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Drill and Ceremony:

A Case Study of Militarism, Military Recruitment and the Pedagogy of Enforcement in
an Urban School in Southern California

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Suzie Moses Abajian

2013

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2013

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Drill and Ceremony:

A Case Study of Militarism, Military Recruitment and the Pedagogy of Enforcement in
an Urban School in Southern California

by

Suzie Moses Abajian

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Megan L. Franke, Chair

The increased militarization of schools serving predominantly low-income, non-white students, post 9/11 and the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act, has had significant implications for issues of educational access, equity and democracy. This dissertation is a yearlong qualitative case study of militarism and military recruitment within an urban school in Southern California, serving predominantly low-income, Latin@ students. Specifically, the study focuses on schooling policies and practices promoting military service, privileging military values and shaping the school-to-military pipeline. Also, the study is concerned with understanding the ways in which the meaning perspectives of the actors within this context inform their actions.

The methods employ approaches from grounded theory research, documentary research and critical research. Data sources used in the study include 112 formal and informal interviews, 17 qualitative fieldnotes and multiple artifacts including pamphlets, photographs, posters and

newspaper articles. The analysis is situated within the larger socio-political and historical context of militarization in the United States and grounded in neo-Marxist and postcolonial theories.

Findings of the study posit that certain well-resourced institutionalized programs within the school, such as the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC), the Police Academy Magnet and to some extent the Law Magnet were intended to shape and socialize students through militarized practices. These practices were justified through classed, raced and gendered discourses about what students needed and were capable of achieving. The aforementioned programs not only reified a pedagogy of enforcement but also promoted military service as a postsecondary path and a stepping stone to careers in "security" and law enforcement.

In addition to these institutionalized programs, military recruiters frequented the school campus and were given increased access to students through the actions of certain "gate-openers." Recruiters used their access to propagate half-truths and inaccurate narratives about military service to gain students' interest. Furthermore, the heightened focus on "discipline" and "safety" issues, high stakes accountability measures and the constant militarized spectacles within the school contributed to the normalization of "military values as collective common sense" (Mariscal, 2003, p.48).

All of these factors formed a web of militarism, giving military service unparalleled promotion in comparison to other postsecondary paths within this school. In this context students internalized, challenged and appropriated militarized values and practices as they negotiated their interests within the militarized terrain of their schooling.

The dissertation of Suzie Moses Abajian is approved.

William C. Ayers

Ernest D. Morrell

John S. Rogers

Megan Loef Franke, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2013

Dedication

For all my teachers

especially:

Hermine and Moses Abajian who instilled in me the love of reading and learning,

Roger Gertmenian who shaped me as a young writer,

Anne-Marie Chaglassian who encouraged me as an artist,

Stephanie Sajjadieh who taught me to think critically and care deeply,

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Vera Plowden Coppedge for her hospitality,

Mary Rose Khazadian-Figueroa who taught me to give generously,

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LANGUAGES

Armenian- native fluency (speaking, reading and writing)
English- native fluency (speaking, reading and writing)
Arabic- fluent (speaking, reading and writing)
Spanish- basic knowledge (speaking and reading)
French- basic knowledge (speaking and reading)

Chapter One

Introduction

I. A Contextualizing Memoire:

Young people are quickly realizing that schools have more in common with military boot camps and prisons than they do with other institutions in American society. In addition, as schools abandon their role as democratic public spheres and are literally “fenced off” from the communities that surround them, they lose their ability to become anything other than spaces of containment and control. In this context, discipline and training replace education for all but the privileged as many schools take on an uncanny resemblance to oversized police precincts, tragically disconnected from students who inhabit them and the communities that give meaning to their historical experiences and daily lives.

Henry A. Giroux (2003, p. 64)

My military training began in first grade. At a designated hour within the school day students would line up in the quad, in their respective class sections, to pledge allegiance to the flag and to practice drill and ceremony exercises. We wore uniforms including dark blue garrison caps with different color-coded trims representing different grade levels. I remember being a class “officer”, calling roll, singing nationalistic songs and chants, marching, giving orders and following orders. Reflecting upon my schooling makes me realize that I was being taught, from a young age, to believe that my allegiance was to “my country” first and what “my country” required of me was to be organized, orderly and an obedient soldier. The hidden curriculum of my schooling reified the notion that everyone had to assume their “proper” place in society and follow the orders of their superiors. I was expected to follow my teachers’ orders, my classmates my orders and the school administration the government’s orders.

My schooling was primarily in Arabic, even though I went to an Armenian parochial school. Teachers were not allowed to teach Armenian History¹. They were only allowed to teach Armenian language classes, one hour a day, as a second language. All the other subjects were taught in Arabic, except religion², and there was always a government-sponsored principal in addition to the community sponsored (Armenian) principal to ensure compliance with governmental regulations and expectations.

Although the ruling party was self-proclaimed as a socialist, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist party, and in many ways it did promote these ideals³, it was by no means democratic. Following the successful ousting of a western power, the ruling party had instituted repressive policies, in the name of reclaiming a unified nationalist identity and guarding the new state against foreign meddling and undermining. This was, as Vossoughi (2011) put it, the “underside of revolution.”⁴ The repressive policies included the implementing of mechanisms of surveillance and suppression of overt “anti-patriotic” activities, such as speaking against the government, as well as subversive activities such as speaking in a language other than the official national language within schools; and teaching versions of history and politics that offered critical or simply different perspectives than the dominant narratives.

¹ The teaching of Armenian history was seen as subversive because it was promoting an alternate “nationalism,” divergent from the state sponsored ideology, and hence was not sanctioned by the government.

² The secular government of the country was tolerant of different religious practices and provided protection and freedom of religious expression to different minority groups within the country. The government sanctioned the teaching of Christian education, in Armenian, because it was not perceived as a threatening act to the state.

³ The ruling socialist party had been the vehicle for a successful national liberation movement that ousted a prominent western occupying power. However, the party was taken from civilian control in a military coup and was turned into a military dictatorship.

⁴ Vossoughi (2011) describes the “underside of revolution” as a “shift in form (from a movement whose primary aim is resistance, to a state with the power to organize social and political life) often bring[ing] to the surface latent tensions and hierarchies” (p. 10).

I remember being ordered to speak in Arabic by my teachers, during recess and lunchtime, but refusing to do so out of principle. Although I definitely considered the country of my birth⁵ my own and I spoke fluent Arabic, I felt that I was an Armenian first, the granddaughter of genocide survivors, and I wasn't going to forget my roots and lose my language! The control exerted by the government on anti-nationalist activities produced compliance as well as subtle forms of subversion, resistance and also appropriation of nationalistic practices for personal advancement.

