FROM SOLDIER TO CIVILIAN: REDEFINING IDENTITY AND PURPOSE AFTER SERVING IN THE MILITARY

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ABSTRACT

From Soldier to Civilian: Redefining Identity and Purpose after Serving in the Military

Doctor of Letters Dissertation by,

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Veterans experience a loss in personal identity while acclimating from their military identity into their civilian identity. Soldiers returning home from war are put into a state of cultural survival upon reentering life outside the military. Veterans of the Gulf War and Global War on Terrorism come home to an isolating transition into society. The loss of daily comradeship from their time in active duty aids in leading to this lost sense of identity. The soldier's relationships, job, and general purpose become reexamined causing the soldier to essentially start over. The transition back to civilian life for the Gulf War and GWOT Veterans closely mimics the experiences of veterans from the Korean War.

While all returning veterans face transitions coming home, the level of support during their transitions has wavered. Veterans of WWI, WWII, and Vietnam found strength in active groups. The veterans of WWI, WWII, and Vietnam managed to maintain a level of comradeship during their transitions back into civilian life. This level of comradeship is a reflection of the cultural times in which the veterans returned home. The Korean War, Gulf War, and GWOT soldiers returned to a society focused on the individual.

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Acknowledgements

Interest in this project was born from experiences of engaging with friends and family members before, during, and after their service in the United States Military. My first experience of understanding the delicate balance of military to civilian life came when I watched two of my classmates come home from having finished two tours abroad in under 18 months. Both of these men have had a large impact on how I see transition experiences. Both came home incredibly changed.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Research in the field of Military History has long focused on combat, peace missions, heroics, and events leading up to the moment of war. Contemporary war veterans are experiencing a loss in personal identity while trying to acclimate back into civilian life. As a soldier, veterans were trained to do a job. Soldiers are told their role, rank, and purpose in the greater picture and through bonds of training, combat, trust, and camaraderie individual soldiers are transitioned into becoming part of the greater military machine. Soldiers returning home from war are put into a state of cultural survival upon re-entry into life outside the military.

Many veterans of the Gulf War and Global War on Terrorism[1] have come home to an isolating transition into society. The loss of daily comradeship from their time in active duty contributes to a lost sense of identity. The soldier's relationships, job, and general purpose are reexamined causing the soldier to essentially start over. The transition back to civilian life for the Gulf War and GWOT Veterans closely mimics the experiences of veterans from the Korean War.

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[11] Global War on Terrorism will be indicated as GWOT throughout this dissertation. This war has had many names. The soldiers I've spoken with and interviewed still refer to it as GWOT and then the

Overview

The purpose of this study is to examine the contributing factors to issues surrounding transitioning home to a society focused on the individual versus a group with a large bonded comradare in civilian life. Veterans returning home from the Gulf War and the Global War on Terror are experiencing similar "silent" transitions as those who returned from the Korean War. While all returning veterans face transitions coming home, the level of support during their transitions have wavered. Veterans of WWI, WWII, and Vietnam found strength in active groups. These veterans frequently managed to maintain a level of comradeship during their transitions back to civilian life. Which was a reflection of the cultural times in which the veterans returned home. The Korean War, Gulf War, Cold War, and GWOT soldiers returned to a society focused on the individual. Additionally, soldiers coming home from the Cold War, Gulf War, and GWOT have come home to a different set of expectations than that of their predecessors. Sustained isolation has become an increasing issue for those returning from deployments post 1980.

The research contained in this dissertation will include a historical overview of experiences soldiers have reported upon returning to civilian life after service. The primary focus of this study is not on Post Traumatic Stress, PTS, in a clinical manner.[2] However, given the association of this syndrome with the veteran population and the

[2] Post-Traumatic Stress will be referred to as "PTS." Within the community there is a great debate over the use of "PTS" versus "PTSD", the general veteran community has drawn more toward the usage of PTS and taken away the "D" as it stands for "Disorder".

issues surrounding this association, Chapter II will give a brief overview of PTS. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine political issues, soldier expectations, and changing identities of veterans in their experiences after the war. The goal is to illuminate specific challenges soldiers face when attempting to acclimate back into civilian life without enough support. The focus will be on issues surrounding lost personal identity due to multiple contributing factors upon entry into civilian life. Examples of identity issues stem from a loss of daily camaraderie, distancing from personal military responsibility to cope, soldier to soldier issues, inadequate skills training, family life, and isolation. Chapter III focuses on concepts relating to identity after service. This chapter includes transitioning from a solder to a civilian, serving in war zones with less popularity or attention, and military culture. Chapter IV will provide an overview of transition experiences relating to WWII, Vietnam, Korea, and the Korean Demilitarized Zone. Chapter V of the dissertation focuses on changing expectations and issues surrounding Gulf War and GWOT veterans. Chapter five focuses on the veterans who usher in the concepts of modern war. Modern war includes the increased use of advancing computer based technology in combat to help reduce or minimize civilian casualties.

Operational Definitions

The primary research purpose is to shed light on issues surrounding transition experiences into civilian life. In order to best understand some of the concepts presented throughout the next several chapters a common language regarding “identity” and

"identity theory" is necessary. Identity theory itself begins prior to 1900, but the analysis included in this paper will focus on theories developed between 1980 and the present. More specifically the definitions on identity theory for this research connect to concepts within Social Identity Theory.

Defining identity

Defining identity within an individual is complicated. Identity is created by weaving a large number of general constructs together. Peter Burke and Jan Stets describes identity as "the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person."[3] Burke and Stets theory is reliant upon Sheldon Stryker's 1980 theory in which everyone must hold specific spaces within society.[4] Based on Burke and Stets associations with Stryker's theory, an individual is plugged into larger parts of a greater society. One's individual self is based upon how well the individual understands their place within each group to which they belong. The individual self must also be able to see how to move in and out of each role

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[3] Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.), 3.

[4] Ibid., 25.

they maintain in a particular group.[5] In general these decisions occur in a natural manner.[6]

As an individual progresses within group dynamics, their identity is altered causing adaptation to occur in a gradual manner. Burke and Stets discuss this progression as the "flow of persons into positions of importance through the mechanism of elections and appointments is part of the social structure, as the mechanisms that support and sustain this flow of persons, goods, and services."[7] Burke and Stets point out the individual self continually adapts and changes. These changes cause the individual, or unique person, to see their place in society differently. Not only does the individual see themselves in a new light, the other unique individuals within their social structure will also begin to see the person who has grown or changed in a new light.[8]

Burke and Stets philosophy on Identity Theory asserts the importance of how an individual becomes "embedded in the very social structure that is being created by that (and other) actor(s)."[9] This theory may be true providing a natural socially shared equivalency across each of the individual's roles within society. This would imply everyone who participates in the unique person's social structures would be using the same or identical social constructs to move up in society.

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[5] Ibid., 21.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., 5.

[8] Ibid., 6.

[9] Ibid.

The main factor in understanding the unique person, or one's individual self, is the unique person's ability to interconnect all of their social structures. Burke and Stets refer to this as the "person." A person is only whole once everything within allows the person to fully function within the social structures to which they belong.[10] In essence, each of the pieces of who they are must be able to coexist within the individual and their prospective place in the larger social structures.

Burke and Stets discuss the different social structures an individual belongs to coming together. Another element is the placement of an event within time which comes into the equation when looking at identity. This element includes linking past and present events together. Judy Demblon and Arnaud D'Argembeau discuss these elements as "personally significant events [that] are often organized in coherent networks that include both memories and prospective thoughts."[11] With this added layer, we are able to take a look at Burke and Stets theory with additional depth and dimension. The unique person is tied not only to each of the elements within their social strata but also to their past experiences and future self.

Larger social structures, or group structures, are reliant upon harmony and common understanding across groups of unique persons. The identity of the group may occur in multiple strata and can be most easily seen when looking at the categories in

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[10] Ibid., 7.

[11] Julie Demblon and Arnaud D'Argembeau, "Contribution of past and future self-defining event networks to personal identity," *Memory* 25, no. 5 (2016): 7.

which a unique person identifies themselves.[12] The group will have its own interconnected strata as well as maintain shared past experiences. Examples of groups may include family, work, extracurricular activities, society memberships, athletic teams, or any other number of constructs in which multiple persons are reliant upon one another. In breaking down the group structure a person is able to identify how they fit into the larger group, their purpose in the group, and any potential goals they may have as members of this group.[13] Groups exist based on the importance set by social society as well as the individual who chooses to participate within societal norms. A person must feel as though they naturally fit within the group or social structure.[14]

Military identity and culture

Military Identity incorporates aspects of the unique person in society and yet functions in a very different manner. In the United States society largely functions on an individualistic approach. Within this approach it is socially acceptable by the larger group for an individual to make decisions and individual choices. Military Identity relies on a more collectivist approach to defining an individual or unique person.

Persons who choose to, or were drafted to, join the military must learn how to exist within a collectivist set of expectations. These specific sets of expectations may go

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[12] Burke and Stets, 48.

[13] Ibid., 120-121.

[14] Ibid., 160-161.

against what the individual grew up with in understanding their place within society. The military provides individuals with specific ranks, instructions, and decisions based on the needs and good of the whole.

Rising in rank, training, or overall prestige within the military system does not equate to rising in civilian society. An example of the issues caused by a differentiated set of rules and expectations can be seen when looking at Army Combat Medics who seek jobs in the civilian world. One of the interviewees, an Army Reservist, is a trained Army Combat Medic. The individual was having a difficult time finding a job in the civilian world with his military level skillset. In order to do the work he had done in Afghanistan this Army Combat Medic would need to complete a year of intensive paramedic training. Despite having received training within the military, worked within a medic position for many years, and having saved a number of lives, he is required to go back for further training. If he did not wish to go back to school to obtain the necessary certifications, he would need to begin his civilian life with a brand new career.

The military forges its own culture reinforced through military housing, barracks, jobs, and social activities. Creation of these communities allows for reinforcement of military culture, maintenance of the collective community, and a strong shared bond of identity tied to the military. This environment pushes the military and needs of the military to the top of an individual's personal hierarchy. Expectations, rules, and governance are kept by the military in these communities. Rules and laws are known and if not followed will have an impact on an individual's career. There are some benefits

from this separation for the soldiers. When living in these tighter military communities, they are able to live among people they feel understand their way of life. There is an innate sense of support and understanding within the community. Agatha Herman and Richard Yarwood examined the complexities of where veterans choose to live after a soldier's military service has finished. Herman and Yarwood underline the importance veterans placed on the idea of home circling around an individual's unit, base, or ship.[15] Their findings continued in supporting the need for living near other "former military personnel."[16] Finding other former military personnel to live near helps to maintain a part of an individual's military ties within their unique person.

Civilian life is seen as separate. The term civilian itself helps to create a separation between the two groups. Those who are serving, and those who are not serving. The terminology helps to keep a distancing factor between the two groups that must be navigated upon transitioning back into civilian life full-time.

An important element within this research is the human factor of soldiers and veterans. Herman and Yarwood describe individuals within the military in terms of maintaining their unique persona. The two state "Soldiers are more than just passive beings, who are shaped or changed by military training, but are agents with complex identities."[17] Complex identities include interwoven common factors such as child,

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[15] Agatha Herman and Richard Yarwood, "From services to civilian: The geographies of veterans' post-military lives," *Geoforum* 53 (2014): 44.

[16] Ibid., 44.

[17] Ibid., 42.

parent, their job title, where they grew up, goals, husband/wife, and a number of other factors. The military is not the sole identity of a soldier or veteran. Yet, the military is a significant component of their overall unique persona.

Loss of identity

The loss of an individual's unique persona occurs for many reasons. Common causes for a loss in unique persona, or disruption of identity may include divorce, death, or loss of a job.[18] Disruption of identity infers a disturbance in an individual's interconnectedness with their unique persona. Anthony Papa and Nicole Lancaster address identity disruption in relation to theories on grief and loss in their article, *Identity continuity and loss after death, divorce, and job loss*. Papa and Lancaster use aspects of Burke and Stets' theories on group identity and the idea of the unique person. Papa and Lancaster argue "While identity theory suggests that specific losses have shared symbolic meaning across individuals within a culture, the impact of loss on an individual may differ based on the attributes that comprise an individual's identity hierarchy."[19] Burke and Stets' theories also take a look at loss within an individual's ability to complete an "identity-verification process."[20] A combination of the two theories implies an individual

[18] Ibid., 47.

[19] Ibid., 57.

[20] Burke and Stets, 79.

who suffers a change or loss in what they view as their top, or primary, identity will struggle when reassessing how they view themselves as an individual.

For the purposes of this dissertation the focus will be on the factors most commonly shared by veterans. In this case, one of the most regularly shared issues among transitioning veterans relates to the end of their service. Overall, this is a loss of their job, their community, and their clearly defined place within the social construct of the military. Catalysts for identity disruption for veterans may include a tour ending, leaving the service due to enlistment expiring, war ending, retirement, or dismissal from service.

Assumptions and limitations

Identity research assumes all individuals are complex and their unique person is tied to past events and their social strata. Additionally, individuals who experience a loss of who they are will experience some level of transitioning difficulty. Not all individuals will be able to immediately notice when they are experiencing transitioning issues. Not all transitioning issues limit an individual from being a functioning member of society.

Stalling within the transition back to civilian life may come with lack of cultural ties or common experiences. Some of these transitions may be seen as a form of culture re-assimilation. Additional issues may come from changes in political, social, and economic culture upon coming home. Aspects of these transitions may be serious, like driving and not knowing how you ended up somewhere. A more lighthearted example

might realizing you do not have to ration your cigarettes as heavily. Chapters III and IV will touch on these aspects with ancedotes from interviews and participation at veterans events.

The largest limitation of this study will be the complexity of individuals jobs or responsibilities within the military itself. Four of the individuals interviewed were from areas of the military who take only the top of the top percent of applicants test scores. Their qualifying levels may have had an impact on their answers and how they were able to transition back into the civilian world full time. This particular study will be taking a look at veterans who served within a time of combat. In addition, this study will look at multiple military branches across multiple wars. In future studies the goal should be to concentrate in specific branches with a higher number of individuals who served together to see how they adapt or change over a longer period of time.

Another constraint within this project includes limitations on who participated in interviews. For this particular dissertation, only those with honorable discharge are eligible for interviews.[21] Those with lower classifications of discharge are not included within the final data. Overall however the exploration will demonstrate the differences between transitions back to civilian life between the individual wars.

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[21] An honorable discharge occurs when a soldier leaves the military with a clean record of service and conduct. This is only bestowed upon an individual when they are leaving the military. Some veterans may leave active service under an honorable discharge and then join the reserves.

Research Scope

The material in this dissertation includes historical texts, personal letters, and journals, and incorporates a short investigation going more deeply into the transition experiences of former combat veterans. Interviews were conducted to find patterns in veterans' experiences coming home. The specific goal of the interviews is to identify similarities and differences in transitioning experiences between veterans of different wars. Twenty five individuals were interviewed for this project. Participants had to have served in active duty during WWII, Korean War, Vietnam, Cold War, Gulf War, Global War on Terror, or be currently serving in a demilitarized zone. Participants could not be pregnant, mentally disabled, or have been diagnosed with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.[22] Participants who were identified as potentially having Post Traumatic Stress or Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, "PTS/PTSD", had their interviews completed and set aside. New participants were then chosen for the study. Selection criteria for the study included having been active during a time of war. All participants who are no longer active must have been honorably discharged from the military, and they had to have served at least one tour abroad, and were required to be 18 or over.

The interview section of the dissertation required participants to be asked a series of questions about their current life and the challenges they have faced returning home. Participants were interviewed via audio recordings. The majority of interviewees preferred to not be formally recorded but were willing to talk about their experiences.

Inquiries were conducted one-on-one with participants in places the veteran felt most comfortable and that were appropriate for conducting an interview. No information was kept from the participants, and they had the right to decide to end their participation at any time in the process.

Additional research was conducted during meetings with active members in the veterans community. This research included conversations regarding how to help the general population as well as identifying additional issues in the community. No names of veterans were utilized during this research.

The final count of qualified participants included 20 individuals. All individuals were male and between the ages of 27 and 56 years old. Each served at least one tour overseas. The participants were willing to discolse service during combat in the following wars; Cold War, Gulf War, Afghanistan, Iraq, GWOT, and the Korean Demilitarized Zone. Beyond the general time period of the wars above some of the participants could not or were not willing to state where they had been stationed. The majority of men in the study were in the United States Navy. Within the Navy participants came from both ships and submarine service. Additional participants included Army, one Army Reservist, and three members of the Marine Corps. None of the participants were in the Airforce or Coast Guard. All participants including the Army Reservist had been active in the military for more than three years.

The initial intention of the interviews was to help show veterans' awareness of transition difficulties they may be experiencing, and to identify comman difficulties in

transition problems. While interesting material was gathered it did not fuly support the initial purpose of the interviews. These veterans did not self-identify any of the transition issues for themselves. Interestingly though, they universally knew of someone who had been experiencing transition issues addressed within this study.

Significance of the study

This research is designed to help create connections and further understanding between veterans of different wars. The overall goal is to apply the information gathered to find ways to better understand transition needs and patterns of deficiency in support. The purpose of the interview section of study was to begin to identify ways in which people see themselves after coming home as well as ways they have connected into various communities. The information should be a benefit in beginning to educate support programs on transition deficiencies through understanding the unique identities of each group of veterans.

Summary and transition

When a soldier is done in the military they must reexamine their individual self in relation to civilian society. The military will no longer be able to exist at the top of their individual-hierarchy. At the present time there are large gaps in the transition of soldiers from military life to civilian life. These issues include but are not limited to; loss of daily camaraderie, distancing from personal military responsibilities, soldier to soldier issues,

inadequate skills to enter the workforce, change in family life, and isolation. The need to redefine oneself after service leaves many veterans searching for a new community.

Chapter II

Charlie Foxtrot

Coming Home from Service

The experience of returning veterans has changed between each war. Common threads relating to transition issues and difficulties are seen through the examination of language, books, self-published books, journals, articles, performance pieces, and even creative writing. When looking specifically at where the American military culture came to be it is important to look back to its creation in the Revolutionary War. Issues in the treatment of soldiers and the base culture for each of the next major wars can be traced back to this formation of the American Military culture.

Information specific to the after war experience of the soldier during the Revolutionary War is extremely limited. Over time we can see large changes in the development of a soldier, and their responsibilities within war. By examining the changes and treatment of soldiers during the Revolutionary era we can begin to see the evolution for treatment of soldiers and civilians during war time. The types of soldiers involved in the Revolutionary War were different than that of each following war due to the formation of different military branches, training tactics, and the gradual professionalization of American soldiers. Many of the soldiers during the beginning of this war were serving without any kind of proper training. This helped shape what would occur after their service in the Continental Army. One of the turning points for the

Revolutionary War was the loss of the Battle of Brooklyn. The Continental Army would continue on to lose Harlem Creek at King's Bridge, the Battle of White Plains, and at Fort Washington.[23] The British then occupied New York for the rest of the war. During their occupation, the British limited rights of citizens, and took over churches, houses, and anything else they wished.[24]

After the Battle of Brooklyn the Continental Army and residents of the colonies would have their loyalty questioned, freedoms restricted, and experience great changes in the Continental Congress. After these battles citizens would have to determine if they were going to be loyal to the new government, abstain from making decisions, or maintain allegiance to the old government.[25] Additionally, George Washington would have to make decisions on how to best create a stronger and more cohesive military if he hoped to rebound from the losses in New York. He would need to determine how to best take action to regain the trust of the people. The Battle of Brooklyn revealed flaws in the makeup of how our military and government were currently functioning with suspicions of loyalty and allegiance were rampant. Those who were indifferent to the war were often forced to choose a side, sometimes under the threat of death or capture. After 156 years of neglect, and a country that had been mostly practicing rule by the people, following two sets of governments meant giving up a way of life most colonists had grown up with.

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[23] John J. Gallagher, *The Battle of Brooklyn, 1776* (Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 2002), 163-164.

[24] Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York: The City at the Heart of the American Revolution* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2003), 282.

[25] Gallagher, 164.

New sets of rules and edicts were brought in on a regular basis in the name of freedom against a struggle of oppression. Examples of problems of loyalty arose in desertion, bribery to switch allegiance, unfulfilled promises, and occupation. An enlisted soldier indicated Washington threatened to kill the soldiers himself if they deserted.[26] The volunteer army Washington was commanding saw a very high number of desertions in New York.[27] The men were simply not prepared for a task or violence of this magnitude.[28] Some of these deserters fled back to their homes and farms, some were captured, and others converted to Loyalists.

After the Battle of Brooklyn, in both Long Island and Staten Island, militia units who had been fighting for the Americans took loyalty oaths to the crown.[29] Leckie clarifies, "Desertion, one of the Continental Army's greatest problems, was punishable by death."[30] The soldier would be brought past his peers, then killed and buried by the same men he had deserted. In total, the number of deserters punished was low, with many pardoned. Primarily the men serving were farmers, barbers, and others with common jobs before enlisting. The Continental Army made changes while these men were serving in expectations of building soldiers. These men were not initially trained well, nor did they have an understanding of what war was. This issue would be prevalent in future wars as

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[26] Ibid., 110.

[27] Flexner, 151.

[28] Leckie, 591-593

[29] Gallagher, 165.

[30] Leckie, 179.

well, and lead to governmental regulations regarding desertion, and create the culture of how desertion would be looked at in future wars.

The men who volunteered were primarily not seasoned military members.[31] Rather, these were individuals who were fighting for the common goal of freedom from British rule. When faced with death many grew scared for a job they had volunteered for, yet were not properly prepared.[32]

Militia had no discipline nor did they feel the need to remain with the army after a battle.[33] "Common soldiers" would have enlistments that were between three and six months.[34] These short enlistments would make it difficult to train-up a cohesive unit. The short enlistments would begin to be adjusted after the Battle of Brooklyn and the government pushed for much longer enlistments. Riflemen, often from frontier areas, were not fond of obeying orders. These three very different groups followed what they each felt to be right for the common good.

In addition to there being a need for citizens and soldiers to work in the best interest of the government, the groups looked toward the government to work in their best interest. Unfortunately, there were times when this symbiotic relationship could not be maintained. The soldiers had been promised pensions, land, and other benefits by the

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[31] Ibid., 177.

[32] This issue later becomes a similar issue when having to draft men into large scale wars in the future. They would be sent with very little training and potentially against their will.

[33] Leckie, 179.

[34] Ibid.

government for their service. The Continental Congress however was not able to live up to these promises. Some soldiers died before pensions were collected. Others saw nothing for four or more years after their service had been completed.[35]

While the idea of individual rights and freedom from Britain was in the mind of many colonists, the colonies needed to determine how they could unite to fight against Britain. At times this meant encroaching on individual rights and freedoms of the people in a similar fashion to the injustices from which they were looking to separate. Colonists and soldiers would face new laws, drafts, as well as the commandeering of land materials and supplies. Charges were given onto the colonies to help pay for the war.

The government did not have the funds to fund the war so this burden was converted into a further responsibility of the people. "It added to the enlistment bounty a grant of a hundred acres of land, to be provided by the colonies if a man were killed in action. A soldier's arms, clothing and other necessities were to be provided by the colonies, the cost of the clothing to be deducted from his pay."[36] Now, not only were the colonies being charged, but those in service would now have to also contribute monetarily. This in theory may have worked if the soldiers had been given funds they had been promised.[37] Unfortunately they often were given certificates whose value decreased to less than the paper it was printed on before they could turn it in. Additionally, the

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[35] Flexner, 167.

[36] Leckie, 181.

[37] Flexner, 167.

decree to pay their own clothing came after many had already enlisted.[38] This meant men who were already in the Continental Army would have to find money they had already spent in order to fund their own uniforms.

There are differences in soldiers who elect to serve, versus those who are drafted. The Revolutionary War was no different. The government put the best interest of The People as a whole ahead of individual rights and freedoms. Conscription wase introduced during the war after September of 1776. The large number of exemptions left a highly limited pool of individuals who could be drafted.[39] Those who lived along the coast, who farmed, or taught, were often exempted.

Tensions rose between the military and citizens. Both felt, in different ways, an imposition by the other. In James Thomas Flexner's book *Washington the Indispensable Man*, Flexner details an interaction between a Colonel and his soldiers. The Colonel feels the people should be thanking him and his men. He felt he and his soldiers should have all the food and supplies they need. For the Colonel, he felt betrayed by the people and voiced a clear lack of "gratitude" blaming those form whom he was fighting.[40] While the Colonel's stance is understandable, not all citizens were capable of helping. Many had their goods commandeered by both the British and American militaries. Colonies were being asked to pay for the military and their needs without an opportunity to make any

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[38] Leckie, 184.

[39] Ibid., 181.

[40] Flexner, 133.

choices. For Loyalists paying for the Continental Army was out of the question. What the Colonel was asking for, while now expected in war time, was at the time was still too new. No one knew what the after effects on soldiers would be. Nor did they know what differences there would be after the Revolution.

Loyalty was imposed upon the citizens. Answering wrong when questioned regarding your allegiance could cost you the little freedoms you had left. According to Flexner, "The Commander in Chief ruled that citizens of New Jersey, who had, under stress, sworn allegiance to the Crown, could be uncontaminated by the single act of swearing allegiance to the United States. Those who refused to do so, or who had done so conspicuously cooperated with the British should not be punished, but merely escorted to the enemy lines."[41]

Robert Leckie in *George Washington's War: The Saga of the American Revolution*, describes the state of the civilian and soldier mindset at the end of the war. He notes civilians and soldiers to be exhausted by the end eight years of fighting. Many farmers would regularly have their liberties encroached upon as their land was repeatedly taken over or destroyed, and farmers wished to be left alone to do their jobs and make money. Overall citizens were hopeful about peace and freedom. Soldiers were no longer as enthusiastically enlisting for longer service agreements.[42]

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[41] Ibid., 100.

[42] Leckie, 633.

In examining the strengths and weaknesses of the men who served in the Revolutionary War two main elements can be seen. The first weakness in the military came from a lack of training. Dessertions and lack of preparedness by some of the soldiers demonstrated a military who was not ready for combat. One of strengths of the military commanders during the Revolutionary War came after more established military protocols were formed. Instituting training and emphasizing loyalty to not only the country but the unit led to a stronger force. The focus on loyalty is an important element in modern the military. Loyalty not only to the country, but also to the unit helps to bring much needed trust and camraderie.

Shifts in Reporting

Perceptions in military strength are necessary in helping maintain support for war. During the Korean War a shift from reporting in previous wars occurred. Newspapers began to no longer concentrate on the glorificaiton of the group or of the unit leader. In an attempt to get the American public to have a better understanding of the personal cost of war, papers and magazines began to highlight more individual soldier and unit stories. This type of writing began to expand and is helpful in creating a narrative with how war affects the individual upon their return home.[43] War correspondents and journalists have continued to help shape the conversation in getting issues and concerns out to the general public. The importance of these texts has been to raise a general awareness in terms of the need and perceptions during a return home.

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[43] Severo and Milford, 324-325.

Through the reading of well-known texts a discussion begins to appear illuminating what soldiers and journalists felt was important to convey to the American public. *A Rumor of War* by Philip Caputo, and *Dispatches* by Michael Herr fulfil some of the desires for veterans of Vietnam to tell the atrocities they faced.[44] For sections of Vietnam veterans, the desire to be understood could be met if people understood what they had faced in combat during Vietnam. Both Caputo and Herr bring their readers into Vietnam through descriptions that begin with an everyday experience and follow with intense combat. Once the intense combat is completed the reader is brought back to calm awaiting when the next intense combat will occur. Both writers use detailed imagery bringing the reader into the jungles of Vietnam with the soldiers.

