Since the shift to the AVF in 1973, the percentage of women serving in enlisted ranks of the military has grown from 2% to 14% and recruiting ads have made a number of direct appeals to women as potential recruits and a largely untapped talent pool.³ The growing number of women in the Armed Forces has occurred against a backdrop of changing policies regarding their inclusion. Once included in the

¹ *Implementation of the Decision to Open All Ground Combat Units to Women.*

² Dan Lamothe, "Army and Marine Corps Chiefs: It's Time for Women to Register for the Draft," *The Washington Post*, February 2, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/02/02/army-and-marine-corps-chiefs-its-time-for-women-to-register-for-the-draft/>.

³ Patten, "Women in the U.S. Military."

Armed Forces, women have experienced sexual assault and harassment, been subjected to witch hunts targeting suspected lesbians, and faced a complex negotiation of formal and informal attempts to regulate their gender and sexuality.⁴ Women were simultaneously targeted and valued as potential recruits while being seen as threatening to the culture of the Armed Forces and being formally excluded from full participation in the military. Representations of women in recruiting ads showed potential recruits and the broader public what it meant to be a woman in the military and how to properly be a military woman. As scholars and women in the military have discussed, perceptions and regulations of sexuality are central to the practice of military femininity.⁵ Recognizing the importance of sexuality for thinking about the inclusion of women in the military and in representations of military life in recruiting ads, this chapter focuses on the ways sexuality, gender, and the inclusion of women have been represented in recruiting ads. Similarly to narratives of mobility in recruiting ads, representations of straightness subsume forms of gendered and racial difference in crafting a representation of an inclusive military. While straightness has been represented as a shared characteristic of all recruits regardless of differences in gender and race, representations of straight soldiers have had particular implications in framing the conditions under which women could be included in visions of military service.

Beginning with a discussion of connections between sexuality and gender and how these shape women's experiences of military service, this chapter details the various policies regulating sexuality and gender in the military during the era of the AVF.

⁴ Schmid, "Combating a Different Enemy: Proposals to Change the Culture of Sexual Assault in the Military"; Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*; Herbert, *Camouflage Isn't Only for Combat*.

⁵ Miller, "Glamorous G.I. Girls: Constructing American Servicewomen's Identities During World War II"; Herbert, *Camouflage Isn't Only for Combat*.

Drawing on scholarship from queer theory and gender and militarization, I contend that the inclusion of women in recruiting ads can't be fully understood without accounting for the ways recruiting ads contributed to the construction of the straight soldier. Recruiting ads contain representations integral to the construction of straight military men and straight military women. Military men and military women are represented in different ways foregrounding gender differences between men and women in the military while framing straightness as a shared characteristic of all service members. For military men, straightness is crafted through representations of women as rewards for service, spending off-duty time with women, having families, and dating women. Military women are framed as straight through representations of dating men, being part of families, and marriage. While the figure of the straight soldier is represented in differently gendered ways, as a whole recruiting ads privilege a particular version of domestic, monogamous, and procreative heterosexuality, consistent with heteronormativity.⁶ Building on ads constructing straight soldiers, I turn to ads targeting and featuring women to demonstrate how the military advertising industry made appeals asking women to join an institution dominated by men and maleness through discourses of opportunity and equality. Appeals to women were founded on straightness, which involved asserting that women in the military are women first and soldiers second. While recruiting ads targeting women often frame the military as a site of equality and opportunity, women are only included in recruiting ads under conditions of military femininity, a particular form of femininity that functions to simultaneously include women while regulating their gender and sexuality.

⁶ Gayle Rubin, *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

Regulating Gender and Sexuality in the Military

Prior to the shift to the AVF in 1973, women were allowed to serve in the military only in limited capacities and exclusively in non-combat roles. Since then there has been a tension between policies and regulations seeking to expand opportunities for women in the military and those restricting women's access to particular spaces and occupations in the military, especially when linked to combat. While women have gained access to an increasing array of service opportunities in the military since the implementation of the AVF, increased access has not been a smooth process but rather a highly contested one. In the five years following the implementation of the AVF, women were granted admittance into military academies and gender segregated all-female branches of the military, including the Women's Army Corps (WAC) and Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) were disbanded.⁷ As women gained access to previously closed spaces of military service, a number of policies refined and restricted women's relationship to combat positions in the Armed Forces. In 1988, the Department of Defense adopted the Risk Rule, which functioned as a way to evaluate positions and units from which women could be excluded based on risks of exposure to combat. The Risk Rule "excluded women from noncombat units or missions if the risk of exposure to direct combat, hostile fire, or capture were equal or greater than the risk in the combat units they supported".⁸ In 1992, the National Defense Authorization Act eased restrictions on women in combat allowing women to be assigned to combat aircraft in the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps.⁹ In 1994, a new ground combat rule replaced the

⁷ Soeters and Meulen, *Cultural Diversity in the Armed Forces*; Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*.

⁸ "Gender Issues: Information on DOD's Assignment Policy and Direct Ground Combat Definition."

⁹ Ibid.

Risk Rule. The Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule continued to restrict women from ground combat stating, “[s]ervice members are eligible to be assigned to all positions for which they are qualified, except that women shall be excluded from assignments to units below the brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground”.¹⁰ Rules prohibiting women from assignment to ground combat units remained in effect for almost 20 years, as wars in Afghanistan and Iraq increasingly blurred the lines between positions that could be strictly categorized as combat or non-combat. In 2013, the direct combat ban was eliminated and in 2015 the Secretary of Defense ordered all branches of the Armed Forces to develop plans for fully opening all positions, including ground combat units, to women.¹¹ Policies barring women from participation in combat units functioned to maintain an ideal of soldiering closely linked to men and combat while accommodating a limited presence of women in the military.

For much of the AVF, the military targeted women in recruiting materials recognizing the need to include women in order to meet personnel needs while also maintaining the military as a space numerically and ideologically dominated by men.¹² Policies excluding women from participating in combat can be read as a way for the military to maintain links between combat or “real” service and men. Excluding women from full participation in the military, particularly in combat units, functioned to maintain

¹⁰ “Report to Congress on the Review of Laws, Policies and Regulations Restricting the Service of Female Members in the U.S. Armed Forces.”

¹¹ Ash Carter, “Memorandum For Secretaries of the Military Departments Subject: Implementation Guidelines for the Full Integration of Women in the Armed Forces,” December 3, 2015.

¹² Herbert, *Camouflage Isn’t Only for Combat*.

ideas of combat as an exercise in manliness.¹³ As discussed in Chapter IV, military service, particularly in combat, has served as a resource for defining ideals of manliness in American culture. Prohibiting women from serving in combat makes clear that soldiers are men, the right kind of men, who display no vestiges of femininity in any forms. For the military, the maintenance of such links has not only meant excluding women from combat but also excluding men who failed to live up to ideals of manliness.

In WWI, soldiers who suffered from shell-shock were cast as failures of masculinity, unable to withstand war as the ultimate task of manliness.¹⁴ During the mobilization for WWII, men who displayed feminine bodily characteristics or who were viewed as effeminate were categorized as homosexuals and excluded from military service.¹⁵ Efforts to exclude any traces of femininity from the military led to the development of a large-scale discharge system targeting homosexuals and strict occupational segregation keeping women in support positions and occupations seen as fit for women.¹⁶ As more women volunteered for service in the mid-1940s and the visibility of military women increased, concerns about lesbians resulted in the adoption of uniform antihomosexual policy in 1949, which stated “homosexual personnel, irrespective of sex, should not be permitted to serve in any branch of the Armed Forces in any capacity, and prompt separation of known homosexuals from the Armed Forces is mandatory”.¹⁷ This rigid antihomosexual policy remained in effect through the early 1970s, even when the military dropped questions regarding homosexuality from forms for potential draftees in

¹³ de Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies*.

¹⁴ Mosse, “Shell-Shock as a Social Disease.”

¹⁵ Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 261.

preparation for the shift to the AVF.¹⁸ In 1982, a Department of Defense Directive made clear that the military was not allowing gays and lesbians to serve in any capacity, stating:

The presence in the military environment of persons who engage in homosexual conduct or who, by their statements, demonstrate a propensity to engage in homosexual conduct seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military mission. The presence of such members adversely affects the ability of the Military Services to...recruit and maintain members of the Military Services; to maintain the public acceptability of military service...¹⁹

For the first two decades of the AVF the military strictly excluded homosexuals from serving. These restrictions shaped conditions of service for a number of service members, but had gendered effects.

Witch hunts for suspected gay and lesbian service members were pervasive in the 1980s, but were particularly focused on discharging lesbians as a way to target women serving in occupations seen as too masculine or women who were career officers.²⁰ For military women, presence and success in particular occupations was perceived as being linked to demonstrating a propensity for homosexual conduct and per military regulations was grounds for discharge. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, women were much more likely than men to be discharged as suspected homosexuals.²¹ Antihomosexual policies also had particular effects that could be directed towards women seen as not properly adhering to expectations of femininity and (hetero)sexual availability. A 1992 report prepared by the Army's Inspector General and the Equal Opportunity Office stated that, "[t]he prohibition against homosexuals in the Army results in a subtle 'billy club' for

¹⁸ Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*.

¹⁹ "Department of Defense Directive 1332.14: Enlisted Administrative Separations," January 28, 1982, <http://borngay.procon.org/sourcefiles/DOD-Directive-1332-14.pdf>.

²⁰ Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*; Moore, *To Serve My Country, to Serve My Race*.

²¹ de Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies*.

anyone to use against single women in the Army. When they turn down a ‘date’ with another soldier it is often whispered unjustifiably, that she is a ‘lesbian’.²² Such policies not only regulated expectations of femininity for military women but also contributed to and reinforced a cultural of harassment and retaliation. Strict antihomosexual policies in the military functioned to show recruits and the broader public that heterosexuality was normal for manly military men and that perceptions of homosexuality threatened military women’s femininity, which was already under threat by their very presence in a traditionally male dominated institution.²³

In 1994, President Clinton suspended the directive banning gay and lesbian personnel from military service through the policy known as Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.²⁴ Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell maintained language indicating that homosexuality was not compatible with military service but suspended questioning concerning sexuality as part of processing enlistees. Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell effectively signaled that the visibility of homosexuality, rather than its presence, was the problem for the military and maintained an institutional culture founded on perceptions of heterosexuality.²⁵ Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell, which still permitted the dismissal of service members who disclosed their homosexuality, was in effect until the passage of H.R. 2965 in 2010, which “provides for the repeal of the current Department of Defense (DoD) policy concerning sexuality in the Armed Forces”.²⁶ The history of regulating gender and sexuality in the military, and the connections between regulations of sexuality and ideas about ideal military men and

²² “Uniform Discrimination: The ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ Policy of the U.S. Military” (Human Rights Watch, January 2003).

²³ Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*.

²⁴ Belkin, “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.”

²⁵ Cohn, “Gays in the Military: Texts and Subtexts.”

²⁶ Altmire, “H.R.2965 - 111th Congress (2009-2010).”

women, point to the need to think of sexuality and gender as intimately linked in the Armed Forces. In reading representations of sexuality and gender in recruiting ads, I take seriously connections between gender and sexuality in experiences of military service as well as the central role sexuality plays in preserving cultural ideals of gender.

As CJ Pascoe notes, the maintenance of masculinity as a form of dominance relies on a repudiation of homosexuality.²⁷ Other scholars have complicated links between masculinity and heterosexuality, particularly in regards to the military. Belkin argues that military masculinity, as a set of beliefs and practices, is fundamentally contradictory and is crafted through requirements that soldiers participate in acts of queerness and femininity while reframing the intense disavowal of such acts as indicative of an oversimplified ideal of masculinity.²⁸ Jane Ward draws on Belkin's work to explore how hazing rituals in the U.S. military resignify homosexual contact as hypermasculine.²⁹ Ward's work reveals how the insistence of heterosexuality in military policies and representations revolves around an investment in straightness as an institutional characteristic that may involve homosexual acts. Combining these insights with scholarship demonstrating the influence of advertising, particularly images of couples and families, in crafting gendered ideals, representations of straight soldiers in recruiting ads are read as expressions of a deeply imbricated set of sexualized and gendered power dynamics in the military.³⁰ Although military policies use the terms homosexuality and

²⁷ Pascoe, *Dude, You're a Fag*.

²⁸ Belkin, *Bring Me Men*.

²⁹ Ward, *Not Gay*.

³⁰ Geeta Patel, "Advertisements, Proprietary Heterosexuality, and Hundis: Postcolonial Finance, Nation-State Formations, and the New Idealized Family," *Rethinking Marxism* 24, no. 4 (October 1, 2012): 516–35, doi:10.1080/08935696.2012.711056; Fei Xue and Marilyn Ellzey, "What Do Couples Do? A Content Analysis of Couple Images in Consumer Magazine Advertising,"

heterosexuality, I use the term straightness in analyzing representations of gender and sexuality in recruiting ads. The term straightness speaks to the ways the military advertising industry is concerned with portraying an intelligible performance of gender and sexuality that marks the military, potential recruits, and military service members as properly invested in sexual and gender normalcy, an investment that resonates differently for military men and military women. For military men, straightness has been constructed as a reason for men to join the military, something an overwhelmingly male military won't make you give up, and as something facilitated by military service.

Constructing the Straight Military Man

Recruiting ads have long made appeals to male recruits through representations of women as rewards for military service. As noted by Brown, the Navy made no serious efforts to recruit women during the AVF but used representations of women in making appeals to male recruits.³¹ An ad, published in *Sports Illustrated* in 1973, drew on a history of using women in recruiting appeals as part of their appeal to mostly male recruits. The ad features the heading “People used to join us to get away, to get the girl. Today they also join us to get ahead”. One page of the ad features a copy of a 1917 recruiting ad that displayed a drawing of a white woman in a sailor's uniform with text stating, “I Want You for the Navy”. The image offers up the woman as an enticement for service, an enticement repeated in the heading and text of the ad. Text in the ad states that, “...you can still join the Navy and get the girl (or, if you're a girl, you can join the Navy and get the guy). Girls like the way we've updated our famous bell bottoms with the handsome new uniform”. While the ad includes women in their appeal, it foregrounds

Journal of Magazine and New Media Research 10, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 1–17; Adrienne Rich, “Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence,” *Signs* 5, no. 4 (July 1, 1980): 631–60.

³¹ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

a representation of women as rewards for men who join the Navy. The use of older recruiting materials that portrayed women as enticements for male recruits is echoed in another Navy ad, also published in *Sports Illustrated* in 1973. The ad similarly uses an image of an older recruiting ad that shows a white woman in a sailor's uniform as an enticement for male recruits. Each of the ads tells recruits they can get a "free full-color reproduction" of the original posters by visiting their local recruiter's office. In doing so, the ads continue a tradition of promoting images of women as rewards for enlistment in the Navy. While the Navy re-purposed older ads to portray potential recruits as young men attracted to and by women, other branches of the military drew on more subtle representations of straight military men in making appeals to potential recruits.

An ad for the Air Force, published in *Ebony* and *Sports Illustrated* in 1973, featured four images along with the heading, "What Begins When College Ends?" (Figure 20). The four illustrations show different aspects of life in the Air Force, each accompanied by a different caption. The first illustration shows a hand holding a paycheck with the caption "In Addition To A Pay Check Will You Get...". The caption continues, "30 Days' Vacation A Year..." with an illustration of a white man and white woman wearing bathing suits and holdings, while they walk in the ocean. The caption continues "Your Own Jet..." accompanied by an image of a jet and "Respect, Responsibility, Challenge?" accompanied by an image of two men standing in front of a jet. The illustrations represent different facets of life in the Air Force. Images of planes and a paycheck, consistent with appeals based on mobility and access to technology, are framed alongside a photo of an off-duty airman holding hands with a woman. The presence of an opposite sex couple, smiling as they look at one another, is included as

part of the appeal of Air Force life; as a representation of how military men spend their off-duty time.