When I was in fifth grade, I took part in a citywide science competition in which both public and parochial schools participated. The judges for the fair were not scientists or educators but military personnel. I made a circuit board with miniature lights that spelled the date of the national independence day from the occupying western power. My teacher had suggested that I do this because perhaps she thought that even though I had a wonderful project that showcased my scientific knowledge, my chances of winning would increase by catering to the nationalistic mantra. There were many worthy projects at the fair but my strategic move might have been the reason why I was made one of the winners.

Both my elementary school and secondary school buildings were decorated with the national flags as well as the flags of the ruling party and pictures of the president whom we had elected "to eternity" in a plebiscite. Patriotic and military displays such as posters and flags occupied visual spaces within schools as well as the public commons throughout the country.

In seventh grade I was required to wear the full military uniform, the khaki fatigues, the boots and the military cap every day to school. The khaki fatigues were the official school uniform for every secondary school in the country. Students were sent home if they forgot their

⁵ I choose to not disclose the name of the country of my origin because I was concerned about readers focusing on the specific country and reifying their own ideas of what that country is like rather than hearing my story and the ideas that I wanted to communicate.

cap or wore the wrong colored socks. We had mandatory military training, on our school campus, every Saturday afternoon where we practiced drill and ceremony exercises and had political and nationalistic lectures from military officers. Reflecting upon my experiences makes me realize that militarism pervaded not only the visual, auditory and physical spaces within our school but also occupied our very bodies.

Once, when we were marching on the quad, I had smiled for some reason and immediately after I felt an unexpected, swift slap on my face and the voice of the Sergeant yelling: “This is a serious matter—it’s not a joke!” I can still vividly recall the throbbing and burning sensation from his red palm-print on my cheek and the humiliation of not being a “good soldier” and hence a “failure” in front of my peers—even though I was a “high achieving” student. On another occasion I witnessed a defiant student being severely beaten by a military instructor, with a water-hose, in front of the rest of us so that we would learn from his example.

I was being taught from a young age that there were physical consequences for not conforming, not obeying authority or for drawing attention to myself. Although militarism and military practices were normalized in my school, I felt a sense of separation between my “performed” self at school and my “real” self at home. Looking back, I realize that being a “good soldier” was a performance for me, which was dropped upon my arrival at home where I would take off my uniform and speak my mind to my parents.

However, upon further reflection, I also understand the ways in which my performance was internalized because I remember daydreaming about being a soldier. A female soldier! Now that was the ultimate that I could be! It’s one thing being a male soldier when you had no choice⁶ but being a female soldier and dying in line of duty for your country would be the ultimate

⁶ Military service was mandatory for all men in the country, with the exception of men who were the only male child in their family. They were spared from service because they were expected to carry their family name and provide for their parents in their old age.

achievement. I felt that I would be memorialized forever in the minds of my compatriots! My ideas and daydreams were undoubtedly shaped by the hegemonic ideologies that were reified through all the political lectures that I heard, from military officers, as well as government sponsored news and television shows. Women in the military who had died in line of duty received special attention and were given special honors in history textbooks as well as on T.V. programs because it took “special” courage to be a woman soldier.

At the same time, I recognize that the hegemonic siren inducing my daydreams about being a soldier was often interrupted by my mother’s voice in my head saying: “Did you hear how Hasmig’s brother was treated in the military? He’s still traumatized. Every person who can escape military service, by leaving the country, is doing it. And guess who are among the front lines in the Iran-Iraq war? Iraqi-Armenians fighting Iranian-Armenians—brothers killing brothers. That’s what it means to be in war...” Although military service was mandatory for all men, people with financial means would often evade military service through bribes or by leaving the country. But the poor had no choice.

After my family immigrated to the United States, my education was less obviously militarized. However, when I was in high school, I remember pledging allegiance to the flag during my homeroom classes, taking the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) Test and being contacted by military recruiters who had an office right next to my high school –which is still there twenty years later. I also recall my classmates and I covering our textbooks with free book-covers, handed out to us during our homeroom class that had the bold printed words “Be all you can be... in the Army!”⁷ Although, military service in United States, similar to my country of origin, was also posed as a patriotic, “heroic” and “honorable” act, upon

⁷ The slogan for the U.S. Army, used for recruiting purposes during the 1980’s and 1990’s.

reflection I see that it was more commercialized and utilitarian. Students were recruited into the military through promises of college funding, a lifelong career and upward mobility.

My junior year in college I was naturalized as an American citizen. During this process, I was surprised to discover that the willingness to bear arms was a requirement for United States citizenship for naturalized citizens. Perhaps it was a way for us to “prove” our allegiance to the state because being born elsewhere was interpreted by the state as having divided allegiances that needed to be rectified.

When I began teaching in an urban high school in Los Angeles I had to sign a loyalty contract stating that I swore to "defend" the constitution "against all enemies, foreign and domestic" and that I promised to uphold and defend the “flag.” Throughout my teaching career, I noticed militarized practices that reminded me of my own schooling. For instance, the Junior Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (JROTC) uniforms and drills, within the school where I taught, reminded me of the uniforms and drill and ceremony practices in my own secondary school. Although students are not required to participate in a JROTC program in the United States, these programs are prevalent in many urban high school campuses. The physical, visual and symbolic presence of the JROTC program, on the school campus where I taught, perpetuated the glorification of military service and patriotism similar to the militarized schooling practices in my country of origin.

A significant shift took place within the country and also within the school where I taught after September 11, 2001. One that day, the administration of the school asked us, teachers, to debrief the shocking events with our students. During a debriefing session one of my students asked: “Miss, aren’t you from one of those terrorist countries [jokingly]?” I don’t remember how I responded but I was heartbroken and devastated. I felt that I had suddenly become visible—but

not in a positive way. This was the first time in my life that I recall being identified as someone from a “Middle Eastern” or an “Arab” country. Most of my students didn’t really know my ethnicity and they would often assume that I was Latina, and speak to me in Spanish, in which case I would say that I was actually Armenian.

Although I am not ethnically Arabic, within the United States, I was a “Middle Easterner” and hence an “Arab” and I increasingly felt that I did not belong in a country where “Arabs” and/or “Muslims”⁸ were demonized. At this time in my life, as an oppositional and resistive stance, I began to intentionally identify myself as a Middle Easterner first, not an Armenian—as I had done most of my life.