Herr takes his reader into the story through leveraging senses in relation to the soldier's surroundings. Visually compelling words like triple canopies, vilest, and sinister evoke visions of a dark dangerous location. Herr writes, "and no one who was around then can ever forget the horror of it or, to this day, get over the confidence and sophistication with which entire battalions came to engage Americans in a war."[45] Herr argues the Ia Drang Battles of 1965 were an introduction into the unpreparedness of the American military in Vietnam. The language Herr uses gives a glimpse into group trauma experience for those who served in this location.

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[44] Philip Caputo. 1977. *A Rumor of War.* New York: Picador, Henry Holt and Company. Herr, Michael. 1968. *Dispatches*. New York: Penguin Random House, Vintage Books.

[45] Herr, 94.

Herr takes the reader out of the darkness of battle and into the dark humor of a small group of soldiers joking with one another. The discourse began with a statement regarding the desire to be left alone just for a short period of time. The conversation between the men feels as though there is recognition of being scared, yet to openly state this would be inappropriate. This could call into account the soldier's masculinity or preparedness for attack. Rather, the communication between the men becomes an attempt to try to tell how not scared they were. By the end of the discussion the men state they cannot be afraid because Vietnam doesn't exist.[46]

Caputo's prologue in *A Rumor of War* opens with a statement that the book is to tell about war through a soldier's eyes.[47] Within these opening sentences there are conflicting historical claims. Caputo states, "More strictly, it is a soldier's account of our longest conflict, the only one we have ever lost, as well as a record of a long and sometimes painful personal experience."[48] His statement disregards the Korean Conflict later to be renamed the Korean War. This type of statement is found in many accounts of Vietnam soldiers who may not have understood what happened during the Korean War. There is a chance Caputo did not know additional fighting was occurring in Korea and with the Cold War while Caputo was in Vietnam.

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[46] Herr, 124-125.

[47] Caputo, prologue xxi.

[48] Ibid.

A strength of Caputo's book over Herr's is the ability of a non-veteran to obtain a better understanding of how the war changed him. Caputo's accounts of Vietnam rely more heavily on conversations and personal reflection than Herr's, and focus on setting to tell his story. *A Rumor of War* leverages descriptions of setting but in a much less intense tone for the reader. An additional difference in the writing between Caputo and Herr relates to Caputo's contemporary reflections upon his actions as a younger soldier in Vietnam. With these reflections Caputo is able to highlight how the war changed him overall instead of leaving the reader behind in Vietnam. During one of his reflections Caputo indicates a lasting impact for him from the war, "They instilled in me a lasting fear of criticism and, conversely, a hunger for praise. The last thing I wanted was to be thought of as inadequate, not quite up to the mark for membership in the tough, masculine world of a Marine rifle battalion."[49] The theme of needing to present in a masculine manner exists in both Herr and Caputo's writing.

Caputo discusses humanity and a connection to the civilian world in his writing. He details finding a small Vietnamese base camp. Within the camp he found pictures and letters from the base camp's former occupants. This story leads Caputo to the realization the people he has been sent to fight are like him. The occupants had been young soldiers with families, emotions, and desires. Through his reflections he feels remorse for some of his actions.[50] Caputo acknowledges his struggle by understanding his training could not

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[49] Caputo, 35.

[50] Ibid., 122-123.

undo his life before the military. Caputo writes, "for all its intensity, our Marine training had not completely erased the years we had spent at home, at school, in church, learning that human life was precious and the taking of it wrong."[51] These reflections show how individual identities can clash with one another. Caputo would be left in a place where he would end up questioning where each identity fits into the other.

Caputo describes the impact of combat and the phrases used to describe different conditions of soldiers with which he was stationed with. Caputo's focus on the emotional side of the soldier's combat experience emphasizes issues of *combat madness*, troubled soldiers, threats and arguing between soldiers, as well as the phrases *acute anxiety reaction* and *acute depressive reaction*. He also describes instances of survivor's guilt infiltrating his daily thoughts.[52] Many of these specific experiences are felt across multiple generations of soldiers.

In contrast to Herr and Caputo's writings from the late 1960s and 1970s, contemporary books detail the soldiers' experiences after serving. The focus of writing in books about war appears to shift after the 60s and 70s from the battlefield to what soldiers bring home from war. Texts begin to include helping readers understand potential transition difficulties as well as misunderstandings that have arisen with a new generation of veterans. Each generation of veterans has helped to change and shape the understanding of needs for themselves and their peers. David Wood's 2016 novel, *What*

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[51] Ibid., 123.

[52] Ibid., 201.

Have We Done: The Moral Injury of Our Longest Wars, and David Finkel's 2013 novel, *Thank you for your Service* take a look at how war and treatment after war has affected the most recent generation of veterans.[53] These two books could not have been written in the 1960s and 1970s in the same manner as they are now. In part this is due to timing and the advancements of studies in the health fields. Changes in understanding mental health issues surrounding soldiers' experiences, and advancements in trauma research have resulted in books more openly showing vulnerability in the human spirit. While a soldier in combat may have one set of expectations, books such as Wood's and Finkel's show the inherit struggles affecting daily life for not only the soldier, but their support systems. These types of stories would not make sense without the layered understanding regarding struggles of soldiers in the wars that came before Iraq and Afghanistan.

David Finkel's book takes a look at struggles of soldiers who served in Iraq during 2007, and their problems after coming home. Unlike Caputo's book written with self-reflection, Finkel's book takes the reader in and out of past experiences that disrupt the present. Difficulties surrounding recovery from battle injuries both physical and psychological are explored through different soldiers from the 2-16 Infantry Battalion. Finkel highlights problems relating to trauma triggering suicidal ideation, domestic violence, divorce, inability to get treatment through Veterans Affairs, and transitioning into civilian life with invisible wounds. The primary narrative throughout Finkel's book

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[53] David Wood. 2016. *What Have We Done: The Moral Injury of our Longest Wars.* New York: Little, Brown and Company.

David Finkel. 2013. *Thank you for Your Service*. New York: Picador.

circles around Adam Schumann who is recovering from multiple traumas experienced both during the war and upon reintegration into civilian life. One of the points Finkel's book underlines is the importance of the military bond between those in a unit during their transition home. Irrespective of how a major wound is interfering with the soldier's life, sustained camaraderie is an important part of the healing process.

Acknowledging an experience of trauma calls into question how an individual views themselves. Often, the trauma victim undergoes a period where they call into question every element of the trauma. This recall may include resentment, anger, and disassociation. David Wood's book, *What Have We Done*, analyzes moral and ethical difficulties soldiers face after combat. According to Wood, "those who have experienced a moral wound to react with cynicism or bitterness; to distrust authority; to be more prone to anxiety, depression; perhaps to seek comfort in isolation or the self-medication of drugs, alcohol or overwork. Most common, to never talk about the war."[54] Wood's summary on how moral injury affects soldiers omits the physical manifestations of trauma.

Wood focuses on showing the differences between moral injury and PTSD. His chapter, "It's Really About Killing," describes issues regarding the moral code against killing another human being. For Wood, the topic of killing becomes forbidden in the

[54] Wood, 9.

communication.[55] Death is a part of war. Veterans and soldiers maintain an unwritten moral code to not disclose if they, or someone they know, killed someone in war.

Wood, like Finkel and Caputo, acknowledge the difficulties soldiers face when reflecting upon their service. The three writers take into account the humanization of the soldier upon their return. Experiences like those described by Wood, Finkel, Caputo, and Herr help bring an understanding of the difficulties faced by soldiers transitioning back from battle. Herr's focus may have been within the jungles of Vietnam, but the depth of description and sensory imagery suggest these elements had a lasting effect on Herr.

One of the elements separating these four writers from other stories regarding soldiers in combat involves personal experiences, and front line research. Herr's writing is emotionally driven and a reflection on his own experiences. The journalistic writing style of Caputo, Wood, and Finkel allow for external observations and analysis of actions taken by the combat soldiers. Caputo writes in a style highlighting issues of veterans' transition difficulties before diagnosis criteria and further research would create more commonly accepted terms for issues relating to trauma.

While there are a lot of books covering transition concerns and difficulties for Vietnam and those who have served in Iraq and Afghanistan, a void still exists for the Cold War veterans. In part, the Cold War research would cover veterans whose ties may be similar to those of World War II through the Global War on Terror due to the length of

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[55] Ibid., 144.

the war. Additionally, stories of Korean War veterans and World War II veterans from just after their respective wars did not as heavily focus on transition issues.

Soldier to Soldier Discussions

Literature describing veterans helping other veterans is becoming more widespread. Self-published stories are a start in spreading an understanding of veterans needs when coming home. These stories help illuminate the sometimes awkward transitions encountered by veterans. Through research, literature of self-discovery journeys are found through both self-publication and larger publishing houses.

Joan Savage's book, *A Veteran's Guide to Civilian Living*, is a self-published book used in this project to get a glimpse into experiences of transition help from one veteran to another. Her writing is similar to a book you would find in the "self-help" section of a bookstore. Overall the target reader for this book is a veteran who has served post 2001.

The book attempts to help explain to veterans challenges they may have in transitioning. Each of Savage's main points are closely related to the author's personal experiences. These experiences include suicidal tendencies, belief of being broken, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, and an insinuation of rape. The author however has a large disconnect in understanding some of the problems associated with overall trauma. Many of her repeated claims would lead a veteran to assume these issues are solely relating to

having served in the military. Yet, her reactions and processing examples could be in reference to any trauma encountered by any civilian. Savage references aspects relating to PTSD and dissociation as though they are uniquely related to veterans. Her word choices and tone lean indicate frustration and anger with the military.

In Savage's chapter on *Character Rape* she details a common training activity in the military to help build the unit as a team. The activity includes the proper folding of clothing. She uses the example of "folding underwear perfectly within ten seconds."[56] Her description of the activity does not align with other accounts of this process. Savage describes a woman who was not able to fold the underwear fast enough. Savage details her own skills in a way to give a sense of superiority rather than comradery. For someone attempting to fit into military culture comradery is important. The folding task itself is done not only as a means of discipline, but also to see who will know enough to help their fellow soldier. Savage appears to fall short on this task.

Savage makes some strong statements regarding struggling with transitioning and identity. She references an issue identified by other literature regarding what she names as "Detachment Syndrome."[57] One of the acknowledged issues for transitioning veterans has been the need to be able to connect with their friends and family from outside of the military. Savage acknowledges the need for people in the transitioning process stating,

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[56] Savage, 9.

[57] Ibid., 57.

"People are essential for healing and wholeness."[58] She also writes about the issue of addressing surfacing emotions rather than suppressing or living in a prolonged disassociation with emotion. Savage's emphasis on detachment syndrome aligns with individual identity theory. Identity theory in combination with Savage's theory recognizes without addressing the detachment from everyday life and one's own emotions an individual cannot hope to reconnect with the people around them leading to further isolationism.

With the advent of veteran support services online, veterans are able to join support groups, and discuss transition issues without feeling as vulnerable. The online spaces allow veterans to request help when they are ready. Unfortunately, as seen in many of the books, articles, and through discussions with veterans this format is still isolating. Online services are great, however, it is easy to hide behind a false positive persona from even those who the individual had served with.[59]

Post-Traumatic Stress/Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

Post-Traumatic Stress or Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, PTS/D, is not the central focus of this study. However, given the increasing number of individuals who are

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[58] Ibid., 57.

[59] During the research for this project, an example of this was deeply discussed over dinner with a group of veterans and veteran supporters who were worried about one of their peers. The individual was showing on Social Media to be strong and full of life. However for those who knew him more personally they knew this was not the same person they were talking to on a more private level. The individual the group had been worried about did end up passing away less than 7 months later.

effected by PTS/D as a transition difficulty it is necessary to have a base understanding of the disorder. In some cases transition difficulties may be masked or mistaken for elements relating to PTS/D.

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, or PTSD, is a clinical diagnosis. This diagnosis is not solely related to trauma suffered by the military, but in recent decades however the amount of focus on PTSD in relation to war has created an association in the general population with the military. Overall this issue is widespread throughout multiple wars, and can be seen as an inclusive term for multiple transitional issues. Unfortunately this term has also left a stigma for many veterans who are returning home without PTSD. More recently a push has been made to drop the "D" from PTS. By removing the term disorder a change occurs in how an individual within the military is able to get help or even serve.

Currently, a large amount of research has been completed across multiple fields relating to Post-traumatic Stress or Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Understanding the use of the term trauma helps to provide a better understanding of terms like Post-Traumatic Stress. Dr. Bessel Van Der Kolk, M.D., describes experiences after trauma as effecting the entire body.[60] Dr. Van Der Kolk states, "After trauma the world is experienced with a different nervous system. The survivor's energy now becomes focused on suppressing inner chaos, at the expense of spontaneous involvement in their

[60] Dr. Bessel Van Der Kolk, M.D., is a professor of psychiatry at Boston University, and the director of both the Trauma Center in Brookline Massachusetts, and the National Complex Trauma Treatment Network.

life."[61] His description of the after effects of trauma ties directly into how he studies and treats Post-Traumatic Stress side-effects. In short, his belief of the interconnectedness of trauma throughout the body is in stark contrast to early research on trauma. Through Dr. Van Der Kolk's work we can see contemporary treatments for PTS/PTSD develop.

In 2013, PTSD received an update in the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, also known as the DSM-5. To be diagnosed, an individual bore exposure to "death, threatened death, actual or serious injury, or actual or threatened sexual violence."[62] This may have been through direct exposure, witnessing the traumatic event, learning someone in close relation was experiencing trauma, or an individual who experienced indirect exposure to someone else's trauma while performing their job.[63] This does not mean everyone who experienced one of these events will have PTSD. Additional symptoms and criterion are required for a formal diagnosis.

An individual experiencing PTSD will continue to experience the initial trauma repeatedly. This may occur in one or more of the following ways; intrusive thoughts, flashbacks, nightmares, a physical reaction after receiving a sensory trigger, or the feeling of emotional distress after receiving a sensory trigger.[64] A sensory trigger can come

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[61] Bessel Van Der Kolk, M.D., *The Body Keeps the Score: Brain, Mind, and Body in the Healing of Trauma*. p53.

[62] DSM-5, Veteran Affairs, PTSD. Criterion A. https://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/PTSD-overview/dsm5_criteria_ptsd.asp (ACCESSED October 22, 2017.)

[63] DSM-5, Veteran Affairs, PTSD. https://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/PTSD-overview/dsm5_criteria_ptsd.asp (ACCESSED October 22, 2017.)

[64] DSM-5, Veteran Affairs, PTSD. Criterion B. https://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/PTSD-overview/dsm5_criteria_ptsd.asp (ACCESSED October 22, 2017.)

through in any of the senses. The individual experiencing a sensory trigger may not realize what the trigger was. The smell of blood, feel of metal, and a sound resembling a gunshot are all examples of sensory triggers.[65]

To help clarify some of the language used in Criterion B of the DSM-5, a stronger understanding or example of each of these terms is helpful. Intrusive thoughts, in relation to PTSD, can include thoughts that bring back an unwanted memory or idea. These thoughts then continually interrupt focus on an action or activity at hand. These types of thoughts can then help lead to triggering some of the other aspects within Criterion B.

Flashbacks and nightmares can feel real to the individual experiencing them. These events will replay the traumatic event over and over for the PTS/D sufferer. The event could have been quite recent, or have been decades ago. The sufferer feels and experiences the event as if it is happening in present day. Flashbacks and nightmares may be related to intrusive thoughts, or other sensory triggers for these events. A flashback or nightmare can exist for a short period of time, or an extended period of time depending on the individual trauma being processed. Flashbacks and nightmares can be felt throughout the individual's entire body. While they may not be in immediate danger, the

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[65] Philip Caputo describes sensory memories in his book *A Rumor of War* without directly labeling it PTSD. "It held my thoughts, senses, and feelings in an unbreakable embrace. I would hear in thunder the roar of artillery. I could not listen to rain without recalling those drenched nights on the line, nor walk through woods without instinctively searching for a trip wire or an ambush. I could protest as loudly as the most convinced activist, but I could not deny the grip the war had on me, nor the fact that it had been an experience as fascinating as it was repulsive, as exhilarating as it was sad, as tender as it was cruel." Prologue, xxv.

person experiencing a flashback, or other form of distress, may feel a physiological change during their heightened state of stress.

If an active duty soldier receives a formal diagnosis of PTS/D, it can mean an end to his or her career. Receiving aid of a service dog, therapy, counseling, or medication in relation to PTS/D can also lead to dismissal from the armed forces, through a medical discharge. In some cases the side effects of PTS/D may have caused a less than honorable discharge. The individual with this type of discharge may not have had an understanding their behavior was caused by underlying issues relating to PTSD.

Criterion E, from the DSM-5 in relation to PTSD, includes experiencing two or more symptoms relating to "arousal and reactivity that began or worsened after the trauma."[66] These re-activities may include; irritability or aggression, risky or destructive behavior, hypervigilance, heightened startle reaction, difficulty concentrating, and difficulty sleeping.[67] Each of these arousal or re-activities for an individual serving could lead to putting himself or his unit at risk.

Evolving Language of Posttraumatic Stress and War

The symptoms of PTS/D have occurred throughout history. The term PSTD was added to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, DSM-III, in 1980. Prior to 1980, different wars expressed PTS related issues with different descriptor

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[66] DSM-5, Veteran Affairs, PTSD. Criterion E. https://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/PTSD-overview/dsm5_criteria_ptsd.asp (ACCESSED October 22, 2017.)

[67] DSM-5, Veteran Affairs, PTSD. Criterion E. https://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/PTSD-overview/dsm5_criteria_ptsd.asp (ACCESSED October 22, 2017.)

names. The history and adaptation of the diagnosis for war related issues has advanced as the fields of medicine, psychiatry, and social science have progressed. We can also see a change in terminology and treatment of patients as societal norms and morality evolve.

Philippe Birmes evaluated early references to PTS/D symptoms in historical literature. Her 2003 article, *Early Historical Literature for Post-Traumatic Symptomatology*, takes a look at the language used in early writing where a character has returned from war.[68] Brimes's article evaluates sleep disturbances, psychic reactions, a stress spectrum, PTS symptoms, neurosis, as well as emotional and organic mechanisms. Her article suggests trauma has occurred from the first battle, and the patterns of post-battle difficulties date back as far as Gilgamesh.[69] Birmes's focus on analyzing recurring thoughts and images from nightmares within literature and historical text demonstrate how historically common are the issues related to life after combat.

While reading and analyzing traumatic events faced by soldiers of different wars it is imperative to remember not everyone who served and experienced a trauma will experience the trauma in the same manner. Hunt and Robbins explain, "While general combat experience does not form any sense of a homogeneous traumatic experience, there are particular wartime experiences that have been shown to be particularly traumatic."[70] Each soldier's level of trauma, if there is one, will be based upon their

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[68] Philippe Birmes, "Early Historical Literature for post-traumatic symptomatology." *Stress & Health: Journal of the International Society for the Investigation of Stress.* 19, no. 1 (February 2003), 17-26.

[69] Ibid., 24.

[70] Hunt and Robbins. Long-term Consequences of War. 189.

previous experiences and the impact of the event that has occurred. A major trauma may not cause an entire unit to experience a shared PTS/D, though research is currently being conducted in regards to which types of events may trigger longer term PTS. One of the most unifying experiences of trauma leaving residual impacts can be seen in research relating to Prisoner Of War adjustments back into civilian life.

During the Revolutionary War, soldiers who suffered from what we now call PTS/D were said to be nostalgic. The term nostalgic helped to explain why the individual may have been repeatedly living in the past. The term "nostalgic" helps to soften the negative experiences of the soldier with the potential for the memory to be positive or negative.[71]

Research into the coming home experiences of Civil War veterans is still much more limited than recent wars. Research specific to similarities of post-war trauma is even less available than stories of post-war veteran treatment during the Civil War.[72] James Marten discusses the likelihood of post-war trauma in his book **Sing Not War**. Marten points toward the fact that the veterans have changed during their time away at war. Inevitably, the individual would return older, and been subject to seeing extremely violent sights, or have been exposed to other trauma inducing events. They would then need to adjust into a society that has changed from the one they had initially left.

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[71] Franklin D. Jones, M.D., F.A.P.A, Psychiatric Lessons of War in War Psychiatry, The Textbooks of Military Medicine, ed. Brigadier General Russ Zajtchuk, M.C., (Washington, DC: Office of The Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1995)

[72] James Marten, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union & Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America*, 10-11.

Language circling around Civil War veterans exhibiting what is now deemed PTS/D include the use of "nostalgia" as used in the Revolutionary War.[73] Civil War Veterans would also become labeled as having an irritable heart.[74] Additional projections can be made as a pattern of symptoms similar to PTS/D have been recorded. These projections may require a great deal of additional work as it may be difficult to find out about the individual's life and mental status prior to their military service.

One of the differences between the Civil War and the wars to follow would be the structure of regiments, which were mostly formed from a relatively small geographic area. Marten's book discusses the constant reminder of lives lost within each regiment or unit. Each unit would dwindle without replacement troops being sent.[75] In future wars, like the Korean War, the government would create "replacement camps." The replacement camps would send men to replace the ones who had been lost. This term would later be changed as the term "replacement" grew to have highly negative implications.[76]

After each major war a rise in institutionalized veterans occurs. Before advancements in psychological treatments soldiers would be hidden away from society. Liz Lerman, a contemporary choreographer, took on exposing early war issues

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[73] Jones, Psychiatric Lessons of War in Psychiatry.

[74] Marten, 87.

[75] Ibid., 87.

[76] Ibid., 87.

surrounding mental health of veterans in 2014 with her tour, Healing Wars.[77] Her choreography included depictions of troubled soldiers hidden away in attics, basements, and strapped into chairs as some of the examples she uses to help illuminate advancements in understanding what happened to those with post war stress.

One of the shortcomings of Marten's book is the heavy reliance on cross comparing veterans of Vietnam to those of the Civil War. Veterans in the Civil War would be subject to additional trauma triggers beyond those of Vietnam. Civil War veterans may have had to fight against their own friends and/or family members, seen their family wiped out, or been subject to suffering from wounds that during Vietnam may have been treatable. Additional layers of trauma would lead those who served in the Civil War to be even more likely to suffer from what would later be called Post-Traumatic Stress.

World War I and II would bring the phrase "Shell-Shock" into the military vernacular.[78] "Shell-shock" would gain a stigma as a sign of weakness for the individual diagnosed. According to Simon Wessely's article, *Twentieth-century Theories on Combat Motivation and Breakdown,* the term at the time was deemed inappropriate for use as a medical-label.[79] The condition was not seen by the military as a medical condition. The military felt this was an excuse for individuals to not participate in their responsibilities.

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[77] Liz Lerman, Healing Wars, 2014.

[78] Jerry Lembcke, "Shell Shock in the American Imagination: World War I's Most Enduring Legacy," *Peace & Change* 41, no. 1 (2016): 79.

[79] Simon Wessely, "Twentieth-century Theories on Combat Motivation and Breakdown." *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 2 (2006): 268-86.

The appearance of shell-shock was seen as a side-effect of war. Admittance of shell-shock, or any psychological issues related to the war would be seen as a sign of weakness.[80] The long-term effects of the dismissal of a mental health condition, and learning to not talk about these types of issues are still highly prevalent in active services members today.

During World War I, advancements and research into psychiatric issues relating to war continued, a number of attempts were made to advance treatment. Soldiers would be treated on the spot, and moved ahead with their units while receiving treatment rather than being left behind to receive help.[81] This theory would later allow for the advent of terms relating to battle fatigue, or combat fatigue.[82] With this dynamic the soldiers would need to remain supported by their unit. Reliance and pressure on the individual to keep pushing ahead to maintain the unit still exists.

A key difference in the view of combat related issues came between World War I and World War II, when it was recognized that combat fatigue and shell-shock could not be prevented by a better selection of soldiers.[83] Additionally, the military was forced to accept that shell-shock, or PTS/D, were legitimate issues.[84] With the advancements in understanding potential psychological effects on soldiers, the military would have to

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[80] Lembcke, 80.

[81] Wessely, 273.

[82] Ibid., 273.

[83] Ibid., 279.

[84] Ibid., 274.

reevaluate how long soldiers could stay in the field. They would also need to take a deeper look at what risk factors would potentially heighten not only the physical but psychological danger tours could cause soldiers.

Full reports on the numbers of individuals from World War II who suffered from PTS/D are unknown. There are however journals, medical files, and statistical estimates that have been completed based on current research surrounding PTS/D. Similar statistics can be used when reviewing issues surrounding Korean War Veterans.

Studies focusing on Korean War Veterans point toward a greater number of former combat soldiers with PTS/D related symptoms than World War II, which may be attributed to a number of reasons. Edward McCraine and Leon Hyer's research surrounding Korean War versus World War II combat veterans indicates their belief the homecoming differences of the two groups helped to determine risks relating to PTS/D.[85] According to Brooks and Fulton's research, in contrast to the veterans of World War II, Korean War Veterans "were more likely to use psychiatric and mental health services from the VA than those who served elsewhere."[86] In part, the research from both McCraine and Hyer as well as Brooks and Fulton are projecting more than 25 years after the conclusion of each war. PTS/D symptoms may have come shortly after serving and much treatment would not have been specifically related to PTS/D. The authors make no

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[85] Edward W. McCraine and Leon A. Hyer. "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms in Korean Conflict and World War II Combat Veterans Seeking Outpatient treatment." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 13, no. 3 (July 2000): 429-430.

[86] Brooks, MS, and L Fulton. "Evidence of poorer life-course mental health outcomes among veterans of the Korean War cohort" *Aging & Mental Health* 14, no. 2 (March 2010): 181.

attempt to separate the types of PTS/D triggers within their articles. The triggers may not be fully related to combat, but may include a differentiation in treatment during homecoming.

The Vietnam War, like the wars before it, brought home groups of veterans experiencing different levels of PTS/D. A readjustment study done in mid-1980 indicated "31% of men and 27% of women" who served in combat during Vietnam had PTS/D.[87] These numbers later dropped as more time passed between the war and the surveys. The drop in numbers may not be a significant reduction in PTS/D. There is potential that as the Vietnam veterans began to band together in support, the support system helped to ease side-effects more prevalent during the mid-1980s.

During the Vietnam War one of the terms used to describe after-effects of the war was *traumatic amputation*. There is more than one meaning for *traumatic amputation*. In the first form, "everyone has all his limbs, his hands and feet and digits, not to mention expressions of courage and cheer."[88] This term also existed in World War II. Under this definition, an individual with traumatic amputation makes efforts to avoid discussing issues from the war. The individual acts as if it never happened, and the term correlates with avoidance of triggering a traumatic memory. Traumatic amputation can include symptoms of PTSD.

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[87] Ron Langer. *Combat Trauma, Memory, and the World War II Veteran.* An International Journal of the Humanities, p. 53.

[88] Fussell, 270.