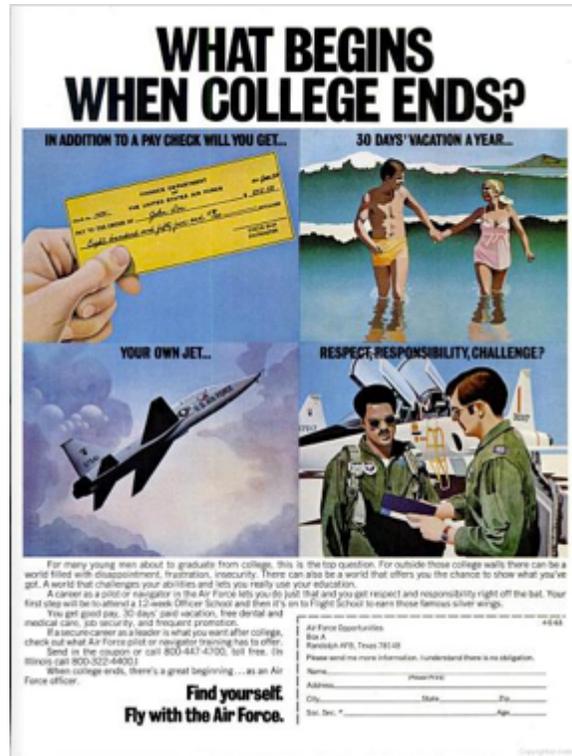


Figure 20
Source: *Ebony Magazine*, June 1973

The idea of military men spending their off-duty time with women is echoed in other recruiting ads. A Navy ad, published in *Sports Illustrated* in 1975, featured an image of a white male sailor in uniform walking hand-in-hand with a white woman in civilian clothes alongside images of men in submarines, on boats, and working with radar equipment. The idea of a male sailor spending his off-duty time with a woman is included as part of a broader appeal of seafaring adventure. A Coast Guard ad, published in *Ebony* from 1977 to 1978, featured the heading, “When you join the Coast Guard you don’t have to kiss everything goodbye” (Figure 21). A photograph indicates what “everything” might be; a Black woman in civilian clothes leans in to kiss a Black man in Coast Guard

uniform on the cheek. Text in the ad takes the viewpoint of a potential recruit, “Do I have to give up my car?...What about my social life”. The image indicates that the envisioned social life of potential male recruits and current service members involves spending off-duty time with a woman. Even though recruits will be joining an overwhelmingly male institution spending time with women is not something they’ll have to give up or kiss goodbye by joining the Coast Guard.

**When you join the Coast Guard
you don't have to
kiss everything goodbye.**

Do I have to give up my car? Do I have to wear a uniform all the time? Do I have to get a short haircut and sleep in barracks? What about my social life?

If these are the kinds of questions that pop into your mind when you see an ad for the Coast Guard, we'd love to answer them.

To begin with, during your first nine weeks the answer to those questions is yes. Because those nine weeks are called basic training. Every service member has it.

It's a period of time we feel is necessary for you to get to know us, and vice versa. After it's over you'll go on to advanced training, either on the job or at a school. Then things start to change. And you'll begin to see the Coast Guard as it really is. You'll work hard at things like search and rescue patrols, fighting pollution and enforcing the law on the sea. All important jobs.

But when your job is done and you're off duty, your time is your own. You can get out of your uniform and into your own interests which you just might enjoy more than you do now. Because every job in the Coast Guard comes with a paycheck (over \$400 a month right after basic training). Most of which is yours to keep, because of the living allowances and benefits we provide.

And the better you do your job and earn advancement, the bigger that paycheck will get. Which means the Coast Guard is a place to start building a future.

It all adds up to a pretty unique job with a pretty unique lifestyle. And that's one of the reasons the Petty Officer in the picture is smiling.

See your local recruiter, or send us the coupon below for more information.

Coast Guard Opportunities
PO Box 1452, Swanton, Pa. 18087

Please send me more information about the following
Coast Guard Programs:

Regular enlistment Coast Guard Reserve
 Coast Guard Academy
 Coast Guard O.C.S. (College graduates only)

Name _____ Age _____
Sex _____ Apt.# _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone number _____

**Help Others. Help Yourself.
The Coast Guard**

Figure 21
Source: *Ebony Magazine*, November 1977

A second Coast Guard, published four times in *Ebony* from 1978 to 1981, furthers the idea that spending off-duty time with women is a part of life for men in the Coast Guard. The heading of the ad states, “It’s more than a good living. It’s a good life.” Text responds to concerns recruits may have about giving up their lifestyle and their social life: “These are questions a lot of young people ask before joining the Coast Guard... We

don't want you to give up your lifestyle". Images in the ad show the good life in the Coast Guard as well as the lifestyle recruits can maintain while serving. Alongside images of a helicopter, a ship, and men in uniform is a photo of a Black man in uniform facing a Black woman in civilian clothes, their arms around one another as they both smile. Being greeted by a woman upon return from a good life of service full of ships and other men is represented as part of the lifestyle the Coast Guard doesn't want men to give up when they join. Representing military men as able to spend off-duty time with women functions to ensure potential recruits and the broader public that the military, a space dominated by men where service often means interacting in male-only environments, desires straight men. Crafting straight military men through representations of off-duty time with women also functions to symbolically and ideologically reinforce policies contending that homosexuality is incompatible with military service. Men are able to spend all their on-duty time with other men, but when off-duty can and are expected to spend their time with women in ways that combat anxieties about highly homosocial spaces of the military being read as homosexual.³² Furthermore, the emphasis on spending off-duty time with men reinforces that military men, despite documentation of ritualized hazing involving homosexual behaviors,³³ are unquestionably straight. Representations of off-duty time allows for ads to assert that military men are straight but can still take part in the exclusively male and homosocial adventure of military service. These military men are cast as leading exciting lives on ships, helicopters, and jets; lives made assuredly straight by off-duty time spent with women. In contrast to adventurous visions of military men, a series of Navy ads from the mid-1970s represented military

³² Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 3 edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³³ Ward, *Not Gay*.

men as family men committed to military service as a way of providing for their wives and children.

Three Navy ads published in *Ebony* from 1975 to 1976 featured a collage of images of different service member's experiences in the Navy and a headline quoting the sailor featured in each ad. The different headlines in the ads state:

“If you have what it takes, you can go a long way in the Navy”

“I wanted a field I could grow in”

“The gold I wear money can't buy”

Text in the ads espouses ideas of opportunities and benefits associated with Naval service, mentioning career fields where sailors can learn skills and get paid vacation. Images in the ads show what a successful career in the Navy looks like. Images of smiling Black men in dress uniform are included alongside images of ships, men climbing into jets, men in aircrew helmets, men working on electrical equipment, and men in deep-sea diving gear. The images portray a life in the Navy where men on ships at sea work with high-tech equipment alongside other men. Amidst these images of men in the Navy, each of the ads includes one image of a male sailor with his family; an image of a smiling military man with his wife and children. Images of smiling families are included as part of the “right look” for sailors in the Navy and as part of the appeal of military service. Text in the ads emphasizes the fit between military life and families. One ad states, “...the Navy's a great place to get something started. It's also great for the family”. Another ad discusses Naval service as providing Master Chief John B. Davis with “...a good life for himself and his family”. The third ad claims, “...the Navy's a great place to travel and have some fun while building your future. It's great for the family too”. Having a family is included as part of a successful career in the Navy, as part

of the successful achievement of military manhood. An ad for the Army National Guard, published in the *Ebony* in the mid-1980s further draws on images of military men with wives and children and heteronormative lives in making appeals to potential recruits.

The ad features the heading “The Army National Guard needs more officers. Get in the picture. Get out front” along with a photo of a man in military uniform, his arm around a woman who is holding a small child, as they are all smiling standing in front of a blue house (See Figure 22). Text in the ad tells potential recruits, “You’ll be serving close to home, helping people in your community...And, after your initial training, it takes just two days a month and two weeks annual training each year to serve, so you’ll have plenty of time for your family, friends, school or job”. The ad represents military men as having families. It also frames joining the Guard as a form of service allowing military men to remain close to, and have plenty of time to spend with, their families. Family, represented as a man, wife, and child, is prioritized as part of the life made possible through military service. Furthermore, the slogan at the bottom of the ad—“The Guard is America at its best”—links such a vision of military men and their families to national ideals. Military men shown with smiling, straight families become part of a narrative of American excellence and exceptionalism. Military service is not only portrayed as something that allows military men to maintain their position as husbands and fathers, but visions of military men with their families are also represented as symbols of America at its best.

The above ad, along with Navy ads published in the mid-1970s, show military men as family men. In doing so, the ads construct a specific form of straightness represented as universal for military men; a form of monogamous, procreative, and



Figure 22
 Source: *Ebony* Magazine, September 1982

domestic heterosexuality. Military service provides these men with good careers that are good for the family too, while visions of the family are good for showing that a career in an overwhelmingly male institution will not derail or offset opportunities for men to spend time with their wives. Visions of straight service men with families are particularly important in depicting Naval service. As noted by Steven Zeeland the figure of the sailor is a gay icon and as Allan Berube contends sailors had a reputation as being the most available for homosexual sex due to the long stretches sailors spend at sea without women.³⁴ Representations of military men as family men function to repudiate homosexuality and assert that military men are decidedly straight. These representations

³⁴ Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*; Steven Zeeland, ed., *Military Trade*, 1 edition (New York: Routledge, 1999).

also signal how straightness in the military is aligned with a particularly domestic, monogamous, and procreative version of straightness that challenges longstanding military traditions of promoting promiscuous sexual behavior.³⁵ As discussed, other recruiting ads display women as rewards for service and show military men spending off-duty time with women, both of which contribute to the construction of the straight military man. Whether potential recruits are looking for a life of adventure in the military or looking for a stable occupation or source of income, visions of men in recruiting ads include straightness as an aspect of military service. The construction of the straight military man reinforces links between military values of manliness and heterosexuality.

Such representations reveal how anxieties about sexuality and the need to promote a straight vision of the military institution are imbricated with the construction of the military man, a figure that is neither fully military nor manly unless he is straight. The figure of the straight military man in recruiting ads is racially inclusive. Ads for the Coast Guard, Navy, and Army National Guard include, and focus on, Black men. The figure of the straight soldier cuts across racial differences, framing straightness as a shared characteristic of all military men, regardless of race, branch of service, or rank. Such representations coincide with Puar's claim that straightness functions to delineate between the tolerable and intolerable ethnic and that "the racial other is straight".³⁶ Racially inclusive representations of the straight military man point to the importance of straightness in maintaining ideals of manliness in the military while also speaking to the ways various forms of difference are more or less easily incorporated in visions of the military institution. The military advertising industry can imagine a variety of military

³⁵ Belkin, *Bring Me Men*.

³⁶ Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*, 32.

men spending off-duty time with women or as fathers, but can't imagine or represent a gay military man.³⁷ Construction of the straight military man functions to ward off the threat of queerness, maintaining links between military men and straightness while also including women in recruiting ads. We see women spending time with off-duty military men, as loving wives, and as mothers. The inclusion of women in ads constructing the straight military man shows how women are maneuvered in the military advertising industry. As Cynthia Enloe notes, militaries rely on ideas about women and femininity in maintaining military life.³⁸ Women and ideas of women as romantic partners and wives are essential in constructing the straight military man. The presence of women acts to ensure that military men are represented through the assertion of straightness as part of military life. While talk of military men as family men and as not wanting or needing to give up spending time with women upon joining the military assert the straightness of military men, a number of recruiting ads promote ideas about women and femininity to assert the straightness of military women.

Constructing the Straight Military Woman

In the years immediately following the implementation of the AVF, an Army ad published in *Cosmopolitan* focused on off-duty time in making appeals to potential recruits. Under the heading, "How to live away from home and afford it", the ad features an image of a white woman and white man, both smiling, seated at a candlelit table with the Golden Gate Bridge visible out a window behind them (See Figure 23). Text in the ad stresses benefits of military service that make living away from home possible, including

³⁷ While no recruiting ads published in *Ebony*, *Cosmopolitan*, or *Sports Illustrated* featured representations of explicitly gay service men, recruiting efforts in the 2000s have begun to include gay military men in appeals. These efforts will be discussed further in Chapter VII.

³⁸ Enloe, *Maneuvers*.

a good salary, medical care, and the exciting places recruits could be posted. The ad goes on to detail some of the exciting leisure activities for military women posted in San Francisco: “You had lunch with a few friends on a quiet quay jutting out from Fisherman’s Wharf. Then, in the cool afternoon sun, an ancient cable car took you on a shopping spree from Nob Hill to Ghirardelli Square. Tonight, a dinner date in Chinatown”. The image in the ad shows what a dinner date looks like for a military woman while echoing recruiting appeals aligning with what Loren Miller calls martial glamour.³⁹ Martial glamour was a concept constructed in WWII-era recruiting materials that functioned to resolve tensions between the categories of “woman” and “soldier” and emphasized themes of travel, new experiences, and exciting work possibilities.⁴⁰ The ad makes an appeal to potential recruits through a focus almost exclusively on off-duty time and leisure activities. There are no uniforms or images of women in service positions. The ad represents a vision of military life that is distinctly non-military. In doing so, going on dates with men is represented as a key aspect of how military women experience service. In contrast with ads directed towards men, the ad explicitly mentions the word “date” in portraying military women. Going on a dinner date with a man is advertised as an aspect of the ways enlisting offers military women the possibility of “living free and easy the way you always wanted”. While military service can offer military women things like travel and exciting new experiences, it does so under the assertion that military women are expected and want to go on dates with men.

A recruiting ad for the Armed Forces—meaning the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard—published three times in *Sports Illustrated* in 1996 drew on

³⁹ Miller, “Glamorous G.I. Girls: Constructing American Servicewomen’s Identities During World War II.”

⁴⁰ Ibid.

How to live away from home and afford it.

You had lunch with a few friends on a quiet quay jutting out from Fisherman's Wharf. Then, in the cool afternoons sun, an ancient

cable car took you on a shopping spree from Nob Hill to Ghirardelli Square. Tonight, a dinner date in Chinatown.

You're in today's Army. You could be stationed near New York, or Colorado's slopes, or a hundred other exciting places, but you were sent to the Presidio in San Francisco, miles from home. And now you're living free and easy the way you always wanted.



Today's Army started you at a good salary, \$307.20 a month (before deductions). They've also provided benefits that save you from spending all of your salary. Meals. A place to live. Plus, free uniforms, medical and dental care.

You had your choice of job training, too. Interesting jobs you might not have had in civilian life. Like communications, technical repair work, intelligence, computers, medicine, and over 300 others.

Every year you get 30 days paid vacation. So even if you aren't stationed in San Francisco or New York or Colorado, you'll have plenty of time and money to see them on your own.

Talk it over with your local Army Representative, or write Army Opportunities, P.O. Box 5510W, Philadelphia, PA 19145.

Today's Army wants to join you.