During the next few years I witnessed an increased sense of patriotism and nationalism, within the country in general and my school in particular, that manifested itself in discourses about winning “the war on terror”. Salaita (2005) described this brand of nationalism as “imperative patriotism” where any critique of the war was seen as not “supporting the troops”, anti-patriotic and anti-American—which were the worse things one could be accused of within this context. I felt that it wasn’t acceptable to critique the war or express divergent political views within my school.

I was active in the anti-war movement but I felt that it wasn’t something that I could bring into my classroom—even though other political views and projects were welcomed. It was during this time that one of my colleagues, who taught history, was asked by the principal, in front of his entire class, to take down a Palestinian flag that he had put up on his classroom wall, next to flags from other countries. He was disciplined, in front of his students, for his political

⁸ Although the term “Arab” is used as an ethnic and linguistic marker of identity whereas “Muslim” is used as a religious identification, these terms have been conflated and used interchangeably within the United States media and public discourse. They are used as reductionist and raced labels to describe a multiplicity of populations representing an imagined monolithic “Middle East” (Naber, 2000).

stance and his support of an “Arab” cause. This type of surveillance, repression and silencing of dissent in schools was not new in the United States but had taken place in the past. For instance during the McCarthy era many dissenting teachers were silenced and fired (Tyack, 1974).

Also, it was interesting that “imperative patriotism” within the context of the “war on terror” not only manifested itself in legislation such as the Patriot Act, enhancing the government’s domestic and international surveillance of citizens and noncitizens, and the suspension of habeas corpus rights for detainees but also contributed to the proliferation of anti-immigrant sentiments, particularly against “Arabs”, “Muslims” and Latin@s (Johnson, 2003) and the tightening of the United States and Mexico borders. It was from this context that legislation such as Secure Communities, Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (SB 1070) and banning the teaching of “ethnic studies” in Arizona (H.B. 2281) came forth.

However, even during a time of increased patriotism the popularity of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq continued to plummet. As the U.S. military was falling short of its recruitment goals (The National Security Advisory Group, 2006) there was a heavy push for military recruitment on high school campuses. The military had launched an extremely well funded public relations campaign to promote all things military both inside and outside high schools and even some elementary schools.

A few of my students joined the military against the pleading of their parents and against the advice of teachers and other adults. Philip, one of my students, joined the military while he was in high school. He was an ambitious student who had hopes of going to college. However, because of the high cost of college on the one hand and the persistence of military recruiters on the other he decided to join the military first. He left for Iraq right after he graduated from high

school and came back a year later injured but had little time to recover before he was deployed again.

After 2003, when I left teaching to pursue my graduate studies, I continued my involvement in the anti-war movement. It was during this time when I came across community organizations and activists that were resisting militarization and military recruitment of students in urban schools through counter-recruitment campaigns -geared towards educating students, teachers, parents and communities about the realities of war and military service.

During my involvement in the counter-recruitment movement I was invited to attend a “career day” event at Marshall Elementary⁹, a public school in Southern California. Although there were representatives from different career sectors, it was surprising to see that the majority of the guests were from the military and the police. The tables and booths around the quad were overwhelmingly occupied by military and police representatives who were dressed in their respective uniforms and had come equipped with many interesting gadgets and freebees that they passed out abundantly to students.

Parked in the center of the quad was a police car. A police officer was helping students as they took turns exploring the vehicle, sitting in the driver and passenger seats, and trying on the officer’s cap and his handcuffs. In the far left corner of the quad, where the basketball rings were situated, there were three long lines of students waiting to ride on what seemed to be three mock fighter jets. There servicemen from the Air Force, with the supervision of a teacher, were helping students board on the mock fighter jets and taking them on a ride around the quad. It looked like a scene from an amusement park.

⁹ A pseudonym given to the elementary school that I visited.

Halfway through the event a police helicopter dramatically flew right above the quad, and came very close to landing, attracting students' attention and cheers. Through this militarized carnival, students at Marshall Elementary were being socialized from a young age to view the military and the police as two of the most exciting career paths. It was particularly striking to see the amount of resources that were dedicated to the promotion of the military and the police in a severely underfunded school within an economically depressed neighborhood. As I learned more about the militarization of urban schools and military recruitment of students, through my involvement in counter-recruitment campaigns, I came to the conclusion that these were important topics for academic inquiry that had significant implications for issues of educational equity and access.

My interest in the topic of militarization and military recruitment stemmed from my own experiences as a student, an educator and an activist. I included this autobiographic account as a self-reflexive tool for addressing the ways in which my experiences, positionalities, biases and worldviews shaped my study (Hughes, Pennington, & Markis, 2012). I am aware that someone else examining the same data would have reached different conclusions. However, I feel that my unique positioning has provided valuable insights into this topic.

II. Statement of the Problem:

The decade post 9/11 was marked by “ a growing culture of fear and a rapidly increasing militarization of public space and culture” within the United States (Giroux, 2004, p. 211). Militarization permeated different institutions including public schools, where the military was engaged in aggressively recruiting students from low-income, immigrant and non-white communities. The increased militarization of schools was facilitated through explicit policies

such as the No Child Left Behind Act¹⁰, which gave military recruiters unprecedented access to schools and to students in the aforementioned communities and reified a system of coercion through its high stakes accountability measures (Furumoto, 2005) by normalizing “surveillance, regulation and punishment” (Lipman, 2004). Recruiters, emboldened through NCLB and armed with the heavily funded advertising campaigns of the military (Saltman & Gabbard, 2003) and its promises of the “American Dream” through naturalization and upward mobility (Buenavista, 2012, Mariscal, 2004; Mariscal, 2005; Mariscal, 2007) have worked to privilege the military above other postsecondary paths within these schools.

In addition to policies such as NCLB, the military continues to be promoted through institutionalized school programs such as the Junior Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (JROTC) that have historically served “white, middle-class desires to ‘discipline’ minority students and subordinate racial difference to an identification with the nation” (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998, p. 119). These programs are disproportionately present within schools in economically depressed neighborhoods (Berlowitz & Long, 2003; Long, 2003). All of these factors in conjunction with the lack of enrichment programs (Ayers, 2006) and the normalized, daily schooling practices that promote militarism and patriotism (Saltman & Gabbard, 2003; Westheimer, 2007) from a web of structural violence in which economically oppressed, non-white communities experience what Berlowitz (2000) calls “economic conscription.”

¹⁰ Section 9528 of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, which was signed into law in 2002 states that Local Educational Agencies receiving financial assistance (such as Title I funds) under the NCLB Act are obligated to give student names, addresses and phone numbers to military recruiters upon request, unless parents “opt out”. The law states that “Each local educational agency receiving assistance under this Act shall provide military recruiters the same access to secondary school students as is provided generally to post secondary educational institutions or to prospective employers of those students”.