The second definition of *traumatic amputation*, focuses on individuals who lost their limbs in an extreme manner. Examples of traumatic amputation can be seen most recently when looking at explosive devices that amputate an extremity. Stresses from this type of amputation can lead to multiple issues including phantom limb syndrome, and PTS/D in relation to the injury.[89] In Phantom Limb Syndrome a patient can feel extreme pain, itching, and other sensations in a limb that no longer exists. An individual may wake up screaming in pain during a PTS/D related nightmare or flashback. This definition of traumatic amputation takes a much more physical approach.[90]

Living with PTS/D

Individuals with PTS/D experience it in different ways from one another. There are however significant similarities in how individuals with PTS/D can experience symptoms. These symptoms can affect how an individual interacts with others, experiences stress, and their work life.

The 2015 musical *Bandstand* directly tackled the issue of PTS in relation to a group of World War II soldiers who came home with transition issues from the war.[91] The show moved from the Papermill Playhouse in Millburn New Jersey to Broadway on

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[89] Gayle Reiber, Lynne V. McFarland, Sharon Hubbard, Charles Maynard, David K. Blough, Jeffrey M. Gambel, and Douglas G. Smith. 2010. "Service members and veterans with major traumatic limb loss from Vietnam War and OIF/OEF conflicts: Survey methods, participants, and summary findings." *Journal of Rehabilitation Research & Development* 47, no. 3: 275.

[90] Reiber, 287.

[91] *Bandstand*, directed by Andy Blankenbuehler.

April 26, 2017. PTS symptoms can be difficult to describe to other people in words. The show leveraged choreography and music to help bring the audience into flashbacks of the soldiers. The show's creators worked with the veteran suppert organization Got Your Six, to ensure the language and portrayal of the soldiers was accurate.

During the show, a scene with the leads Donny and Julia depicts how it feels to experience a flashback. Donny is standing on stage talking to Julia, and around him are musicians and strangers going about their daily lives. The triggering event for the flashback is not completely clear. However, as the scene continues a deafening sound overtakes the stage.[92] Everyone on stage continues their everyday lives but Donny is no longer actively engaged in the scene. We can see Julia continuing her conversation with Donny, completely unaware of what he is experiencing. We then see his past-self enter the stage. The entire focus of the scene shifts into a flashback for the lead character. Julia however has no idea what Donny is going through in front of her. Eventually, the flashback fades, and the background scene has progressed toward the end of the conversation between the two.

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[92] The best description for the sound or feeling that comes forward while trying to describe the moment before coming out of a flashback occurs is with water. Imagine an individual is at the beach with friends and a giant wave knocks the individual with PTS/D underwater. While they are down there water gets into their ear canals creating the sensation of pressure and muffled sounds. Everything becomes hard to hear and disorienting. The person's ears feel as though they need to pop. At the same time, imagine this person is the only one who was knocked over. Life just kept moving. When the person stands up their ears still need to pop. This is all they can concentrate on. They may be looking around in anticipation for the next wave while they try to fix their ears. The person appears as if they are engaged in conversation, but in reality, their entire focus is on something else. Time may feel different, they may appear fine, but they are struggling to feel like themselves. Now, understand, this wave can hit over and over at any time given the right stimulation. Granted, this is a generalization. Different people experience these feelings in different ways.

Donny was not able to stay within current time. During a flashback it can be difficult to tell what is happening in the present, versus what occurred in the past. The two become difficult to separate from one another. While *Bandstand* is a musical, it managed to accurately depict issues relating to trigger events through the use of various triggers on each of the main characters.

One of the important elements about PTS/D to remember is that the individual experiencing symptoms is not always in a state of living in the past. A specific trigger occurs and brings the person back to the traumatic event. This creates a disorientation on perceptions of how long ago an event has occurred.

PTS/D occurring as time passes

The DSM-5 indicates specifications for being able to diagnose an issue as PTSD. The specification states that PTSD may not be diagnosed until "at least six months after the trauma(s), although onset of symptoms may occur immediately."[93] The DSM-5 indicates specifics for how soon after an event has occurred a diagnosis can be made. The DSM-5 however does not set a time limit as to when symptoms would need to occur. This allows for long-term diagnosis of post-war issues. This also creates problems in

[93]DSM-5, Veteran Affairs, PTSD. Delayed Specification. https://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/PTSD-overview/dsm5_criteria_ptsd.asp (ACCESSED October 22, 2017)

identifying how many people have been affected with Post-traumatic Stress related to their wartime experiences.

Hunt and Robbins explore the *Long-term Consequences of War: The Experience of World War II*. Their research supports earlier research done by Archibald and Tuddenham surrounding late stage triggers for combat veterans. Hunt and Robbins research "suggests that age related changes may exacerbate the problems and reduce the ability of veterans to cope."[94] The two cite Davidson's 1990 study of World War II and Vietnam PTS/D research. Each of the researchers come to the conclusion that some of the differences that exacerbate PTS/D may be generational. "World War II Veterans recalled more incidents about physical injuries and captivity, while the Vietnam veterans recalled brutality, mutilated bodies, the death of children and the loss of friends."[95] Davidson suggests that age effects memory and changes the intensity to which a veteran recalls an event.[96]

Hunt and Robbins reference various emotional events as having the ability to trigger a recurrence or initiation of PTS/D.[97] One of the events the article focuses on relates to a turn toward isolation and the occurrences of potential triggers by a reunion.

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[94] Hunt and Robbins, The Long-Term Consequences of War: The Experience of World War II, 1.

[95] Ibid., 187.

[96] Ibid., 189.

[97] Ibid., 184.

Hunt and Robbins later discuss the type of trauma does not appear to differentiate the "psychological outcome" at a later date.[98]

Hunt and Robbins research indicates as veterans' age they are more likely to experience symptoms relating to PTS/D in relation to their war experiences. This includes physical injuries that may not have been significant earlier on in their lives that become physically limiting as they get older.[99] Major issues from when they were younger and begin to hinder their abilities for movement or being social. This can cause a trigger for the pivotal event to become more of a prominent issue than initially faced. Hunt and Robbins discuss the delayed onset as, "While more veterans are still experiencing war related psychological distress, it is not clear whether they have had problems ever since the war, or whether they are emerging only in old age or after retirement."[100] The late manifestation of war related trauma can be associated to a number of potential delays.

Delayed-onset of PTS/D can occur for many reasons. In addition to the theories put forward by Hunt and Robbins, delays in diagnosis may be due to self-medication through the use of drugs and alcohol. World War II veterans experienced peaks and valleys of symptoms. Ron Lager's theory ascribes the World War II veterans experienced several traumas throughout their lifetime. This is a generation who lived through the

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[98] Ibid., 187.

[99] Ibid., 188.

[100] Ibid.

Great Depression, and then faced a global war.[101] They then were then reminded of the intensity of war through radio, television, and media during the Korean War and Vietnam.

Hunt and Robbins, and Ron Lager's theory are in alignment with Brooks and Fulton's research on Korean War veterans. Brooks and Fulton's research is in turn supported by Felice Korbick's research from 1993. Korbick's research focused on Vietnam veteran responses to the Persian Gulf War. [102] "Research suggests that events such as the Gulf War and the Iraq War may trigger memories for Korean War veterans, stimulating recurrent PTSD." [103] New and impending wars are potential triggers for previous generations of veterans for reviving trauma.

With the populations being examined within this study, an argument can be made this resurgence can be related to losing their support system and falling into isolation from their peers. As their circles of support get smaller those who went through the same experiences are gone. This is not just the idea of swapping stories. This includes the ability to sit with someone of a shared experience and have an understanding of one another without needing to talk about it. The understanding of shared personal combat experience unlike anyone else's war, and unlike any understanding a civilian or family

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[101] Langer, 54.

[102] Brooks and Fulton, 182.

[103] F. Korbick. "Reaction of Vietnam veterans to the Persian Gulf War." *Health and Social Work*. 18 v3, 165-171.

member can comprehend can be crutial to veterans.

Fabricating PTSD

PTS and PTSD is a reality for some soldiers. Unfortunately PTS/D has become well over diagnosed and even fabricated. Upon exiting the military, a diagnosis of PTS/D allows a veteran to obtain a specific level of disability. This disability rating can come with different levels of payment for life. This can cause tension between individuals as it helps magnify a negative stigma across the general population. Fabrication of PTS/D trivializes what individuals who are going through true PTS/D upon their return are experiencing.

Esprit De Corps

The official introduction of PTSD into the DSM-III in 1980s was a victory in beginning to more thoroughly recognize and diagnose trauma related issues. As research has continued to move ahead in understanding different effects of trauma on an individual, researchers have identified additional components relating to trauma. Not everything is necessarily PTS/D. Additional investigated sub-categories include Traumatic Brain Injury and Moral Injury.

Traumatic Brain Injury, or TBI, involves a hit to the head hard enough to interrupt normal activity within the brain, soldier involved in combat may have experienced such a

blow.[104] To obtain a diagnosis of TBI a great deal of evidence is needed. Often individuals who have suffered this type of injury must relearn how to do a number of day-to-day activities.[105] Some individuals who experience a Traumatic Brain Injury are left incapacitated, and unable to function without assistance.

An area developing further in the field of trauma related injuries centers around Moral Wounds. Also referred to as *Moral Injury*, a moral wound was initially referred to as *Esprit De Corps*.[106] Research on Moral Injury currently falls into multiple categories. Sociology, psychology, and medical studies relating to physical manifestations are taking a deeper look into this phenomena. Military language, recent books and articles relating to Iraq, Afghanistan, and other recent wars are incorporating this term into the lexicon for discussing transition issues of veterans. Unlike a TBI, a moral injury comes from an

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[104] *Traumatic brain injury: better DOD and VA oversight can help ensure more accurate, consistent, and timely decisions for the Traumatic Injury Insurance program: report to the Ranking Member, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives*. n.p.: [Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Govt. Accountability Office, [2009], 2009.

[105] During interviews of veterans for this dissertation, a veteran submariner, who served in the early 1980s, detailed his experiences of recovering and living with his TBI. He attempted to use humor throughout the discussion. As an outsider to the group during the discussion, it was apparent how his unit bonded around him during his recovery. His family had to help him relearn how to do everything from walking, to driving, and even helped him to become more independent. During this time he was unaware of his injury. His family had been protecting him from getting the mail. When he opened the mail he felt upset. He didn't know what had occurred. He had a desire to get a job to be able to contribute again. This added an additional layer of trauma on top of his injury. His story circled for a while before coming back on track. When asked what something he remembered as standing out was, he talked about having taken his car out for a drive and getting lost. He had driven two hours and forgotten where he was going. His family had to come find him. He is still unaware of how the injury occurred.

[106] Fussell, 143.

infliction of trauma on the moral code of an individual. In this sense, side effects of the moral trauma can be seen as manifestations of PTS/D.[107]

Lois McNay's 2008 article, *The Trouble with Recognition: Subjectivity, Suffering, and Agency*, compares multiple sociological theorists and their views of Moral Injury.[108] The first theorist, Honneth, focuses on the idea that when an individual's actions go unrecognized the individual will lose motivation.[109] An individual who faces conflicts relating to the moral code they have been brought up with seeks acceptance from their peers.

Taking Honneth's basic theory and applying it to a combat veteran brings to light the basic concerns surrounding death, self-preservation, and having to act in a manner foreign to an initial upbringing. Further complications develop for Veterans who would return home without victory, or who felt they were not being recognized for their contributions to society. Honneth's Moral Injury could occur at any point of a soldier's journey from enlistment through coming home.[110]

McNay's article points toward a general moral injury. Many of McNay's ideas are similar to issues relating to identity theory. McNay points toward Nancy Fraser's linkage

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[107] Grace W. Yan, "The Invisible Wound: Moral Injury and Its Impact on the Health of Operation Enduring Freedom/Operation Iraqi Freedom Veterans," *Military Medicine*181, no. 5 (2016): 455

[108] Lois McNay. *The Trouble with Recognition: Subjectivity, Suffering, and Agency.* Sociological Theory 26:3., American Sociological Association. (September 2008): 272.

[109] Ibid., 273.

[110] Ibid., 275.

between identity formation and events which elicit changes in how individual identity is both projected and perceived.[111] Both Moral Injury and loss of identity can occur in a similar manner. The article oversimplifies the depth and impact of Moral Injury on the individual.

In addition to the research being done in relation to Moral Wounds and identity, or Moral Wounds and PTS/D, more recent studies have emerged focusing on the overall health of returning veterans. This research is focusing on physical manifestations of untreated Moral Injury. Dr. Grace Yan's research on invisible wounds of combat veterans begins to explore physical conditions relating to untreated issues. Dr. Yan describes issues in treatment, "Veterans who have not been able to successfully integrate their traumatic or stressful military experiences within their moral framework are more likely to have higher scores on the PTSD and depression."[112] The issue for doctors becomes having to unravel the core identities to which a soldier feels they belong. Without an early awareness of themselves, understanding where a moral injury has occurred can take longer.

Dr. Yan's research and Dr. Van Der Kolk's research appear to align with one another. Both look at the longer term and full body effects on an individual who has experienced trauma. Dr. Van Der Kock takes the research even further by specifying

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[111] Ibid., 285.

[112] Grace W. Yan, PhD, ABPP. The Invisible Wound: Moral Injury and Its Impact on the Health of Operation Enduring Freedom/Operation Iraqi Freedom Veterans. *Military Medicine*. v.181, 5:451, (2016): 455.

what he deems as physical symptoms relating to physiological issues. Symptoms relate to fatigue and other ailments in which the body has a lowered immune system.[113] In part this can be attributed to the body reacting to different stressors than those for which it had initially been programmed.

For patients with PTS/D one of the difficulties can be understanding the trauma may not have been avoidable. The trauma being experienced may come with guilt, feelings of inadequacy, and the tormented feeling the event was their fault. By adding the concepts of Moral Injury to PTS/D soldiers may be experiencing issues relating to having to execute orders that directly went against a soldier's inherent moral code. For example, veterans interviewed gave examples of not being able to trust children on some of their tours of duty. The children at times were actually child soldiers who the American military would need to treat like adults. This may result in having to kill a child soldier for protection of their own unit. Having to kill a child soldier brings up two moral dilemas for a soldier. The first being we are conditioned to nurture and protect children. The second being the basic tennant for many of not killing another human being. In these instances they may have been an indirect contributor in their moral injury despite following orders. Personal manifestations of guilt and trauma in this case would be related to a Moral Injury that led to PTS/D.

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[113] Van Der Kolk, 53.

Chapter III

FUBAR[114]

Returning to Civvy Life

Issues surrounding the transition to civilian life contain unique and compounding layers for each soldier. One of the largest shared changes can be seen in how soldiers are perceived once reintegrating for a final time into civilian life. Views on veterans and soldiers vary from war to war, and change over time. During times of a newer, or supported war, the general population often turns toward an idealized view of veterans. One of the difficulties facing veterans of different wars is the transition from the pressure of a being a presumed super soldier, or hero soldier.

After years of being trained to learn how to function as a collective, the individual must find their way back into society with less structure. The structure and stresses of serving in the military become second nature to those who serve. By abiding to set rules, regulations, and ideas the soldier stands the best chances of survival on the battlefield. While home, but still in service, soldiers are expected to adhere and maintain a moral code and regulations to help project a specific image to the public. In order to protect this image, the military entices its own punishments, and processes for those who do not abide by the rules. Transition difficulties are well known issues within the military

[114] FUBAR, military acronym for Fucked Up Beyond All Recognition.

community; when soldiers who are still active return home, the preferred public image is to help see the soldier as an individual who is fearless. A soldier in uniform is perceived to be a perfect specimen ready to protect everyone around them. Perceptions of fear or weakness from a soldier overturn the power of identity projection and associations that come with the word soldier. The American public pushes to have soldiers seen as the hero.[115] Having to maintain status of being viewed as a hero does not allow for any signs of weakness to be seen.[116]

The pressures of maintaining a hero status are large. The hero helps to define history. This definition is believed to help create a positive moral code. The hero is seen as someone who is adventurous, protective, intelligent, and to be looked up to. The hero allows for others to maintain hope during a difficult time.[117]

Once returning home, these structures become more distinct or removed. According to Scott Allison and George Goethals' article on "Hero Worship: The Elevation of the Human Spirit", one of the key effects of the obsession with heroes comes when a hero is no longer able to be a hero. The two psychologists state society, "repudiate(s) heroes only after they have outlived their psychological usefulness."[118]

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[115] Allison and Goethals, 191.

[116] Gross and Weiss, 579.

[117] Ibid., 204-205.

[118] Allison, Scott, and George Goethals. *Hero Worship: The Elevation of the Human Spirit*. Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour. (2015). p189.

Repudiation of soldiers during their transition to civilian life is evident when examining struggles faced during the transition back into the individualist society.

In addition to this transition, more day-to-day issues arise. The military took care of all of the basic needs of the individual when they were an active service member, with everything a soldier needed provided quickly and readily on base. This includes entertainment, doctors, dentists, family support, school, housing, and even haircuts.[119] Officers Clubs, coordinated social activities, and clubs on base help create an insular social culture for soldiers and their families. A soldier with a family who was deployed would know their family was provided for by the base. Once service is completed the veteran will have to discover how to find doctors, use insurance, understand bills in relation to housing, and learn how to live within a less pre-prepped society.

Adjusting back to pre-deployment norms can be different in day-to-day tasks. Stories of soldiers returning home and driving at high speeds, blowing through stop signs, car accidents, and growing frustration on the road are not abnormal. This is tied to feelings of invincibility, not having made the adjustment back to civilian rules and guidelines, as well as the impact of mental health issues.[120] A sensory and perception disconnect exist in which the soldier must work their way through after deployment. The individual had gotten used to driving in large open deserts at high speeds, or perhaps had

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[119] Radhika Holmström. "Ex-service personnel struggle to cope with civilian life." *Mental Health Practice* 16, no. 10 (July 2013): 9.

[120] Nina A. Sayer, Kathleen F. Carlson, Patricia A. Frazier. "Reintegration Challenges in U.S. Service Members and Veterans Following Combat Deployment." *Social Issues and Policy Review* Vol. 8, no. 1, (2014): 44.

been sequestered on a ship where they did not have to be on the road for long periods of time. The difference now is their car is no longer a ship or a tank and they begin to put themselves and others in danger with reckless behavior. The reckless behavior is not the norm for all soldiers returning home, but the behavior does happen often enough many soldiers have a story of someone they know who was experiencing risky behaviors upon returning home.

Life, Reconnection, and Trust

"He's not my friend, he's my shipmate," the line seems so simple, yet is deep with meaning.[121] The use of the word friend does not appropriately or accurately depict how close individuals can bond after they have served with one another. Bonds between combat veterans from the same unit can run so deeply the connection of trust may be deeper than any other bond in the soldier's life. The trust between "brothers-in-arms" is different than that of any other bond of friendship a soldier will experience.[122] This terminology also continues a compartmentalization between military identity and "civvy" identity.[123] Terms like *shipmate* transition with the soldier into civilian life.

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[121] This phrase was repeated in various ways through interviews, conversations, and veteran panels during research.

[122] This concept was directly referenced during interviews in different ways. In some cases, referencing a shipmate or fellow soldier a "friend" would be corrected by the interviewee. When asked the difference, a lack of full clarification could be explained.

[123] "Civvy", or "Civvie", is a slang term often used to describe individuals who did not serve. Depending on context, Civvy's has slowly morphed into becoming a derogatory term.

Examining the bonds between a brother-in-arms, shipmate, or an individual who served with another individual, highlights the importance of trust in transition experiences. For veterans who have not served with one another a unique yet patterned discourse evolves. Standard exchanges between veterans during research for this study included conversations looking to establish where they are connected, and relationally what shared military identities the individuals may have. In observation, an established trust appears to occur immediately. These conversations are typically brief and move on quickly. Listening to the conversation as an outsider can be difficult as the conversation can occur without the need to fill in different aspects of information, such as acronyms, ranks, and unit designations. A shared war, military rank, position, understanding, and "visited" locations are not delved into with depth. Rather, a large amount of information can be passed between two veterans quite quickly.

One of the first questions in the investigatory style dialog includes branch. In a group of mixed veterans, an effort is made to introduce veterans of the same branch to one another. "Hey 'X', this is 'Y' he served in the Navy too." This is an immediate first bond. This type of introduction is normal. Next the conversation turns toward finding out when someone served. This would help give the individuals involved in the conversation if they are potentially talking to another Combat Veteran, or a non-combat veteran. These are two very different groups. After establishing years served, additional questions regarding *MOS*, Military Occupational Specialty, are brought into the converstation. This helps people understand where within military ranking they stand from one another. The

MOS will also help the individuals in conversation understand exactly what the other individual had done in service.

If people are within a similar rank, rate, and MOS, they may further bond by making a comment regarding another smaller subset within their division. For example, someone working in the engine room may poke a playful jab at an individual who worked in the front cone of a submarine. In a group where there are a group of mixed service branches they may find a common joke on a more broad range. The humor that once helped the individuals get through training, comes back to help create a bond. Additional questions between individuals may include where someone had served. This answer can be tricky. If there is a silence, the group may talk about places they had visited. The places being discussed are key to understanding where someone was stationed. Understanding at this level requires shared culture, knowledge, and identity.

One of the challenges for a transitioning soldier is creating new bonds of friendship and trust. Friendships do not run as deep, and can feel difficult to establish. Hector Garcia, of the Department of Veterans Affairs in Harlingen Texas, links issues with trust gaps by citing evolution.[124] An argument can be made the stresses of war heighten the intensity of interpersonal bonding of veterans. The conditioning exercises and heightened intensity of combat reinforce the need for trust to survive. The heightened experiences go beyond stress responses relating to evolution. Military training may utilize

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[124] Hector A. Garcia. "If you've never been there you wouldn't understand: The evolutionary reasons for veteran mistrust." *Evolutionary Behavioral Sciences* 11, no. 1 (January 2017): 53-62.

tactics reinforcing cultural evolution, however, interpersonal relationships post-service should be viewed separately from Garcia's views. Extreme cases would potentially lead to PTS/D. New identity formation occurrs upon the individual's return to civilian life. Immediate bonds from pre-military service and post-military service have become increasingly important with the isolated return of soldiers in recent wars.

Garcia acknowledges the importance of trust between individuals. He indicates, "mistrust can lead to arguments, or even fights, when bad intentions are reflexively imputed to others."[125] Fighting or pulling away from others may be a side-effect of mistrust between the returning veteran and those around them. This may spill over into both the individual's personal and professional life. Garcia does point out that this is seen as separate from PTS/D.[126] Someone experiencing this frustration may not understand why they feel frustrated, or even be able to identify the mistrust occurring. For some, this will lead to strained family relationships, and difficulty in the workplace.[127]

Trust in interpersonal relationships can become strained during the development and reestablishment of civilian relationships. During transition periods an individual is working to establish their new identity. The soldier's military identity, for both men and

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[125] Garcia, 53.

[126] Ibid., 54.

[127] Hector Garcia references D. Grossman's 1995 book, *On Killing: The psychological cost of learning to kill in war and society*. The book makes references to interpersonal relationships between "brothers-in-arms" as being stronger than marital relationships. Within the marital relationship the traditional balance would come into play with Hector Garcia's theories on evolution. The male would be expected to be protective of the partner, rather than the reciprocal nature of brother-to-brother/got your six relationship.

women, was heavily tied to masculine associations.[128] Dialogical phrases can affect soldiers who are transitioning and establishing new relationships. The same phrase given to a soldier by a commanding officer or brother-in-arms used instead by a non-veteran civilian may call into question an individual's transitioning identity.

Phrases that may feel innocent such as, *weren't you a marine* or *come on soldier*, when someone is having difficulties can bring an onset of confusion. In innocence, the phrase may have been meant as encouraging, but instead the interpretation becomes the individual has not met expectations. This type of phrase can cause repression of personal emotion, and introduce questions about skills or ability. The phrases reference the idea a soldier should be strong at all times. These types of phrases contain inside-military/outside-military cultural nuances.

In an attempt to identify within a civilian-veteran culture, veterans may wear items to help identify themselves as former service members. Insignia on hats, jackets, and vests may include the branch, ribbon bands for identifying deployments, and if the individual is retired. Some veterans go even further and have their branch, service tattoos, or graphic military icons reflective of their jobs when they were enlisted. Some tattoos are more subtle images only someone within their sub group would be able to identify. Example tattoos may include the underwater demolition frog, paratrooper silhouettes, screws, dog tags, dolphins, or pinups. Tattoos, shirts, jackets, and hats help serve as an

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[128] Duncan M. Shields, and Marvin J. Westwood. "Abject masculinity and the military: Articulating a fulcrum of struggle and change." *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 18, no. 3 (2017): 215-25.

alternate to a uniform and help people quickly be able to spot one another in the civilian world free of uniforms.

Family dynamics in military culture can be challenging. When a service member is deployed, life continues to move ahead on the Homefront. Children may be born, family members may pass away, and the dynamics of the household change. The soldier's role in the family may not be the same as it had been prior to deployment.[129]

Isolation

Isolation upon homecoming is a significant concern among veterans. The topic of isolation of a friend, or service member is openly discussed to help alert other individuals as to someone who may need help. Isolation occurs for many reasons, and transition difficulties heighten the chances of isolation.[130] Isolation may be related to factors beyond PTS/D, and isolation may occur when someone is having a hard time relating into their new surroundings misses combat, is experiencing depression, anxiety, or lacks a support system. An individual may opt to seclude themselves socially. The individual

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[129] Nina A. Sayer, Kathleen F. Carlson, Patricia A. Frazier. "Reintegration Challenges in U.S. Service Members and Veterans Following Combat Deployment." *Social Issues and Policy Review* Vol. 8, no. 1, (2014): 34.

During interviews, two service members discussed family and dating challenges while enlisted. Both of these men had seen their shipmates go through dating issues, marital problems, and made the decision to not make any formal dating commitments during their time of service. Both individuals began dating after they completed their service contracts. The men served on the same ship roughly 14 years apart from one another. Both cited fear of having someone wipe out their bank accounts and leave, and having known someone who had this happen to them. Both also cited the high rate of divorce within their ship as a reason to not get married while in service.

[130] Anthony J. Brinn and Carl F. Auerbach. "The warrior's journey: Sociocontextual meaning-making in military transitions." *Traumatology* 21, no. 2 (June 2015): 82-89.

may go out, but not interact or allow themselves to integrate into conversations and remain distant from those around them. Both instances are dangers in the transition process.

Isolation may also occur if an individual feels they are not living up to what they feel is expected of their transition. Shields, Kuhl, and Westwood's descriptions of masculinity detail transition issues surrounding reintegration when masculinity is challenged. The three also point out issues of reliance on masculinity in a transition process. Suppression of emotion halts processing. Their research on *Abject Masculinity and the Military: Articulating a Fulcrum of Struggle and Change* highlights the anti-isolationist mentality of battle. Their article states, "Only the toughest belong here. We're in a battle. That battle is not done alone. You never go to battle alone."[131] This statement should be reinforced directly for all transitioning veteran in a way that promotes cohesive integration from the collectivist military society into the larger individualist civilian culture.

Government Intervention and Support

VFW and American Legion

One of the benefits of veteran run support organizations is the shared understanding for combat veterans of potential challenges coming home. At the same

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[131] Duncan M. Shields, David Kuhl, and Marvin J. Westwood. "Abject masculinity and the military: Articulating a fulcrum of struggle and change." *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 18, no. 3 (July 2017): 215-225.

time, differences between wars and changes in politics, technology, and social norms can create a disconnection between veterans who served in different wars. A challenge arises between wars when the immediate needs and identity of a new veteran group is not yet known.