Figure 23

Source: *Cosmopolitan* magazine, April 1973

an image of a young, opposite-sex couple headed to the prom in making appeals to potential recruits. The ad, which was published in two different versions, featured the heading, “Now Might Be A Good Time To Talk About Where To Go After Prom”. Each version of the ad shows nearly identical photos of a young woman in a dress and a young man in a suit, his arm around the young woman’s waist, as they both smile at the camera. One version of the ad features white individuals, while the other features Black individuals.⁴¹ Text in the ad states, “After the prom, after graduation, what’s next? Now is the time seniors and their parents look to the future, a good time to update your ideas about the U.S. Armed Forces... Your son or daughter need your help and advice. After

⁴¹ Such a representation of differently raced bodies inserted into the same scene reflects practices of colorizing and visual inclusion as discussed in Chapter III.

the prom, they have a date with the future”. The ad presents military service as a future opportunity for both young men and young women. Text in the ad emphasizes that the appeal of military service is not just for the young man in the image, but also for the young woman: “Exciting new careers have opened to women, and no one can match the Armed Forces’ array of advanced education programs”. In portraying military service as an opportunity for young men and women, the image in the ad shows how the military advertising industry is imagining the kinds of young people the military wants. The ad portrays a straight couple as the kind of young people the military wants. This ad is the only ad that makes an appeal to both members of a straight couple. In doing so, it reinforces the construction of the straight military man while also revealing how explicit talk of dating is only included in ads where appeals are also made to women. Potential military women are women who just had a date with a young man and could have a future date with the military. Although the appeal is not exclusively made to potential military women, the ad espouses a vision of straightness as a characteristic of future military women.

Both the Armed Forces ad and the Army ad show military women, current and prospective, dating men either while in the military or before they join the military. The ads frame military women as straight by showing them as part of opposite sex couples while drawing on the language of dating. In the Army ad, a date is something military women can expect, and are expected, to go on. In the Armed Forces ad, the language of where to go after prom asserts that young women who have been on prom dates with young men have the potential to become military women. In both ads, women who might and do serve in the military are represented as straight. Other ads during the era of the

AVF contributed to the construction of the straight military woman through representations of military women having husbands.

An Army National Guard ad, published twice in *Ebony* and once in *Cosmopolitan* from 1983 to 1985, focuses on an image of a smiling Black woman in military uniform standing in front of a brick house as a smiling Black man in a suit stands with his arm around her waist (See Figure 24). With the exception of the image, the ad is identical to the Army National Guard ad discussed above showing military men as family men. The ad features the same heading—“The Army National Guard needs more officers. Get in the picture. Get out front”—and the same text: “You’ll be serving close to home, helping people in your community... And, after your initial training, it takes just two days a month and two weeks annual training each year to serve, so you’ll have plenty of time for your family, friends, school or job”. The ad frames joining the Guard as a form of service that allows military women to remain close to home and have plenty of time to spend with their families. In contrast to the ad focused on a military man, family is represented as a man and a military woman with no children. The similarities between the two versions of the ad show how straightness is applied to both military men and women. However, differences between the two versions of the ad show how straightness is articulated differently for military men and military women.

While military men can be husbands and fathers, military women are shown as wives but not as mothers. The figure of the patriotic mother has long been integral to processes of militarization, but is based on the assumption that soldiers are male.⁴² The notion of mothers as soldiers has been resisted due both to military concerns about

⁴² Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?*; A number of recruiting ads from throughout the era of the AVF have relied on images of patriotic mothers supporting their children’s decision to join the



Figure 24
 Source: *Ebony* magazine, January 1985

pregnancy as well as cultural concerns about women's roles and relations to the military.⁴³ Representations of military mothers leaving their children behind to serve have been met with questions about the acceptability of military mothers, particularly single military mothers, despite the fact that the majority of single parent soldiers are men.⁴⁴ Anxieties about military mothers also operate on the expectation that women should be the primary caregivers for children.⁴⁵ In showing military women as wives, but not as

military. Such ads reinforce the notion of patriotic motherhood while also supporting the overall straight environment of recruiting materials by showing that military service members are supported by proud, straight parents.

⁴³ Prior to 1975, military women found to be pregnant were involuntarily discharged (Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*). Contemporary guides to female soldier readiness detail how unplanned pregnancies effect unit readiness and encourage planned pregnancies that account for issues of timing around deployment and training cycles (A Guide to Female Soldier Readiness, June 2010).

⁴⁴ Feinman, *Citizenship Rites*.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

mothers, the ad assuages these anxieties while still affirming that military women are straight. Women serving in the Guard can be good soldiers and good wives, provided they aren't represented as mothers who might potentially leave their children behind.

A Navy ad, published in *Sports Illustrated* in 1999, further contributes to the construction of the straight military woman by framing military women as wives. The ad features a large image of three service members—a white woman in an aircrew uniform, a white woman in a flight suit, and a white man also in an aircrew uniform—standing in front of a jet. Text in the ad focuses on the woman in the flight suit, who is identified as Lieutenant Commander (LCDR) Loree “Rowdy” Hirschman. The text details LCDR Hirschman’s journey in the Navy, pointing out key points in her career on a timeline:

The Journey Begins
Through Navy ROTC, Attends University of San Diego—Tuition and Books Paid
By Navy
Earns B.A. In Mathematics
Attends Navy Flight School To Become A Pilot
Lands On Aircraft Carrier For The First Time
Marries Fellow Navy Pilot
Debating Whether To Use G.I. Bill To Finance Film School Or Harvard Business
School
The Journey Continues

Marrying a fellow Navy pilot is included along with other milestones displaying benefits of Naval service, such as the ROTC program, access to high-tech flight equipment, and the G.I. Bill. While milestones of education and adventure are not unique to the ad featuring LCDR Hirschman and are discussed in other ads featuring similar timelines focused on the journeys of male service members, the milestone of marriage is unique. No other recruiting ad published in *Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, or *Cosmopolitan* over the course of the AVF explicitly discusses marriage. The milestone of marrying a fellow Navy pilot is only applied to LCDR Hirschman, a successful military woman and officer.

Including marriage on the timeline asserts that military women get married to men. As noted by Melissa Herbert, military women seen as too successful in masculine occupations—such as piloting—and military women who are career officers are likely to be targeted as lesbians.⁴⁶ While marriage has long been valued in military institutions through an ideal of women as military wives, this ad shows how marriage is deployed in reference to military women as a way of including women under the condition of straightness.⁴⁷ By including marriage as a key event in LCDR Hirschman’s journey in the Navy, the ad asserts that straightness goes along with being a successful pilot and officer for military women. For women, the figure of the straight soldier functions to situate military women within a sexualized discourse in which women negotiate a male dominated institution between the labels “dyke” or “whore”.⁴⁸

The label of “whore” penalizes women in the military perceived as too feminine, as indicated by the use of too much makeup or perceptions of sexual promiscuity, whereas the label of “dyke” is a mechanism for controlling women seen as too masculine.⁴⁹ Ads explicitly talking about women dating, having families, and getting married show how military women are expected to negotiate these gendered expectations. Ads for the Army and Armed Forces show that military women date men, framing military women as straight and acting to combat the label of “dyke”. Army National Guard and Navy ads show that military women are not “dykes”, but are not “whores” either. By showing military women as wives, the ads show military women properly performing military femininity in a tension between the two labels, balancing gendered

⁴⁶ Herbert, *Camouflage Isn’t Only for Combat*.

⁴⁷ Enloe, *Maneuvers*.

⁴⁸ de Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies*; Herbert, *Camouflage Isn’t Only for Combat*.

⁴⁹ Herbert, *Camouflage Isn’t Only for Combat*.

perceptions of being seen as promiscuous and overly feminine or being seen as overly masculine and as lesbians. Military femininity functions to ensure potential recruits and the broader public that military women are not only straight but also adhere to gendered ideals of feminine appearance through representations of makeup, hair, and uniform. Military femininity is a form of femininity constructed as congruent with military service and the military institution. The construction of the straight military woman is central to military femininity and to the inclusion of women in the military institution. Assertions of straightness and womanness in military femininity function to combat the specter of the “dyke”. Just as labels such a “slut” and “whore” operate to regulate women in what scholars call the slut discourse, the label of “dyke” regulates military women perceived as stepping outside rigid expectations of gender and sexuality.⁵⁰ The figure of the straight military man repudiates homosexuality, as does the figure of the straight military woman. Throughout the era of the AVF, recruiting ads focused on military women adopted a variety of rhetorical and visual strategies to assure potential recruits and the broader public that not all women in the military are lesbians and that joining the military does not turn women into lesbians. Military femininity, through assertions of womanness and images of military women as straight and properly feminine, acts to combat perceptions of queerness in the military institution. As a concept expressed both visually and rhetorically, military femininity is concerned with the perception of homosexuality and is equated with the notion of what Nguyen Tan Hoang refers to as gender dissidence.⁵¹

Deviations from norms of femininity could potentially be perceived as an indication of

⁵⁰ Elizabeth A. Armstrong et al., “‘Good Girls’ Gender, Social Class, and Slut Discourse on Campus,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 77, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 100–122, doi:10.1177/0190272514521220.

⁵¹ Tan Hoang Nguyen, *A View from the Bottom: Asian American Masculinity and Sexual Representation* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2014).

queerness and as such are controlled in military femininity. While images of straight soldiers act as the clearest rubric for asserting that military men and women are adhering to gendered ideals of the military institution, gendered representations of military women with longer hair and wearing skirts and makeup also function to assert the straightness of military women.

Crafting Military Femininity and A Gender Equitable Army

As noted by Brown, military service in recruiting ads is framed through appeals focused on what individuals can get out of military service.⁵² During the era of the AVF, recruiting ads targeting women told women they could get two things out of military service: a gender equitable experience and opportunities not available elsewhere. Ads in the early years of the AVF, from 1973 to 1980, often drew on language of gender equality to make appeals to women while also framing the military as an inclusive and equitable institution. From the 1980s to the mid-1990s, recruiting ads used the language of women and military opportunities as part of appeals targeting women. Within the two kinds of appeals, the womanness and femininity of military women are asserted in different ways. Visual cues of makeup, hair, uniform, and straightness act to visually differentiate military women from their male counterparts while text asserting femininity ensures that military women are represented as women first and soldiers second.

The year after the implementation of the AVF, an ad for the Army published in *Cosmopolitan* made an appeal to potential recruits framing the military as a site of gender equality (See Figure 25). The headline asks women, “Did the last good job you wanted go to a man?” with text answering, “If it did, maybe it’s because you’ve been looking in the wrong places. Today’s Army has more than 300 good jobs for young women as well

⁵² Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

as young men. Both get the same starting salary. The same opportunities and raises. The same benefits”. Text in the ad frames the military as a site where women can get good jobs and be treated the same as their male counterparts. In doing so, the military is represented as a unique site of gender equality through language of equal salaries, opportunities, and benefits. Text in the ad goes on to discuss some of the good jobs for women in the military, including jobs in intelligence, air traffic control, vehicle maintenance, and food preparation. A series of four photos in the ad show a variety of women serving in these different occupations. One photo features a white woman serving in an intelligence position, her hair pulled back as she stands, wearing a light blue knee length skirt and black high heels, leaning against a stack of audiotape reels. Another photo features a Black woman serving in air traffic control. She is standing with one arm against a tall chair, the other arm resting on a desktop covered in radio equipment with a runway visible in the background behind her. The third photo shows a white woman serving as a food specialist. She is wearing a white skirt and white apron, with her hair pulled back as she stands in a kitchen next to a counter of food. The last photo shows a white woman in dark green coveralls leaning against the open hood of a jeep. The women are shown in occupations that affirm and regulate gendered ideals in the military while expanding the different ways women could be imagined in the military.

An image of a military woman serving as a food specialist reinforces ideas about women being suited to particular feminized occupations while images of military women working in intelligence, air traffic control, and vehicle maintenance expand such ideas.

Did the last good job you wanted go to a man?

If it did, maybe it's because you've been looking in the wrong places. Today's Army has more than 300 good jobs for young women as well as young men. Both get the same starting salary. The same opportunities and raises. The same benefits. We'll train you to do the job you want, and we'll pay you while you learn.

If you'd like to help keep your Country secure, you can work in Intelligence. Learn intelligence and counter-intelligence data processing. Study political and social systems of other countries.

Maybe you'd like to break into Air Traffic Control. If so, we'll train you in radar and non-radar approach control procedures. And qualify you for Federal Aviation Administration certification.

Or keep the Army on the go behind the wheel of a staff car, a jeep or a truck. Learn to drive safely under all conditions. Perform maintenance on your vehicle.

If you're interested in becoming a food specialist, you should know that an Army cook does more than cleans the kitchen. Cake and pastry baking, preparation of cuts of meat, and supervision of a dining room are part of the course.

Pick the job training you want, and if you qualify, we'll guarantee your choice in writing before you enlist. Be whatever your choice, the job you learn in the Army will be of value later on in civilian life.

For more information, see your nearest Army Representative, or write Army Opportunities, P.O. Box 5410W, Philadelphia, PA 19143.

**Today's Army
wants to join you.**

Figure 25
Source: *Cosmopolitan* magazine, August 1973

The ad shows different ways women can participate in the three hundred good jobs in the Army, and in doing so, demonstrates how military women face a unique balancing act of being properly feminine in an institution where expectations of service entail a certain level of performing masculinity by undertaking jobs historically reserved for men. The ad reflects how the need for voluntary enlistments required a shift in the gendered division of labor in the military. Showing women working on vehicles or with high-tech aviation and intelligence equipment reveals how the military needed women willing to push the boundaries of what was seen as acceptable in terms of occupations for military women during the implementation of the AVF. While the ad features women working in traditionally male occupations, it also contains a number of visual cues that reinforce the femininity of those women. All four of the women, regardless of the occupation in which

they are serving, are smiling, looking directly at the camera. Direct looks and smiles were found to be key in affirming the femininity of military women in recruiting ads during WWII.⁵³ Of the three women with their legs visible, two are wearing skirts and all the women have longer hair. Uniforms and hairstyles are important sites through which the inclusion of women has been contested, with debates over whether or not uniforms should emphasize or neutralize gender difference.⁵⁴ Skirts and longer hairstyles show how the ad includes women while representing them in particularly gendered ways. Representations of women taking advantage of the good jobs in the Army adhere to particular visual cues that inform potential recruits and the broader public that joining the military does not require the military women to abandon their femininity. Another ad for the Army, published in *Cosmopolitan* in 1974, further shows how recruiting ads construct a visual rubric for military femininity while framing the military as a site of gender equality.

The two-page ad features a large photo of six service members as they stand in front of a bank of electronic equipment (See Figure 26). Front and center of the group is a white woman, with five men—three white men, one Black man, and one Asian American man—standing next to and behind her. All of the service members are wearing the same dark green shirts and are smiling while looking directly at the camera. In contrast with the Army ad discussed above, the ad shows a military woman serving with and alongside military men. The woman is shown in the same occupation and post as her male counterparts. The context in which a military woman is included alongside military men

⁵³ Miller, “Glamorous G.I. Girls: Constructing American Servicewomen’s Identities During World War II.”

⁵⁴ Carol Burke, *Camp All-American, Hanoi Jane, and the High-and-Tight: Gender, Folklore, and Changing Military Culture* (Beacon Press, 2005).

is important. The setting of the photo is indoors; there are no weapons or other visible markers of combat, such as camouflage or combat equipment. The photo in the ad reflects a military recruiting industry grappling with how to entice voluntary recruits in the aftermath of Vietnam by displaying a vision of military service far from combat; a vision of military service that can include women—or a woman, more specifically. The ad portrays the military as a space numerically dominated by men—there is one woman and five men—in which woman could see themselves. The image makes clear that there is something different about the military woman. Her blond bobbed hair sets her apart visually while text in the ad also differentiates military women from military men.