III. Significance of the Study:

Militarization and military recruitment within urban schools has significant implications for issues of educational access and equity and the ideal of schools as democratic public spheres—yet it is an understudied topic. By militarization I mean the increased promotion, privileging and normalizing of militarized practices, military values and military service. Current studies about this topic tend to be uncritical of recruitment practices within schools and the expanding military industrial complex. In fact, they are often funded by the military and serve as marketing research for the development of recruitment strategies (Galaviz, Palafox, Meiners, & Quinn, 2011; Long, 2003).

For example, the RAND Corporation¹¹ conducted a number of studies on military recruitment that appeared in two publications (Asch, Kilburn & Klerman, 1999; Kilburn & Asch, 2003). These publications addressed issues of college recruitment versus military recruitment. Some of the findings in these studies suggested that although the cost of attending college had increased significantly over the past decade and governmental financial aid had not caught up with this increase (loans being the most prevalent form of aid), interest in military recruitment had decreased—particularly from what RAND defines as “high quality youth”. These reports then made policy recommendations for increasing enlistment and retention in the military and they went as far as suggesting that the government offer college grants mostly as an incentive for military service. Additionally, the reports suggested targeting certain student populations (namely “high achieving” students from poor backgrounds) for recruitment and made

¹¹ The RAND Corporation is a non-profit global policy think tank that helps improve policy and decision-making through research and analysis. This corporation was first founded to offer research and analysis to the United States military. The organization has since expanded and works with other governments, private foundations, international organizations, and commercial organizations.

recommendations on effective recruitment strategies for these populations (Asch, Kilburn & Klerman, 1999; Kilburn & Asch, 2003).

Although the majority of studies on the subject of military recruitment follow the aforementioned example, a number of leading educational scholars have, in the recent years, published more critical pieces on the militarization of schools. These writings are journal articles or chapters in edited volumes such as *Education as Enforcement* edited by Saltman & Gabbard (2003 & 2011), *Critical theories, radical pedagogies, and global conflicts* edited by Fischman, McLaren, Sünker, and Lankshear (2005) and *Pledging Allegiance* edited by Westheimer (2007). With a few exceptions, most of these pieces are theoretical, reflective and conceptual and are situated within a Neo-Marxist perspective—relating militarization to global capital and corporatization of educational spaces. Also, some scholars have theorized militarization of schools within the context of zero tolerance policies and the criminalization of youth (Giroux, 2003; Lewis, 2003; Robbins, 2008). These writings engage with cogent issues regarding militarization of schools and are meant to generate further dialogue and inquiry however they do not include the narratives of students, teachers and parents. One of the few qualitative case studies on the topic that include student narratives is Pérez's (2006) article entitled *How a scholarship girl becomes a soldier: The Militarization of Latina/o Youth in Chicago Public Schools*.

This project attempts to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on militarization of schools by providing an empirical and qualitative case study of an urban school within Southern California and highlighting the narratives and meaning perspectives of students, teachers and parents. Although the specific school within this study does not have a stated focus on military education, it nevertheless promotes and privileges, intentionally and systematically, military

service over other postsecondary paths for its students. While studies on militarization of schools tend to focus on the JROTC program, this study also includes an analysis of a Police Academy magnet program and a Law magnet program that contribute to the militarization of the specific school in the study.

IV. Objectives:

The objective of this study was understanding the ways in which military service was promoted within Washington High School, a specific urban school in Southern California serving a predominantly low-income, Latin@ community. I wanted to learn about the experiences and perceptions of students, teachers, parents and other members of the school community regarding military recruitment. Also, I was interested in examining systematic issues, such as federal policies, institutionalized programs as well as schooling practices and discourses that promoted a militarized culture and privileged military service as a postsecondary path within this school. My hope in conducting a case study was not only understanding the practices and meaning perspectives of the actors within this local context but also expanding the conceptualization and theorizing of the school-to-military pipeline.

V. Research Questions:

The following were the orienting questions that framed this study:

- What do militarism and military recruitment look like within Washington High School, an urban high school in Southern California?*
- What structures, policies, practices and discourses privilege and promote the military above other postsecondary paths for students within Washington High School?*

-How do different members of the Washington High School community facilitate, enable, constrain, resist and make sense of militarization and military recruitment of students within their school?

-How do students negotiate their interests within the militarized landscape of their schooling?

VI. Overview:

In *Chapter 2: Literature Review*, I provide an overview of the historical and socio-political context of militarization and military recruitment within schools in the United States. I also expound on legislation, institutionalized programs as well as schooling practices that facilitate military recruitment and contribute to the militarization of educational institutions. In *Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework*, I draw upon neo-Marxist, critical and post-colonial theories to explore the concepts of militarization and the school-to-military pipeline. In *Chapter 4: Methodology*, I provide a discussion of grounded theory, critical research, documentary research and the ways that they inform my research project. Also, I provide descriptions of the research site, research participants as well as my data collection and data analysis methods. In *Chapter 5: "Security" and High Stakes Accountability*, I describe practices within Washington High School around "security" and campus safety as well as the high stakes accountability threats that reify a culture of enforcement and control within the school. Throughout my analysis I juxtapose practices within Washington High School to those within Valley High School, a neighboring school serving a more affluent community, in order to provide a comparative lens and contextualize these practices within larger issues of educational inequity. In *Chapter 6: The Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps*, I draw upon formal and informal interviews, participant observations and artifacts to provide a discussion of the militarized practices within the JROTC

program and the ways in which they promote, celebrate and privilege military service. I also analyze the way in which the program is used as a disciplining tool for students and the ways that students resist as well as appropriate their participation in the program to meet their own personal goals. In *Chapter 7: The Police Academy and Law Magnets*, I begin with a discussion of the militarized practices within the Police Academy Magnet program and the ways that it closely mirrors practices within the JROTC program. I argue that the Police Academy Magnet, similar to the JROTC, promotes and privileges military service. This is not only through its militarized practices but also because the Military is perceived as a stepping-stone into law enforcement. Also, similar to the JROTC chapter, I discuss the ways in which students resist as well as appropriate their participation in the program to meet their personal goals. In a brief section at the end of the chapter, I provide a discussion of practices within the Law Magnet. Although the Law Magnet conjures up images of a college-bound prep school, I posit that in practice it is a program that promotes law enforcement and together with the Police Academy Magnet as well as the JROTC programs contributes to the reification of a pedagogy of enforcement within Washington High School. In *Chapter 8: Recruiters and Gate-openers*, I critically analyze the resources dedicated to and the access given to military recruiters within Washington High School. In conjunction with legislation such as NCLB, giving unprecedented access to recruiters, I argue that certain administrators and teachers within Washington High School serve as “gate-openers” to amplify this access. Recruiters, through various activities and presentations on campus help perpetuate a narrative that glorifies military service and downplays the realities of war. I also provide a discussion of the ways that students accept, question and challenge these narratives. In *Chapter 9: Discussion*, I provide a discussion of the ways that normalized schooling practices, institutionalized programs in conjunction with recruiters and