An increasing number of veteran run organizations have been created to help different sub-groups of veterans. Larger sanctioned groups have been able to influence politics and government to obtain support benefits for post-war life. Larger well-known organizations include the Veterans of Foreign Wars, (VFW), and American Legion.

The VFW was established in September 29, 1899, and is still in existance. The VFW is considered the longest running veteran run organization. Legion of Valor was established on April 23, 1890. Initially Legion of Valor was set up to only serve the Army, but expanded to include the Navy and Marine Corps in 1933. The organization received official designation in 1955 from Congress.[132] The final addition for the Legion of Valor included the incorporation of the Air Force in 1961.[133] The Grand Army of the Republic was established on April 6, 1866. By 1890 the organization maintained over 400,000 members. The group was one of the larger organizations at the time, and initially membership was restricted to those who served in the Union Army. These members were eligible to receive benefits unlike the Confederate soldiers. As time continued the

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[132] Official designation was chartered by congress, Public Law 224, 84th Congress.

[133] United States. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. (1813-,). 1961. *Changing the name of the Army and Navy Legion of Valor of the United States of America, Inc. May 25, 1961. -- Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed*. Washington, DC: 1961.

organization began to include members from other wars, but the organization ended in 1956 when the last member died.[134] The American Legion was established in 1919, open to helping both veterans and their families. Veterans within this organization are not all former combat veterans, and is currently one of the largest veterans organizations.[135]

Looking back at World War II we can see issues for the veterans as they attempted to differentiate themselves from the World War I and Civil War generations. Severo and Milford describe challenges by World War II veterans on their arrival home, "...these two represented a generation of veterans who felt that the American Legion's values were stuck in the 1920's and that veterans of World War II needed a new organization."[136] The authors continue in describing the volume of veterans and their differentiated experiences were not aligned with those who served during the Great Depression, "they were not so different from the World War I veterans who thought that their own times and their war had required an organization separated from that of the Grand Army of the Republic or the groups that represented the Spanish American War Veterans."[137]

The rhetoric has not changed from war to war. Each generation of soldiers is in need of support services that speak, in time, to the needs of that group. One of the current

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[134] "Grand Army of the Republic." *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6Th Edition* (2017): 1.

[135] "American Legion." *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6Th Edition* (March 2017): 1.

[136] Severo and Milford, 309.

[137] Ibid., 310.

issues for new returning veterans in a recent war becomes the decision makers may be from a generation more than 20-30 years removed from service.

The most recent groups of returning veterans are experiencing a shift in what type of support organizations they would like to join. American Legions are closing as increasing number of veterans are electing to join smaller, more specific groups that meet their needs and desires. In 2017 the Red Bank, New Jersey, American Legion, post 168, closed their building and now meet in a pizzeria. The group decided to take the money from their building and invest it in helping others. The majority of individuals in this group are much older than the GWOT veterans making recruitment difficult. Additionally, the advent of online resources for veterans means access to help at all times. By creating online communities for veterans a bridge across generations can occur more quickly. Veterans who had lost touch with their units due to time, dismantling of a unit after war, and those who do not wish to openly identify as a veteran are able to connect online.

The "VA"

The government has set up resources for veterans transitioning into civilian life. The level of support from the government and non-governmental support systems have varied over time. One of the greatest issues has been a lack of understanding as to the needs of the individual who has returned home. With different veteran identities between wars it can often take time to ensure the newest group of returning veterans is receiving the help and care they need.

Department of Veterans Affairs (VA)

Prior to the advent of the VA issues relating to pensions and assistant were rampant. Issues from subsequent wars moved action and ratification to take place to work on ensuring benefits and promises to veterans would be served. Early government documentation for aiding Revolutionary War veterans highlights examples of these issues. For widows to receive pensions of veterans of the Revolutionary War a private act of Congress could be necessary to receive pension beyond what remained upon the husband's death. The law changed on June 7, 1832 which allowed widows to collect veterans' pensions.[138] By 1848, Congress approved life pensions for widows of Revolutionary War veterans. This pension would only be approved if the two had been married prior to 1800.[139] Prior to the creation of the Department of Veteran Administration, pensions were handled by the Office of the Secretary of War. Executive Order 5390 moved the Bureau of Pensions to the Department of Veteran Administration.[140]

President Herbert Hoover created the Department of Veterans Affairs, now referred to as the VA, on July 21, 1930 under Executive Order 5398. On March 15, 1989, Public Law No. 100-527 was initially enacted as a Cabinet level decision. This was an

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[138] Department of Veterans Affairs, Records of the Veterans Administration, *Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files.* Microfilm, GPO 904-882. Record Group B., 3.

[139] *Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files*, 3.

[140] *Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files*, 4.

effort to consolidate and regulate services for veterans. The executive order later was voted on and changed to Title 38, United States Code, Veterans' Benefits.[141]

The mission of the VA states, "to fulfill President Lincoln's promise."[142] During Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, he vowed to protect those who served the country as well as their immediate families. When the department was formed it was important to take into account the families of soldiers who died in battle. Lincoln's support of Civil War veterans was specific to those who served in the Union Army. Families of soldiers who served in the Confederate army would not receive benefits until later from individual states.

The VA has made attempts to broaden and change to meet new demands for assisting soldiers ever changing medical needs. In 1996 the VA passed the Veterans Eligibility Reform Act. In 1997, the VA issued an ambitious 5 year plan to increase services to veterans by 20%.[143] During this time the VA also integrated the VERA System, Veterans Equitable Research Association. This system allowed for regional networks to aid in service to help reach the 20% increase in service. While service was increasing funding resources were lowered. To be able to meet the demands for a wider

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[141] Department of Veterans Affairs, FY 2014-2020 Strategic Plan, 6.

[142] Department of Veterans Affairs, FY 2014-2020 Strategic Plan, 6.

[143] K. Kizer, J. Demakis, and J. Feussner, "Reinventing VA Health Care: Systematizing Quality Improvement and Quality Innovation." *Medical Care* (June 2000): 17-16.

variety of medical needs for veterans the VA lowered the eligibility criteria for service.[144] The VA was attempting to meet the challenge of increased service with less funds. This led to a lowered quality of service to help meet the budget and patient volume changes.

Changes continued in the VA throughout the early 2000s. Post 9/11 veterans received 2 years of additional free healthcare for anything that could be directly related to their service. This two year extension was later adjusted to five years by the National Defense Authorization act of 2008.[145]

In 2014 the VA identified a network of 2,032 locations for various types of service. Each piece of the network is aimed to support veterans on their transition into life after the military. Benefits include medical, educational, and housing support.[146]

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[144] Mark Smith, n.d. "Spending for specialized mental health treatment in the VA: 1995-2001." *Health Affairs* 22, no. 6: 262.

[145] Sayer, 56.

[146] www.va.gov

Table 1. Veteran Support Services from the VA in 2014		
Service	Purpose[147]	Number[148]
Medical Center	Hospital services for veterans	151
Vet Center	Referral services, outreach, community-based counseling[149] Specific to Combat Veterans and their families	300
Community-based Outpatient Clinics	Routine appointments, health and wellness checks	820
Community Living Centers	Assisted living and Nursing homes	135
Independent Outpatient Clinics	Routine appointments, health and wellness checks	6
Residential Rehabilitation Centers	Most are attached to hospitals. Long-term rehabilitation for physical and emotional illnesses	103
Integrated Disability Evaluation System (IDES Site)	Evaluations to determine level of disability rating	139
National Cemeteries State or Tribal Cemeteries	Cemeteries	131 90
Regional Offices	Local benefit offices	56
Fiduciary Hubs	Individual assigned to help veterans and beneficiaries who are not able to manage their finances due to extenuating circumstances	6

[147] Individual VA pamphlets and the VA website, www.va.gov.

[148] Department of Veterans Affairs, *FY 2014-2020 Strategic Plan*. 7-8.

[149] Community-based counseling is important for many vets who may require confidential counseling. This type of counseling does not get reported back to the VA.

Pension Management Centers	Helps veterans and beneficiaries by supplementing income	3
Insurance Center	Life Insurance	1
VetSuccess on Campus Sites(VSOC)	Designed to aid in	94
Out-based benefits services offices Military Vocational Rehabilitation & Employment (VR&E)	Training facilities for post-military employment	284 154 130
Education Regional Processing Offices (RPO)	Training programs for study, work, and additional employment training	4
Regional Loan Centers	Home Loans and housing grants	9
Services and service center numbers are from the Department of Veterans Affairs FY 2014-2020 Strategic Plan		

Transition Assistance Program (TAPS)

Discussions with Veterans about President Obama's VOW Act, *Veterans Opportunity to Work and Hire Heroes Act of 2011*, have been met with sighing and eye-rolling.[150] The VOW Act's initial intention was to better prepare soldiers transitioning into the civilian workforce. The act was designed to be completed by all veterans leaving service. By 2013 an online version of the VOW program was created for soldiers who

[150] During discussions with veterans this particular program was seen as a waste of time. In addition, the term TAPS was a reminder of what they considered useless training.

were not able to complete the three-day workforce training in person. The intention was good, however, elements of the TAPS program were unrealistic. Transition Assistance Programs have grown in number and purpose.[151]

The U.S. DOL Employment Workshop, Transition from Military to Civilian Workforce, takes place over three days. The April 2016 Participant Guide for the Workforce TAPS program has been created with a tactical mindset. The document specifically tells veterans transitioning into the workforce to, "approach it like any military operation."[152] Instructions to the veteran continue with the first step to be to "Determine mission and objective(s)."[153] This type of language can serve to create an us (veterans) against them (civilians) mindset. The document rather than using practical language needed for applying jobs helps to reinforce the differences between military and civilian life. After detailing and describing organization charts, the document tells the soldier how to be "inside the employer's mind."[154] Understandably language common to the trainee relates back to the military tactical training they have been receiving while enlisted. The text reads as though the individual entering into the civilian world has never lived within the civilian world. This approach is dismissive of their life pre-military.

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[151] There is a separate well known and established TAPS program whose acronym stands for Tragedy Assistance Program for Survivors. The program being discussed regarding transition assistance is separate.

[152] *Transition from Military to Civilian Workforce*, 3.

[153] *Transition from Military to Civilian Workforce*, 3.

[154] *Transition from Military to Civilian Workforce*, 13.

Examination of the document bring up concerns regarding accuracy and advice given to potential veteran applicants. Information seeming more accurate includes "If you have been unemployed for more than six months, some employers will eliminate your application from the pool."[155] More directly helpful to the veteran would be data specific to how long it typically takes a veteran to find work upon re-entry into the civilian workforce.

Advice given to veterans is general in order to be able to cover multiple career options, yet uses very intense language. The language in describing a hiring manager, or hiring team within the document is, "hiring decision makers." The phrase is used several times throughout the document. This phrase is out of touch with civilian language surrounding hiring.

The document describes three ways of reassuring a hiring manager. The first two ways demonstrate the ability to complete simple parts of tasks. Yet, they may not portray a veteran in the best light. The second example states, "I transferred to new units five times in the past 7 years, and I learned how to quickly integrate myself with my new teammates."[156] The statement may be confusing for a hiring manager or individual who is not familiar with military assignments. To the hiring manager it appears the individual held 5 jobs over 7 years. Additional questions may arise regarding why an individual would be moved so many times. The word integrate also has a very formal connotation.

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[155] U.S. Department of Labor Employment Workshop, Participant Guide. April 2016 Edition. *Transition from Military to Civilian Workforce.* Transition Assistance Program, 22.

[156] *Transition from Military to Civilian Workforce*, 19.

Getting a job for anyone can be challenging. Veterans enter the workforce at a time when their civilian peers have already matched the veteran's number of years of service with work-force experience or education.

The first section of the manual refers to how difficult it can be to land a job. The document describes differences in job seeking, promotions, and salary increases. This is very important information for individuals returning who had no civilian workforce experience prior to entering the military.

Table 2. Expectations in the Military and Civilian Workforces

	Veteran	Civilian
Applying for Job	Identity comes through MOS, Rating, or AFSC, and performance evaluations Rare: interview, resume, or application	Common: Interview, resume, and application
Title/Promotion	Clear path to advancement Expectation of promotion over time	Some people will not move up in their careers without changing jobs. Not all companies have upward mobility from within. This is dependent upon individual performance and company culture.
Salary Increase	Periodic pay raises, raises with rank, clear bonus and incentive structure for completing specific tasks or having additional skills	Not guaranteed May have to leave company to receive additional pay May receive a title bump without additional pay Some companies will give raises during review time Dependent upon job

The manual helps veterans understand some of what the soldier will need to do may be different from what they have grown accustomed to within military culture. This includes dynamics in relation to employee and employer expectations, speaking-up and taking personal responsibility for individual accomplishments, and identifying personal work values. Section 2 of the manual helps users understand how to turn detailed military language into more general civilian language. This section also helps the veteran work on role-playing skills. The individual is forced to think about their accomplishments in a different light. Section 3 helps the veteran understand how to find different job opportunities. The individual must think about their skills, their network, and where they would like to go after the military. Section three encourages the veteran to create a pitch about themselves and practice the pitch. Section 4 allows the user to understand what types of jobs they may be eligible for. This section also helps the user find apprenticeship opportunities as well as veteran specific recruiters. Section 5 is about marketing skill sets to find a desired job. This section contains sample resumes, instructions for creating cover letters, and military verses civilian job titles. Section 8 is specific to helping learn the social cues of interviewing. This section breaks down everything from answering questions, reading faces, how to dress, and what to expect during various interview types. The manual overall could be a helpful aid. The first section, however, reinforces a gap between those in the military and those who are on the outside.

Issues surrounding promises made both before and after the creation of the VA have been consistent. The World War Compensation Act was passed by Congress in 1924. This act paid veterans a bonus of $1 per day for service. The rate rose to $1.50 if

the soldier was stationed overseas.[157] Changes in administrartion and disagreement with the bill left the bonus unpaid. The bill had been an attempt to help veterans who served during World War I. The catch was the money would not be paid until 1945, and the problem with waiting until 1945 was the advent of the Great Depression. Veterans needed the money immediately to be able to live day to day. In May of 1932 veterans gathered in Washington DC in a demonstration named the Bonus Army.[158] The soldiers believed they were entitled to the money sooner to be able to survive, and the veterans relied on the promises of the government to help them.

A gap in understanding the needs of transitioning veterans by non-military personnel was acknowledged by former President Barack Obama in 2014. The military identity/culture was not being bridged between civilian and non-civilian health specialists. In order to help support more veterans and in order to begin to help close the lexical gap in treatment President Obama ordered the Department of Defense and Veterans Affairs to train non-military mental health professionals in military culture.[159] Training includes learning key phrases, the importance of military rank, and understanding more about what is and is not allowed to be generally discussed while in active duty. Since the inception of the program in 2014, the initial 3,000 individuals

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[157] Allen Pusey. "U.S. Army Disperses Bonus Marchers." *ABA Journal* 101, no. 7 (July 2015): 72.

[158] John J. Chiodo. 2011. "The Bonus Army: A Lesson on the Great Depression." *Social Studies* 102, no. 1: 33.

[159] Alexander V. Libin et al., "Perspectives of Veterans with Mild Traumatic Brain Injury on Community Reintegration: Making Sense of Unplanned Separation from Service." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Facilitating Reintegration for Military Service Personnel, Veterans, and Their Families, 87, no. 2 (2017): 130.

trained has continued to grow to help meet the large need for individuals who can better understand and help veterans who have transitioned out of service.[160]

[160] Libin, 130.

Chapter IV

World War II, Korea, and Vietnam

> "We have to be taught how to love war because seen unadorned it is too despicable to bear."
>
> - Michael Stephenson, *The Last Full Measure*

This section will focus on examining a combination of related topics across World War II, the Korean War, and Vietnam. Each of these wars contain their own unique place in American Memory. World War II, the Korean War, and Vietnam are often used as comparison points for contemporary wars. These wars are also used as reference points in the larger scale when examining veteran needs. The wars included within this section have a strong public identity.

World War II

Political Issues Intertwined in the War

World War II officially began much earlier than December 1941 when the United States joined into the war. The war between Japan and China was ongoing beginning around 1931 before it expanded into larger scale war interconnecting into the conflicts occurring

in Europe.[161] The United States remained active and engaged in WWII until September of 1945. In total World War II resulted in 292,131 American battle deaths, 115,185 noncombat related deaths, and 670,846 wounded soldiers.[162]

At the beginning of World War II the United States began to take another look at the regulations concerning soldiers, civilians, and the draft. The draft was revamped under *The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940*.[163] The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 set the initial draft age to begin at 21. A revision would not occur until 1943, when the draft age would be lowered to 18. The three year stretch of time in which the draft age was 21 helps to account for the reasons why the there is such an age discrepancy between the Korean War Veterans and those who served during World War II.

Despite societal norms regarding adherence to rules and social pressures during the 1930's and 1940's World War II experienced its own level of draft dodgers.[164] Civilian men did attempt to refuse the draft, and they would be sought out to be made examples. According to Stoler and Gustafson, 638 draft dodgers were located by the FBI and brought up on charges.[165] One of the few exemptions to being drafted was related to the strong focus on a moral code, as ministers and theological students could be

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[161] Stoler and Gustafson, Major Problems in the History of World war II, 47.

[162] Severo and Milford, *The Wages of War,* 293.

[163] Stoler and Gustafson, 44.

[164] Ibid., 46.

[165] Ibid.

exempted from going to war.[166] Individuals who declared moral reasons for not entering the war who were not part of ministry or theological students would face trial.

Sentiment about the war would remain heavily influenced by regulations on what type of information could be sent back and forth between the civilian world and those who were serving. According to a survey conducted in 1943, 53% of US citizens believed Japan was the chief enemy of the United States. Germany came in second with 34% of the population indicating Hitler and Nazi Germany were the chief enemy of the United States.[167] World War II was the first time Americans were able to more quickly and easily ascertain information about the war, with information more readily available through radio, magazine, and newspapers.[168]

Uncertainty would grow as challenges arose to maintain supplies for the war. Language chosen in headlines and articles would be designed to help cleanse the incoming information on the harsh realities of war.[169] In 1942 rationing of supplies for the war effort would be enforced in the United States. Rationing was not as severe in the United States as it was in England, nevertheless, civilians were expected to ration gasoline, food, and other supplies.[170] The government promoted rationing as a means of

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[166] Ibid., 48.

[167] Stoler and Gustafson, 174.

[168] Berinsky, *In Time of War*, 38-39.

[169] Fussel, Paul, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War*, 147.

[170] Ibid., 196-197.

helping in the war effort, and civilians were encouraged to live without specific objects to help troops overseas.

Keeping a positive civilian environment, and reminding people of their positive contributions, helped to shape the memory of war.[171] Images of happy healthy soldiers would be sent home to be displayed in homes with pride. The picture in the house would be used to remind the people who were missing family members, going through difficult times, and experiencing rationing, their loved one was okay and would be coming home. Their efforts would not be in vain.

The letter below was sent to Albert E. Newman Junior's mother Edith Newman. The letter and the image was a reassurance to Edith of her son's safety and health. The image itself has deteriorated over time. The image was printed on a hard plastic that has since begun to crack. This particular image with matting measures just under 4.5"x3" and is small enough to be carried at all times in a purse and to be able to show to friends. In figure 4.2 you see an army soldier leaning to the side in his khaki uniform looking happy and relaxed. The image gives a feeling of warmth, relaxation, and confidence with the staging of the soldier. The letter and image are both from early on in Albert Newman's service. This specific letter and image were sent from Camp Wheeler Internment Camp, Camp Wheeler, Georgia. The image and letter are pre-deployment, and are estimated to be from during or just after basic training. The style of the letter and the image help to portray a specific message back home.

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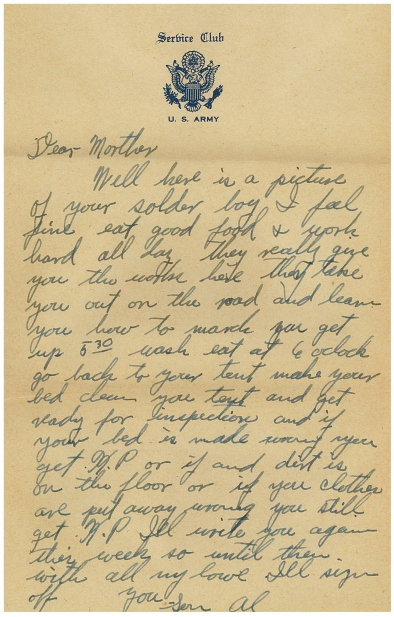
[171] Fussell, 196-197.


Service Club

U. S. ARMY

Dear Mother

Well here is a picture of your solder boy I feel fine eat good food + work hard all day they really give you the works here They take you out on the road and learn you how to march you get up 5 30 wash eat at 6 oclock go back to your tent make your bed clean you tent and get ready for inspection and if your bed is made wrong you get K.P or if and dirt is on the floor or if you clothes are put away wrong you still get K.P Ill write you again this week so until then with all my love Ill sign off

You Son Al

Figure 4.1 WWII, Letter 1. Letter from Al Newman Junior to his mother Edith Newman. Letter is from the author's private family collection.

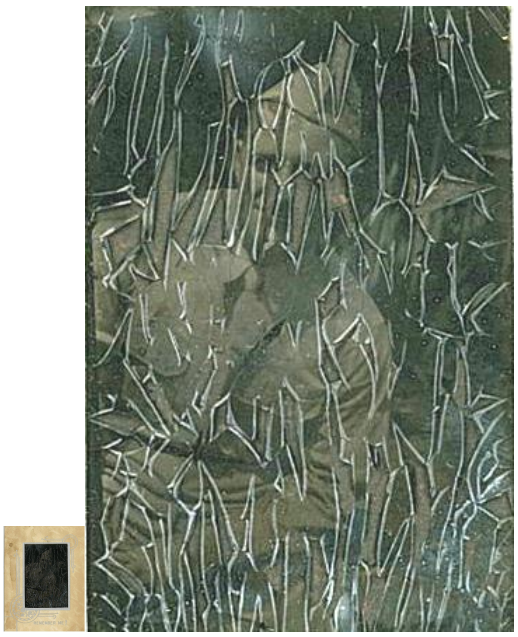


Figure 4.2 REMEMBER ME!

Smaller image is a scaled down copy of the larger image on the right. Yellowed image mat has the words “REMEMBER ME!” placed below the picture. Picture had been included in letter sent to Edith Newman from Al Newman Jr.

The letter, figure 4.1, to his mother is optimistic, factual, and hints that while he is working hard, he is doing his duty.

Dear Mother

Well here is a picture of your solder boy I feel fine eat good food + work hard all day they really give you the works here They take you out on the road and learn you how to march you get up 5^{30} wash eat at 6 oclock go back to your tent make your bed clean you tent and get ready for inspection and if your bed is made wrong you get K.P or if and dirt is on the floor or if you clothes are put away wrong you still get K.P Ill write you again this week so until then with all my love Ill sign off

You Son Al

The letter opens with a sense of pride “Well here is a picture of your solder (soldier) boy…” The letter itself is very basic, and appears to come from the heart and yet feels formulaic. No detailed information is offered other than what may have appeared in the news. The main points Al includes in each of his letters in the future include eating well and hard work. The letter and the picture’s intent appear to be to stay top of mind to the recipient, and to reassure them all is well.

The two images below, figure 4.3 and figure 4.4, were sent during deployment, just before going to the Pacific. The photos have a number of similarities despite being from two different military branches. In both images there appears to be no easily identifiable landmarks. All of the men are clean, fully dressed, and appear healthy. The backgrounds are free from debris or anything that may indicate a hardship was being endured.

Figure 4.3 Home Sweet Home Army

Al Newman, Jr, US Army.[172]
Rocco Calandriello, US Army.
Author's private family collection.

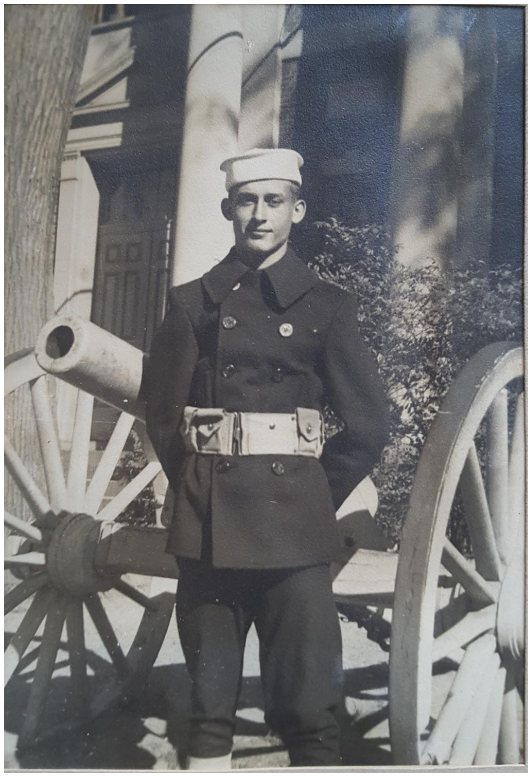


Figure 4.4 Navy Sailor

Richard A. Christie, US Navy[173]
Author's private family collection.

[172] Albert E. Newman, Jr, aka "Albie" entered the war in his twenties. Albie held a job in the police force for two years in Red Bank, New Jersey for two years before he enlisted. He was married and an infant son he had to leave behind when he served. After the war, Albie returned to serve as a Red Bank Police Officer and firefighter.

[173] Richard Christie entered the war at the age of 18. He was single, and had to wait for two years after graduating high school before he would become old enough to enlist. Richard Christie studied at NJIT until he was old enough to enlist. After the war he worked on government defense contracts throughout his career, married, and had three children.

The wartime narrative would begin to form a disjointed utopia rather than have the American people face the brutal reality of war.