Figure 26
Source: *Cosmopolitan* magazine, November 1974

Beginning with the headline “The best man doesn’t always get the job”, text in the ad goes on to state:

In today's Army, there are over 300 good jobs open to women. We have lady electricians testing missile launching gear in South Carolina. Weatherwomen predicting storms in Alaska. And female MP's patrolling posts in Hawaii. Women are getting good jobs because they're being judged on their talent, not their gender. They receive the same salaries as men. The same educational opportunities as men. And most importantly, the same chance for promotion as men.

The ad situates military women as able to serve alongside men in a variety of occupations, from electricians to military police (MP's). However, both the image and text of the ad stipulate that differences between women and men serving in these positions are clear. Women aren't electricians in the Army; they are *lady* electricians. Women aren't military police; they are *female* MP's. Each occupation requires a provisional suffix or prefix marking military women as women; as distinct from military men. The ad is consistent with Enloe's contention that the military needs women, but specifically needs women recognizable within a particular set of gendered expectations.⁵⁵ The language of military women as women makes them distinct from an unspoken norm of military men while visual cues of hair set up expectations that military women should also be visibly distinct from their male counterparts. The ad makes clear the military women are different in terms of gender, but not in terms of gendered treatment. Women have different titles and different expectations of appearance but get the same salaries, opportunities, and chances of promotion. Though the ad claims that military women aren't judged by their gender, it also contains language and images displaying how military women are fundamentally different from military men. The ad represents the Army as an institution invested in gender equality; a representation that also constructs military femininity as limiting inclusion of military women to women recognizable first as women, then as soldiers. The ad builds upon visual cues of military femininity

⁵⁵ Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?*

displayed in the Army ad from 1973, while also making clear that there is something different about military women.

An Army ad, published in *Ebony* in 1979 and 1980, continues visual cues of military femininity while also asserting there is something different about military women. Under the heading “This Is The Army” the ad features images of five women interspersed with text touting different benefits of military service (See Figure 27). The largest image is of a white woman in dark green coveralls holding a cutting torch. The other images show a white woman in a white uniform seated at a desk covered with electronic equipment, a white woman in a dark green uniform holding a saw crouched on a sawhorse, a Black woman in dress uniform, and a white woman in civilian clothes holding a horse by the reins. All of the women are smiling and looking directly at the camera. In contrast with a similar Army ad also published in *Ebony* in 1979 targeting men, none of the women are shown with combat equipment or weaponry, or wearing combat helmets. Images of smiling military women with long hair serving in occupations far from combat reinforce visual cues of military femininity. All of the women have hairstyles that according to contemporary Army regulations would be considered medium or long length hairstyles; hairstyles only permissible for military women.⁵⁶ Such hairstyles emphasize that military women adhere to physical and aesthetic standards that differentiate them from military men, for whom short haircuts have been and continue to be the requirement.⁵⁷ Military women are represented as working in different occupations that may entail participating in tasks traditionally seen as masculine, such as

⁵⁶ “Wear and Appearance of Army Uniforms and Insignia, Army Regulation 670-1” (Department of the Army, April 10, 2015), http://www.apd.army.mil/pdffiles/r670_1.pdf.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; “Hair Has Long and Short History in U.S. Armed Forces,” *Defense Media Network*, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://www.defensemianetwork.com/stories/hair-has-long-and-short-history-in-armed-forces/>.

woodworking and welding. While smiling military women with longer hairstyles indicate the visual standards of military femininity, text in the ad furthers the construction of military femininity by asserting military women are women first and soldiers second.

THIS IS THE ARMY

"I LIKE BEING A WELDER, BUT I ALSO LIKE BEING A WOMAN."
— Vicki Geiner, Private 2nd Class, Fort Hood, Texas

Of all the things you can be in the Army, there's one thing you won't be: stereotyped. You'll get a real chance to do what your talents and interests allow you.

EQUAL
The Army is serious about equality. Except for several frontline combat specialties that are closed to women, Army skills are open to anyone who qualifies. From Aircraft Repairer to Wire Systems Installer, the opportunities are many. And they are real.

TRAVEL
The Army has posts in Europe, Alaska, Hawaii, the Canal Zone, Korea, and

throughout most of the continental United States. And special programs to help make you feel part of the local scene.

FREE TIME
It's much more than just time off. It's time to enjoy all the friendships and facilities an Army post has to offer. There are gyms, swimming pools, libraries, theaters, and clubs, to name a few.

PAY & BENEFITS
Here, equality is most obvious.

PEOPLE
There's no military hardware to replace the human heart, no computer to out-think the mind. We need people. We are people. So if we ask you to be a good soldier, we mean be the best possible person you can be. Share the pride that comes from serving your country. Contact your local Army Representative. Look in the Yellow Pages under "Recruiting."

Both men and women get the same starting pay. More than \$419.00 a month, before deductions. Plus room, board and health care. And a chance to take up to 30 days paid vacation. Even your first year.

JOIN THE PEOPLE WHO'VE JOINED THE ARMY.
800-431-1234
In N.Y., call 800-942-1996

Figure 27
Source: *Ebony* magazine, September 1979

Text in the ad begins with a quote from Vicki Geiner, a Private 2nd Class stationed at Fort Hood, Texas: "I like being a welder, but I also like being a woman". The quote from Private 2nd Class Geiner is the first recruiting ad published in *Ebony*, *Cosmopolitan*, or *Sports Illustrated* that directly asserts the womanness of military women. Private 2nd Class Geiner's occupation as a welder challenges a military history in which women served in a small handful of support positions as nurses, clerks, and secretaries. The presence of a military woman serving as a welder in a position traditionally occupied by military men is justified through the assertion that Private 2nd Class Geiner likes being a

woman and can be both things; a welder and a woman. The assertion of Private 2nd Class Geiner's womanness reflects steps the military advertising industry began taking to ensure recruiting ads made clear women in the military were recognizable as women, while also combatting anxieties about the visibility of lesbian servicewomen in the Armed Forces. The ad assumes viewers might think any woman who likes being a welder might not also like being a woman. By challenging traditional roles of military women as nurses and secretaries, the image of Private 2nd Class Geiner working with welding equipment challenges the gendered order of the military itself. As more and more women served and were needed to meet personnel needs during the era of the AVF, the military was forced to expand the roles in which women had traditionally served. In doing so, the military also challenged perceptions that having women serve in traditionally masculine occupations would mean that all military women were, or might become, lesbians. In this particular ad, this is accomplished through visual cues of military femininity and an explicit assertion that being recognized as a woman, and liking being a woman, is part of military femininity. Text in the ad draws on the quote and images of military femininity to frame the Army as an equitable institution while recognizing that women can't actually serve as equals with men in the Army.

Text in the ad tells women:

Of all the things you can be in the Army, there's one thing you won't be: stereotyped. You'll get a real chance to do what your talents and interests allow you. The Army is serious about equality. Except for several frontline combat specialties that are closed to women, Army skills are open to anyone who qualifies. From Aircraft Repairer to Wire Systems Installer, the opportunities are many. And they are real.

The ad frames the military as committed to and invested in equality. Military women won't be stereotyped, they'll get real chances based on their interests, and they'll receive the same starting pay as men.

However, military women can't serve in several specialties, specialties most closely aligned with the ideological heart of the Army as a combat branch of the military and specialties that are often essential for promotion to higher ranks. The ad includes women in representations of military life, however it does so in a way that reflects limitations military women faced, both in terms of policies and negotiating gendered expectations. At the time of the ad, military women were restricted from serving in combat positions and the military began targeting service members suspected of being homosexuals for discharge. Military women were able to serve in some positions and had to balance perceptions that their very presence in some occupations, such as welding and other occupations associated with men and masculinity, meant they were lesbians. The ad reveals how the military advertising industry was concerned with perceptions that military women were lesbians and as such weren't properly women. Such perceptions are combatted with visual cues of military femininity and the explicit assertion of the womanness of military women. The equality espoused in the ad is not indicative of full and unconditional inclusion for military women and is only available for military women who adhere to expectations of military femininity. The ad is the last ad in the series of three Army ads, published from 1973 to 1980 that represent the military as a site of gender equality.

These three Army ads—"Did the last good job you wanted go to a man?", "The best man doesn't always get the job", and "This is the Army"—reveal how the military

advertising industry was constructing military femininity in the early years of the AVF. The first ad frames the military as a gender equitable institution along with visual cues of military femininity, primarily through images of military women with long hair and skirts as part of their uniforms. The second ad furthers the importance of longer hair in signaling differences between military women and military men while also making sure military women are visually and categorically distinct from military men. The third ad inserts the assertion of womanness, as well as an acknowledgment that military women can't actually serve as equals with military men, a part of the construction of military femininity. Taken together, these three recruiting ads for the Army demonstrate how the military advertising industry reflected increased anxieties that newly included women in the military might be perceived as not properly being women by virtue of their position as soldiers. Recruiting ads directed towards women shifted from a language of gender and equality to a language of women and opportunities in the early 1980s while continuing to contribute to the construction of military femininity.

Military Femininity and Opportunities for Women

Recruiting ads in the 1980s began to reflect changing policies and cultural climates in the military concerned with making clear that women were included in the military, but with different opportunities than men and under conditions of adherence to military femininity. Between the implementation of the AVF in 1973 and the early 1980s, the number of active-duty military women increased by 100,000.⁵⁸ The early 1980s have been described as a period of “womanpause”, during which the DoD implemented lower recruitment targets for women as a mode of pushing women out of the Armed Forces.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ “Population Representations in the Military Services.”

⁵⁹ Feinman, *Citizenship Rites*.

Despite the use of a “womanpause” strategy, women made up an increasingly large percentage of military service members and military recruiting ads often touted the new opportunities available for military women. An Army ad, published six times in *Ebony* from 1981 to 1983, focused on potential women recruits with the headline, “You Might Be Perfect For A Job You Never Heard Of” (See Figure 28).

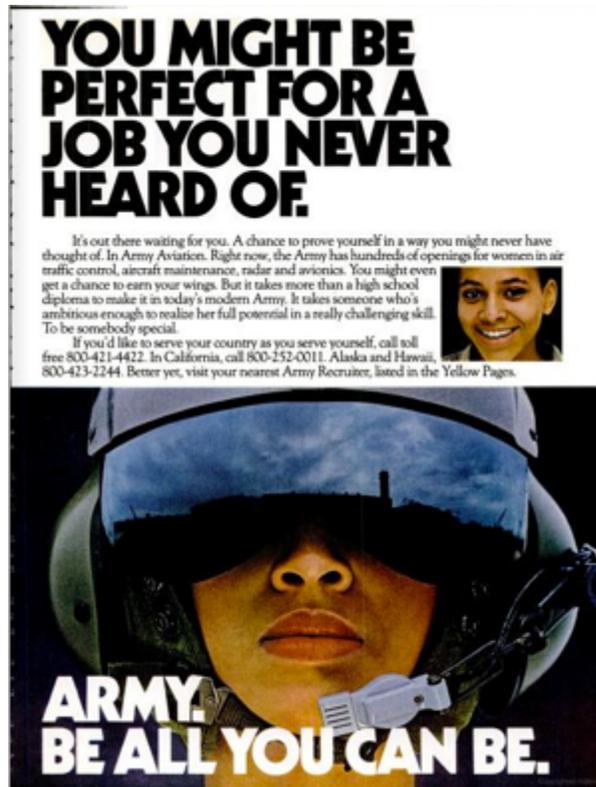


Figure 28
Source: *Ebony* magazine, June 1981

Text goes on to detail jobs available for women in the military:

It's out there waiting for you. A chance to prove yourself in a way you might never have thought of. In Army Aviation. Right now, the Army has hundreds of openings for women in air traffic control, aircraft maintenance, radar and avionics. You might even get a chance to earn your wings. But it takes more than a high school diploma to make it in today's modern Army. It takes someone who's ambitious enough to realize her full potential in a really challenging skill. To be somebody special.

In detailing the hundreds of openings for women in aviation, a field traditionally associated with men, the ad also includes women in rhetoric of recruiting based on challenge. While earlier ads, including Army and Army National Guards ads, made appeals to women based on the military as a site of opportunity for women, this ad takes such an appeal a step further. Women can find occupational opportunities in the Army as well as opportunities to challenge themselves, be somebody special, and be all they can be. The ad includes women in a narrative of military service as a challenging venture reserved for exceptional individuals. The increased inclusion of women in the text of the ad is reflected in the imagery in the ad. A large image features a photo of a woman's face, half obscured by an aircrew helmet. The helmet, complete with a visor and built-in communications system, is representative of militarized forms of technology from which women have historically been excluded.⁶⁰ By making an appeal to women based on women's ability to fulfill a military occupation associated with technological skill and knowledge, the ad is broadening the scope of military women's imagined positions in the Armed Forces while pushing against gendered narratives of technological competence. The large image shows a military woman as a straight-faced, serious soldier; her ability to meet the challenge of military service represented through the aircrew helmet she wears. As the woman dons the aircrew helmet, she is represented as a soldier. However, the image along with a smaller inset image makes clear that as she is transformed into a soldier, she remains recognizable as a woman.

⁶⁰ Question over ability and military technology have been influential in debates about the inclusion of women in the military. Women have experienced limited access to particular occupations, particularly in aviation, due to material and cultural relationships associating technology with male users (Weber, *Manufacturing Gender in Commercial and Military Cockpit Design*).

In the image where she wears an aircrew helmet, the woman is visibly wearing lipstick. Her lipstick along with the smaller image showing her smiling looking at the camera demonstrate how military women, even those women who challenge themselves in Army Aviation, are represented through markers of military femininity. Military women are encouraged to maintain a feminine appearance through recommendations and policies on makeup.⁶¹ The Marine Corps required women to wear makeup—eye shadow and lipstick at a minimum—during training in the 1980s and Army regulations continue to emphasize makeup as a marker of femininity for military women.⁶² Though the woman is shown breaking stereotypes of women serving as nurses, cooks, and clerks, her adherence to military femininity through makeup marks the limits of including women in recruiting ads. Military women are represented as high-quality recruits, serving in challenging positions. Military women can be perfect for a job they haven't heard of yet on the conditional maintenance of practices clearly differentiating them from military men. The promise of “hundreds of openings for women” is not an open promise. Rather, it is conditional based on a form of military femininity in which military women must assert their womanness as an aspect of their service. This ad for the Army was published in a time period in which a variety of military policies began to officially clarify divisions between military men and military women and emphasize the incompatibility of homosexuality with military service.

In the decade between 1983 and 1993 no recruiting ads published in *Sports Illustrated*, *Ebony*, or *Cosmopolitan* made direct appeals to women through language of

⁶¹ Burke, *Camp All-American, Hanoi Jane, and the High-and-Tight*.

⁶² Christine L. Williams, *Gender Differences at Work: Women and Men in Nontraditional Occupations* (University of California Press, 1988); “Wear and Appearance of Army Uniforms and Insignia, Army Regulation 670-1.”

gender equality or opportunities for women. However, the decade saw major shifts in policies and practices regulating gender in the Armed Forces. A Department of Defense directive in 1982 argued that the presence of homosexuals in the military impairing the military mission and laid the groundwork for extensive witch hunts throughout the 1980s meant to disqualify and discharge women perceived as lesbians.⁶³ A 1988 policy restricted women from serving in combat and noncombat units or missions with risk of exposure to direct combat or hostile fire.⁶⁴ By the year the next series of recruiting ads appeared touting opportunities for women in the military, both of the above mentioned policies had been overturned. The 1994 National Defense Authorization Act included the policy known as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” and hundreds of positions were opened to women under rules that reclassified the parameters of ground combat positions. Such shifts occurred after U.S. military intervention in Iraq during the Gulf War, during which the military relied on 200,000 increasingly visible military women whose roles were often emphasized in media coverage.⁶⁵ In the wake of these policy shifts and an amplified visibility of military women, the military advertising industry continued to produce recruiting ads targeting women through representations of military femininity while touting newly opened positions available to military women.