“gate-openers” form a “Web-of-Militarism” that privilege and promote the military over other postsecondary paths within Washington High School. I also provide a critical discussion of “counter-recruitment” and its implications for a more liberatory education.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

In this chapter I will discuss the historical and the socio-political context of militarization and military recruitment within public schools in the United States. I will begin the chapter with a brief historical overview. Next I will provide a discussion of current legislation, institutionalized programs as well as schooling practices that facilitate military recruitment and contribute to the militarization of educational institutions, particularly urban schools. My objective is to describe a working framework of the school-to-military pipeline and historicize my framework within the context of the evolution of American schooling from the turn of the twentieth century to the present moment.

I. Historical Overview of Militarization and Schooling within the U.S.:

From the Late 1800s to Early Twentieth Century:

Schooling within the United States, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, was marked by the proliferation of common schools, the standardization of the curriculum under the recommendation of the Committee of Ten¹² and the spread of vocational tracks that were geared towards socializing immigrants and emancipated slaves as well as indigenous populations and preparing them for industrial and farming jobs (Fass, 1989; Tyack, 1974). The mass immigration during this time period was perceived as threatening to “American political, cultural, and institutional life, from the family to the political process and [the] aesthetic experience” (Fass, 1989, p.16). This, in conjunction with the fears of the wealthy regarding class conflict, strikes and social unrest gave way to the “institutionalization of

¹² A National Education Association (NEA) taskforce of scholars formed in 1892 and chaired by Charles W. Elliot, the president of Harvard University at the time.

industrial education” where it was argued that “such training offered a significant means of moral uplift for poor students” (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998, p. 121).

Hence, education in the United States became an avenue for the physical and psychological acculturation of the indigenous population as well as former slaves, immigrants and the working class for the purpose of making “productive” and “obedient” workers for the cheap labor force (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998; San Miguel & Valencia 1998; Spring, 2000; Tyack, 1974). The bureaucratization of schools and the consolidation of the curriculum was also the product of the efficiency movement.

[The efficiency movement] invoked a military model, along with a factory model, as routes to the desired hierarchization, specialization, rationalization, and standardization of the schools...school leaders also turned toward the military to provide the pattern for the managed use of school space, as exemplified by the “Platoon School Movement” in Gary, Indiana, in 1908 (Cohen, 1979). Large, crowded urban schools in particular could imitate aspects of the military organizational model because the two institutions were sometimes seen as confronting the same problem- that of controlling and training large groups of dangerous people (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998, p. 121).

Furthermore, military education and service were “prescribed as a cure for the suspect masculinity of the immigrant, who could develop ‘a manly readiness’ through participation in school-based drills and army training (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998, pp. 122-123)” (Galaviz et al., 2011, p. 31).

The early decades of the twentieth century were also marked by the burgeoning of intelligence testing, which served to track the aforementioned populations into “industrial education within the confines of second-class citizenship” (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998, p. 121). The military was a trailblazer with regards to cognitive test development and intelligence testing from the Army Alpha and Beta tests during WWI (Selden 1999) to the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) test that has been offered to high schools nationwide by the

Department of Defense since 1968 to promote “career exploration” and facilitate recruiting (Galaviz et al., 2011; Laurence, 2003).

At the turn of the twentieth century, as public schooling was moving towards bureaucratization and professionalization (Tyack 1974), there was a concurrent shift in the U.S. military from the former militia system, to a federalized and professionalized military. “Preparedness”¹³ and “imperialism”¹⁴ were the driving ideologies behind the professionalization of the military, which was essential for the expansionist pursuits of the United States (Long 2003).

During this time period (i.e. late nineteenth century/early twentieth century) a number of militarized programs came into existence, such as “the Junior Police, rural reformatories centered around drill, and the Juvenile Street Cleaning League (Pearlman, 1984)” in the 1890’s for training youth, both within and outside schools (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998, p. 121). Also, at the beginning of WWI universal military training (UMT) was promoted in public schools and colleges because it was seen as vital to the country’s military preparedness. Proponents of UMT viewed military education as a solution to a “cornucopia of social problems” because they believed that it instilled “discipline and regard for constituted authority, [and] develop[ed] the ‘moral qualities’ of ‘good citizenship’ (Steever, 1917, p. 153)” (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998, p. 122).

Although, a number of different programs were formed to offer military education for youth, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the most

¹³ “Preparedness” ideology has been an “omnipresent thread throughout American material history” and is defined by a nation state having a readily available military power to defend its national or international sovereignty (Long, 2003, p. 7).

¹⁴ Long (2003) defines imperialism as “ ‘the policy of extending the rule or influence of a country over other countries or colonies.’ Its relationship to preparedness is underscored by the United States Government’s efforts following the Revolution to expand its territory first intra-nationally, then intra-continentially, and finally internationally” (p. 7).

prominent of these programs was the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC). The JROTC program came into being as a result of the National Defense Act of 1916 and it has grown in prominence and size over the past century. Today it continues to have a strong presence on urban high school campuses serving predominantly low-income, non-white youth and serves as a promotional and recruitment tool for the United States Military (Ayers, 2006; Long, 2003; Berlowitz & Long, 2003).

From WWII to Vietnam and Beyond:

During World War II the military spending within the United States skyrocketed and it exceeded all of the monies spent on education since the revolutionary war. This trend continued during the Cold War era. "In 1955, a "peacetime" year, the federal government spent over \$40 billion (on the military), almost four times the total expenditures for public education" (Tyack, 1974, p. 275). Preparedness ideology was at the core of this increased interest in the expansion and the strengthening of the military (Rudolph, 2002; Tyack, 1974).

The Cold War also shaped schooling in significant ways. It changed the climate of educational institutions by silencing dissenting teachers and instilling in students fear of the communist "other" and fear of an atomic bomb attack (Rudolph, 2002; Tyack, 1974).