Soldier Expectations

Soldiers were expected to help maintain a positive outlook upon the war. The mindset for many soldiers going into war was an idealization of heroics. In part, a sense of invincibility was prevalent amongst the WWII soldiers as distance between WWI and WWII would help to reshape common memory. Paul Fussell states, "At the outset… what a young person thought might happen to him seemed to depend on his intellectual sophistication."[174] To Fussell, soldiers treated the military as if it was an extension of being in school.[175] Getting into various branches and positions would be competitive, and an individual's status would be formed by obtaining the right assignment. Obtaining the right assignment and the competitive nature of climbing rank still exists strongly in the current military community.[176]

Soldiers were often celebrated by small towns before departure and upon returning from war. These actions by towns would be an attempt to keep morale high while the town experienced a drain of young workers. An example of this can be seen in

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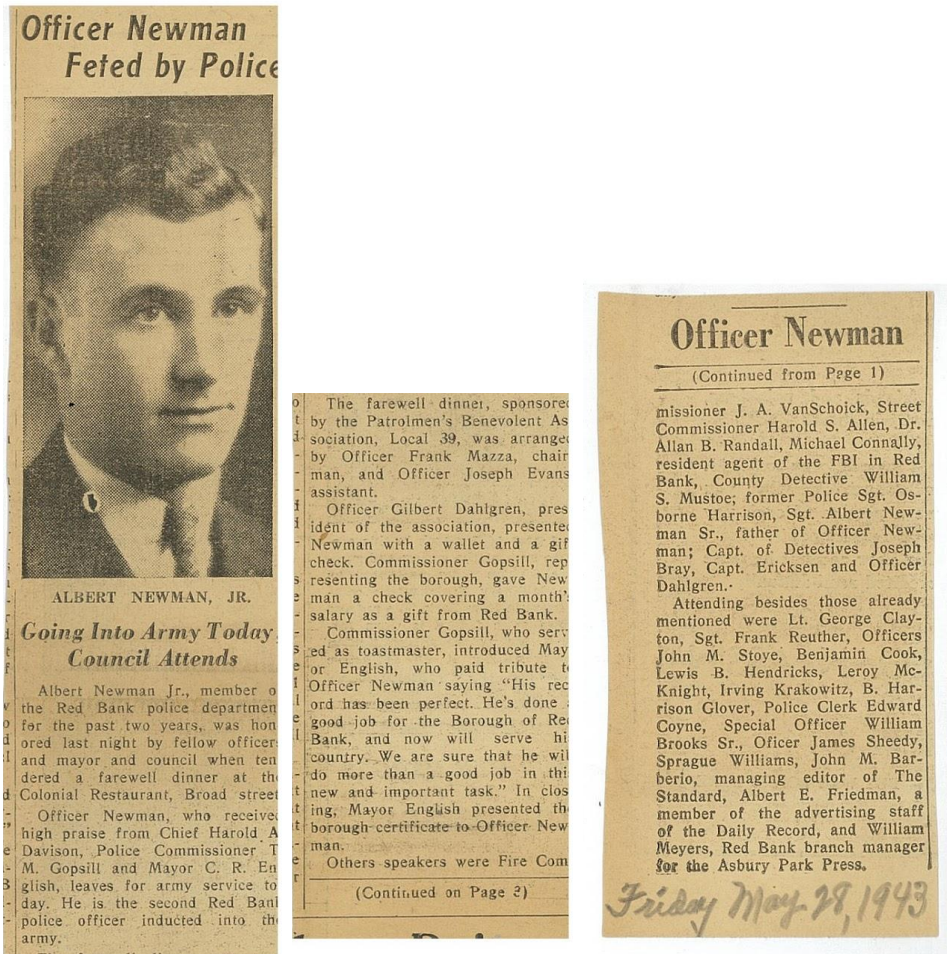
[174] Fussell, Wartime, 55.

[175] Ibid., 59.

[176] This competitiveness is not only limited to the soldiers themselves within war. A military spouse's status may rise or fall with the promotion or demotion of their spouse. The most easily seen difference is the dividing line between enlisted men and officers. Officers receive higher pay, better accommodations, and access to exclusive clubs such as officer clubs.

the newspaper clipping below. The article shows Newman as being a newer member of the police force, and highlights the local government participation in his farewell dinner. The image used shows Newman as an all-American man.



Officer Newman Feted by Police

ALBERT NEWMAN, JR.

Going Into Army Today, Council Attends

Albert Newman Jr., member o the Red Bank police departmen for the past two years, was hon ored last night by fellow officer and mayor and council when ten dered a farewell dinner at th Colonial Restaurant, Broad street

Officer Newman, who receive high praise from Chief Harold A Davison, Police Commissioner T M. Gopsill and Mayor C. R. En glish, leaves for army service to day. He is the second Red Ban police officer inducted into th army.

The farewell dinner, sponsore by the Patrolmen's Benevolent As sociation, Local 39, was arrange by Officer Frank Mazza, chair man, and Officer Joseph Evans assistant.

Officer Gilbert Dahlgren, pres ident of the association, presente Newman with a wallet and a gif check. Commissioner Gopsill, rep resenting the borough, gave New man a check covering a month' salary as a gift from Red Bank.

Commissioner Gopsill, who serv ed as toastmaster, introduced May or English, who paid tribute t Officer Newman saying "His rec ord has been perfect. He's done good job for the Borough of Re Bank, and now will serve hi country. We are sure that he wil do more than a good job in thi new and important task." In clos ing, Mayor English presented th borough certificate to Officer New man.

Others speakers were Fire Com

(Continued on Page 2)

Officer Newman

(Continued from Page 1)

missioner J. A. VanSchoick, Street Commissioner Harold S. Allen, Dr. Allan B. Randall, Michael Connally, resident agent of the FBI in Red Bank, County Detective William S. Mustoe; former Police Sgt. Os borne Harrison, Sgt. Albert New man Sr., father of Officer New man; Capt. of Detectives Joseph Bray, Capt. Ericksen and Officer Dahlgren.

Attending besides those already mentioned were Lt. George Clay ton, Sgt. Frank Reuther, Officers John M. Stoye, Benjamin Cook, Lewis B. Hendricks, Leroy Mc Knight, Irving Krakowitz, B. Har rison Glover, Police Clerk Edward Coyne, Special Officer William Brooks Sr., Oficer James Sheedy, Sprague Williams, John M. Bar berio, managing editor of The Standard, Albert E. Friedman, a member of the advertising staff of the Daily Record, and William Meyers, Red Bank branch manager for the Asbury Park Press.

Friday May 28, 1943

Figure 4.5 Officer Newman Feted by Police Red Bank Register, Friday May 28, 1943.

A set expectation for soldiers was to help keep morale high back home.[177] Letters helped to create what might be considered a false sense of hope and positivity. Cleansing

[177] Fussell, 145.

of combat related issues occurred even within letters being passed back and forth between soldiers and civilians. Certain topics were approved to be discussed while others were banned. In Newman's letter home to his father from October 11, 1943 we can see specific topics in letters were banned.

> *July - 11*
> *Hellew Pop,*
>
> *Well I received your letters ok. Yes I think I well know quit a little bit about guns. I wish I could tell you more about my work but that is one thing we are not allowed to do. I see by the Red Bank Register that the lighting was playing around the hall last week. Boy it is good to get the paper and read the news from home. I did not receive the Long Branch Record yet? Please tell Freemen I was asking for him and tell him to write to me. When this war is over Ill have a story for him that will be a story. I was in a 70 acre field of peanuts and a 40 acre cotton field day before yesterday. Ga. is a very poor state you think things are high up there you ought to be here They really do clam you up. And don't believe that saying about Southern Hospitality, it a think there fighting the the civil war here. I am still fingerprinting. When I come home I am going to learn to read them Tell Pop Browes that he better come down here and fix some of the lights here. You did not tell me how Mary and the kid is? I'll tell you as much as I can about our camp. For one thing we are separated from the main camp of camp Wheeler by at least a mile up on top of a big hill. Our camp is about 1 mile square. There is two companys here the 356 and 357 each has about 125 men in it. We work in shifts 24 hr on and 24 off and only work 8 hr out of the 24. 4 hr at a time in other words. 4 on + 8 off they call it release time. And in that 24 long hr we sleep in our clothes in the Guard house We had a blackout 2 week ago you think you boys get out fast you out to see us. (Just between you and me I miss my wife + kid like hell. I would give anything to see them right now) But I guess that is part of being a good soldier not to say you miss them. So just keep this to yourself Tell me in your next letter how does Doris look.*
>
> *Well I guess Ill say good night*
> *-Al (sic)*

Throughout the collection of over 30 letters and postcards sent from Al Newman Jr to family back home the most common themes in letters included missing Red Bank. Letters to his father would be more descriptive toward items relating to the military world and his job as a police officer. Newman's father was also a police officer on the same force. The majority of letters to Al's wife, mother, cousins and father included regular mentions of his current weight, missing his family, missing his wife and son, and what he was looking forward to once he was able to come back home. Letters showed the reader how important the soldier felt those in his life were to him. The letters were written in a positive manner to help keep morale high.

Post War Identity

Soldiers expected to come home to the world they had left behind. The main expectation turned into the idea the soldier would be able to pick back up into the life they had left. This is seen in a number of the letters Newman sent home during the war. Unfortunately the end of the war meant less jobs, some of their jobs had been given away to other individuals, along with uncertain trust that existed between civilians and soldiers.

Additionally, soldiers had grown accustomed to acting in a uniform manner. Al's early letters describing the reinforcement of everyone making beds properly, cleaning out their tents, and following the rules is an example of how the military reinforced a desired uniformed identity. Fussell describes a veteran as forever conditioned, "the ex-soldier

never forgets his serial number."[178] The conditioning endured in training and service in essence take over the soldier to a point where the individual cannot separate their prior self from their current self.

A desire to return to pre-war life was prevalent amongst soldiers. The issue would become their state in life now included war experiences and military training. "Wartime journalism about the troops, conscious that the one thing that they missed most was their prewar individualities, was conscientious in attempting to reimpose some identity upon them."[179] Individuality had been buried under the uniform. This buried individuality would continue after the uniform would be removed. The desire to no longer be a number, but a unique person, would be their initial civilian identity conflating with their newer collectivist identity. Those who served in World War II would have been trained to have a collectivist mentality in the military during a time when civilians of the same age were able to further explore their unique identity. In applying the idea of Military Identity to the transition into adulthood for military veterans, it is important to include their experiences of keeping in mind those around them at all times for protection and trust.

During World War II the government acknowledged there were no programs in place for transferring a soldier back into civilian life.[180] Returning veterans faced an uneasy transition home. "The notion that the soldier had somehow become a different

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[178] Fussell, 70.

[179] Ibid., 73.

[180] Severo and Milford, 290

sort of person who could return to civilian life he left behind only with great and difficult effort was repeated in press and books."[181] Some considered returning soldiers to be threats to society until they were "re-naturalized."[182] Soldiers would sometimes become vilified, and this information went back to the soldiers as they received copies of local newspapers and letters from families.

In his letters home, Al discusses his eagerness to come home. Al's letter on June 22, 1945 to his mother includes a statement of resentment toward those who felt the soldiers would need transitioning back into civilian life. Based on his letter and previous letters his only desire was to be placed back into his home with his family.

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[181] Ibid., 291-292.

[182] Ibid., 291.

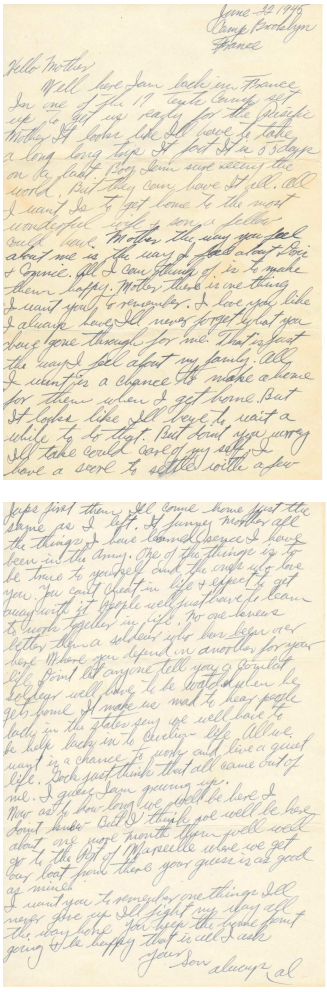

Figure 4.6 Letter 2 World War II

June - 22, 1945
Camp Brooklyn
France

Hello Mother

Well here I am back in France In one of the 17 tent camps set up to get us ready for the Pacific Mother It looks like Ill have to take a long trip It fact it is 55 days on a boat. Boy I am sure seeing the world. But they can have it all. All I want is to get home to the most wonderful wife + son a fellow could have. Mother the way you feel about me is the way I feel about Doris + Connie. All I can think of is to make them happy. Mother there is one thing I want you to remember. I love you like I always have Ill never forget what you have gone through for me. That is just the way I feel about my family. All I want is a chance to make a home for them when I get home. But it looks like Ill have to wait a while to do that. But dont you worry Ill take good care of myself. I have a score to settle with a few Japs first then Ill come home just the same as I left. It funny mother all the things I have learned since i have been in the army. One of the things is to be true to yourself and the ones who love you. You cant cheat in life + expect to get away with it People well just have to learn to work together in life. No one knows better than a soldier who has been over here where you depend on another for your life. Doint let anyone tell you a combat soldier will have to be watched when he gets home It make us mad to hear people back in the states say we well have to be help back in to civilian life. All we want is a chance to work and live a quiet life. Gosh just think that all came out of me. I guess I am growing up. Now as to how long we will be here I doint know But I think we well be here about one more month then well well go to the Port of Marseille where we get our boat from there your guess is as good as mine.

I want you to remember one things Ill never give up Ill fight my way all the way home you keep the home front going + be happy that is all I ask.

Your Son always,

Al[183]

[183] Letter from Al Newman Jr to his mother Edith before being sent to the Pacific in World War II. Letter is from author's private family collection.

Al's letter follows all of the typical format as his previous letters in defining himself as a good soldier who will be coming home. This is the first and only letter within the collection that shows an aggravation for how he would be potentially treated once he returned home. The tone of this letter is also different than the rest of the collection in that it feels as though he is writing a farewell letter in case he did not return home.

One difference for Al returning home, in comparison to a number of the 16 million returning other soldiers, would be his ability to return to his job as a police officer. Unfortunately for Al, his experiences during the war would affect the home he would return to. During his time away from home, working at a reduced pay for the US military it would become necessary for his wife and mother to sell their family home on Spring Street. Before leaving for training, Al Newman had signed over the house and power of attorney to his wife Doris. This would allow her to make whatever decisions would be necessary to take care of their baby and Al's mother while he was away.

Al's letter also describes a sense of having grown into adulthood during his time away from home. Overall the negative tone points toward a loss of youth or naivety that comes with age in regard to death and overall life experiences. The young men who had been competing for positions of prestige, the young athletic soldiers, and energetic youth were coming home changed.

After the war a large number of veterans would require help and support from the VA. By 1945 the VA grew to be responsible for an estimated fourty-three percent of the men in the United States. Fourty-three percent of men were now veterans of various wars stretching back to the Civil War.[184] Despite some veterans feeling they would not need help transitioning back to civilian life, a significant number of soldiers would need the full assistance of a stretched VA system.

Unfortunately not everyone was supportive in creating programs or extending assistance to returning soldiers. Upon coming home soldiers faced civilian opposition against programs being created for veterans.[185] In the mind of those who opposed allocating additional support for the war, the war was over. To those who spoke out, they were looking for programs to be created for those who had stayed behind to help with the war effort. With the war over many individuals would be losing their jobs, and jobs created by the war would no longer be needed. Rationing and the need to support the war by going without was no longer seen as necessary.

Of those who spoke out, some clergy members would point toward the wicked and tainted actions of those who served in war.[186] These clergy members are among one of the small populations who were exempt from the draft. Part of this issue may have stemmed from the false version of combat created during the war. The civilian population

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[184] Severo and Milford, 306.

[185] Ibid., 290.

[186] Ibid.

had residual effects of the cleansed version of war, and many could not understand what the veterans had faced.

Korean War

Political Issues Intertwined in the War

The Korean War officially began on June 25, 1950 and ended in a cease-fire armistice on July 27, 1953. Troops from participating countries remained in Korea through November of 1954 as part of Operation Glory.[187] When historians discuss the specific causes of the Korean War several answers are usually cited, although the reasons were and are contested as to why the United States entered the war. This became an issue for those involved in government and peace keeping organizations. Mixed information and uncertainty for participation in foreign ground troop engagement extended to those who were sent into war via enlistment or draft, as well as for the civilian population. A difficulty arises in supporting a war when you are unsure of the reasons for the war itself.[188]

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[187] James Irving Matray, and Donald W. Boose. *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Korean War*. (2014): 409.

[188] Throughout research for this study books and articles on the Korean War each historian appears to give a seemingly similar yet slightly different answer on the reason for involvement in the Korean War. There does not appear to be a singular clear catalyst for the involvement of the United States in the Korean War.

The United States involvement in the Korean War created a surge in military not only deployed to Korea but also additional soldiers stationed in Japan. Specific reports from the Department of Defense's DMDC are unavailable for 1951 and 1952. Regardless, Table 3 below shows how quickly the U.S. Military grew from June of 1950 to June of 1953. Between June of 1950 and June of 1954 the total U.S. Military Worldwide increased by 124%. In 1953 the combination of soldiers stationed in Korea and Japan were responsible for 42% personnel stationed outside the United States.

Table 3. Deployment of Military Personnel during the Korean War

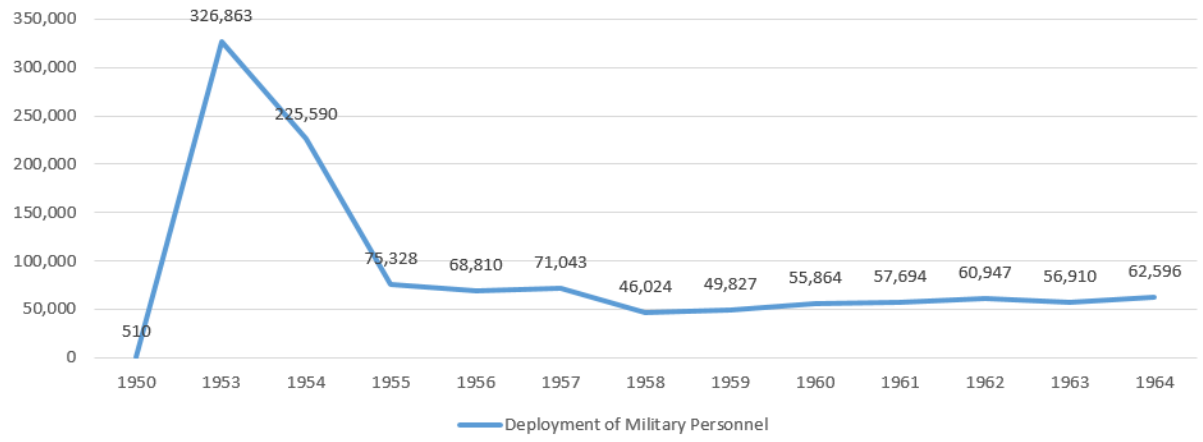
	Total World Wide	Outside United States	Far East	Korea	Japan
Jun-50	1,460,261	328,392	149,291	510	115,306
Jun-53	3,555,067	1,216,688	629,602	326,863	185,829
Jun-54	3,279,579	1,120,175	499,312	225,590	185,705

Data from the DOD Historical Records. [189]

[189] DMDC, The Defense Manpower Data Center. Secretary of Defense. DOD Personnel, Workforce Reports & Publications. Historical Publications. Worldwide Manpower Distribution by Geographical Area (M05). Historical Reports - Military Only - 1950, 1953-1999. https://www.dmdc.osd.mil/appj/dwp/dwp_reports.jsp

Table 4 below shows the rapid reduction in military personnel stationed in Korea after Operation Glory. The total number of individuals deployed in Korea has remained fairly steady since 1956. The chart shows a gradual increase between 1958 and 1964 as the U.S. prepared to send troops to Vietnam.

Table 4. Deployment of Military Personnel in Korea 1950-1964[190]



Resolutions and declarations by the United Nations are tied into reasons as to why the United States entered into what had been called the Korean Conflict. Early resolutions by the United Nations point toward supporting the Republic of Korea in their move toward a democratic state. The United Nations supported a democratic and unified Korea. This had the effect of openly denouncing the spread of Communism from the U.S.S.R, The Republic of China, and North Korea. Later resolutions would call for peaceful

[190] DMDC, The Defense Manpower Data Center. Secretary of Defense. DOD Personnel, Workforce Reports & Publications. Historical Publications. Worldwide Manpower Distribution by Geographical Area (M05). Historical Reports - Military Only - 1950, 1953-1999. https://www.dmdc.osd.mil/appj/dwp/dwp_reports.jsp

resolution and contain more specific details regarding what the United Nations viewed as violations of peace. *Resolution 82 (1950). Resolution of 25 June 1950 [S/1501]* called for "...an immediate cessation of hostilities." This resolution also called for a withdrawal of North Korean forces from the 38th parallel. The United Nations also acknowled the calls from the Republic of Korea to help ensure "immediate and effective steps to ensure peace and security."[191] The UN went on to recommend providing assistance to help push Kim Il-Sung and his forces out of the Republic. Kim's response was to push his troops further into the Republic and attack. Kim openly disregarded the United Nations requests. This should not have been a surprise as as North Korea was not a part of the United Nations. Thus, the request from the United Nations was just noise for Kim Il-Sung. North Korea had nothing to gain from Resolution 82. Resolution 83 came two days later. *Resolution 83 (1950). Resolution of 27 June 1950 [S/1511]* by the United Nations identified an armed attack on the ROK, Republic of Korea, by North Korea as a 'breach of the peace." Further, the United Nations openly declared "members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repeal the armed attack

[191] United Nations, Resolution 82, June 25, 1950. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/82(1950) (ACCESSED September 10, 2017)

and to restore international peace and security in the area."[192] Official United Nations documentation notes the U.S.S.R., Russia, was not present during the time of the vote.[193]

The resolutions by the United Nations were intertwined with an ambitious General MacArthur, fear of the spread of communism, and a country who had come out victorious in World War II. MacArthur was accused of not following what other high ranking military officials were taking under consideration for military intelligence. Former Governor of New York, Averell Harriman, General Lawton Collins, and Former Ambassador Lucius Battle point to MacArthur's antics as erratic and stated he would often go against international intelligence recommendations.[194] Harriman, Special Assistant to the President in 1950, stated he felt "General MacArthur's intelligence was entirely different or else as I always thought there was confusion in his own intelligence."[195] The statements of these three gentlemen point toward disjointed communication among the upper levels of government and in the military.

When reflecting on the Korean War it is important to remember the United States did initially support aiding the Republic of Korea. While initial reasons tied to politics,

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[192] United Nations, Resolution 83, June 27, 1950. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/84(1950) (ACCESSED September 10, 2017)

[193] United Nations, Resolution 83, June 27, 1950. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/84(1950) (ACCESSED September 10, 2017)

[194] J. Lawton Collins was the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army in 1950. He was a General in the U.S. Army. Lucius D. Battle was the Special Assistant to the Secretary of State in 1950. Heller, Francis Howard. *The Korean War: A 25-year perspective*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, (1977), xiii, 27-28.

[195] Francis Howard Heller. *The Korean War: A 25-year perspective*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, (1977), 29.

and unclear communication lingered during the war, the United States government did openly support sending troops to aid the Republic of Korea's defense system.

> There was support from very diverse points of view in the country: there was the right-wing pressure to do something; the China lobby wanted attention focused on China; those who wanted to see an end to isolationism and were looking for a new era of international involvement put great hope in the U.N. and in the collective security aspects of the Korean intervention. As long as everything went well everyone loved it. It was only when things began to fall apart and after the move to the Yalu that the deflections began. (Ambassador Lucius D. Battle, 29)[196]

Ambassador Lucius Battle's declaration aligns with reports from the American people over the battle. As long as the United States and the United Nations were winning in battle, the people supported the war. Unfortunately the battle dragged on, higher numbers of people were being drafted, and overall American sentiment began to change as casualties and losses were being reported.[197] The United States was forced to face a different reality from that of World War II. The nation was not invincible. The outcome of this war would not be another victory. In the end, the push for a unified and Democratic Korea would be put on hold.

Soldier Expectations

Veterans from the Korean War can be placed into several categories. One of the key elements differentiating Korean War veterans from WWII Veterans and Vietnam veterans is the transitioning of expectation within the generation. During the Korean War

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[196] Heller, 103-104.

[197] Table 4.

large shifts in what the military looked like began to occur. Women, immigrants, and individuals with lower education levels took on new roles within the military.[198] The overall age of soldiers went down. Young soldiers who watched the glory of their WWII predecessors were conditioned to expect to follow the rules of the draft. In addition the Korean War came at a time where an idealized guideline for American behavior was set. Men were expected to enlist and there were a much smaller number of draft dodgers during the Korean War than the Vietnam War.[199] Those who came of age during the Korean War were able to see the small numbers of draft dodgers from World War II be punished. Those who avoided the draft were punished by the court system, and were seen as not following the norms and traditions, and this was a time at which people were expected to follow rules. [200] In addition to those who were not quite old enough for WWII, Korean War veterans include individuals who served in both WWII and Korea.

A significant difference between the Korean War veterans and veterans from previous wars is how soldiers were deployed. Enlisting and training with someone did not guarantee you would be stationed together throughout the war. Going through training together also did not guarantee you would be kept together as a unit. Korean War soldiers would be sent in groups and those groups would be disbanded and reorganized quickly.[201]

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[198] Melinda L. Pash. "In the Shadow of the Greatest Generation: The Americans Who Fought the Korean War." New York University Press, New York, New York (2012), 8, 11.

[199] Ibid., 37.

[200] Ibid., 12.

[201] Ibid., 35.

Shuffling of soldiers and units may have made tactical sense at the time. The unfortunate side effect was a loss of initially established camaraderie needed in the front lines. This camaraderie brings with it trust, allegiance, and an established working order. "Replacements had to make buddies and learn the ropes fast or risk finding themselves even more alone in the unfamiliar and unforgiving terrain of the war. Unfortunately, many of these replacements became casualties within hours or days of their arrival."[202]

Camaraderie is a key element in creating the group identify for a soldier or unit. By shuffling in new recruits on a regular basis to established units a continual retraining and need for team building would need to occur. This put all of the soldiers involved at a disadvantage and at risk for becoming a quick casualty.

The greatest challenge for Korean War veterans is this issue of camaraderie. This group of veterans followed the rules as had been laid out by the WWII generation before them. The men and women who enlisted and were drafted went to war. They followed orders and the expectations of society. The government changed the game on the soldiers once they arrived in training. By shifting units, replacing soldiers in units without training or transitioning, and by sending soldiers home separate from their units the US Government made service much more dificult for the Korean War soldier.

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[202] Ibid., 132.

Post War Identity

The Korean War veterans did not return home to glory or victory. Veterans of the war came home and were expected to join back into society. Unlike veterans from previous wars the Korean War veterans typically returned home without their units. Often soldiers were put into groups coming back with people they had never met before. Rather than receiving a celebratory ceremony veterans found themselves rotating out of their units without much notice.[203]

Melinda Pash describes the experience of returning home not due to victory but to the end of a contract in her book, *In the Shadow of the Greatest Generation.* Pash points out the lack of finalization of a "win" left veterans with anger and dissociation. The lack of a perceived "victory" left soldiers with lasting questions about why they had risked their lives. In addition to the individual soldier's own emotions regarding self-reflection and comparison to the generation who fought before them, soldiers were subject to unfavorable judgment by the government, military, and civilians.

Richard Severo and Lewis Milford take Pash's general theory on a lack of "win" into a wider theory centering on the returning soldiers being treated as "scapegoats." According to Severo and Milford the negative treatment of returning soldiers relates closely to the lack of victory against communism. The two individuals see this lack of victory as an important factor in how the veterans were viewed coming home. According to Severo and Milford the government and high ranking military officials openly blamed

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[203] Pash, 135.

the lowest ranking individuals for the United States first loss in an international war. Severo and Milford note, "Major-General Lewis B. Hershey, who ran the selective service system, blamed it on soft, spoiled, self-indulgent young men who did not want to surrender their freedom to Army Discipline."[204]

Soldiers were being blamed for being too weak for battle. These individuals were told by upper level military officials they had not been cut out to be soldiers. This type of discussion goes against military identity. Within military identity you must be able to trust and support those around you. You must rely on support from your commanding officers in order to survive. If commanding officers are stating their troops are not good enough it will cause an individual to reassess their soldier identity. The soldiers who returned were not greeted by the same societal expectations from when the war had begun. Nor were the soldiers experiencing a gradual transition out of what had become their military identity.