A series of three Coast Guard ads, published in *Ebony* from 1994 to 1996, focused on narratives of women’s work, inclusion, and opportunity (See Figure 29). Each of the ads follows the same layout: eight small photos frame a large block of text, which contains messages about the opportunities available for women in the Coast Guard.

⁶³ Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*; Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire*.

⁶⁴ “Gender Issues: Information on DOD’s Assignment Policy and Direct Ground Combat Definition.”

⁶⁵ Zalewski and Parpart, *The “Man” Question in International Relations*; Segal et al., “Gender and the Propensity to Enlist in the U.S. Military.”

Of the twenty three different career opportunities in the Coast Guard twenty three of them are for women

Save lives on rescue missions [...] Patrol against environmental crimes [...] Seize drug smugglers [...] A woman's work is never done

In the Coast Guard there's only one restriction for women

The large blocks of text in the ads make appeals to women through language of opportunities. Service in the Coast Guard is represented as fully including women, where women can participate in rescue missions, patrols, and operations to seize drug smugglers and the only restriction women in the Coast Guard face is not being able to use the men's bathroom. The full inclusion of women serves as the foundation of each of the appeals, whether in terms of inclusion in all available occupational tracks or the ability to fully participate in exciting jobs. The Coast Guard's distinct position in the military as the only branch exempt from ground combat exclusions based on gender and the only branch where all positions and job-categories were open to women allows for ads that promote full inclusion as the primary appeal for women.⁶⁶ The Coast Guard's unique policies in terms of gender inclusion allow for appeals foregrounding full inclusion and images of military women that expand representations of military femininity in recruiting ads.

Across the three ads, there are ten images representing service in the Coast Guard, including images of a large ship, a plane, and a helicopter. Several of the images feature women serving in different occupations in the Coast Guard, including a woman holding a

⁶⁶ Segal et al., "Gender and the Propensity to Enlist in the U.S. Military."



Figure 29

Sources: *Ebony* magazine, November 1994, October 1995, February 1996

radio handset to her mouth, a woman in dress uniform facing the camera, and a woman standing on the bow of a ship holding a firearm. One of the women appears to have makeup and lipstick on, while several women have long hair, coinciding with visual markers of military femininity. Such representations ensure that women in the Coast Guard, while fully included in military service in ways unprecedented in other branches, adhere to practices of military femininity differentiating them from military men. However, the image of a woman holding a firearm is the only image in recruiting ads published in *Ebony*, *Cosmopolitan*, or *Sports Illustrated* to show a military woman doing so. While other ads discuss military women serving in positions, such as MPs, that indicate the use of a firearm, the majority of representations of women in recruiting ads do not show women in combat or with weaponry.⁶⁷ An image of a military woman holding a firearm expands representations of military femininity to include the possibility of a woman handling a gun, something only possible in an ad for the Coast Guard, the only non-combat branch of the military. While images of military women holding guns

⁶⁷ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

and on ships challenges stereotypes of military women serving exclusively in support positions, the images of women adhering to visual markers of military femininity ensure that women in the Coast Guard are recognizable as women. The third ad in the series, which indicates that the men's bathroom is the only restriction for women in the Coast Guard furthers the notion that military women are first and foremost recognizable as women. By drawing on an image of the bathroom—a space fraught with gendered policing and readings of bodies, particularly for individuals whose gender presentation challenges a traditional gendered binary⁶⁸—the ad makes clear women in the Coast Guard identify as and are recognizable as women.⁶⁹ Military women who face no restrictions in the Coast Guard do so based on their distinction from military men, on their ability to adhere to expectations of military femininity. While the Coast Guard was able to make appeals to women through an emphasis on their full inclusion, the use of images of military femininity and the image of the bathroom as a site of gendered regulation reveals how full inclusion for women does not excuse military women from gendered expectations of military femininity. After the 1994 redefinition of ground combat opened hundreds of jobs previously inaccessible to military women in all branches of the military, other recruiting ads similarly balanced appeals based on increased opportunities and inclusion for women while making clear that military women were recognizable as women.

⁶⁸ Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*.

⁶⁹ Imagery of a bathroom door also points to anxieties about gender non-conforming and transgender service members, who historically have been prohibited from serving. Plans are in place for including transgender service members which frame the inclusion of transgender personnel as being about core values and principles of the military institution consistent with militarized definitions of diversity and will be further discussed in the conclusion.

An Army ad published in *Sports Illustrated* in 1995 featured the heading, “There’s something about a soldier” with text going on to state:

Especially if you’re a woman. Because you’ll find yourself doing the most amazing things. Like being a flight Crew Chief or Topographic Surveyor, or any of the nearly 200 skills the Army offers. You’ll also find yourself doing some very familiar things. Like getting into aerobics, going to the movies or just being with friends. The point is, a woman in the Army is still a woman.

The ad portrays military service for women as a balance; a balance between new opportunities made accessible when becoming a soldier and the ability to continue engaging in activities that define military women as women. Military service is represented as expecting military women to have one foot in a world of aviation and survey data and another foot in a world of aerobics and movies. Imagery in the ad details what these different worlds look like. A large photo of a white woman in an aircrew helmet shows how military women are supposed to look as soldiers. The image is remarkably similar to the image of a military woman in Army ads published in *Ebony* in the 1980s. A military woman is shown wearing an aircrew helmet, positioning her as a soldier, trained in a technical skill, capable of being a crew chief or a topographic surveyor. However, in this ad the woman’s full face is visible and she is wearing lipstick and makeup. Visual markers of military femininity coincide with text asserting, “a woman in the Army is still a woman”. Showing the woman’s full face, complete with lipstick and makeup, reinforces the womanness of military women, marking them as distinct from military men, in a time period when the military was ordered to open positions to women in unprecedented ways. As military women were increasingly included in the military, the ad demonstrates how increased inclusion coincided with an increased emphasis on making clear the military women are visually recognizable as

women. A smaller inset image, of a woman in civilian clothes standing next to a man in civilian clothes as his arm is around her shoulder, further contributes to the construction of military femininity.

Similar to recruiting ads contributing to the construction of the straight soldier, the inclusion of an image showing a military woman spending her off-duty time with a man acts to ward off the specter of the dyke. Part of doing familiar things for military women is spending off-duty time with men. Military women are represented through visual indicators of straightness as part of the construction of military femininity. In 1995, a greater number and percentage of enlisted members were women than during any other year of the AVF and women were able to serve in an unprecedented percentage of military occupations.⁷⁰ The mid-1990s represent a historical context in which the military was grappling with record numbers of women serving in different positions, positions from which they were previously excluded and which challenged the male dominance of many military occupations. This increased inclusion was part of recruiting appeals made to women. An Armed Forces ad published eight times in *Ebony* from 1995 to 1996 touted how the “military is opening more jobs to women, in more fields than ever before” and detailed that “[o]ver 50,000 new jobs have opened to women in the last year alone”. The image in the ad, similar to recruiting ads from throughout the era of the AVF, corresponds with visual markers of military femininity. In addition to the Army ad discussed above, the Armed Forces ad demonstrates how increased inclusion for military women coincides with representations of military femininity. Ads targeting women from the era of the AVF adopt different language—ads from the 1970s touted equality while

⁷⁰ “Population Representations in the Military Services”; Margaret C. Harrell and Laura L. Miller, *New Opportunities for Military Women*, MR-896-OSD (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1997).

ads from the 1980s and 1990s emphasized words like women and opportunities—and different images, yet they consistently contributed to a construction of military femininity. While policies regarding military women's roles, opportunities, and restrictions reveal a process of incremental changes, challenges, and contested ideas regarding the place of women in the military institution, recruiting ads demonstrate the consistency with which inclusion corresponds with regulation. The inclusion of women in recruiting ads during the era of the AVF is articulated through images and language asserting a particular form of military femininity, predicated on a recognizably feminine appearance through hair and makeup and assurances that military women are women first and soldiers second. Military femininity was constructed as a restrictive framework through which military women could be conditionally included in the military institution.

Military Femininity and Conditional Inclusion

The era of the AVF has seen a large increase in the numbers of women serving in the military as well as policy shifts increasing the positions in which military women could serve. Constructions of military femininity in recruiting ads demonstrate how increased inclusion of military women has occurred alongside representations revealing the conditions of inclusion. Appeals foregrounding the military as a site of gender equality in the early years of the AVF and as a site of unique opportunities for women in the 1990s are based on a narrow vision of military women. Representations of military women rely on a form of visual recognition crafted through images of women in skirts, women with longer hair, women wearing makeup, and women spending off-duty time with men. Narratives of military femininity are crafted through assertions of the womanness of military women assuring potential recruits and the general public that military women are

still women, despite their inclusion in a male-dominated institution. Markers of gender difference are the conditions through which military women can be, and are included, in representations of military service. Military femininity privileges and requires a particular form of gendered presentation as enabling inclusion. Military femininity is founded upon the construction of the straight military woman and while inclusive of Black women and other women of color, subsumes racial difference under assertions of straightness and womanness.

While a number of ads targeting women include images of Black women and other women of color, they do so through a process of visual inclusion. As discussed in Chapter III, visual inclusion represents different bodies within rigid parameters of military service. Black women and women of color are included in ads touting gender equality and opportunities for women within the parameters of military femininity. Recruiting ads explicitly engaging questions of gender and inclusion do not address racial difference. Although demographics during the AVF point to a very racially diverse active-duty female force—a disproportionate share of which are Black women—recruiting ads targeting women were concerned with negotiating the inclusion of women as a group defined solely by gender.⁷¹ Military femininity is a visually inclusive concept in terms of race, which reveals how conditions of inclusion for military women foreground gendered and sexualized expectations over other forms of difference. Conditions of military femininity align with the concept of conditional hospitality,⁷² which in the context of the military institution includes military women regardless of race provided they identify with and embody the tenets of military femininity. In doing so,

⁷¹ Patten, “Women in the U.S. Military.”

⁷² Ahmed, *On Being Included*.

military ads targeting women—similar to recruiting ads discussing Blackness—represent a flattened plane, in which intersections of gender and race are subsumed under the parameters of military femininity. The consistency with which recruiting ads include women through representations of military femininity and a variety of military men and women, regardless of race, through representations of straightness, points to a military advertising industry deeply concerned with regulating gender and sexuality as it was tasked with broadening appeals during the era of the AVF.

The relationship between constructions of straight soldiers and the inclusion of women points to inclusion in military recruiting ads as a conditional practice. Different bodies are included by emphasizing and prioritizing certain forms of gender difference—recognizable gender difference based on a strict binary between military men and military women—reliant on the control of other forms of difference. Inclusive representations of straight military men reveal a military more concerned with regulating sexuality and anxieties of gay military men than with differences in race. For military women to be included, queerness and the specter of the dyke had to be excluded, regulated, and policed through the construction of military femininity. Such representations reveal a history of regulating difference in the military in which certain forms of difference are more intelligible within a framework of militarized diversity, organized along lines of virtuous difference—military femininity and colorblind representations of Blackness—and threatening forms of difference—queerness and gender difference between and outside narrow figures of straight military men and women. The terrain of acceptable forms of difference in the military is not fixed and has shifted considerably in the 2000s, particularly in regards to policies regulating gender and sexuality. Recent recruiting

efforts and policy changes have begun to celebrate the inclusion of LGBT service members, efforts that make up part of a collection of recent recruiting efforts celebrating inclusion and diversity. Turning to an analysis of contemporary practices of militarized diversity, the conclusion situates recent recruiting appeals touting and celebrating diversity within a broader project of military inclusion.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

A national project can also be understood as a project of inclusion—a way others as would-be citizens are asked to submit and agree with the task of reproducing that nation. Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*¹

In March 2015, the U.S. Marine Corps released a new 30-second video titled “Wall” as part of their recruiting campaign. The ad begins with an image of a wall, a burnt out vehicle, and a cart covered with colorful rugs, indicating a vaguely Middle-Eastern location (See Figure 30). As the camera zooms in on the wall, a voiceover states: “Walls are barriers. They divide, separate, segregate. We’ve seen walls before...” The wall then abruptly explodes, sending debris and dirt into the camera. As the dust clears the voiceover continues, “...they always fall”. Marines in combat gear with guns at the ready come pouring through the newly breached wall, as we see helicopters flying overhead and a tank in the background. The ad represents the military mission, specifically the Marine Corps’ mission as a warfighting organization, as entirely aligned with a mission of breaking down barriers. The violent destruction of the wall is framed as a destruction of forces that divide, separate, and segregate Americans. In their official description of the ad, the Corps states, “Our nation has a history of breaking down barriers—from social injustice at home to the injustice of our enemies abroad. The United States Marine Corps fights for and defends the ideals that move our country forward. In every mission, every day, Marines protect what matters most to our nation with honor.”² The Marine Corps mission is explicitly linked to the breaking down of barriers and tools of warfare, such as tanks, helicopters, and firearms, become tools for achieving social justice at home and

¹ Ibid.

² Marine Corps Recruiting, *U.S. Marine Corps Commercial: Wall*, accessed November 16, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WlhcccGYaX8>.

abroad. Values of social justice, multiculturalism, and diversity become tools of warfare and militarization, deployed alongside tanks, helicopters, and explosives to break down walls.

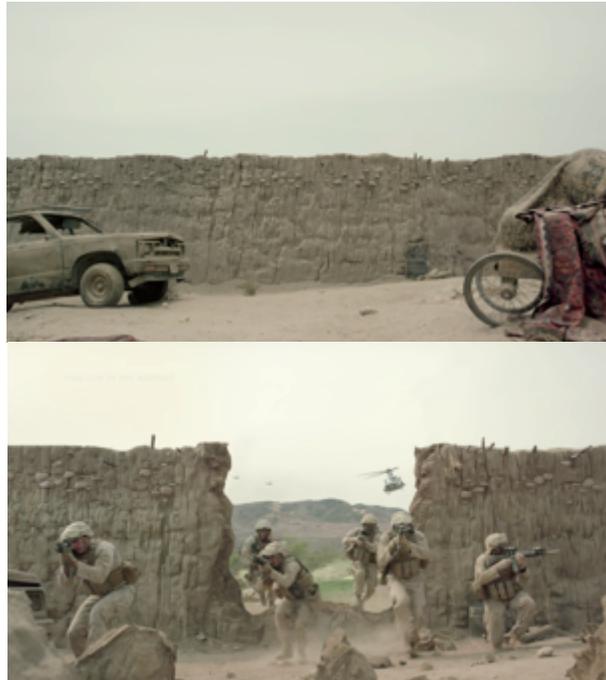


Figure 30
Source: Marine Corps Recruiting YouTube Channel,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WlhcccGYaX8>

In their description of the ad, J. Walter Thompson, the agency responsible for the advertisement and the broader “Home of the Brave” campaign of which it is part, claims “At a time of division and conflicting views of what it means to be an American, Home of the Brave emphasizes that the Marine Corps view of America is inclusive and that Americans are united in a common cause... The creative [an advertising term describing an ad or set of ads that make up a broader campaign] modernizes traditional symbols of patriotism, reinforcing that the Marine Corps defends the ideals that make Americans proud—such as freedom and multiculturalism—and making a direct connection between

the Corps and events in our nation’s history where social progress was made”.³

Multiculturalism and social progress are values subsumed within the appeal and the vision of the Marine Corps as an inclusive organization, a representative of multicultural values, and a contributor to social progress. The Marine Corps “Wall” ad, released months before Donald Trump announced his presidential candidacy with a promise to build walls, situates inclusion and diversity as fundamentally American ideals embodied by the military. In doing so, the ad articulates the latest technology of inclusion at work in the military advertising industry and a vision of militarized diversity that potentially situates the Armed Forces as more inclusive and more committed to diversity than the nation it serves. This conclusion begins with a discussion of a number of recent military recruitment advertising campaigns and policy changes surrounding diversity. In doing so, the chapter argues that diversity’s emergence as a militarized practice reflects a contemporary iteration of a broader, ongoing project of military inclusion. Situating contemporary diversity campaigns within the project of military inclusion discussed in preceding chapters, I discuss how representations in military recruitment advertising create new figures emblematic of the Armed Forces whose inclusion is based on converging ideals of gender, race, sexuality, and class in ways that articulate and produce knowledge about difference in the military and the nation.