Under the influence of McCarthyism, many liberal and radical teachers were fired or silenced; pressures for ideological conformity became intense for students as well; little children in elementary schools learned passive fear as an official way of life as they huddled under their desks in mock of atomic attacks; and competition with the Soviet expertise became a leitmotiv of educational policy (Tyack 1974, pp. 275-276).

During the Cold War, preparedness ideology was the driving force behind the increased funding of mathematics and science education in United States public schools (Rudolph, 2002;

Tyack, 1974). “Opinion-makers in education focused public attention on the need for cultivating talent as a weapon in the contest with communism” (Tyack 1974, pp. 275-276).

The push for technology and science education and the founding of the National Science Foundation (NSF), during this time period, was to ensure the place of the U.S. as a technological and a military superpower in the world (Rudolph, 2002; Tyack, 1974).

In the past, the schools had often glorified patriotism in its military forms and had put the schools at the service of the war effort, but not until the cold war did the needs of a military-industrial complex assume lasting and great prominence in educational policy (Tyack 1974, pp. 275-276).

It was during this time when President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his exit speech on January 17, 1961, acknowledged a necessity for the new professionalized military and at the same time warned the United States public about the dangers of the expanding military industrial complex and the threat that it posed to democracy.

Following the Vietnam War and the advent of the all-volunteer military force, high school campuses became the primary focus of military recruitment (Ayers, 2006). During the early 1990’s the increased federal governmental funding doubled the size of the JROTC program. By 1994, there were approximately 310,000 students in the program in 2,267 chapters across the country. Most of these programs were located in the South and had an overrepresentation of African American and Latin@ students (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998). Some credit the rapid expansion of JROTC in the 1990’s to “Colin Powell’s visit to South Central Los Angeles after the 1992 riots, when he was head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. “Powell stated that the solution to the problems of city youths was the kind of discipline and structure offered by the U.S. military” (Ayers, 2006, p. 595). This was reminiscent of earlier discourses regarding the “benefits” of universal military training.

In 1996 the Solomon Amendment was enacted which “freezes federal funding to universities that bar Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (ROTC) units or military recruiters from their campuses” (Galaviz et al., 2011, p. 27). However, this law has not been enforced for “restrictive access institutions” such as Ivy League universities. This preferential enforcement has revealed the “real interest of the DOD, which... is not the recruitment of the nation’s most privileged, but rather, its most vulnerable youth” (Galaviz et al., 2011, p. 28).

Educational institutions, within the United States, had become militarized throughout the twentieth century. However, post 9/11 and the proclamation of the Bush administration of the “war on terror”, recruitment, particularly on high school campuses serving low income and non-white youth, took a new turn.

II. Policies and Programs Shaping Militarization of Education Post 9/11:

During the decade following 9/11 there was a marked change in military funding, policies and recruitment practices particularly within urban schools. New legislation such as the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2002, the National Defense Authorization Act of 2004, coupled with the strengthening of existing programs such as JROTC, the proliferation of military charter schools (Galaviz et al., 2011) and the heavily funded public relations campaign of the military have contributed to the increased militarization of urban schools and the recruitment of low-income, non-white students.

No Child Left Behind:

Following 9/11, NCLB reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, promising to close the “achievement gap” between white students and students of color.

Although there has been much discussion and research on the controversial nature of NCLB and its impact on the educational achievement of low-income and non-white students, not much attention has been given to the provision in NCLB §9528 that enables military recruiters to have unprecedented access to high school campuses and private student information. Under NCLB §9528 schools are required to give student names, phone numbers, and addresses to the military in order to receive federal funding—unless parents opt out.

Schools that violate the NCLB and National Defense Authorization Acts risk losing federal funding. Additionally, under the National Defense Act, officials from the Department of Defense, the local educational agencies' Congressional representatives, their Senators, their governor, and certain Congressional committees are notified to intervene in cases of non-compliance. The pressure that would be placed on a non-compliant local educational agency and the consequences of non-compliance would be enormous. Not only would a local educational agency suffer from a lack of federal funding, its elected officials would likely anticipate political repercussions over a loss of federal funding and pressure the agency to comply (Holm, 2007, p. 584).

Schools are responsible for informing parents, once a year, about the “opt out” provision and its deadline. However many schools fail to properly notify parents and inform them of their rights¹⁵ (Furumoto, 2005; Holm, 2007).

A number of scholars have argued that, in addition to section §9528, the high stakes accountability component of NCLB has also contributed to the militarization of urban schools. For instance, Furumoto (2005) argues NCLB has exacerbated the inequalities present at under-funded and marginalized schools, serving predominantly African American and Latin@ students. The punitive accountability measures that “punish” these so called “low performing” schools, have conditioned school communities to obediently follow the NCLB policies and be disciplined by them. Furumoto (2005) argues that the control, bureaucratization and accountability focus of

¹⁵ Holm (2007) argues that this policy “strikes at the heart of the constitutional right to privacy” and the legal rights of parents, upheld in a court decision in 2000, to “make decisions regarding the care, custody, and control of their children, including who, outside of the nuclear family, may have access to [them]” (p. 585).

NCLB is an inherently militaristic approach to running an organization and is part of the hidden curriculum of NCLB.

Lipman (2004) similarly argues that NCLB, high stakes accountability measures and the Charter School Movement (CSM) are situated within “the larger neoliberal project to privatize public institutions and commodify public and private life while increasing state regulation of individuals and institutions through new forms of accountability, testing, standards [and] surveillance” (p. 3). She grounds her analysis in the experiences of teachers and students in four public elementary schools in Chicago. One of the conclusions that she reaches is that these educational policies have reified a “system of surveillance and coercion [that] breeds fear and suppression of dissent and teaches people to silence themselves...[which is] crippling to democracy and critical thought and action” (p. 9). Lipman (2004) draws parallels between the discourses of “inevitability” regarding the shaping of an “equitable” education by high stakes accountability measures to the “inevitability” in the “broader political discourse in which War on Terrorism, the security state, a huge military build-up, and the occupation of Iraq [are proposed as] the only possible paths to a safer world” (p. 11). Even prior to NCLB, scholars such as Berlowitz (2000) were asserting that neoliberal educational reforms with their privatization agenda were widening economic disparities and contributing to the militarization of urban schools by “endeavoring to transform [these] schools into military academies, [and] target these ‘urban underclass’ school children for recruitment” (p. 394). Berlowitz’s (2000) analysis however was focused specifically on the JROTC program.