Soldiers were not only receiving blame by the military for being weak, but during deployment a rise in accusations of communism grew rampant. Soldiers unknowingly were coming home to public distrust, as accusations of soldiers' conversion to communism were also rampant in the news and public opinion.[205]

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[204] Richard Severo and Lewis Milford. "21 The Scapegoats," in *The wages of war: when American soldiers come home - from Valley Forge to Vietnam* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 317.

[205] Severo and Milford, 321.

Questions began to be raised about how best to treat the veterans who came home. "Army's top psychiatrist recommended that homecoming soldiers need only be treated as though they had 'just been around the corner at the drugstore,'" note Severo and Milford. Before looking at why this statement would not have worked at the time, it is important to take a look at the statement in context related to dismissing identity and accomplishment. What the doctor was suggesting was to pretend the soldier's experiences outside of the United States were insignificant. This pretense undermined any and all extreme or even minor experiences the individual survived within their military identity. Loss of life, limb, companionship, time, and whom they may have helped or harmed all become dismissed. Yet these types of events would be heavily imprinted in the soldier's psyche. The decision to belittle the experience would also effect the person's overall self-identity. Treating the soldier as though they had not been gone for a long period of time would potentially reinforce a lack of worth for the individual and their accomplishments. By dismissing the reality of what the soldier had been through society would be halting discussion. In a sense the doctor was declaring a silencing of experience. The psychiatrist was in essence helping reinforce Major General Lewis B. Hershey in asserting a narrative of weakness in the general population.

A lack of a clearcut victory put the Korean War veterans in a less gloried light than their WWII predecessors. A lack of a clear victory, government blame, fear, and an isolated return home helped lead to the silence of the "Silent" or "Forgotten Soldiers."

Now, more than 60 years after the war the impact of the silence of the Korean War veterans still resonates. Much of the Forgotten War veterans' stories have been silenced through long periods of non-recognition. Despite contemporary efforts to recognize soldiers of this war, the memory of the war is tainted by the decades that passed before the Korean War soldiers were able to get recognition or support. The lack of a memorial until 1995 highlights the lack of discussion about the war. Judith Keene explains the American absence of acknowledgement regarding the Korean War takes place over four decades. She notes, "Korea had been invisible in the national pantheon of war commemoration. The absence had gone unremarked, despite the fact that in American public life, and in the landscape of monuments that peg out the topography of official memory, a great many national commemorations hark back to the country's involvement in past wars."[206] Americans needed to determine how to commemorate a war lacking open discussion or a cohesive voice since the 1950s.

Civilian perceptions of Korean War soldiers returning home in the 1950s included strong negative visuals. Perceptions surrounding this group of soldiers did not mirror the superhero type strength of their World War II predecessors. The Korean War veterans came home with perceptions of defeat. Many veterans returned thin and quiet. Images in newspapers included visuals of POWs who were frail and unkempt. Keene details perceptions of the war which included, "the American soldier as a prisoner of war, who

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[206] Judith Keene. "Lost to Public Commemoration: American Veterans of the 'Forgotten' Korean War." *Journal of Social History* 44(2011):1095.

was defeated, emaciated and possibly a brainwashed communist sympathizer."[207] Keene goes on further to elaborate on the mindset of the Korean War soldiers to indicate they felt "shame and humiliation" for being in the Korean War.[208] Feelings of shame and humiliation silenced the veterans in an effort to not draw attention to themselves. Soldiers faced issues with defeat both in combat and upon returning home.

Perceptions of the Korean War by civilians were different than perceptions from World War II. During the Korean War much of the media shifted in how combat soldiers were presented. Changes in technology in the 1950s allowed for an increased ability to get information quickly. Shuji Otsuka and Peter Stearns offer detailed evidence on media shifts during the Korean War in their article "Perceptions of Death and the Korean War."[209] Korea is one of the first wars to be ushered into every American home.[210] Otsuka and Stearns show that news reporting to the public during World War II did not focus on the number of casualties occurring as prominently as the Korean War did. Instead the media focused reporting on "heroism and purpose" when referring to World War II soldiers. In contrast Otsuka and Stearns point out reporting during the Korean War "broke down older euphemisms about battlefield glories and heroic death."[211] The concept of fighting for purpose would have been difficult to report during the Korean

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[207] Ibid., 1098.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Shuji Otsuka, and Peter N. Stearns. "Perceptions of Death and the Korean War." *War in History* 6. No. 1 (January 1999):72. America: History & Life.

[210] Ibid., 76.

[211] Otsuka, 85.

War as the government and military powers did not provide explicit reasons to the American public as to why America was fighting in Korea. Defeated soldiers returned home to a country who had been presented with a brutal and negative sense of war. Otsuka and Stearn's article points toward the de-glorification of the soldier during the new style of reporting in the Korean War.

In the Korean War veterans transition to civilian life most were unable to trade stories of victory with the World War II generation. An understanding of shared experiences further bonds camaraderie between soldiers of different wars. The Korean War soldier's' silence regarding their experiences inhibited their ability to connect with not only the World War II generation, but also one another. The veteran-to-veteran converstaion is important in the transition to civilian life for many soldiers. Soldiers are able to communicate with one another shared experiences civilians are unable to fully comprehend. This exchange is part of the healing process.

An example of continued silence on the war can be seen at a veteran's event, which occurred on November 13, 2013. Army Week Association held a panel conference on the movie *WarTorn* and an educational panel to discuss PTSD. The screening and conference were held at HBO's headquarters in New York City. Audience members were primarily veterans and a small group of civilians who have veterans in their families.

The movie's purpose was to bring to light issues surrounding the silenced narrative of PTS or PTSD. The movie however inadvertently highlighted the issue of narrative and recognition of the Korean War. The film focused on veterans and their

families from the Civil War all the way up through Iraq. The film included commentary on the Civil War, World War I, World War II, Vietnam, Africa, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Each of the stories of soldiers portrays extreme detail showing the impact of war on the lives of the different families when soldiers come home. *WarTorn* humanizes the struggles faced of soldiers and their families.

The film, however, in no way touches on Korea. At points in the film scenes show a group of Vietnam and World War II Veterans exchanging stories. The age range and opportunity to include Korean War Veterans was evident. If part of the film's goal was to tell the untold story for so many soldiers, it reinforced the lack of a Korean War narrative by further silencing the stories of the Korean War Soldiers. The failure to mention the Forgotten War leaves questions open regarding if PTS/PTSD are similar or different for those who were involved in the wars highlighted in the film. For a film to be so powerful and miss an entire population illuminates the lack of a soldier narrative in the collective Korean War story. The film's lack of Korean War narrative is an example of the continued public identity and stigma of being the Forgotten War.

Panel participants after the movie screening focused their conversations on the wars represented in the movie. Each participant was associated with a specific organization that helps veterans after he or she come home from being deployed. A representative from Hope for the Warriors and a representative from the Walter Reed Army Medical Center were among the more vocal participants in the panel. A large part of the panel discussion focused on how to help veterans from each of the different wars.

Until the question and answer session, none of the panel participants mentioned the Korean War at all. However, one of the less outspoken panel members running down a lengthy list of wars did mention the Korean War. From that point on, each participant made sure to include the Korean War within conversation talking about WWII or Vietnam. The individuals in the panel were aware enough to be conscious of the general audience in identifying and including the once again *forgotten* veterans.[212]

Enduring the Silence

After the war the Korean War veterans remained in a silo. This group of veterans were unable to boast of victory, and due to how the veterans came home and were shuffled they may not have known where some of the people from their units were living. Those they could identify with and had shared experiences with were not readily found. The United States sent soldiers into Korea under prepared and without a unified mission. These veterans did not band together in the same way as their predecessors of WWII, or of those who served in Vietnam. This generation of veterans maintained an allegiance to their upbringing of following what was right and these veterans experiences throughout the war helped lead to a more radical generation of veterans in Vietnam. The veterans of

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[212] In discussions after the panel with some of the Vietnam, WWII Veterans, and other guests of the event, I had been asked directly about how and why I was at the panel. I explained my current research and interest in finding out more. Two veterans, one from WWII and one from Vietnam, had a lot of questions. Their immediate response to my research was that it was extremely timely with everything going on internationally. The two acknowledged a lack of information being brought back to the general population and could see similarities in what had occurred in the 1950's to current international issues. They cited however the largest difference between those who fought in the 1950's to those currently stationed in the demilitarized zone as, "at least this time we know where Korea is and who the Koreans are."

the Korean War's isolationist tendencies can be attributed closelyto how the soldiers were brought home. Additional isolationist tendencies should be attributed to the change of sentiment regarding the war during their service. Coming home to an unsupported war after having left to join a supported war left them with an unsupported service experience.

Vietnam War

Political Issues Intertwined in the War

Vietnam officially began well before the United States military entered into the war. Initial tensions in Vietnam rose as the French government ended their occupation of Vietnam in 1954. The United States fully entered into the war in 1964 after U.S. Navy ships were supposedly attacked by North Vietnam.[213] The United States stayed in Vietnam until a cease-fire was issued in January 1973.[214] The average American soldier in Vietnam was roughly 7 years younger than those who served in World War II.[215]

Much like stories regarding reasons for going into Korea, multiple explanations are given for what occurred once the United States entered into Vietnam. The initial reason for going into Vietnam were presented to the American people as a means of stopping communism from taking over. As the Vietnam War continued, mixed

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[213] Adam J. Berinski, *In Time of War Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq,* 18.

[214] Muhammad Saleem Mazhar, and Naheed S. Goraya. 2013. "A critical analysis of Vietnam War in comparison with Afghan War." *South Asian Studies: A Research Journal of South Asian Studies* 28, no. 2: 273.

[215] Severo and Milford, 347.

information began to be presented to the American people regarding how many troops were in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. The chart below shows a growing military presence within Vietnam beginning in 1956 with a 1030% increase by 1962.

Table 5. Deployment of Military Personnel: Vietnam War[216]

	Total World Wide	Outside United States	Vietnam	Cambodia	Laos
1953	3,555,067	1,216,688	138	NR	NR
1954	3,279,579	1,120,175	NR	NR	NR
1955	2,930,863	927,851	NR	NR	NR
1956	2,795,460	881,548	752	64	17
1957	2,758,069	927,537	751	80	24
1958	2,598,015	811,254	846	68	18
1959[217]	2,492,449	708,618	819	95	20
1960	2,492,037	685,582	794	95	23
1961	1,552,912	705,109	959	77	185
1962	2,687,690	766,628	8,498	79	287
1963	2,695,240	731,045	15,620	70	99
1964	2,690,141	737,433	17,280	11	41
1965	2,723,800	832,364	129,611	1	22

[216]Information compiled from public military records. DMDC, The Defense Manpower Data Center. Secretary of Defense. DOD Personnel, Workforce Reports & Publications. Historical Publications. Worldwide Manpower Distribution by Geographical Area (M05). Historical Reports - Military Only - 1950, 1953-1999. https://www.dmdc.osd.mil/appj/dwp/dwp_reports.jsp

[217] Hawaii becomes a state. Numbers for deployed military overseas adjust down due to statehood.

1966	3,229,209	1,051,893	317,007	NR	19
1967	3,411,931	1,228,538	451,752	NR	20
1968	3,175,263	1,074,983	537,377	NR	21
1969	3,132,766	1,041,094	510,054	NR	22
1970	2,718,027	875,423	390,278	NR	22
1971	2,392,412	682,672	212,925	/f[218]	/f
1972	2,111,403	496,830	35,292	/e[219]	/e
1973	2,006,926	456,242	265	/d[220]	/d
1974	1,945,818	420,684	130	52	26

In 1969 President Nixon declared he would bring home 2,500 troops by August with more to follow coming home that same year.[221] Additionally, President Nixon openly stated he would be bringing home more than 150,000 troops from Vietnam.[222] The country was growing weary of still being within Vietnam and rerouting large numbers of troops into Cambodia would not help Nixon uphold this promise to get out of

[218] Ibid. DMDC. Under 500

[219] Ibid. DMDC. Source Table 102, Deployment to SEA-Strength, SEA Statistical Summary (afloat)

[220] Ibid. DMDC. Under 100

[221] Berinsky, 20.

[222] Richard Nixon. "Address to the Nation on the situation in Southeast Asia." *Address to The Nation On The Situation In Southeast Asia* (August 2017): 1

the war.[223] Ultimately the United States did send troops into Cambodia but not in the mass numbers that had been present in Vietnam. The figure above shows a discrepancy between publicly distributed information and official numbers presented by the DMDC. According to official records Nixon did uphold his promise to bring troops home between 1969 and 1970. Numbers reported by the DMDC show a 5% decrease in troops from the US stationed in Vietnam between 1968 and 1969. Between 1969 and 1970 23.48% of troops were removed from Vietnam. These percentages however do not account for military deaths, POWs, or those who were redeployed to either Cambodia or Laos. The official recorded numbers for 1969 and 1970 indicate there is no record of the American Military being stationed in Cambodia. The final selective service draft for the Vietnam War was initiated on January 23rd 1973.[224]

In the realm of public opinion the Vietnam War faced a lot of scrutiny. Adam Berinsky's book, *In Time of War,* claims "Vietnam is unusual among the wars of the last 65 years in that during Johnson's time as president, polarization occurred within the Democratic Party, not across the parties."[225] This occurrence rattled the strength of the Democratic Party. A divided party could not vote in unison to enact change nor to uphold the desires of the people within the party. This created an internal stalemate for advancing policy.

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[223] Ibid., 1.

[224] Berinsky, 20.

[225] Ibid., 19.

Anger, Resentment, Change

Stories of the Vietnam War tend to be dark, disturbing, and lend credence to the veterans' broken persona. Vietnam pushed for recognition of the individual soldier rather than recognition of the group. This individualism creates a large contrast to perceptions of the Vietnam veterans to those who served in World War I and World War II.

However, what is often overlooked, due to the decibel level of the outcry and protest for this group of veterans, is their predecessors from the Korean War. The treatment of the Korean War Soldiers return would be fresh in the minds and social war memory of the American People. The mistreatment, silence, and dismissal of the Korean War Soldier's sacrifice would be an existing undertone in society. The future Vietnam veterans would be following a generation of veterans who received mistreatment and blame for failing to come home victorious. Entering into Vietnam the United States would be still recovering from a lack of glory. The American Soldier was no longer viewed universally as the best, strongest, and always victorious.

A key difference in treatment of Korean War veterans to those of Vietnam can be seen at the rate public support dropped for the war. The Vietnam War experienced a slow steady decline in support. This is in stark opposition to the rapid drop in support for the Korean War.[226] Berinsky elaborates on the sentiment between the Korean War and Vietnam, ". . . unlike in response to Korea, the public did not react to the change in

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[226] Berinsky, 20.

presidential administrations in 1968 with an increase in support for the war."[227] In World War II and during the Korean War you can see a shift within the government based on the popularity of a war. In the case of Vietnam, public sentiment did not change with administrative shifts.

A change in societal norms between the start of the Korean War and the beginning of the Vietnam War ushered in a great change among responses to entering Vietnam. Unlike in World War II and the Korean War, protests against the draft and against participation within the war were much more commonplace. This does not mean all soldiers who were drafted protested. Rather, this underlines the question of who or what was seen as a sign of a patriot or patriotism.

> When that war was finally revealed, most of us couldn't help but be ambivalent about it. . . we were a generation born and bred on patriotism, on the Pledge of Allegiance every day in school and absolute respect for the American Flag, swallowing hard and feeling those little shiver-tingles every time we saw it blowing freely in the breeze. (Nicosia, *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*, 3)

Mr. Nicosa's reflection of himself in regard to patriotism begins to unfold one view of how individuals felt patriotism should be perceived. Individuals like Gerald Nicosa were not uncommon and his statement brings up questions regarding what patriotism actually means. In this instance, do we as a people see patriotism as the actions of those from World War II and Korea who went more quietly into war? Or, did patriotism become standing up for the liberties promised to individuals? In essence it was

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[227] Ibid., 20.

time for the next generation to decide how it would follow or learn from the mistreated Korean War veterans.

However, those who did protest did so in much greater numbers than those of previous wars. Draft-card burning and deferment became more commonplace among those who felt it was important to join the draft resistance. Gerald Nicosa ended up becoming what was deemed a "draft resister" for religious reasons. Nicosa describes a general sentiment among draft resistors as not feeling this war was worth fighting. He did not feel the war was moral or necessary, and therefore he resisted.[228] Nicosa also describes the relationship with his father, an individual whose generation would have a different view of patriotism as being worried about his son's overall future for dodging.[229] Nicosa's situation is a good example when examining the differences among generations in their mindset of patriotism.

Burning a draft-card required an internal decision regarding how much one would be able to go against their government, or even their families.[230] A draftee would be faced with potential criminal charges for burning their draft-cards as well as for failing to report for duty. These charges included the potential to lose full rights as a citizen for resisting.

Reasons for resisting the war came in various forms. In addition to Nicosa's declaration of religious purposes reasons by other objectors were expansive. These

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[228] Nicosia, 4.

[229] Ibid., 5.

[230] Ibid., 37.

included believing that the United States was enforcing imperial tactics in Southeast Asia, violations of the Geneva Accords of 1954, and belief that U.S. actions in Southeast Asia could be "seen as crimes against humanity."[231] As the war continued reasons would grow to include mistreatment of veterans, negative perceptions of soldiers from the news, and a general push against forced deployment by the government.

Draft dodging evolved into being seen as more socially acceptable.[232] This is in stark contrast to the views held in WWII or the Korean War. An overall change in American society was occurring at this point. Draft dodgers would have to deal with their own family pressures and governmental repercussions, but it was a more complex situation.

An estimated 50,000 men and women emigrated from the United States to Canada during the years of the Vietnam War.[233] At the time crossing the border into Canada and achieving Canadian citizenship was much easier. By escaping to Canada draft dodgers would be able to join a culture similar to that of the United States minus the mandatory draft. These individuals would be making the decision to give up their identity to protect their beliefs. Beliefs they felt by the constitution they should have been afforded all

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[231] Donald W. Maxwell. 2015. "'These Are the Things You Gain If You Make Our Country Your Country': U.S.-Vietnam War Draft Resisters and Military Deserters and the Meaning of Citizenship in North America in the 1970s." *Peace & Change* 40, no. 4: 339.

[232] Kindsvatter, 148.

[233] Maxwell, 437.

Americans. The estimated number includes wives, girlfriends, and other family members of the draft-dodger.[234]

American men who were drafted did not have the freedoms nor liberties they believed they possessed. Liberties and rights would eventually be determined by the government.[235] The government would control their fate for the perceived good of the country. This is a sentiment not initially fully understood by this generation until these individuals saw their rights, freedoms, and citizenships come into play. The government would be the deciders of defining patriotism, as well as the extent to which an individual has uninhibited freedom.

Soldier Expectations

The expectations for soldiers entering into Vietnam were different for those who were sent in the beginning, than of those who went toward the end of the war. Initially individuals being sent had an idealistic sense of how they would be greeted and treated by the South Vietnamese. Soldiers arrived in South Vietnam with the belief people would be happy to see the American soldier. Rather, the men and women deployed were not embraced by the people of Vietnam. Instead they were greeted with hostility, avoidance,

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[234] Ibid.

[235] Ibid., 454.

and distrust.[236] In addition to rejection by the South Vietnamese, American soldiers would learn quickly they were targets for booby-traps, theft, and for con-artists.[237]

One of the difficulties of the draft for soldiers becomes a dichotomy of expectation and commitment. In one platoon you could have volunteers and draftees. If enough draftees are vocal about their resentment for being drafted a divide occurs within the unit. An extremely important factor in Military Identity includes the ability to trust your unit with anything and everything. Individuals who had enlisted would have to trust their lives to people whose mission was to get out in one piece. Draftees who chose to attempt Conscientious Objector status could be rejected, and would be committing to becoming part of the military in a different form. This meant draftees who wanted to follow standard law would be forced into situations where their loyalty or trust could be questioned.

By 1968 America began to turn against the war. "The heavy casualties and the unexpected strength and fury of the enemy's attacks convinced many Americans that the War was unwinnable unless America upped the ante and invaded North Vietnam."[238] Kindsvatter continues his description of the changing tide of perception, "They had been sent by an increasingly unsympathetic, even hostile, America to fight a war they did not

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[236] Peter S. Kindsvatter. *American Soldiers: Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam*, 143.

[237] Ibid., 144.

[238] Ibid., 146.

seem to be winning for people who did not want them there."[239] As the war continued soldiers were faced with the reality that not only did the American people not want to send troops into Vietnam, the South Vietnamese rejected a positive or collaborative relationship.[240]

Issues in overall perception of the Vietnam veterans began well before their boots touched back on American soil. Some came home with "Dear John" letters due to misinformation and negative sentiment regarding the war.[241] Wives, girlfriends, mothers each had concerns based on often ill-informed or exaggerated stories repeated to the American people.[242] Thus, some soldiers came home to no family support or general tension within their personal Homefront.

The soldier could be left with no true home. Multiple tours in Vietnam created unrest among the soldiers. Soldiers deployed to combat zones would witness first-hand the changing attitudes about Vietnam, and the attitude's impact on soldier morale.[243] He and his orders created a social rejection on two fronts. Rejection in this format would call into question his identity as an individual, as a soldier, and as a citizen.

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[239] Ibid., 148.

[240] Ibid., 145.

[241] A "Dear John" is a slang term used for a letter sent to a soldier overseas. The use of the word "John" is a generic popular name. These letters typically contained negative information. Some example topics include divorce, marriage to someone else, breaking up, moving out, or birth of a child with someone else. The term is still used, however, now includes email and other electronic means of communication.

[242] Kindsvatter, 147.

[243] Ibid., 146.

America had just gone through a similar experience during the Korean War. War falls out of favor politically and socially if it is deemed unwinnable. In addition, an unwinnable war would create additional issues for soldiers coming home. They, like the Korean War veterans, would be faced to come home without a victory. The difference would become how the Vietnam veterans would channel their lack of victory upon their entry back into the United States.

Post War Identity

The post war identity of Vietnam veterans has changed over time. Men and women who came home had to face many of the same realities their veteran predecessors from previous wars had already experienced. The difference for this group would be the overall reaction to how they had been treated.

In total over 58,000 combat and post-combat related deaths occurred. Post combat deaths can be attributed to injuries sustained during battle. More than 270,000 individuals were wounded.[244] No definitive numbers are currently available to link the exact number of suicides due to post-combat issues specifically for Vietnam veterans.

In addition to death and physical wounds an estimated 500,000 individuals received "less than honorable discharges."[245] This number includes deserters and defectors who would later be pardoned by President Carter. Should an individual receive

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[244] Severo and Milford, 350.

[245] Ibid., 350.

an "OTH", an Other than Honorable conditions discharge, they are subject to losing benefits they may have been allotted from having served in the military. The December 9th, 2013 Morning Edition on NPR accurately described this type of discharge as a Scarlet Letter.[246] This type of discharge removes all VA benefits. In addition the individual must return their uniform, and pay back any bonuses they may have received. In short, the individual is stripped of anything relating to their military service outside of their memories. An individual with a less than honorable discharge may have a difficult time finding a job. Unfortunately this classification leaves a permanent mark on the person who received this form of discharge and it deems an individual to not be recognized as a veteran.

After the Vietnam War, a push was made to bring back individuals who defected during the war. A political push-pull occurred as to what level of forgiveness and amnesty should be given in order to heal the country. Post war issues, dissent, and uncertainty flowed through daily life. Carter took a humanist approach to those who fled the war and to those who served. Carter initiated a pardon for those who had fled. His initial pardon did not help deserters.[247] His negative attitude toward deserters may have stemmed from his service in the United States Navy. The military emphasizes the importance of being able to trust those who serve with you. You must trust the individuals you are serving alongside to have your back, to be prepared to support the

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[246] Morning Edition, NPR. December 9, 2013. http://www.npr.org/2013/12/09/249342610/other-than-honorable-discharge-burdens-like-a-scarlet-letter

[247] Maxwell, 452.

unit at all costs. This is part of not only the military identity, but also the unit identity. In 1977 public dissatisfaction with Carter's original disregard for deserters was addressed, and in April of 1977 he eased sanctions on military deserters.[248]

Most of the individuals coming home would be forced to acclimate into a society they did not feel welcomed. "Paradoxically, he was condemned by his countrymen for his role in supporting a cause his country had sent him to fight for…"[249] For those who went but had disagreed with the war there was no true way to be able to speak out as an individual. This group of veterans needed a more collective voice.

The transition home left many veterans confused and trying to contemplate their next steps. These veterans would have to figure out how to become a citizen again. Estimates from the late 1980s indicated roughly 100,000 men were addicted to drugs and alcohol after returning from Vietnam. More than "80,000 were receiving no treatment."[250] Alcoholism and drugs are not uncommon for veterans who are suffering transition issues. While in Vietnam some had been given medication to help time pass on their deployment. Self-medication became rampant affecting the daily lives of veterans. Reports on the high volume of veterans who needed assistance for this disease would then affect those who may not have had the same issues. The reality for those returning would be quick realization it was extremely difficult to find a job after serving.

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[248] Ibid., 453.

[249] Kindsvatter, 147.

[250] Severo and Milford, 354.

Additionally, unlike the livable stipends given to soldiers in the past, honorably discharged veterans could hope to receive $200.00 per month. This money was expected to be used for school and for living expenses.[251] Living on this amount was not a realistic expectation during the 1970's. Soldiers generally were stigmatized which often reflected negatively on the individual.

Korea Demilitarized Zone

Since the official armistice between the United States and North Korea in 1953, continued skirmishes have been prevalent across the 38th parallel. Continued pushes for control of land and government between North Korea and the Republic of Korea have plagued this zone in each of the decades since. During the Vietnam War a rise in interactions between North Korea and the ROK/United States militaries began.[252]

With soldiers stationed on either side of the demilitarized zone keeping watch, North Korea began to make movements to attack the DMZ while the United States and South Korea were sending resources to Vietnam. For just over a decade between 1953 and 1966 an antagonistic wait and see mentality had grown over the zone. The three countries involved would be brought into negotiations and discussions regarding the threat of reentering war. By October of 1966 North Korean troops would increase the

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[251] Ibid., 355.

[252] Nicholas Evan Sarantakes. "The Quiet War: Combat Operations along the Korean Demilitarized Zone, 1966-1969." The Journal of Military History, 64, no. 2 (04, 2000): 441.

number of attacks across the official demarcation line. On November 2, 1966, the North Korean military set forth an attack on the U.S. 2d Infantry Division Patrol. This patrol included both U.S. Soldiers as well as soldiers from the Republic of Korea.[253]

The November 2nd attack occurred during President Johnson's visit to Korea. Newspapers had already been discussing the evils of communism, and a distrust in Asia grew with the unpopular and growing presence of the United States Military in Vietnam.[254] President Johnson reiterated his belief in the armistice just after the November 2nd attack.[255] An increase in attacks across the demarcation line grew throughout 1966 and 1967. Troops who served at the DMZ during this time were serving in a combat zone. Reinforcing the DMZ however was secondary to the needs of Vietnam.[256]

The Quiet War, as this interaction would later be named, continued into President Nixon's Presidency. In April of 1969 North Korean Troops shot down a U.S. Navy EC-121 aircraft.[257] Nixon recognized the strain of the Vietnam War on the United States and determined we could not enter into war with North Korea. Talks between the three countries would rise and fall quickly in the 1970s. Continued exchanges of gunfire and

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[253] Ibid., 441.