Diversity as a Militarized Practice

The Marine Corps’ “Wall” ad discussed above is not the only recruitment advertisement marking diversity as a militarized practice, as other branches of the Armed Forces have deployed similar messages about diversity in recruiting efforts. The recent embrace of

³ “United States Marine Corps + Wall - J. Walter Thompson Atlanta Advertising Work,” accessed November 16, 2016, <https://www.jwt.com/en/atlanta/work/wall/>.

diversity as an appeal in recruitment materials follows the formation of the Military Leadership Diversity Commission (MLDC) in 2008 and subsequent DoD plans for managing diversity and inclusion.⁴ While the MLDC defined diversity in vague and non-specific terms—“all the different characteristics and attributes of individuals that are consistent with Department of Defense core values, integral to overall readiness and mission accomplishment, and reflective of the Nation we serve”—a series of diversity brochures for the Navy show what forms of difference are included in a vision of a diverse Navy.⁵

In 2015, the Navy released six brochures focusing on diversity, all of which were available for download on their website. Each brochure spoke to a different demographic group, including African Americans, Asian Pacific Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and women, along with a brochure on religious diversity in the Navy. Each of the brochures is twelve pages long and features stories of each group’s historical contributions to the Navy as well as reports from current service members who identify as members as each group. Some of the different groups included in the diversity brochures have been targets of previous recruiting efforts, such as African Americans and women as discussed in earlier chapters, whereas other groups seem to be newly included in visions of a diverse military. The visibility and explicit naming of different groups that, together, compose a diverse Navy speaks to the ways diversity delineates ideas about difference, marking some forms of difference as easily incorporated into the military institution. Through discussions of experiences of women, people of color, and service

⁴ “Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan: 2012-2017”; Military Leadership Diversity Commission, “From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military.”

⁵ Military Leadership Diversity Commission, “From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military,” xiv.

members of various religious groups, including Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, and Christian service members, the Navy brochures mark gender, racial, and ethnic difference as compatible with, and even bolstering, the Navy's mission and goals. As the Navy released brochures marking some bodies as diverse through association with a particular form of difference, a full website was dedicated to diversity in the Army.

The home page of the website, www.armydiversity.army.mil, featured a large banner with rotating imagery. Images of different soldiers, dressed mostly in combat gear, are shown with a caption asking, "How Strong Is Diversity?" followed by a caption replying "Army Strong". The message culminates with an image of four soldiers in combat gear along with the Army's diversity slogan, "Army DiversitySM Strength in Diversity" (See Figure 31). Similar to the Marine Corps "Wall" ad, the Army website frames diversity as an institutional characteristic, a characteristic that complements and bolsters the Army's strength. In focusing on different soldiers, the Army website maps diversity onto particular bodies, consistent with Ahmed's claim that diversity functions in institutions through an attachment to bodies marked as different.⁶ In the Army banner, diversity is mapped onto the four soldiers in the image and is reduced to a visual characteristic synonymous with soldiers in combat helmets and camouflage fatigues. Other parts of the website elaborate on Army Diversity, particularly with a page addressing "Diversity Messages".

The "Diversity Messages" page features stories from five soldiers and asks readers to "Take A Second Look" and see how "[w]hen these separate differences are

⁶ Ahmed, *On Being Included*.



Figure 31

Source: U.S. Army Diversity website, <http://www.armydiversity.army.mil/index.html>

combined and work together, it contributes to an adaptive, culturally astute Army...”.⁷

Three of the five stories focus on women soldiers, including a female mechanic who served in Iraq, the first woman in Afghanistan to receive the Silver Star (a combat decoration awarded for courage in action), and a staff sergeant who served as a historian in Afghanistan. Two of the women are white and one of the women is Black, yet their three stories emphasize gender as the difference that marks them as having diversity messages. Another story focuses on a male Master Sergeant of “blended American Indian and Hispanic heritages” who uses his heritage to relate to different cultural groups and to emphasize the importance of acceptance in the Army. The final story focuses on a white male soldier who lost his eyesight due to wounds in combat but continues to serve in the Army. The different stories detail how certain forms of difference, namely gender difference, racial difference, and difference in ability, are subsumed within the form of diversity that makes the Army strong. Diversity is framed as an institutional characteristic but also as a mode of thinking about certain forms of difference as able to be incorporated into the military institution. In each of the above examples, diversity functions as a form

⁷ “ADO Diversity Messages,” accessed November 18, 2016, <http://www.armydiversity.army.mil/adoMessages/index.html>.

of public relations, as a mode of communicating the Armed Forces' commitment to inclusion while advertising a vision of an institution in which a variety of individuals can see themselves. The above recruiting efforts for the Navy and the Army deploy diversity as a mode of thinking about difference that delineates between virtuous and threatening forms of difference. Diversity, defined by the military as an open and non-specific set of characteristics, is visually and linguistically mapped onto particular forms of difference in recruiting materials. Though couched in vague and amorphous terms in policy, in practice diversity is made intelligible when embodied by particular service members. As a militarized practice, diversity is understood as the inclusion of those marked as different by race, gender, religion, and ability. These forms of difference are framed similarly to what Ahmed calls respectable differences, meanings forms of difference easily incorporated into the national body, and mark some bodies as what Puwar refers to as suitable participants.⁸ Women, people of color, differently abled soldiers, and soldiers with a variety of religious beliefs are all subsumed within the label of diversity, and the forms of difference they embody are embraced and framed as aligning with values and goals of the military institution. While these diversity efforts have functioned to make the military more inclusive, an important endeavor given the military's link with discourses and realities of full citizenship, they also articulate knowledge about the place of difference in the military and the nation. Turning now to contemporary recruiting efforts targeting LGBT and Hispanic populations,⁹ recruiting efforts celebrating diversity are

⁸ Ahmed, *On Being Included*; Puwar, *Space Invaders*.

⁹ Use of the LGBT acronym and the term "Hispanic" reflects terminology at use in the military and the military advertising industry. As will be discussed, the use of LGBT, rather than a more inclusive acronym such as LGBTQ+ or LGBTQIA, reflects a way of thinking about sexualized difference in the military that is decidedly not queer. The use of the term "Hispanic" reflects military demographic language and the use of Hispanic as a dominant term at use in the

discussed as extending military inclusion while also regulating difference and exposing some bodies to risks and consequences of military service.

During most of the AVF, recruiting ads have emphasized straightness as a shared characteristic of all service members and framed sexuality as a threatening form of difference in need of regulation and control. Some recent diversity recruiting initiatives, such as the Army's diversity website and the Navy's diversity brochures, espouse a vision of diversity and inclusion in which sexual difference is conspicuously absent, a trend echoed in national recruiting efforts for the Armed Forces. However, since the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) in 2010, some local recruiting efforts have taken steps to advertise directly to the LGBT community. In summer 2013, recruiters for the California National Guard, which consists of Army and Air Guard Units as well as Reserve units, set up recruiting booths at San Francisco Pride events.¹⁰ The booth, manned by recruiters and openly gay service members, was framed as a reflection of the repeal of DADT and the Guard as a community based organization invested in reflecting their community.¹¹ The presence of recruiters at a Pride event was unprecedented and marks a first step of incorporating sexuality as a form of virtuous difference valued in a diverse military. Such a framing of sexuality as a form of virtuous difference followed President Obama's statement on the repeal of DADT, in which Obama stated, "It is time to recognize that sacrifice, valor and integrity are no more defined by sexual orientation

advertising industry is linked to the importance of the Spanish language in advertising (Dávila, 2001).

¹⁰ Justin Berton, "Military Will Have Robust Presence at Pride Events," *San Francisco Chronicle*, accessed November 29, 2016, <http://www.sfchronicle.com/lgbt/article/Military-will-have-robust-presence-at-Pride-events-4620000.php>.

¹¹ ThinkProgress, "The Military Will Recruit At This Year's San Francisco Gay Pride Celebration," *ThinkProgress*, June 25, 2013, <https://thinkprogress.org/the-military-will-recruit-at-this-years-san-francisco-gay-pride-celebration-f27afe7aa29a>; Berton, "Military Will Have Robust Presence at Pride Events."

than they are by race or gender, religion or creed”.¹² At the same time that California National Guard recruiters were actively recruiting at San Francisco Pride, a local Marine Corps’ recruiting office in San Francisco released a recruiting poster explicitly linking the Corps to movements for LGBT equality (See Figure 32). The poster focuses on an image of Marines raising the flag at Iwo Jima along with the slogan “We’re Also Looking For A Few Good Men”. In place of the U.S. flag, the Marines are shown raising a rainbow flag, which is associated with gay pride and LGBT movements. Other branches have similarly begun embracing figures associated with LGBT rights. In 2016, Navy Secretary Ray Mabus announced that a Naval ship would be named after Harvey Milk, a gay rights activist and one of the first openly gay candidates elected to public office.¹³ Although Milk received a less than honorable discharge from the Navy, a discharge suspected of resulting from Milk’s being gay, the Navy’s embrace of Milk aligns his work as a gay rights activist with the military mission. Obama’s statement along with recent recruiting and public relations efforts mark steps in a process indicating the military’s official embrace of what Jasbir Puar calls homonationalism. According to Puar, homonationalism is the emergence, recognition, and inclusion of a national homosexuality that functions as a form of sexual exceptionalism.¹⁴ Homonationalism incorporates certain queer subjects

¹² Schulman, “The President on the Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell Repeal Act of 2010: ‘An Historic Step.’”

¹³ The Associated Press, “Navy Names Ship After Gay Rights Advocate Harvey Milk,” *The New York Times*, August 16, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2016/08/16/us/politics/ap-us-navy-ship-harvey-milk.html>.

¹⁴ Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*.



Figure 32

Source: <http://www.duffelblog.com/2013/06/new-marine-recruiting-campaign-under-fire/>

into the state while reconfiguring boundaries of race, nation, class, and ethnicity to set the boundaries of acceptable sexual subjects.¹⁵ In terms of the military, the acceptability of homonationalism is linked to ideals of military service as a marker of patriotic duty as well as a strict regulation of gender. The limits of inclusion regarding sexuality are highly evident in the end of the military's ban on transgender service members, announced in June 2016.

The end of the ban of transgender service members was announced by defense secretary Ash Carter and signaled that openly transgender service members could no longer be discharged for being transgender.¹⁶ The end of the ban opened the scope of military inclusion to include transgender service members alongside openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual service members whose full inclusion followed the repeal of DADT in 2010.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Redden and Holpuch, "US Military Ends Ban on Transgender Service Members."

While the broadening scope of inclusion to include all members of the LGBT community speaks to the dedicated work of many activists and marks a significant achievement for members of the LGBT community, it demonstrates how inclusion rearticulates forms of power that function to exclude and regulate difference. The military's proposed policy for transgender inclusion stipulates the institution of policies that provide service members an official process through which they can transition. The policy indicates that service members must receive a diagnosis from a military medical provider indicating the medical necessity of gender transition as well as stipulating that transgender service members must transition in a way that adheres to rigidly gendered standards of uniform and grooming.¹⁷ Specifically, military standards of grooming, uniform, and physical readiness mean that service members who are transitioning would generally be required to transition off-duty until their transition allows them to fully fit into a rigid gendered framework of military standards.¹⁸ Taken along with policies indicating that transgender service members must be "stable" in their gender for 18 months before joining the military,¹⁹ the military's inclusion of transgender service members is rooted in a strict regulation of gender presentation. The inclusion of LGBT service members is purposefully not an embrace of all members of the LGBTQ+ population, but rather is only extended to those who adhere to a binary conceptualization of gender rooted in military standards that regulate bodies in gendered ways. The inclusion of transgender service members demonstrates the parameters and limits of a national homosexuality as a part of the military's investment in diversity. While differences in sexuality have not

¹⁷ "In-Service Transition for Transgender Service Members" (Department of Defense, October 1, 2016), http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/features/2016/0616_policy/DoD-Instruction-1300.28.pdf.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Redden and Holpuch, "US Military Ends Ban on Transgender Service Members."

generally been embraced as markers of military diversity, recent policy changes and recruiting efforts regarding LGBT service members signal the beginning of a process of embracing homonationalism. However, policies of transgender inclusion signal how homonationalism and LGBT inclusion in the military is only intelligible within a rigid gendered framework and a continued investment in gender normalcy. The open inclusion of LGBT service members is enacted in ways that contain queerness, making it legible within the military institution through a regulation of gender, and then deployed as evidence of American sexual exceptionalism. Openly LGBT service members can now serve in the military but only those service members who enforce the notion that militaries need men to behave as the gender “men” and need women to behave as the gender “women” regardless of their sexual orientation, sexuality, or gender identity. This is not to discount the importance of LGBT inclusion in the Armed Forces, but rather to point to articulations of power within processes of inclusion; processes often enabled by other forms of exclusion, marked by limits, and holdings risks.

In 2010, the Marine Corps launched the “Family Values” advertising campaign coinciding with Hispanic Heritage Month. The multimedia campaign included videos as well as print materials focusing on connections between Hispanic values and values of the Marine Corps as part of efforts to reach Hispanic recruits. A print ad for the campaign featured the slogan “Hispanic Families Instill Important Values. Our Marines Embody Them Every Day” (See Figure 33). Featuring an image of three Marines—two male and one female—standing at attention, the ad features text telling potential recruits and their families that “Your family values – honor, courage and commitment – are at the core of who we are”. The ad, and the broader campaign of which it is part, signals an embrace of

Hispanic individuals as part of military diversity efforts while also speaking to a shifting recruiting environment.