JROTC and Other Educational Programs that Promote Military Service:

Although the JROTC is a century-old program it has grown significantly in the past two decades because of its increased federal funding. According to *The Washington Post* (as cited in Berlowitz, 2000) by the mid 1990's the JROTC budget had more than doubled and the number of JROTC chapters had increased to 2,267 schools (a 32% jump from the beginning of the decade) with over 310,000 students (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998). During this time period, the JROTC was experiencing "the most rapid expansion in its history" (Ayers, 2006, p. 595). This trend has continued post 9/11. Today, according to the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (2012) website there are 3429 JROTC units and over half a million cadets in addition to an unknown number of students in the Middle School Cadet Corps (MSCC) across the country.

JROTC has often publicly denied its recruitment agenda. Its supporters "claim that the goal is leadership and citizenship development, dropout prevention, or simply the fun of dressing up and parading around" (Ayers, 2006, pp. 595-596). However, in addition to its own literature and its evident militarized practices, the data regarding the percentage of students from the program who join the military suggest otherwise. For instance, approximately 40% to 45% of JROTC graduates eventually join the military (Ayers, 2006; Berlowitz & Long 2003; Galaviz et al. 2011; Lutz & Bartlett, 1995). Furthermore, JROTC "*is still part of the recruitment budget of the Pentagon*" (McDuffee, 2008 as referenced in Galaviz et al., 2011, p. 30).

As JROTC programs have been targeting poor, African American and Latin@ students (Ayers, 2006; Berlowitz 2000, Galaviz et al. 2011; Lutz & Bartlett, 1995) it is no surprise that these populations have become overrepresented in the program. In 1993 most of the JROTC units were "located in the South (65 percent) and/or in schools with a high proportion of minority students: for example, schools with Army [JROTC] units [had] 48 percent, and those with Navy

units 39 percent, African-American and Latin@ students, much higher than the 1991 national average of 27 percent African American and Latin@ students (National Center for Education Statistics, 1993)...[Also] Nationwide, 54 percent of JROTC cadets [had] ‘minority’ status” (Lutz & Bartlett, 1995, pp. 125-126). This trend continued throughout the 1990s into the 2000’s.

Berlowitz (2000) asserts that the incorporation of JROTC in educational reform movements is a form of structural violence against racially and economically oppressed groups because it engages in a program of economic coercion and deception.

Defense Department guidelines for JROTC specifically seek “the less affluent large urban schools” and population who are “at risk.” These children are trapped by a form of economic conscription referred to as the “push-pull phenomenon,” in which they are pushed by poverty and the economics of racism and pulled by the promise of military benefits (Berlowitz 2000, p. 394).

Although JROTC claims to prepare students for higher education, enrolling in JROTC tracks students away from college. “Once enrolled in JROTC, [Students] are locked in by JROTC requirements, which are so time-consuming that they preclude most college preparatory courses. The JROTC further channels these students by enticing them with a menu of watered down academic courses” (Berlowitz 2008, p. 394).

[Also] [a]bsent arts and sports programs or a generous array of clubs and activities, JROTC and its accompanying culture of war – militarism, aggression, violence, repression, the demonization of others, and mindless obedience – becomes the default choice for poor kids attending low-income schools (Ayers, 2006, p. 596).

However, this is not something new as “military training in schools has been used since the early 1890’s as a way to regulate difference, with an initial emphasis on tracking toward race- and class-“appropriate” occupations and behaviors” (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998 as cited in Galaviz et al., 2011). Also, the discourses regarding the “benefits” of this program for poor non-white students has often been framed with deficit notions of what these students need (i.e. “discipline” and

“character development”) and what they are capable of accomplishing (i.e. following orders, marching and mindless obedience to authority).

JROTC programs are not the only programs funded by the government for the purpose of recruitment. Two other Pentagon sponsored programs, the Educator Workshop Program¹⁶ (EWP) and the Troops to Teachers program¹⁷ (TTT), initiated as a Department of Defense (DOD) and Department of Education (DOE) collaboration in 1994 continue to shape the dispositions of teachers in schools serving predominantly low-income, non-white populations. Also “Both the EWP and TTT programs form key elements in the ongoing effort to instill military values as collective common sense” (Mariscal, 2003, p.48). The JROTC, EWP and the TTT are only a few of the wide array of factors that contribute to the militarization of public high schools.

Military Charter Schools:

Militarization of schools has also been intimately connected with the Charter School Movement (CSM) -which is a “key component of neoliberal, or privatizing, educational restructuring” (Galaviz et al., 2011, p. 32). The proliferation of military charter schools or academies in underprivileged communities has exacerbated educational inequalities. “The unequal allocation of resources, in which military academies are favored over older community schools, is a form of economic coercion, forcing parents and students to make the rational choice of the adequately funded alternative over an obviously neglected school” (Galaviz et al., 2011, p. 33). Military style charter schools, similar to JROTC programs, offer a narrow and militarized

¹⁶ The Educator Workshop (EWP) program offers workshops that teachers, counselors, coaches, principals, and other school personnel are invited to in order for them to learn about the Marine Corps, obtain a positive disposition towards the military and ultimately become unofficial recruiters in the schools as they advise students about their career choices and the benefits of joining the Marine Corps.

¹⁷ The Troops to Teachers (TTT) program seeks to help veterans in transitioning from their military work into civilian work by placing them in teaching positions across the country in poor and underserved schools.

education to students. Although these charter schools appear “race and class neutral...[[they] are not offered and do not flourish in wealthy and white communities...Yet the logic of choice functions to mask these differences, allowing the seemingly race and class neutral terms of choice and discipline to be advanced as key policy makers, and then used to promote military schools” (Galaviz et al., 2011, p. 34). Also the discourses justifying military charter schools reproduce “myths and stereotypes” about how these schools are essential in urban communities “because urban youth of color are undisciplined, unruly, even dangerous, and need to be controlled” (Lipman, 2007 & Quinn, 2007 as cited in Galaviz et al., 2011, p. 34).

Naturalization, The DREAM Act and Deferred Action:

There have been significant setbacks in the recruitment goals of the military in the past decade. Hence the U.S. military has strengthened its recruitment campaign by signing new initiatives and offering new incentives for enlistment, including naturalization (Ayers 2006, Allison, A. & Solnit, D. 2007).

One such incentive has been enacted through the 2004 National Defense Authorization Act, Title XVII, Sections 1701-1705. This legislation made naturalization for legal residents serving in the Armed Forces easier and faster. The law also enabled family members of a deceased soldier to apply for posthumous citizenship for the soldier and through that for the members of the surviving family including spouses, children, and parents. However, the restrictions and limitations of this law, such as death in combat; have allowed only a handful of soldiers and families to qualify for citizenship.