[254] Ibid.

[255] Ibid., 442.

[256] Ibid., 457.

[257] Ibid.

maneuvering from North Korea into the demarcation line continued with each new leader.

On August 18, 1976 the Popular Tree Incident occurred in Korea. According to the Military History archives, a group of soldiers comprised of American Soldiers and ROK soldiers had gone to cut back branches on a tree that had been blocking their view. Once the group approached the tree North Korean soldiers approached the team trimming branches. The North Korean group threatened the soldiers cutting branches at the tree. Finally, the North Korean soldiers began to attack and beat the soldiers who had gone to cut branches. During the incident 2 American soldiers died. A few days after the incident the US military sent the USS Midway from Japan to Korea. The military also sent a group of soldiers who were then followed by additional ground troops and airplanes to finish taking down the tree.[258] The incident caused concern over North Korea's actions. The incident took place less than two weeks after North Korea had declared the United States Military was preparing for war.[259] The incident occurred in the Joint Security Area, which has the highest likelihood of interaction between all those serving within the DMZ.[260]

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[258] Kevin M. Hymel. 1999. "The Poplar Tree at the DMZ." *Military History* 16, no. 4: 42.

[259] Box 27, folder "WSAG, August 18, 1976, Korean Incident" of the NSC East Asian and Pacific Affairs Staff: Files, 1969-1977 at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library. This document can also be downloaded from the National Archives. The documents were made public on April 20, 2011.

[260] Ibid.,10.

The United States National Security Council's sub group, the Washington Special Actions Group, held a meeting on August 18th, 1976 to analyze recent occurrences within the Korean Peninsula.[261] The Washington Special Actions Group, or WSAG, meeting developed a drafted plan for recommendation to the National Security Council. The WSAG's plan focused primarily on negotiation recommendations should additional attacks occur. The WSAG plan set forth recommendations for Public Protest, and an alliance with friendly governments with a push to have allies condemn North Korea's actions. To help encourage the public protest the group felt it would be necessary to send a warning to North Korea and remind North Korea they are responsible for their actions. The group felt the United States should highlight adherence to the Armistice agreement from 1953. In addition, the WSAG felt Congress should openly condemn North Korea's actions. Congress should also encourage the need to maintain peace.[262]

The WSAG went further in its recommendations by acknowledging they believed North Korea would retaliate to any warnings by executing ground tactics. The WSAG recommended should ground tactics occur, a mobilization and reinforcement of the DMZ should occur. This would include the movement of carriers, F-111s, and B-52's over Korea.[263] This movement had already begun to occur days after the popular tree incident. The WSAGs plan included the desire to avoid massive deployments if

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[261] WSAG, August 18, 1976, Korean Incident, 6.

[262] WSAG, August 18, 1976, Korean Incident, 3.

[263] WSAG, August 18, 1976, Korean Incident, 4.

possible.[264] After analysis of the recent events leading up the August 18, 1976 meeting, the WSAG indicated they felt the tree incident had taken place to, "agitate American public opinion over the issue of troops in Korea in the context of the US election campaign."[265] According to official documentation, the last time heightened events with rising casualties had occurred in 1969. This was the time of Nixon's election. Similar events began to occur in 2004 into 2005 during President Bush's campaign, as North Korea was sending missiles toward Japan.[266] Incidents again began to rise during 2012, and 2016. North Korea currently is repeating similar aggression to what occurred in 1976, pushing President Trump to make decisions that would demonstrate how North Korea would be viewed in the eyes of the United States in a similar way as had been done to Presidents Johnson and President Nixon.

WSAG can be seen as important when discussing Korean War veterans. This group of veterans experienced open combat. Yet, they were deployed during Vietnam. This group would be considered non-combat and the majority of the American public's focus was kept on Vietnam. When this group of men and women came home they would not share an identity with the Vietnam veterans, and they would be far removed from the Korean War veterans. This type of incident is an example of an event where silence or confusion of identity may occur upon returning home.

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[264] WSAG, August 18, 1976, Korean Incident, 4.

[265] WSAG, August 18, 1976, Korean Incident, 8.

[266] Author was studying in Japan during a portion of this time period.

World War II, Korea, Vietnam: Persona

Modern memory and idealization helps to change historical occurrences over time. The atrocities of war can become glorified and cleansed for general consumption. In a means of short-hand as a society we group these veterans based on general events surrounding their experiences. The general assigned identities by society on the veterans does not always align with the true identity formed by a soldier who actively served during times of war.

Soldiers of World War II were generally kept within units. Soldiers left and returned home within a unit. Despite having faced an intense war experience, the home front helped to shape their perceived identity. In addition to many coming home to parades and tickertape, segments of this group of veterans had been vilified due to concerns such as confusion about war and veterans reclaiming their jobs. The overall social identity for this group would be intertwined with the desire to keep morale high in a recovering nation. Thus, this group would be labeled heros, and emerge as a gloried generation despite transition issues, and initial biases by some civilian groups.

The common persona of Vietnam veterans is not always positive. This group however banded together as a unit. In essence this created a strong veteran to veteran support system. After feeling slighted, and different from the previous generation of soldiers, this group turned vocal regarding having felt they had been vilified and mistreated. This group's persona has begun to change over time, but will be associated

with a negative homecoming. Many in this group of veterans are open about what happened in Vietnam. They refused to remain silent, and they worked together to fight against vilification of their efforts in the war.

Unlike the veterans of World War II and the Vietnam War, the Korean War veterans never made the same type of strong attempt to connect with one another. This specific group of veterans remained silent for a much longer period of time. The government's encouragement of hushing the conversation reinforced a lack of discussion. Having been the first group to be blamed for not winning a war in American history also helped encourage a lack of conversation. For years there was a disagreement on even calling the Korean War a war. By not titling a war of this size a war they stripped soldiers of many of the support systems afforded to soldiers who served during war time. This particular group did not band together as strongly as the Vietnam or World War II generation. These actions helped shape this generation as the "silent veterans."

Chapter V

Modern Transitions: Gulf War, GWOT, Peacekeeping and Demilitarized Zones

> "As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. . . I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back."
>
> - President George H.W. Bush, Address to the Nation, January 16, 1991

Chapter V, Modern Transitions, focuses on examining political issues, soldier expectations, and post-war identity for those who fought in modern war. For those fighting in war utilizing more modern tactics, a new understanding would need to be developed in regards to new issues to be brought home after war. This chapter does not limit itself to major wars, but also includes an overview on issues when a modern soldier is placed into a peacekeeping assignment. The wars included within this section differ in tactic, attention, support, and homecoming from those who served in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam.

Gulf War

Political Issues

The Gulf War, also known as Operation Desert Storm, began in 1990 and continued through 1991. In January of 1991 660,000 troops were deployed to Iraq. Military actions and governmental negotiations continued until 2003.[267] Operation Desert Storm was created to push Iraqi forces out of Kuwait. US military interest in keeping Iraq out of Kuwait was in stopping Iraq from obtaining control of the majority of the world's oil. Had Iraq been successful, they might have been able to control the price of oil across the globe.[268]

Prior to entering into war mixed messages of support for helping the Kuwaitis were received from the American people. During November-December of 1990 Gallup polls indicated the majority of Americans were willing to use force in the Gulf, yet only 28% indicated they were willing to be initiators of war.[269] A growing number of analysts were being used which contrasted poll results. This opposition to poll results may have been used as an attempt to sway public opinion toward favoring entering into war quickly.[270] The polls overall indicated a lessening of support as the war drew closer.

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[267] Michael Haas. "Gulf War." *Salem Press Encyclopedia* (2013).

[268] Ibid., "Gulf War".

[269] John Mueller. "A Review: American Public Opinion and the Gulf War: Some Polling Issues." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* no. 1 (1993): 81, 87.

[270] Ibid., 82.

Initially, the Gulf War was used politically to show the United States was a military force once again. Those who served in the war were credited as having won the first war since Vietnam. The Gulf War veterans' victory allowed the government of the United States to be boastful in a way it had not been able to since World War II. Some veterans received parades upon their return, were greeted in a more positive manner, and were given more support during their transition than the Korean or Vietnam veterans. The government claimed a superior strategy through the use of modern warfare. The Gulf War helped Americans become accepting of the use of advanced technology in war.

In November of 1990 President Bush stated he would not send soldiers into war unprepared for a victory.[271] For President Bush, an important goal would be to avoid another long, unpopular, and devastating war like Vietnam. Bush turned toward the use of precision guided munitions (PFM), or smart weapons, in an effort to avoid the use of Nuclear Weapons.[272]

Roughly 85,000 tons of non-nuclear bombs were used during the Gulf War.[273] Less than 9% of the bombs used in the war fit into the category of Smart Bombs.[274] The use of Smart Weapons was debated among military strategists since the use of the weapons could seriously change war strategies. Traditionalist and modernist views on war were greatly at variance from one another. Traditionalist opinion believed in

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[271] M.T. Klare. 1991. "High-Death Weapons of the Gulf War. (Cover story)." *Nation* 252, no. 21: 738.

[272] Ibid., 738.

[273] Ibid., 721.

[274] Mark Thompson. 1998. "Are the smart bombs really smarter now?" *Time* 151, no. 7: 44.

destroying anything that could help the enemy. Targets for destruction from traditionalists would include bridges, buildings, and power plants.[275] In essence the goal would be to cripple the country's ability to move about during the time of war. The Gulf War however would turn into a truly modern war. Modernist theories of combat included an attempt to create and fight using advancing technology to help minimize civilian casualties.[276]

Strategies to help minimize civilian casualties using precision guided munitions would reduce the number of carpet-bombing strategies from prior wars. The first introduction to using this type of weapon occurred minimally during the Vietnam War.[277] The weaponry required more time, research and further technological advancements before the weapons could be used on a broader scale such as in the Gulf War. This type of combat was also looked at in a negative manner by those who supported more traditional war strategies. Issues in technology were evident during the Gulf War because the weapons were sensitive to weather, as conditions would need to be clear of sand storms or clouds to be effective.[278] The percentage of on target strikes by the weapons would be lower during the Gulf War than in 1999, or during GWOT.[279]

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[275] Ian Sample. 2003. "US gambles on a 'smart' war." *New Scientist* 177, no. 2387: 6.

[276] Ibid.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Ibid.

[279] Ibid.

John F. Stewart, Junior, Brigadier General (P), of the U.S. Army wrote a memoir in which he highlights the changes in warfare though advancements in modern intelligence capabilities during Operation Desert Storm. Stewart was the Chief Intelligence Officer during the Persian Gulf War. According to Stewart, operational and tactical intelligence came from above during Desert Storm.[280] He also credits successes during Desert Storm to be directly related to the inter-intelligence cooperation of the Army Intelligence Agency, the theater (field), and the soldiers. Throughout his memoir Stewart repeatedly credits military intelligence as the primary contributing factor to the victory of the United States in Desert Storm. He states prior to Desert Storm intelligence was within the responsibilities of "each level of command."[281] Information and next steps for a unit would be dependent upon the intelligence a battalion commanding officer was able to decipher all while going toward an overall shared military goal. Desert Storm would open communication channels wider than individual command levels.[282]

Advancements in intelligence were made possible through not only the interconnected departments within the military, but also through advancements in overall technology. Desert Storm became the pilot war for utilizing unmanned aerial vehicles to obtain images. The Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar Systems were in their

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[280] John F. Stewart Jr., *Operation Desert Storm, the Military Intelligence Story: A View from the G-2 3d U.S. Army*, April 1991. Unclassified, ii.

[281] Stewart, Jr., 8.

[282] Ibid.

prototype stages during this time.[283] Stewart credits the use of technology and computer system advancements for being able to acquire and disseminate information in a faster and more accurate manner. Stewart discusses the idea of intelligence during peacetime to function as more theoretical or not practical. However, in his memoir he indicates during the Gulf War, intelligence was useful and tangible, and information was able to be applicable rather than theoretical.[284] Dissemination of information with the use of electronics changed how intelligence could be used. This type of intelligence would allow for more precise and targeted use of Smart Weapons technology.

One of the successes of the Gulf War can be attributed to distribution, or dissemination, of information in rapid form to help secure more successful missions. The military had the interconnected intelligence structures in combination with advanced technology in place to be able to more quickly disseminate information to commanders. The commanding officers would begin to rely more heavily on photographs from aerial machines, and look for visual evidence to help support decisions in the field.[285] These types of decisions would then incorporate the additional use of the Smart Weapons helping to push ahead modernized warfare with advanced intelligence. While Stewart credits Army Intelligence with the success of Desert Storm, the success of the mission also included large advancements in technology and a shift towards modern warfare.

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[283] Ibid., 1.

[284] Ibid., 3-5.

[285] Ibid., 27.

Soldier Expectations

Expectations for soldiers entering war were high. The United States had not won a war since World War II. In addition, soldiers would be pushed to adapt quickly to changing war tactics and strategies not everyone had been trained in. The Gulf War soldiers would be the test subjects for a new type of war.

Increased communication and intelligence during the Gulf War would not remain limited to the battlefield. Much like the veterans of the Vietnam War, images and negative stories of soldiers would follow soldiers' home from war. One example of this can be seen in the New York Times article detailing aspects of war civilians were not prepared to understand. Journalist Eric Schmitt's September 15, 1991 article in the New York Times, "U.S. Army Buried Iraqi Soldiers Alive in Gulf War" exposed one of these occurances. One of the important truths of war is the understanding understanding war is not something that can be easily comprehended by those who have not been in the field.

Schmitt's article detailed a mission in which soldiers were instructed to use tanks to cover over trenches. Contained within the trenches were soldiers hiding and ready to engage in hand-to-hand combat with American soldiers. In order to avoid this type of conflict, the US Army decided to fill the trenches with sand. Anyone who did not get out of the trenches ended up buried alive. Responses from the military personnel to backlash

by civilians argued there is no good way to die in war.[286] The shock for civilians may be related to an acceptance of death due to bombs, grenades, gunshots, or some sort of other explosive weapons, but for some civilions, other actions are immoral. For those who felt usage of the tank against someone waiting for hand-to-hand combat was unfair, the soldier would be reliant on the Pine Box Rule. The Pine Box Rule states if surviving comes down to either you or the enemy perishing, you do everything you have to in order to survive.[287]

Despite the negative news and tactical changes in war, soldiers would come home to yellow ribbons, support, and a different country than their predecessors. Memories of immoral actions are removed based on what appears to be perceptions of victory. Soldiers would be eligible to receive benefits from the VA for their service in combat, and would have the ability to move back toward the work force in ways the Vietnam veterans could not, yet the Gulf War veterans would face issues establishing their own unique war identity.

Gulf War veterans would return home to support from the Vietnam veterans. The Vietnam veterans understood in part the difficulties faced in combat. However, with the time gap between the two generations of veterans differences in need would become apparent over time. Gulf War veteran and Congressman Coffman spoke in a 2013

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[286] Eric Schmitt. 1991. U.S. Army Buried Iraqi Soldiers Alive in Gulf War. *New York Times*, September 15.

[287] Michael Stephenson, *The Last Full Measure: How Soldiers Die in Battle* (Broadway Paperbacks: New York, 2012), 361.

subcommittee hearing in front of the U.S. House of Representatives and highlighted clearly the issue for Gulf War Veterans receiving timely help and services.

> "Thank you all. I want to thank you all for testifying, both panels for testifying today. I want to say as a Gulf War veteran, I find the conduct of the Veterans Administration embarrassing on this issue in terms of their treatment of veterans. I have to ask you, is anybody a Gulf War veteran that is on this panel right now? You know, I think if there were—if there was one or if there were Gulf War veterans in senior positions in the Veterans Administration, I don't think we would be here today." - Mr. Coffman, Former Marine Corps Officer. Chair of Subcommittee[288]

Coffman's statement about the VA and the congress is not unlike those presented by veterans of each prior war. Gulf War veterans would need to advocate for help and awareness from a group who felt they knew what the Gulf War Veterans needed without having served in the same war. No two wars are the same. The differences in combat styles between Vietnam, Korea, and the Gulf War were extensive. Additionally, the Gulf War veterans would in essence be placed into the bottom of veteran hierarchy for help despite the need for immediate solutions.

Post-war Identity

After Operation Desert Storm the number of individuals enlisting in the military dropped significantly until the early 2000's. In 1990 the military maintained an estimated 1,000,000 armed forces personnel. By 2002 the number dropped to an estimated 424,000

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[288] *Gulf War: What Kind of Care Are Veterans Receiving 20 Years Later: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, One Hundred Thirteenth Congress, First Session, Wednesday, March 13, 2013*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2013. 2013. p 61.

armed forces personnel, a decrease in personnel of 57%.[289] Despite having achieved victory, Americans began to take a different look at the military. The military was experiencing scrutiny for its inherent culture of overt masculinity.

The government came under allegations in its lack of tolerance for sexual orientation and gender acceptance. Controversy and research into the treatment of women would also change. President Clinton initiated the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Policy in 1993.[290] This policy would later be repealed in 2011 by President Obama.[291] The policy was created as an effort to cut down on overt attacks on individuals in the LGBT community. The policy however reinforced the necessity of maintaining a strong masculine identity within the military. This identity would cause individuals to feel the need to hide personal information about themselves, and the policy would undermine the inherent trust needed between soldiers on the battlefield. Trust is built on showing who you are and the ability to build that trust can only come through transparency.

By 1995 a significant number of Gulf War veterans were beginning to come down with mysterious ailments. On May 26th, 1995, the Presidential Advisory Committee on Gulf War Illness was created by Executive Order 12961. Initially the committee was slated to end by January 31, 1997. Instead, Executive Order 13034 of January 30, 1997

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[289] Mark Thompson. 2002. "The Tools of War." *Time* 160, no. 17: 52.

[290] Robert B. Ridinger, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," in *Salem Press Encyclopedia* (Salem Press, 2013).

[291] Barack H. Obama, "Remarks on Signing the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Repeal Act of 2010" in *Daily Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Superintendent of Documents, 2010), pg. 1-4.

would extend the advisory committee through November of 1997.[292] The committee's role was to oversee the investigation into potential exposure of soldiers to chemical or biological warfare agents. The committee was also tasked with supplying recommendations of next steps to the Department of Defense, VA, as well as Health and Human Services.

After returning home from the Gulf War roughly 22-35% of veterans were identified as possessing Gulf War Illness.[293] The illness was later classified as Chronic Multisymptom Illness, or CMI, and is attributed to the veterans of the first Gulf War. On March 13, 2013 a hearing on the care of Gulf War veterans 20 years after service was presented to the U.S. House of Representatives. The sub-committee's specific focus was on oversight and investigations.

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[292] William. J. Clinton, Executive Order 13034, "Extension of Presidential Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans Illnesses," *Federal Register 62, no. 22 (January 30, 1997):5137.*

[293] *Gulf War: What Kind of Care Are Veterans Receiving 20 Years Later : Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, One Hundred Thirteenth Congress, First Session, Wednesday, March 13, 2013*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2013. 2013. p 1.

Table 6. Gulf War: Possible Deployment Related Injuries

Diagnosis	**Percentage**[294]	**Estimated Number Affected***
TBI	15.7%	109,900
PTSD	10.9%	76,300
TBI & PTSD	7.7%	53,900
CMI	35%	245,000
*Number of people affected is based on an estimated 700,000 soldiers who served in the Gulf War between 1990 and 1991.		

The post-war identity of the Gulf War has changed multiple times since 1991. While the soldiers are credited with victory, the new style of acceptable war brings forth issues and challenges not faced by previous veterans. The use of technology in warfare allows a distancing between the individual utilizing the technology and the target location. Andrew Bacevich, Professor Emeritus of International Relations and History at Boston University, describes the Gulf War as having ushered in the entrance of *information age warfare*.[295]

[294] Percentage for TBI and PTSD are based on numbers from a research study on Gulf War Veterans presented at the 2012 National Meeting for the International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies, November 2, 2012, Los Angeles California.

[295] Andrew J. Bacevich. "A Less Than Splendid Little War." *Wilson Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2014): 55-60.

Politically, the government would use the outcomes and swift victory of the United States to declare ourselves the indispensable nation.[296] Yet, the United States internally was dealing with a weakening military and weakening military support due to traditional military personnel norms. Despite being celebrated for their victory, men and women who came home from the Gulf War with transition issues would need to wait for help and to have a voice.

GWOT: Afghanistan and Iraq

Political Issues

The start of the Global War on Terror, or GWOT, is marked as having a start date of September 11th, 2001. Initially termed the War on Terror, the start to the war began while the United States was still involved in residual issues stemming from the Persian Gulf War. The ground war in Afghanistan officially began on October 19, 2001.[297] The term war began to be used almost immediately after the September 11th attacks.[298]

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[296] Former President Bill Clinton would utilize this phrase as he leveraged the United States into being of top international importance. This importance would later be criticized by other countries as international policing, and is not always accepted as a help.

[297] Dennis M. Hatcher. *The Global War on Terrorism: 323rd Engineer Detachment*. Report. Edited by Kathryn Roe Coker. Office of Army Reserve History. Fort McPherson, Georgia: United States Army Reserve Command. (2008): v.

[298] Dr. Donald P. Wright, and Contemporary Operations Study Team. *A Different Kind of War: The United States Army in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM October 2001-September 2005*. Report. Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, US Army Combined Arms Center, 2010, 29.

After September 11, 2001 the US Central Command, or CENTCOM, was sent to create a strategic military response to the attacks on American soil. General Tommy Franks was placed in charge of creating the CENTCOM campaign involving international Special Operation Forces, and multiple government agencies.[299] General Franks would also be responsible for briefing President Bush with the group's plan for how to fight against terrorism. In response, the group presented "Operation Enduring Freedom, later referred to as OEF.[300] CENTCOM's new military strategy would include strategy beyond traditional ground combat. The United States would set out to take control of information, to cripple their enemy financially, and to leverage diplomatic pressure to help achieve these goals beyond requesting traditional ground help. In essence, the plan was to isolate and cripple those involved with the attacks on the United States.[301]

The name the Global War on Terror goes by many designations and includes a number of lengthy large scale operations. The three best known operations during GWOT include Operation Enduring Freedom, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Operation New Dawn. Smaller operations would overlap one another throughout GWOT. These

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[299] Ibid., 29.

[300] Ibid.

[301] USA. Department of State. *The Global War on Terrorism: The First 100 Days*. By Coordinator for Counter Terrorism. Https://2001-2009.state.gov/s/ct/rls/wh/6947.htm.

operations include but are not limited to; Anaconda, Polar Harpoon, Mountain Lion, Cherokee Sky, Ptarmigan, Inherent Resolve, and Noble Eagle.[302]

Operation Enduring Freedom, EOF, began on October 7, 2001 and consisted of combat missions within Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, the Philippines, and the Horn of Africa. By the end of October 2014 US allies Canada and the United Kingdom elected to end their engagement in Afghanistan. The United States Officially ended the combat mission in Afghanistan on December 28, 2014.[303] As expansion and attempts to evade land routes grew, the United States would enter into Operation Iraqi Freedom while still heavily engaged in Operation Enduring Freedom.

Operation Iraqi Freedom, also known as the second Persian Gulf War, began in 2003. When the mission began six countries banded together in a coalition to combat growing issues within Iraq. The countries participating in the first invasion included the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Poland, Peshmerga, and the Netherlands. The final combat group left Iraq in August of 2010.[304] The end of Operation Iraqi Freedom would require assistance to help rebuild the country, so in order to properly withdraw from Iraq the United States entered into Operation New Dawn.

Operation New Dawn, OND, was created to help ensure the creation of stability in Iraq. OND began as a next step in strategic response to the end of Operation Iraqi

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[302] Wright and Contemporary Operations Study Team.

[303] "Operation Enduring Freedom Fast Facts." Timeline of major events in Operation Enduring Freedom. October 5, 2016. CNN.

[304] "Operation Iraqi Freedom Ends." In *Salem Press Encyclopedia*. Salem Press, 2015.

Freedom. OND officially began on September 1st, 2010 and was designed to help bring about the reduction of US troops within Iraq. By October 2011, 39,000 troops remained in Iraq.[305] This is fewer troops than were stationed in Japan post World War II.

The United States entered into this war with a smaller enlisted military force. This would effect the soldiers in ways not experienced in other wars. [306] On September 15, 2001, President Bush announced, "My message is for everybody who wears the uniform: get ready. The United States will do what it takes to win this war."[307] President Bush held his promise, and he used every military resource he was able. This included utilizing soldiers in ways that had not yet been studied for after effects.

Soldier Expectations

Unlike in the Vietnam War, soldiers of Afghanistan and Iraq rotate in and out of multiple deployments. During Vietnam an individual would be sent to serve their full contract. Veterans of Afghanistan and Iraq could be sent on multiple deployments to the same area.[308] In some cases a deployment to Afghanistan and Iraq could be sandwiched

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[305] "Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation New Dawn Fast Facts." Historical timeline relating to the rise and change from OIF to OND. April 10, 2017. CNN. Accessed December 10, 2017. http://www.cnn.com/2013/10/30/world/meast/operation-iraqi-freedom-and-operation-new-dawn-fast-facts/index.html.

[306] Elaine Sciolino. "After the Attacks: The Overview; Long Battle Seen." *The New York Times* (New York), September 16, 2001.

[307] Wright, 29.

[308] Sayer, 36.

between deployments to another location such as Africa. The length of time between deployments has also been shortened for those serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. When a veteran has experienced multiple deployments in a short period of time there is concern as this is an early warning for possible emotional, mental, and physical issues coming home.[309]

The time between deployments is known as dwell time. More extensive research is currently being conducted on the impact of dwell time on increased reintegration or transition difficulties.[310] Throughout interviews and discussions with soldiers one of the common themes has been the lack of recovery time from having seen fellow soldiers experience multiple deployments in short periods of time. Programs like the Veterans Suicide Hotline have made sure to highlight the risk potential of suicidal ideation with those who have experienced two to three deployments in under two years.[311] Deployments require healing, and decompression. Without this there is no way to turn the warrior mode off for many combat soldiers.

An additional challenge for this particular combat period has been the heightened dependence upon reservists and the National Guard.[312] National Guard members were sent overseas to fight in Iraq which was contrary to the guard members' initial

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[309] This topic is a common topic among conversations in veteran support groups. More scientific research is being conducted to the nature of increased deployments and their mental health impact.

[310] Sayer, 53.

[311] *Crisis Hotline: Veterans Press 1*. Directed by Ellen Goosenberg Kent. Home Box Office, 2013. Film.

[312] Sayer, 35-36.

enlistment.[313] National Guard members had enlisted to protect the nation and for local emergencies. Guard members were not trained for overseas combat in the same manner as other military branches. Guard members were sent overseas in an effort to help bolster the shortage of military personnel.

National Guard and Reservist members who were deployed experienced heightened risk for reintegration difficulties such as PTSD, depression, and anxiety.[314] In addition to a lack of training for international deployment, National Guard and Reservists faced additional difficulties in establishing their military identities. Within the military culture there are multiple subsets and an internal hierarchy between branches. While all the branches support one another, different levels of trust and acceptance are seen between reservists and full-time active military members. Within professional military identity, a sense of camaraderie is achieved by living with one another on bases and during long-term deployments. Reservists who were not enlisted prior to joining the reserves face the potential difficulty of being seen as a part-time military member. The part-time status view may be due to perceptions of a lesser amount of time the reservist is committing. The reservist usually gets to see their families more often, and may be holding a job in the civilian world. The reservist is in a sense already living in both worlds.