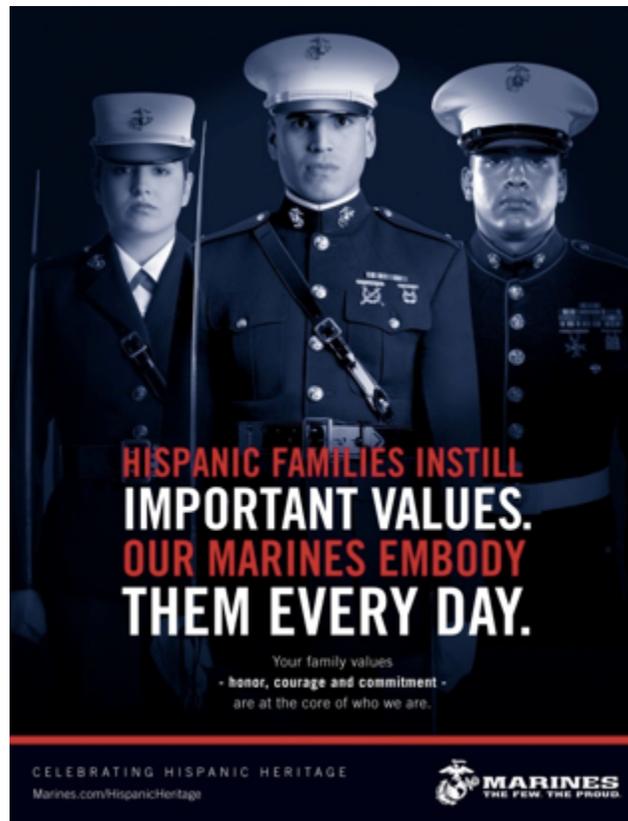


Figure 33

Source: <http://www.prweek.com/article/1266306/companies-leverage-hispanic-heritage-month-new-campaigns>

The recent emergence of Hispanic-specific advertising campaigns speaks both to changing demographics of potential recruits and a historical underrepresentation of Hispanic service members in military recruitment documentation and scholarship.²⁰

²⁰ Discussion of recruiting materials targeting Hispanic Americans is notably absent from the preceding chapters. While a few recruiting ads published in *Sports Illustrated* focused on service members with Hispanic surnames, the absence of such ads speaks to practices of targeted recruiting. As noted by Dávila (Dávila, 2001), advertising efforts focused on Hispanics generally take the form of Spanish-language advertising and as such are published in Spanish-language publications. Additional archival research has found Spanish-language recruiting ads published throughout the era of the AVF but not in any of the three publications focused on in this dissertation. This absence points to a significant limitation of the project while also signaling

Scholars have noted that percentages of Hispanic service members in the Armed Forces have more than doubled since the late 1980s, a change attributed to their growing composition of the national population as well as to recent recruiting efforts targeting Hispanic populations.²¹ In the mid 2000s, both the Army and the Marine Corps began large scale recruiting efforts targeting Hispanic recruits, efforts at which the Corps has been the most successful.²² The success of the Corps' recruiting efforts targeting Hispanic populations is linked to a variety of factors and poses contradictory benefits and risks of military inclusion.

In a study of Puerto Rican and Latina/o youth in Chicago, Gina Pérez found that military service has become an increasingly appealing option for many working-class and poor Latina/o families.²³ Furthermore, enlistment in the Armed Forces is seen as a way of negotiating racial identity for youth. For Latina/o youth, wearing a military uniform acts to challenge the ways their bodies are read in their communities and alleviate the pressure of being read with suspicion within racialized systems of surveillance.²⁴ In a contemporary moment where discourses of white supremacy and racism have been legitimated in mainstream politics in ways that target bodies of color, the ability to don a military uniform could function as a mode of protection, a way of signaling American-ness for bodies of color. The symbolic benefits of enlistment for Latina/os speaks to the power of the military as an institution capable of granting symbolic citizenship, a

possible avenues for further research on technologies of inclusion in military recruitment advertising.

²¹ Segal et al., "Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military."

²² McDonald and Parks, *Managing Diversity in the Military*; Segal et al., "Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military."

²³ Gina M. Pérez, "How a Scholarship Girl Becomes a Soldier: The Militarization of Latina/O Youth in Chicago Public Schools," *Identities* 13, no. 1 (April 1, 2006): 53–72, doi:10.1080/10702890500534346.

²⁴ Ibid.

capability that also extends to the granting of legal citizenship for some Latina/o service members. During the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, four of the first U.S. soldiers killed were non-citizens.²⁵ As discussed by Hector Amaya, the four service members were quickly granted posthumous citizenship in a way that assumed their desire to be citizens through the Armed Forces Naturalization Act of 2003.²⁶ The act granted the four non-citizen Latino service members citizenship but also functioned within the broader recruiting strategy of the Armed Forces to bolster the recruiting pool for a military struggling to meet quotas.²⁷ In conjunction with the Armed Forces Naturalization Act and targeted recruiting efforts, the military institution is increasingly embracing Latina/os as potential recruits. Latina/os are overrepresented in combat positions and are increasingly targeted in recruiting efforts.²⁸ Inclusion and diversity provide opportunities for Latina/os to enlist in the military, an endeavor that can provide service members with important symbolic recognition, avenues for upward mobility, and a pathway to citizenship while also exposing them to risks of death in combat. The inclusion of Latina/o service members as embodiments of militarized diversity deploys their bodies in a form a double duty; their presence in the military signals the military's commitment to diversity and inclusion and their bodies are marked as able to be exposed to the risks and consequences of military violence. Diversity, as expressed in recruiting campaigns and military policies, extends a form of conditional acceptance to Latina/o bodies provided some are willing to accept the physical risks of military service. Despite the risks of inclusion for Latina/o service members and the limits of inclusion for LGBT service members,

²⁵ Amaya, "Dying American or the Violence of Citizenship: Latinos in Iraq."

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.; Segal et al., "Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military."

militarized diversity functions to make the military stronger, bolstering the military's ability to meet recruitment needs and providing legitimacy to the military as a diverse and multicultural institution committed to inclusion. In 2017, faced with the everyday reality of a presidential administration actively undertaking steps reinstating white supremacy, misogyny, xenophobia, homophobia, and transphobia as national policy, practices and policies of militarized diversity point to the possibility of a military more dedicated to inclusion than the broader civilian society it serves.

While the current disconnect between the military and civilian society, in which the military is cast as a progressive institution, may seem to be a moment of exception, the military has been at the vanguard of social issues before. Military sociologist Charles Moskos has referred to the process of racial integration of the military in the 1960s and 1970s as “one of the most remarkable achievements in directed social change” and political scientist Ira Katznelson has remarked that the military “is the country’s major institution least marked by racial separation”.²⁹ While the military’s standing as a model of racial integration and equality does not negate problems the military has had, and continues to have, with problems of racism and discrimination, the framing of the military as a leader in social change speaks to militarized celebrations of diversity as part of the military’s history. The emergence of diversity as a militarized practice is not exceptional. Rather, it is a contemporary iteration of an ongoing project of military inclusion; a routinized practice began in the 1940s and intensified during the era of the AVF of constructing and representing differently gendered, raced, classed, and sexualized subjects as belonging in the military. While it may seem that military inclusion occurs in moments of exception, military inclusion is an unexceptional process

²⁹ Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man*, 18; Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*, 82.

of reproduction and maintenance driven by a need for recruits. The project of military inclusion entails demarcating what forms of difference are able to be symbolically included in representations of the military and what bodies are cast as able to be exposed to the material risks and labors of preserving the military institution and enacting state violence. The roots of diversity as a militarized practice expressed in recruiting materials and policy changes are located in a broader history of military inclusion as represented and articulated in recruitment advertising practices and representations during the era of the AVF.

Military Recruiting and the Project of Military Inclusion

Throughout the era of the AVF, military inclusion has been an ongoing project crafted in tension among personnel needs, policy changes, and symbolic ideals of soldiering and military service. Strategies and representations in military recruitment advertising articulate the ways this ongoing project imagines the place of different bodies within an inclusive military. The implementation of the AVF in 1973 established a recruiting environment in which the military could no longer rely on the forcible procurement of enlistees through a draft. Faced with a need to persuade individuals to voluntarily enlist, the military increasingly turned to partnerships with civilian advertising industries and further developed their own units committed to recruitment advertising, leading to the formation of the military advertising industry. As advertising became an increasingly important tool in meeting personnel needs, the military advertising industry created recruiting appeals representing and including a variety of different bodies in visions of the military. Representations in military recruitment advertisements published in *Sports*

Illustrated, *Ebony*, and *Cosmopolitan* from 1973 to 2015 represent service members as women, as men, as white, and as people of color.

Men and women, both white and of color, who desire opportunities for transformation and economic mobility are represented in recruiting ads touting financial, educational, and vocational opportunities associated with military service. Black Americans, mostly Black men, are included in recruiting ads framing the military as a level-playing field and a site of racial equality. Straight men and women, of all races are featured in representations of military service members as fathers, wives, husbands, and as part of opposite-sex couples. Women, mostly white women, are represented in recruiting ads that portray expectations of femininity for military women. White women, men of color, women of color, and white men are all represented as members of a visually inclusive military. Taken together, recruiting ads published during the AVF show a variety of new figures in the Armed Forces; figures represented as included in the military. Rather than a monolithic image of Uncle Sam, we see a diverse cast of military service members in recruiting advertisements during the era of the AVF. While recruitment advertisements during the AVF portray a varied cast of military service members, different bodies are included in different ways and to different extents. Throughout representations of the military as an inclusive institution, the figure of ideal straight white male soldier looms large. From images of women service members with men standing in the background to visions of a rainbow military laden with white men, the extent to which different bodies are represented in military recruitment advertisements can be understood through a proximity to a historical ideal of the straight white male. Black service members can be included in recruitment advertisements

provided they are mostly men. Women service members can be included provided they are mostly white. Men of color and women can be included provided they are all straight. For any and all service members and recruits who are not straight white men, being represented as included in the military hinges on different conditions. In order to make sense of the conditions and parameters through which different bodies are represented in military recruiting ads, we have to explore how ideas about difference—namely gender, race, sexuality, and class—are deployed to frame some bodies as belonging in the military, some bodies as conditionally included, and others as excluded. Representations in recruiting ads drew on ideas about gender, race, sexuality, and class in ways that obfuscated the class inequalities critical to recruiting, reconfigured ideas about military masculinity, promoted ideologies of colorblindness, and regulated sexuality and gender, particularly for military women.

Ideas about class and economic inequality are absolutely central to the military advertising industry. As discussed in Chapter III, strategies of portraying the military as a visually inclusive institution were developed in cooperation with marketing and advertising industry practices of targeting specific demographic groups through particular representations and publications. Targeted advertising strategies founded on economic inequalities shaped the process of representing a visually inclusive military. The process of identifying demographic groups to be targeted as part of recruiting efforts was shaped by ideas about whom the military most wanted as enlistees and who they could reasonably persuade to actually enlist. Efforts to target individuals beyond the figure of the white male soldier, including Black Americans, other people of color, and women, were based on an economic logic at the heart of the AVF that saw potential recruits as

individuals for whom military wages and opportunities matched or improved those on offer in the civilian world. The tension between cultural ideals of military service linked to straight white men and realities of needing to target and recruit groups located at the margins of the civilian labor market informed representations of a visually inclusive military. Using strategies of colorizing ads and portraying a rainbow military, the military advertising industry was able to show differently gendered and raced bodies that they were included in the military. Such strategies represent the military as visually inclusive through representations that erase the significance of racial and gender difference. The process of representing a visually inclusive military is shaped by military policies that allowed for a more forceful representation of a colorblind military than a gender-blind military, due to regulations limiting opportunities for women in the Armed Forces. Strategies of representing the military as visually inclusive laid the foundation for a project of military inclusion in which anyone could see themselves in the military, provided they are members of the groups targeted by the military advertising industry, a project reliant upon class inequalities that influence recruiting appeals based on the promise of upward mobility.

As discussed in Chapter IV, a language of mobility was consistently deployed in recruiting appeals in a variety of ways during the era of the AVF. Though framed through a narrative of choice, military enlistment in the AVF is fundamentally rooted in economic inequalities. The implementation of the AVF led to an increased reliance on individuals from lower class and working-class backgrounds and people of color, specifically Black Americans, and women.³⁰ Language and promises of mobility, expressed through

³⁰ Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam*; Segal et al., “Hispanic and African American Men and Women in the U.S. Military.”

narratives of pay and benefits, educational opportunities, and vocational opportunities, are the primary ways recruitment advertisements reflected these economic realities, a process built upon targeted strategies discussed in Chapter III that obfuscates class inequalities central to military recruiting. Without class inequalities in the civilian labor market, the military would be entirely reliant upon recruits who embrace the military's mission. As noted, for many individuals the likelihood of service is shaped more by an inability to get similar occupational, education, and financial opportunities in their civilian communities,³¹ a trend the military advertising industry acknowledges through practices of targeting specific groups located at the periphery of the labor market, showing them as visually included in the military, and making appeals based on promises of upward mobility. Broadly speaking, promises of upward mobility and transformation speak to any potential recruit that desires the opportunities on offer in the military. In this way, language of mobility functions as an inclusive appeal, hailing any potential recruits who want the pay, benefits, educational and vocational opportunities advertised as part of military service, particularly those who cannot access such opportunities elsewhere. The process of framing the military as a site of upward mobility was crafted in tension with ideas about gender, race, and ideal soldiers and required rearticulating understandings of masculinity.

Ads based on appeals of mobility frame masculinity as an institutional characteristic granted to differently raced and gender bodies in varying degrees based on different representations of military service. Specifically, promises of mobility articulated through language of pay and benefits are linked to inclusive representations according to race and gender. The opportunity to access pay and benefits is granted to both women

³¹ Segal et al., "Propensity to Serve in the U.S. Military."

and men of color, and white men and women. Appeals based on educational and vocational opportunities, especially when articulated through representations of combat-oriented service, are less inclusive according to race and are almost exclusively represented in association with male bodies. Promises of economic mobility can be deployed in inclusive ways and can enlist other forms of difference and, in so doing, expand the scope of masculine authority granted by the military to include people of color and women. However, promises of economic mobility also function to reassert links between white men, military service, and opportunities associated with service, especially when represented as service in combat. Taken together, Chapters III and IV reveal how the project of military inclusion was undergirded by a model of military service reliant upon existing economic inequalities in the civilian world, a reliance that is obscured in representations in recruiting ads. The military advertising industry deployed promises of economic mobility as a mode of addressing a variety of different recruits, a process that reframed the military's reliance on marginalized individuals as an institutional promise of transformation that, though granted to a variety of gendered and raced bodies, remained tethered to the figure of the white male soldier. Along with efforts to portray the military as a visually inclusive space of opportunity, the military advertising industry also developed strategies of military inclusion engaging directly with discussions of racial and gender difference.

As discussed in Chapter V, there were three primary strategies utilized in recruiting ads seeking to persuade Black recruits that the military was a site of racial equality. Composed of both visual and linguistic elements, a number of recruiting ads represented the military as a racially inclusive institution through defensive, progressive,

and revisionary strategies. In acknowledging and discussing race, while dismissing its significance as a factor in influencing opportunities and experiences in the Armed Forces, these recruiting ads contribute to colorblindness as a framework for thinking about race. Recruiting ads explicitly discussing the place of Blackness and of Black service members in the military built and expanded upon representations of the military as an aesthetically colorblind institution examined in Chapter III. Strategies of visual inclusion included a variety of bodies without acknowledging or discussing issues of race and difference, a process of including racial difference in military recruiting ads based on color as a marker of visual difference. Taken together with ads discussed in Chapter V, military recruitment ads promote colorblindness in two related ways. Colorblindness is promoted as a visual aesthetic, consistent with images of rainbows, mosaics, and melting pots as ways of imagining difference in media, and as a mode of thinking about race. Colorblindness functions as a condition for the inclusion of Black recruits. Black recruits can be included in the military provided their inclusion contributes to a politics of colorblindness, in which race is reduced to color as a marker of visual difference or race is acknowledged while its significance is dismissed. Appeals focused on the inclusion of Black recruits promote an ideology of colorblindness and lay the foundation for contemporary investments in diversity while approaching equality as a flattened plane. Recruiting ads with appeals centered on the position of Blackness within the military almost exclusively featured representations of Black men, demonstrating how the inclusion of racial difference in recruiting representations is crafted with a concurrent regulation of gender difference. The gendered vision of racial inclusion reflects a project of military inclusion in which colorblindness relies upon a hyper-awareness of gender as something in need of

regulation and control. The regulation of gender at work in promoting ideologies of colorblindness is echoed in other recruiting ads that focused on appeals framing the military as a gender-inclusive institution.

Recruiting ads framed the military as a gender-inclusive institution through appeals telling women they could get two things out of military service: a gender-equitable experience and opportunities not available elsewhere. Ideas about women's inclusion and gender in the military are imbricated with representations, policies, and practices of regulating sexuality. During the AVF, with the exception of a few local recruiting efforts after 2010, recruiting ads consistently represented all service members, regardless of gender, as straight. As a regulated form of difference, straightness was represented as a shared characteristic of all service members and a form of difference able to subsume differences in gender, race, and class. Images of military service members as husbands, as wives, as fathers, and as members of opposite-sex couples contributed to the construction of the military as an institution defined by perceptions of straightness, a perception that resonates with gendered effects. Representations of straightness framed the parameters through which women could be conditionally included in representations of military service. Women are only included in recruiting ads within the boundaries of military femininity, a form of femininity that represents military women as straight and as adhering to gendered ideals of appearance through representations of makeup, hair, and uniform. The conditional inclusion of military women exposes the project of military inclusion as a regulatory mechanism that privileges certain forms of difference over others. The military can be represented as a gender-inclusive institution provided gender difference is expressed and represented

within a narrow rubric tied to perceptions of straightness. The project of military inclusion, though framed as a commitment to gender equality or racial inclusion in some recruiting ads, is ultimately driven by a need to recruit enough bodies each year to maintain the size and strength of the military.

Representations of the military as an inclusive institution constitute which bodies are imagined as able to meet the military's needs while seeking to reach certain groups and persuade them to enlist. In doing so, representations in military recruitment ads draw on ideas about gender, sexuality, race, and class. Class is expressed as mobility; a term that allows the military advertising industry to speak to a broad array of potential recruits while obfuscating the military's reliance on economic inequalities in meeting personnel needs. Language of mobility is related to ideas about gender and race in framing masculinity as an institutional characteristic able to grant authority to differently gendered and raced bodies while maintaining links between white male soldiers and combat-oriented visions of military service. Ideas about race are expressed through an ideology of colorblindness and representations of Black recruits to frame the military as a racially equitable institution and model for thinking about race in America. Sexuality and gender are regulated in recruiting ads through an emphasis on straightness as a shared characteristic of all service members regardless of difference in gender and race, an emphasis that structures women's inclusion. Taken together, in drawing on ideas about race, class, sexuality, and gender, military recruitment advertisements produce and articulate knowledge about difference as distinct categories, each of which are framed in relation to one another to create the parameters of acceptable difference within the military.

The project of military inclusion constructed and relied upon class, race, gender, and sexuality as distinct categories of difference in practices and representations of military recruitment advertising. For much of the AVF, class, race, and gender were represented as virtuous forms of difference, indicative of the military's commitment to inclusion and equality as emblematic values of American exceptionalism. In contrast, sexuality was cast a threatening form of difference, controlled and regulated through recruiting ads touting straightness as a shared characteristics of all service members. Class, as a category of difference, was rearticulated as mobility in ways that promote ideals of meritocracy and obscure class inequalities at work in civilian society. By valuing class and framing military service as a pathway to upward mobility, the military advertising industry cast the military institution as committed to providing opportunities for any recruits willing to contribute their labor and accept the risks required to obtain the benefits associated with enlisting. Valuing mobility as a euphemism for class allowed the military to meet their personnel needs through a reliance on recruits from lower and working-class backgrounds and framed military service as a paradigmatic model of meritocracy. Racial inclusion, represented through an almost exclusive focus on Black recruits and service members, was framed as an indicator of the military's commitment to colorblindness and equality. In framing the military as a unique site of equal opportunity for Black recruits, the presence of Black bodies in military recruitment advertisements is heralded as a symbol of the military's commitment to inclusion. Similar to representations of class as a virtuous form of difference, representations of racial difference allow the military to recast an increased reliance on Black service members as a symbol of the military's unique commitment to equality. Representations of the military

as a gender inclusive organization portrayed the military as a site of gender equality and unparalleled opportunities for women, in spite of regulations that decidedly limited women's opportunities in the military for much of the AVF. Representations of gender as virtuous form of difference in the military, framed as indicative of a desire to give women greater opportunities than available in the civilian world, allowed the military to recruit women while maintaining the military institution as ideologically and demographically dominated by men and manliness. Representations of gender inclusion further relied upon a strict regulation of military femininity, a condition of inclusion cast along with a regulation of sexuality. The process of framing gender as a virtuous form of difference was reliant upon representations of sexuality as a threatening form of difference in need of regulation and control; a process that reveals how distinct forms of difference represented in the project of military inclusion are related to one another to create an overlapping lattice of difference that excludes and regulates difference at the same time it includes. The ways in which class, race, and gender were represented as virtuous forms of difference and indicators of an exceptional military committed to equality and inclusion simultaneously entailed regulating other forms of difference.

Recruiting advertisements framing the military as a site of economic mobility and opportunity, while at times showing a variety of differently gendered and raced bodies as included in the military, were influenced by regulations and ideals limiting combat-oriented visions of military service to mostly white men. The ubiquity of representations of white male soldiers in advertisements touting mobility demonstrate how class is most valued as a virtuous form of difference when it aligns with an ideal of white men as ideal military service members. The valuing of class as an indicator of the military's

commitment to equal opportunity is made more salient when represented through a regulation of gender and race. A similar process of valuing one form of difference based on the regulation and exclusion of other forms of difference is at work in representations of race and gender as virtuous forms of difference. The overwhelming majority of advertisements celebrating racial inclusion focused on Black male service members, a representation that shows how racial inclusion in the military hinges on gender exclusion. In deviating from an ideal of whiteness in the military institution, the inclusion of Black recruits is made more palatable when an ideal of maleness is maintained. As shown in recruiting ads touting the military as a site of gender equality for women recruits, any departure from the ideal of male service members is primarily represented through representations of white women service members and requires asserting straightness. In framing the military as a site of gender inclusion, military women are regulated and controlled as indication that although the military may be including women, they are only including the “right” kind of women. The ways gender, sexuality, race, and class are represented as included based on relationships between various distinct forms of difference, exposes how military inclusion constructs narrow parameters through which different recruits and service members are made intelligible.

Individuals can be included in the military when recognizable as women, or as Black, or as in need of economic mobility; when recognized as proper embodiments of forms of difference valued within the military institution. The process of valuing forms of difference is driven by personnel needs, shaped by economic realities of recruiting, and influenced by proximity to ideals of whiteness, straightness, and maleness. Recognition in the project of military inclusion is less easily granted to individuals the more they

diverge from the ideal figure of the straight white male. In constructing distinct forms of difference, some of which are cast as virtuous and valued provided other forms of threatening difference are controlled and regulated, military inclusion perpetuates a flattened plane and contributes to what Crenshaw refers to as intersectional erasures.³² The most glaring intersectional erasure in military recruitment advertising pertains to Black women serving in the military. In 2011 almost one-third of active-duty women were Black,³³ yet Black women are conspicuously absent from recruitment ads. Brown contends that military planners may rely on the discrimination Black women face in civilian society to guide them to military service,³⁴ a viewpoint that demonstrates how Black women's position in intersectional structures of power crafted through the convergence of gender, race, class, and sexuality situates them as willing to contribute their labor to the maintenance of the military despite their exclusion from the symbolic project of military inclusion. The project of military inclusion marks and frames some differences as able to be included, a process that requires thinking of differences as distinct and prioritizing some differences over others. Though often couched in liberatory and progressive terms, military inclusion is ultimately driven by personnel needs and economic inequalities and is reliant upon a mode of valuing and celebrating difference based on proximity to ideals of whiteness, maleness, and straightness. As the military advertising industry touts diversity as a defining characteristic of the military institution, the parameters of acceptable difference are shifting while still relying on the regulation of difference. Given the military's position as a privileged institution in the national imagination, a conduit for material and symbolic citizenship, and a model for diversity

³² Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins."

³³ Patten, "Women in the U.S. Military."

³⁴ Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity*.

initiatives in other institutions, the implications of the ongoing project of military inclusion resonate beyond the bounds of the military institution.

Beyond Militarized Diversity

By its own account the U.S. military began their commitment to being an inclusive organization in 1948, decades before other major institutions, such as media and higher education began grappling with their own issues of inclusion and diversity. Scholars have argued that military inclusion, particularly in regards to race, shaped and influenced ideas about higher education as a pathway to upward mobility as well as ideas about racial liberalism as a key tenet of U.S. global hegemony post WWII.³⁵ Questions of how the project of military inclusion influenced projects of inclusion in other institutions need to be further explored, especially given the privileged site of the military within the nation. Issues of diversity and inclusion in higher education have been interrogated by a number of scholars. For example, Ahmed's work on the function of diversity in institutions focuses on higher education.³⁶ The ways in which language of inclusion and diversity practices at work in higher education echo or borrow from the project of military inclusion need to be further explored, particularly given the framing of both higher education and the military as total institutions framed as providing pathways toward upwards mobility and indicative of inclusion in the broader nation. Definitions of inclusion and diversity in the military are remarkably similar to those at work in higher education. As noted by Roderick Ferguson, protests by students in the 1960s and 1970s led to an institutionalization of differences, indicated through revisions of the canon, national identity, and the market that recast minority differences as positives that support

³⁵ Roach, "From Combat to Campus"; Mershon and Schlossman, *Foxholes and Color Lines*; Melamed, "The Spirit of Neoliberalism."

³⁶ Ahmed, *On Being Included*.

the aims and objectives of academic institutions.³⁷ Ferguson contends that the inclusion of new peoples and new knowledges in the American academy is simultaneously marked by processes of regulation, control, and exclusion;³⁸ a process of inclusion similar to military inclusion. Links between inclusion and diversity in higher education and the military, especially given that the military began their own project of deliberate inclusion decades before higher education began seriously addressing similar issues, need to be further explored to uncover the ways inclusion as a national project is articulated between and across different institutions. Scholars have also studied links between inclusion in media and military inclusion. For example, Mukherjee has argued that affirmative actions films focus on white male heroes forced to reinvent themselves within new cultural landscapes of race and gender to celebrate paradigms of racial progress.³⁹ Several of these films, including *GI Jane* and *Courage Under Fire*, revolve around the military to portray America as a color- and gender-blind meritocracy.⁴⁰ The military did not cooperate with the production of either of the two films but has consistently worked closely with the advertising industry to portray the military as colorblind and gender-blind. Scholarship has explored the emergence of the military-entertainment complex,⁴¹ a term referring to increased cooperation between media and creative industries and military interests, but questions of inclusion in the military and the media need to be further explored. The roots of inclusion as a militarized endeavor remain absent from

³⁷ Roderick A. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things* (University of Minnesota Press, 2012), <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/24877>.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Mukherjee, *The Racial Order Of Things*.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Stahl, *Militainment, Inc.*; Nina B. Huntemann, Matthew Thomas Payne, and Ian Bogost, *Joystick Soldiers: The Politics of Play in Military Video Games*, 1 edition (Routledge, 2009); Tim Lenoir, "All but War Is Simulation: The Military-Entertainment Complex," *Configurations* 8, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 289–335, doi:10.1353/con.2000.0022.

many ongoing discussions of diversity and inclusion in other institutions, despite important links and connections between projects of military inclusion and projects of inclusion in higher education and media. This project provides a framework for thinking about the ways military inclusion resonates as a model for thinking about inclusion as a national project articulated across and between a variety of institutions and spaces.

The recent emphasis on military inclusion is a contemporary iteration of a broader project of military inclusion that took place throughout the era of the AVF and has resulted in a military in which women have full access to all military occupations, LGBT service members can openly serve, and recruiting efforts are committed to breaking down barriers that separate us. Under the rubric of diversity, these forms of inclusion continue to exclude and regulate distinct forms of difference. Military women continue to be included under the condition of military femininity, an indication of the regulation of gender that also limits the inclusion of LGBT service members to service members adhering to narrow conceptualizations of a national homosexuality defined by gendered norms and thus far expressed through representations of gay white men. The full inclusion of women and LGBT service members has been framed as an ending point, a culmination of struggles over inclusion that discounts very real and ongoing problems with rape, sexual assault, and harassment in the military. Latina/o service members make up an increasing percentage of the Armed Forces and are increasingly targeted in recruiting efforts that mark them as embodiments of diversity while obscuring the ways they are exposed to risks of military service. Each expansion of forms of acceptable difference, including recent policy changes regarding sexuality and gender, has been framed as a marker of a military made stronger and better through a commitment to

inclusion. The supremacy of diversity and inclusion as symbols of American military might, stemming from a broader history of military inclusion represented in recruitment materials, faces a potential challenge under the Trump administration.

While the military has wavered in terms of a commitment to inclusion, particularly in regards to policies regulating gender and sexuality in the Armed Forces, the era of the AVF has been characterized by a consistent trajectory toward inclusion. This consistency should not be read as a symbol of a benevolent military but rather as a mode of regulating difference and a response of the military advertising industry to unique recruiting needs of the AVF. Inclusion, in all its particular manifestations and when paired with policy changes, ultimately expands the potential pool of military service members and supports the maintenance of the military institution; an institution of great importance in the Trump administration. During his presidential campaign, Trump consistently espoused rhetoric of remasculinization, from his constant references to strength and endurance to his comments on foreign policy indicating that America has been humiliated and is no longer respected by global rivals. This project has made rebuilding and expanding the military a major goal of a Trump administration, as indicated by budget proposals calling for a fifty-four billion dollar increase in military spending.⁴² In a budget proposal titled, *America First: A Budget Blueprint to Make America Great Again*, an increase in military spending is framed as an investment in a stronger military and way of rebuilding the Armed Forces.⁴³ Part of the project of “making America great again” relies on the military, an institution that for the last forty-

⁴² “America First: A Budget Blueprint to Make America Great Again” (Office of Management and Budget, March 13, 2017), https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/omb/budget/fy2018/2018_blueprint.pdf.

⁴³ Ibid.

three years has relied on entirely voluntary recruits. Practices and strategies of military inclusion, both in the military advertising industry and in official military policy, are imbricated with a project of national inclusion and define the parameters of symbolic and material understandings of citizenship. Practices of recruiting entail a process of discerning which bodies are marked as able and willing to agree with the task of maintaining the military and with accepting the risks and consequences of doing so. Marking bodies as recruitable marks bodies as able to represent the military and the nation as well as marking them as able to bear the costs of violence and death in the interest of state violence. How will a proposed project of remasculinization rooted in a white supremacist, misogynistic, and homophobic administration rely upon a military in which 42,000 service members are non-citizen Latinos, Black women are over represented, and women and LGBT individuals are being recruited based on promises of equal opportunity? The answer to this question, as well as to other questions of how the military is going to conduct recruitment and public relations efforts in the near future points to the importance of continued scholarship on the military advertising industry and practices and representations of military inclusion. Recruiting appeals based on inclusion and diversity in the military run the risk of promoting a multicultural and exceptional military tasked with carrying out a project of remasculinization and foreign intervention in the interests of promoting a national project invested in excluding the very bodies tasked with accepting the burdens of state violence. Representations and strategies of military recruiting are poised to challenge and rearticulate ways of thinking about the place of difference in the military and in the nation at a moment when questions of national belonging are critically needed.

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