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[313] Sohyun C. Han et al., "Military Unit Support, Postdeployment Social Support, and PTSD Symptoms among Active Duty and National Guard Soldiers Deployed to Iraq," *Journal of Anxiety Disorders* 28 (June 1, 2014): 446.

[314] Laura A. Meis, Robin A. Barry, Shannon M. Kehle, Christopher R. Erbes, and Melissa A. Polusny. 2010. "Relationship adjustment, PTSD symptoms, and treatment utilization among coupled National Guard soldiers deployed to Iraq." *Journal of Family Psychology* 24, no. 5: 562.

The negative impact upon the Reservist or the National Guard member after their deployment relates to missing out on the support or camaraderie of the enlisted soldiers. The reservists were expected to reintegrate directly back into their home lives and into their jobs. This caused issues as there was no time or space for the returning soldier to decompress, or to benefit from the support of those within the military who understand the difficulties that can come with returning home.

Technology and the ability to be more quickly interconnected changed how soldiers were perceived in comparison to earlier wars. Technology changes have allowed for many branches to be able to open secure and faster channels for soldiers to connect back with their families and friends back home. Soldiers during the Global War on Terror were able to correspond more regularly via email, skype, and utilize tools like social media. Much like Word War II, the information passed back and forth still contains a sanitized version of war. Gregory Gross and Eugenia Weiss describe the comfort that comes with Skype as eliminating some of the boundaries that come with not seeing an individual. The two describe SKYPE as bringing a service member into the present, bringing comfort to the family member or friend.[315] The danger for this becomes a false sense of security and a lack of understanding of the severity of war from the civilian side.

Another large change between the GWOT veterans and those of previous wars includes the increased connectivity between soldiers and their homes were modifications

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[315] Gregory D. Gross, MSW, Eugenia L. Weiss, PsyD, MSW. "The Vanishing Military Veteran: A Postmodern Disappearance of the Hero." *Social Work in Mental Health*. 12:575-590. (2014): 581.

in regulations regarding how media could portray images of combat. Issues from the Korean War and Vietnam included the portrayal of the dead in combat. Families were not originally notified and could end up seeing a loved one in a paper or on television before receiving official notification from the military. In an effort to protect both dead and wounded military personnel a new requirement was enacted in 2006 requiring journalists to receive permissions from a soldier or their family before an image could be published.[316] Issues surrounding the portrayal of soldiers for non-journalistic purposes would later need to be evaluated as images of soldiers with prosthetics, or other war related injuries utilized for political statements.

Post-war Identity

The post-war identity for a GWOT veteran is difficult to distinguish. In part, this difficulty comes due to the length, multiple purpose, and multi-country involvement in the war. 51% of veterans who served after 9/11 experienced transition issues while entering back into civilian life.[317] Post war identity for GWOT veterans would incorporate multiple generations of soldiers, changing technology, and advancements within medicine changing what is possible after war. Veterans are left navigating the transition to establishing their new purpose in the larger picture, and much like their predecessors, learning how to straddle the veteran-civilian transition.

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[316] Berinsky, 41.

[317] Mary L. Anderson, and Jane Goodman. "From Military to Civilian Life: Applications of Schlossberg's Model for Veterans in Transition." *Career Planning & Adult Development Journal* 30, no. 3 (2014): 40.

Imagery used for GWOT on television and in media are similar to the images and stories presented during World War II. These narratives allowed for the country to feel strong and continue to stand in support of the war. Gregory Gross, MSW and Dr. Eugenia Weiss, MSW, discuss issues surrounding understanding distance in a time of mass interconnection.

> "This current war is different, and the vet is everywhere on television and in positive images. We see little of the war on TV because there is no *there*; this war is a global war and a cyber-war and although the news shows us service members firing aimlessly behind walls, there seems to be no enemy there either, and since there *actually is* one there, cognitive dissonance sets in and we are lost or the news is lost on us, because after all, this globalized cyber-war with drones (pilotless planes) and no nation with whom we are at war all combine to deterritorialize the *event* as a non-place with a non-outcome." Gregory D. Gross, MSW., Eugenia L. Weiss, PsyD, MSW. *The Vanishing Military Veteran: A Postmodern Disappearance of the Hero.*[318]

The imagery of soldiers described by Gross and Weiss demonstrates an illusion of safety and great distance between the soldiers and imminent danger. This portrayal makes war seem less intense than the portrayal of more traditional war. What is missing, however, are images of more traditional war that is still occurring during the GWOT. The usage of longer-range military tactics portrays a false sense of calm or safety to the civilian who watched the war shown by the media.

Advancements in medicine have allowed soldiers who in previous wars would likely have died to achieve a higher survival rate. Images of the a veteran who experienced a blast standing strong in uniform help to create a false sense of the ability to

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[318] Gross, 578.

rebuild someone. Highlights of individuals with electronic arms and legs, burns, and multiple reconstructive surgeries portray the idea it is possible to rebuild the body after a war related injury. What is not seen in these demonstrations are the longterm emotional injuries and daily struggles the transitioning veteran is now experiencing.[319] Their transition becomes more difficult as not only are they no longer emotionally or mentally the same person as before they went into the military, the individual is now physically different. This leaves the veteran left to rebuild in ways their peers may not need to accomplish.

Some veterans are experiencing anger due to entry into a less structured world after their military experiences.[320] Anger may be coming from frustration during the individual's transition home. The individual has changed, as well as their identity and how they respond to stress stimuli has also changed while they were deployed. Worthen and Ahern's 2014 article, *The Causes, Course, and Consequences of Anger Problem in Veterans Returning to Civilian Life*, is statistically insignificant overall with a pool of 24 participants ranging in age from 22 to 55. Worthen and Ahern's statement regarding feelings of short-term anger regarding difficulties adjusting after leaving the collectivist military structure are supported by the writings and recollections of soldiers from across

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[319] Paul J. Dougherty et al., "Bilateral Transfemoral/transtibial Amputations Due to Battle Injuries: A Comparison of Vietnam Veterans with Iraq and Afghanistan Service members." *Clinical Orthopaedics And Related Research* 472, no. 10 (October 2014): 3014-3015.

[320] Miranda Worthen, and Jennifer Ahern. "The causes, course, and consequences of anger problems in veterans returning to civilian life." *Journal of Loss and Trauma* 19, no. 4 (July 2014): 361.

multiple wars. Rather than actual anger, frustration manifesting as anger while a veteran adjusts is more likely.

Many veterans who thrived in the military due to structure and purpose find themselves at a loss while determining their next path. The individual has to transition from being seen as the good soldier to the good citizen. This process includes searching for a path to purpose which can come through in several ways. Purpose can be in reentering school, reestablishing their personal connections, and finding a job. The veterans' identity reestablishes itself after a search for a way to connect their civilian and military identities in ways to help ease the transition.

Peacekeeping Zones

Political Issues

Not all veterans have served in active combat zones. Serving on a base or in an area not tied to a war changes how some veterans are viewed. A hard line of differentiation of identity is created as those who served in Demilitarized Zones or on International Bases have very different experiences than of those who served in wartime combat.

Bosnia

Bosnia in the late 1980's through the early 1990's was declared a peacekeeping assignment. During the height of the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia there were less than

4,000 soldiers at a time.[321] William Langewiesche spent time learning about the personalities of soldiers stationed in Bosnia. According to his article *Peace is Hell* in *The Atlantic* he describes a group of soldiers who were well trained and becoming anxious to utilize their military training. Much like classification of the conflict now called the Korean War, the peace keeping mission of Bosnia was called many titles other than war. Another term used by the author to describe the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia was the phrase police action.[322] This means the soldiers who were trained for combat would need to sit and wait for orders that may or may not come. Langewiesche details soldiers experiencing almost a longing for war.[323]

Soldiers serving within the peacekeeping mission were subject to snipers, bombs, and hustlers amongst the Bosnian Civilian population.[324] Rather than full combat in Bosnia, soldiers in a way experienced a form of mental warfare in combination with intimidation tactics. Bosnia would become a place where on the outside of the base camp soldiers would be faced with the same questions as those who served in Vietnam and the Korean War. Who could be trusted? At what moment was someone being genuine? This would leave soldiers on edge, causing a growing mistrust between the soldiers and the

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[321] William Langewiesche. "Peace is Hell". *Atlantic.* V. 288 Issue 3. (October 2001.): 55.

[322] Ibid., 55.

[323] Ibid., 62.

[324] Ibid., 69.

civilians they had been sent to protect. This distrustful relationship led soldiers to exist in a place of tension.[325]

[325] Ibid., 69.

Chapter VI

Vedette[326]

Each generation of veterans has a unique identity shaped by experiences, changing societal expectations, and levels of governmental support. There are connecting threads between each of the wars which help bond veterans to one another. This bond creates a base level understanding of life after combat. A concern however arises after war. While an initial bond exists, changes in warfare, expectations, and treatment of veterans from war to war has a long-term impact on the lives of individuals and their families after military service.

Traditional versus Modern War

Chapter V detailed the differences between Traditional War and Modern War having significant ties to changes in technology. For the purposes of this section, traditional war will include World War II, Korea, Vietnam, and the Korean Demilitarized Zone. Modern War will be utilized for the Persian Gulf War, the Global War on Terror, and contemporary peacekeeping missions beginning after 1990.

Political issues have surrounded each major war. The wars discussed within this research have identifiable issues regarding specifics for entry into each war. Across each

[326] Vedette is a term used in the military. The term origionates in France and was brought into American English. The term typically refers to an individual stationed at an outpost who brings together information, summarizes issues, and gives warning to potential dangers.

of the wars examined, a common issue has arisen regarding transparancy in purpose for deployment. During World War II, Korea, and Vietnam the United States focused its efforts to stop the spread of facism, communism, and colonialism. Modern warfare has moved to include control of resources, finances, and technology.

With each ending of a tour of duty political issues have shaped perspectives on veterans coming home. The outcome has created sub-identities within the veteran he/she has to navigate through in order to find his/her place back in the civilian world. Political influence can be seen in the transition issues relating to perceptions of the veterans homecoming, obtaining jobs, educational and family support, as well as how quickly the individual veteran feels prepared for life after the military.

Historically life after the military does not appear to have been prepared for in advance. Beginning with the Revolutionary War and the development of the first American soldiers, it is evident the government had no initial idea of the type of support its veterans would need to receive. Issues transitioning out of war continue throughout the Civil War. Support for veterans appears to be reactionary. Between World War I and World War II soldiers began to receive screening for potential issues caused by combat. Soldiers in World War II became eligible for the research and benefits of the generations of veterans who came before them. This included a base level of transition needs including medical support, and a recognition that their experiences were not the same as those who came before them. World War II soldiers pushed for a recognition that they were not like their predecessors.

Post-war life

American war perceptions include the general idea that Vietnam veterans are one of the most outspoken groups in regards to feeling slighted upon returning home. While this is not true for all the veterans who returned home from Vietnam, the decible level at which many in this group have voiced their disguist for their treatment has left an at times negative association for modern veterans.[327] The Vietnam veterans are unlike other veteran groups included within this study. Vietnam veterans went to war during a time of protest, unrest, and in confusion as to the mission of the United States in Vietnam and upon coming home this group vocalized how they were being treated unfairly.

What the Vietnam veterans failed to include in their vocalization of mistreatment was full knowledge of the treatment of veterans who came before them. Severo and Milford succinctly describe the issues of transition from Vietnam as follows, "If the soldiers of Vietnam thought there had never been a group of veterans so ignored, abused, and betrayed, it was not because they tried to rewrite history, but because they knew so little about it."[328] Severo and Milford explained part of the outrage and feeling of the Vietnam veterans was due to the fact that Vietnam veterans came home historically blind. Rather than building upon the foundation of veterans who came before them, the Vietnam

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[327] During interviews references to Vietnam veterans made by those who served post 1980 indicated a respect for these veterans, and yet indicated a desire to not feed into the "grumpiness" often associated with these veterans.

[328] Severo and Milford, 419.

veterans found ways to band with one another in their demands for support. Vietnam veterans working separately from other veterans created an *us versus them* dichotomy in the civilian sector.

Vietnam veterans found a way to protest their treatment as a bonded unit. Wessley further supports the difference in the Vietnam transition experience as having a direct correlation to their ability to bond with one another.

> "The 'Vietnam vet' had achieved the opposite of what the normal soldier had experienced - many had never identified themselves as part of the military, or bonded with their buddies or unit whilst they were in theatre, but only came to see themselves as 'Vietnam vets' and make common cause with their fellow veterans on their return."[329]

Many Vietnam veterans continue to openly advocate for one another. This has created a necessary support structure for this group similar to the bonding that would have occurred during combat. Strength in this group came from their outrage which would help push issues relating to veterans on a larger platform than had been experienced in the Korean War or in World War II.

Veterans of the Korean War came home in an individual manner and were expected to reintegrate back into the civilian world. This group of soldiers did so in the shadow of a World War II victory. They mostly did not openly discuss issues that occurred after war, and were unable to boast of successes. Instead, this group was sandwiched between the glory of the World War II veteran and the highly vocal Vietnam

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[329] Wessley, 281.

veterans. Much like the return of the Korean War veteran, soldiers of the Gulf War and GWOT have been returning to a quiet transition.

A consistent worry from soldier to soldier has been increased isolation after transition from the military. During conversations and interviews one of the greatest concerns of contemporary soldiers transitioning out of GWOT has been returning home alone and separated from a soldier's support unit. The changes in perception of war have left soldiers to transition into the civilian world more on an individual basis. Changes in technology and the transition into modern warfare have left some veterans lacking the ability for intergenerational understanding of combat. Each combat experience across all wars is unique. The leap between technology used within Vietnam and the Gulf War, followed by the Gulf War into GWOT has created a new vernacular, and a new style of combat. A common bond of having been in combat may exist, but a difference in combat style makes it difficult to create a bridge of understanding between the generations.

Disassociation of need

The most common thread of feedback from veterans over the last three years of interviews, conversations, question and answer panels, and symposia includes an "I know a guy," phenomena. Each individual who shared information over the past few years have a story about someone they know who was experiencing what can be qualified as a transition issue. Each person within the veteran-civilian community seems to know of someone, or the friend of someone who could use help. No one openly acknowledged

that they themselves had been experiencing any difficulties or issues beyond diagnosable conditions such as PTSD, suicidal ideation, or a TBI. The reasons for this could be linked to the warrior mentality, the desire to ensure their unit or group is okay, or perhaps pure unawareness or denial of their own potential transition difficulties. The warrior mentality stays with the soldiers upon coming home. The need to stand strong for their loved ones, the need to just want to go back to how it was before, and the desire to not appear weak is prevalent in each group.

Identity Reformation

A transitioning veterans path to a successful move out of the military comes with understanding their new role in society. The transitioning veteran may come back into the civilian world with knowledge and cultural gaps from being on deployment. Incidents relating to periods of time involving pop-culture or current events make it difficult to relate in specific types of social situations with civilians. An important step for successful transitioning is finding groups and individuals who are willing to listen, and/or who have a personal understanding about having fully exited from the military.

During the training and creation of the “perfect soldier”, the veteran was exposed to an intense training. In this training an emphasis is placed on the importance of the group and the collective. Van Gennep describes the process of creating a military identity, “One of the primary goals of boot camp, the training ground for all military personnel, is to socialize recruits by stripping them of their civilian identity and replacing

it with a military identity. The passage from one identity to another comprises three stages: separation, liminality (or transition), and incorporation."[330] Yet, the US Military does not invest as much time and effort in ensuring all soldiers are given as rigorous a transition home. Once the military identity has been created, a veteran is returned into civilian life still containing a military identity. From there, the individual is placed back into the civilian world with limited VA support. Soldiers must go from a highly supported community where aspects of life are measured and calculated into the civilian world. The final transition is left up to the veteran. The veteran must create a new identity as a former soldier within the civilian world, and while not all veterans experience difficulties transitioning home, all are sent back without a comprehensive reintroduction with their civilian selves.

Transitioning veterans may feel like an outsider within the community they return to. In addition, they may experience feelings of being misunderstood. Part of the awareness of feeling like an outsider may be related to a desire to be respected and not understanding where they now fit into the civilian world.[331] The soldiers leave their ranks at the door when coming into the civilian world, while establishing their new selves in the civilian hierarchy. This includes finding social groups, a new position in the workplaces, and reconnecting to their family life.

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[330] A. Van Gennep. (1960). *The rites of passage* (M. Vizedom & G. Caffee, Trans.). London: Routedge.

[331] Anne Demers. "When Veterans Return: The Role of Community in Reintegration." *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, 16: no. 2 (March 2011): 170.

Soldiers were trained to adhere to structure within the military. A proper soldier followed protocol, and knew where he or she stood in the hierarchy. Exiting service may be accompanied by anger and frustration due to loss of structure.[332] Richard Christie, referred to in Chapter IV, sought out government contracts throughout his career after serving. For him, government contracts included a set structure, and this structure helped in his transition. Mr. Christie felt the civilian workforce was disorganized. He extended this structure into his education. He took college courses on and off to help increase his knowledge base to complete specific projects for his job, however he did not complete a full degree. Training and college courses had a set purpose that he valued. Despite his valuing of education for his purposes he wanted to take practical, career specific courses. This helped in his desire to create a structured work-life after his enlistment ended, and this workstyle helped in his search for a specific structure.[333]

Training and a shift in identity from civilian identity to military identity is expected to occur quickly during basic training. The adherence to structure and deeper adaptation to military identity solidifies with deployments. However, reintegration expectations by the military into civilian life are almost instantaneous. Primary issues

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[332] Miranda Worthen, and Jennifer Ahern. 2014. "The causes, course, and consequences of anger problems in veterans returning to civilian life." *Journal of Loss And Trauma* 19, no. 4: 357.

[333] Jennifer Ahern, Miranda Worthen, Jackson Masters, Sheri A. Lippman, Emily J. Ozer, and Rudolf Moos. "The Challenges of Afghanistan and Iraq Veterans' Transition from Military to Civilian Life and Approaches to Reconnection." *PLoS ONE* 10, no. 7 (July 01, 2015): 6.

relating to anger or frustration in moving from active duty to civilian life are strongest during the first year transition period.[334]

Achieving Purpose

One way to help navigate frustration, anger, or listlessness while entering into the civilian world after military service is to find a specific purpose. This purpose may be going back to school, finding a job, a new social circle, or becoming an advocate. Wessely identifies the strength of the group as a key element in military identity training. This same foundation is important in the transition home. The identity of the individual is tied to purpose. Wessely argues, "Strengthening the primary group is therefore one way of preventing combat breakdown, and that indeed is one purpose of military training."[335] Soldiers are trained for preventing breakdown through finding strength in a group, a transition into civilian life should more often include the support of groups.

An important factor in a smoother transition for veterans relates to having a transition plan. Veterans who have found a job or enrolled in university have established a next step.[336] In a sense they are continuing their life with the beginning of an operational plan. Having a job or going to school will allow the veteran to enter into a

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[334] Miranda Worthen, and Jennifer Ahern. 2014. "The causes, course, and consequences of anger problems in veterans returning to civilian life." *Journal Of Loss And Trauma* 19, no. 4: 359.

[335] Wessely, 284.

[336] Anthony J. Brinn, and Carl F. Auerbach. "The warrior's journey: Sociocontextual meaning-making in military transitions." *Traumatology* 21, no. 2 (June 2015): 82-89.

new social-group, and move toward establishing a new chapter within their identity development. Transitioning into a job or school comes with its own set of new rules and responsibilities, so a set path of behavior is ready for the veteran to learn.

Integration within veteran networks can be important in transitioning into civilian society. Civilian society includes both veteran and non-veterans. Veterans who choose to turn away from interacting with other individuals who have had to make similar transitions miss out on opportunities to network and to make the process easier.

During times of need presidents have made speeches to boost support for war. The support for war may need to include the rebuilding of military forces, increase spending for a war, rationing of goods, and justifying the need to deploy soldiers to foreign soil. In the beginning of GWOT, President George W. Bush spoke to the survivors of September 11th.

> "It is said that adversity introduces us to ourselves. This is true of a nation as well. In this trial, we have been reminded, and the world has seen, that our fellow Americans are generous and kind, resourceful and brave. We see our national character in rescuers working past exhaustion; in long lines of blood donors; in thousands of citizens who have asked to work and serve in any way possible."
>
> --*President's Remarks at National Day of Prayer and Remembrance, 9/14/01*

President George W. Bush's remarks were similar to remarks made by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon, as well as others before them. These statements were used to reinforce the idea that we can support one another as a nation. As a whole, we need to work together in an effort to support the American common good.

This support of the citizens does not separate a soldier from a citizen, but rather includes all different types of citizens.

Finding purpose in life after service allows a veteran to contribute to something meaningful. Contributing to the larger picture allows a former service member to continue to live a life of service. When in the military they were part of the bigger picture and the individual was encouraged to understand their importance in the overall military structure. Learning ways to contribute in the civilian sector helps some veterans to feel they have purpose within their life. By finding something new to feel connected to in the civilian world these veterans can thrive.

Workforce transitioning: Disillusionment

Transitions for veterans may involve entry into the civilian workforce for the first time. Enlistment at the age of 18 suggests a soldier's first experience in the workforce with a full time position begins in the military. For the enlistee an introduction into the workforce includes a very structured life and well laid out expectations. For those individuals who were drafted into the military after having begun careers a movement from being an individual in the workforce changed once basic training began. For both groups difficulties can arise as expectations of understanding the workforce are set within the soldier's identity. The soldier who entered into the military for the first time will be greeted by a workforce who may be less organized and more difficult to navigate. The soldier who went into the military after having been active in the civilian world may also

face obstacles. These problems may include thinking the transition into their old positions will be easy, however, with the experience of serving who the soldier was as an individual before the military has changed. Of course, these changes come with them into the workforce.

Difficulties entering into the workforce may include not understanding the process for applying, moving up, or overall expectations. Working long hours, frustration over a lack of communication, and high expectations of others work output may also create a strain on the understanding of work-life balance. In the military the individual was expected to work for the good of the group. This understanding changes when coming into the civilian world. Expectations for civilians in the workforce while connected to their jobs includes finding a balance of working for the good of the family and/or good of the individual. For one of the first times the former soldier will need to take a look at what is important in their lives outside of the military unit.

Wilber B. Brookover's article regarding the *Adjustment of Veterans to Civilian Life*, from October of 1945, addressed issues of readjustment still prevalent in working transition issues today. The article, published in the *American Psychological Review*, describes veteran experiences and disillusionment in regard to how their military training will translate into the civilian world. Bookover wrote about the growing frustration and resentment by the World War II veteran when they could not obtain a job the civilian

world felt they were unqualified for.[337] Bookover's sanalysis can be seen still within the frustrations of transitioning GWOT veterans.

In addition to training initiatives set forth by the U.S. Government in transitioning veterans into the workforce, a growing number of peer-to-peer support initiatives have been developed to help in work related transitions. These include veteran to veteran networks of hiring, training, and networking. Veteran to veteran outreach for this transition is important in building a trust between the potential employee and employer. The potential veteran employee will be able to go into a job with other veterans and have an instant community to which they feel they can better relate. This community is important in helping the new employee understand a new set of civilian standards in the workforce.

The veteran to veteran outreach and support systems also help the newly searching veteran better understand how their skills may transfer into the workforce. Veterans and veteran organizations helping to facilitate job connections are also able to help the job seeker as they typically have a stronger understanding of how skills transfer between the civilian and military communities.

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[337] Wilbur B. Brookover. 1945. "The Adjustment of Veterans to Civilian Life." *American Sociological Review* 10, no. 5 (October): 579-586. 583.

Broken Support Services

After each war a breakdown of support services exists due to ongoing lack of funding, or an insufficient understanding of the needs for veterans fresh out of service. One of the current issues for veterans is a lack of adequate resources from the Veterans Affairs. The VA does contain an expansive network of services, but unfortunately the individuals in charge of services are now facing difficulties in being able to properly treat the growing list of concerns for veterans. With veterans living longer, and a growing list of both physical and psychological diagnoses the VA has increasingly fallen behind on being able to produce timely services to veterans recently out of war.

In addition to being short of facilities and resources a growing number of veterans are not using the VA. The VA is required to report diagnosis of PTS/D, TBI, and other psychological issues to the military. This type of diagnosis would lead to a medical discharge and could eliminate the opportunity to enlist again in the future. Re-enlistment is a common option for soldiers who feel they need to return back to the structure and discipline of the military. This can occur if the individual feels overwhelmed by their transition experiences in the civilian world. Re-enlisting allows a veteran to return to the sense of military structure absent from much of the civilian world.

With the aid of the US government non-VA related psychologists and counselors have received training to be able to help transitioning veterans. The benefit of the trained counselors allows the veteran to not only be heard and understood, but allow the veteran to seek help rather than feeling as if no one understands their difficulties. The masculine

nature of the military may also cause feelings of isolation for veterans having difficulty transitioning. Trained non-VA related counselors are able to help coach and aid in the separation for those who feel their transition experiences should be easier. Counselors and psychologists are able to help the veteran discover they are not alone in their journey back to civilian life and that their transition experiences are more common than the patient may realize.

Extraction Point: Conclusion

Veterans of modern wars, combat post 1990, are facing silence, isolation, and transition difficulties much like those who served in the Korean War. A lack of understanding of the needs of each new group of veterans is not a ground breaking concept. However, modern warfare and advancements in both technology and medicine have changed the expectations of a modern soldier. The military continues to advance in technology and continues to make efforts to support the soldier while they are in active duty. An alarming deficiency remains in helping the soldier transition into the civilian world.

Smaller support groups have expanded in an effort to create additional outreach beyond the continually shrinking participation of the VFW and American Legion. These groups are inclusive across multiple wars and branches. The newer organizations leverage the arts, community, education, and service related opportunities to bring veterans together.

One of the challenges to this study has been the overwhelming amount of information pointing much of the transition discussion toward PTS/D and TBI. The current focus of research on veteran suicide, and increasing number of individuals being diagnosed with PTSD is at the forefront of research. Yet, there are transition issues that do not possess diagnosable or psychological implications.

In addition, there is insufficient data relating to transition difficulties as they relate to advancements in modern warfare. In the future a more expansive and long-term study specific to one subset group within the military and their transition experiences would be helpful. There is not a shortage of individuals willing to talk about the transition issues they have seen other people go through. A disconnect exists in what different groups of soldiers feel are transition experiences, and what are now just commonly expected changes in lifestyle.

The veterans who interviewed about their experiences proved to be very accessible. Despite a growing number of individuals isolating themselves, many seemed willing to talk about their life after the military. As long as conversations centered on life after the military, not on combat experiences, soldiers were happy to share information and contacts.

Advancements in technology, medicine, and heightened issues relating to war will continue. There is a fundamental need to increase services and to connect veterans into support networks upon their arrival home. Additionally, there is a need for a stronger tracking system of at-risk veterans within the community once they return home.

Individuals who are struggling should be afforded opportunities beyond the VA in ensuring they do not remain silent during transition issues. Transition difficulties arise in multiple levels without needing a specific trigger. If the government is going to invest in training a military identity, it is important for the government to spend enough time properly training soldiers in identifying their post military identity.

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