Although naturalization incentives through military service for undocumented students have never been enacted, legislation such as the federal Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act has put that alternative on the table many times since 2001.

The DREAM Act of 2007, which was defeated, would have created a path to legalization for any undocumented individual who arrived in the United States before the age of sixteen. After living in the United States for five years and graduating from high school these students would have been permitted to apply for a conditional legal resident status for up to six years.

The conditional status would then have enable them to be treated as resident aliens and attain their permanent residency contingent on meeting one of the following requirements: graduation from a two-year college, successful completion of at least two years of a four-year college degree or a two year service in the United States military (Mariscal, 2007). The DREAM Act was introduced again in congress in 2009, 2010 and 2011 but has been defeated every time. If passed it would effect primarily the undocumented Latin@ population in the United States (Mariscal, 2007) as well as other populations such as undocumented Asian students (Buenavista, 2012).

Although this sounds like a promising legislation, the reality is that college matriculation and graduation rates are very low both for Latin@s in general and undocumented Latin@s in particular. Mariscal (2004) argues that this coupled with the artificially stringent college admissions requirements, the elimination of affirmative action and the rising cost of a college education make college attendance and completion very difficult. Furthermore, as immigrant students are reluctant to take out loans and often have to work to provide for their families, this creates yet another barrier for attending college. All of these factors make military enlistment the

more viable path for legalization for undocumented students and hence contribute to the “militarization of immigration” (Buenavista, 2012).

The Deferred Action Plan that was created by President Barack Obama through an executive order on June 15, 2012 to prevent or “defer” deportation, for two years, for undocumented immigrants who were under the age of 31 as of June 15, 2012. These individuals must prove that they entered the United States before the age of sixteen and have lived in the United States continuously since June 15 of 2007. Also they must meet one of the following conditions: graduation from high school, obtaining of a G.E.D. or being an honorably discharged veteran (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2012). Once approved, individuals would be able to legally work within the United States and they may apply for renewal after two years. Similar to the proposed federal DREAM Act, Deferred Action utilizes the educational and military service requirements for eligibility.

Militarization of Higher Education and the Scientific Academia:

In addition to the militarization of K-12 schools, higher educational institutions have also become increasingly militarized spaces throughout the past century, particularly during the cold war (Tyack 1974), the Reagan Administration (Knight, 1987) and post 9/11 (Giroux, 2008; Turse, 2008). With few exceptions, the relationship between the military and United States universities has been one of “mutual tolerance and expedience” and this has been due to the federal funding of certain types of scientific research geared towards information technology, weapons manufacturing and other fields related to the military (Monagan, 1982; Turse, 2008). The scientific academia has historically catered to the military as new scientific research has been used for the improvement of military intelligence and technology.

III. Myths about Military Training and Military Service:

Participation in the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC) and enlisting in the military are often portrayed as beneficial to students—particularly low income African American and Latin@ students. According to Berlowitz (2000) these discourses are often framed around four “deceptions” about JROTC and military service:

- 1) [JROTC] reduces violence and drug abuse and enhances educational attainment and academic success.
- 2) JROTC and the military impart leadership skills, which is necessarily a positive thing.
- 3) JROTC and military service enhance employability
- 4) The Armed Forces are a “sanctuary from the racist abuses prevalent in civilian life” (Berlowitz, 2000, p. 393).

The promotion of military service is justified by the myth that it gives students in low-income schools a good postsecondary option where there are no choices available. Another myth is that it teaches these students “discipline” and “leadership” skills that they “so desperately need” (Berlowitz, 2000). These discourses are rooted in neocolonial ideologies about urban youth as being unruly, unproductive and prone to violence and their only hope being a strict regimented education that focuses on basic skills and trains them to be obedient followers. Also, these so-called leadership skills in reality translate to mindless obedience to authority and the learning of sanctioned violence.

Additionally, there has been a proliferation of shooting ranges on high school campuses with JROTC programs (Berlowitz, 2000). These are contradictory to the “zero tolerance” policies regarding the possession of weapons on campuses and they raise new safety concerns.

The so-called skills that improve employability are skills that only apply to employability in the military sector—as most of the soldiers who return home or retire from the military struggle to find employment in the civilian sector. “In a longitudinal study of more

recent cohorts, funded by the Assistant Secretary of Defense, it was reported that only 12.4% of male veterans and 5.0% of males who left the military reported any use of occupational skills acquired in the military in their post-military employment” (Berlowitz, 2000, p. 396).

Also, contrary to popular view, the military is not a haven from racism but abounds in racist (Berlowitz, 2000), sexist and heterosexist (Benecke & Dodge 1990; Rubenstein, 1991) practices and policies. However, recruiters often present a one sided and misleading picture of what it means to join the military and make false promises of how students aren’t likely to go to war or be in combat.

IV. Tracking into the Military:

Historically, working class, non-white populations have served in the front lines of the military during wartimes (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998). Post 9/11 “A record number of women and a higher percentage of Latinos [were serving] on the front lines in Iraq” (Schroeder, 2004).

As the United States continues to be in a perpetual state of war and as military service has become less enticing, the U.S. military has sought different ways of increasing enlistment. For instance, the requirements for military service have been lowered and the obtainment of a high-school diploma is no longer a condition for enlistment (Berlowitz, 2008). Also, more and more government monies are spent for the public relations, advertising and recruitment campaigns of the military.

As part of that campaign, using attractive lures—like free first-person shooter video games and often false promises of enormous cash signing bonuses or college scholarships—and with the benefit of seemingly unfettered access to places children congregate without the presence of parents or guardians, the military is refining its youth recruitment activities by targeting public education (Houppert, 2005 & Medina, 2007 as cited in Galaviz et al., 2011, p. 31).

Military recruiters often outnumber college recruiters and are often given unparalleled access to classrooms and common spaces within urban schools to make presentations, talk to students and perpetuate false narratives about military service.

Also, the lack of enrichment programs within these schools has made militarized programs like the JROTC one of the few non-academic outlets for students (Ayers, 2006). The presence of recruiters, as well as institutionalized programs such as the JROTC, TTT and EWP have privileged the military as a postsecondary path for low-income, non-white students.

Additionally, the structure, the normalized practices and the hidden curriculum of urban schools have also promoted militarism and military service. For instance high stakes accountability measures have focused instruction within these school on basic skills and “obedience” training (Lipman, 2004) rather than critical analysis and college preparatory coursework. Also, promotion of patriotism, uncritical teaching of United States history and its wars, constant celebration and glorification of all things military both within and outside of schools and the perpetuation of myths regarding enlistment have facilitated the recruitment of low-income, non-white youth into the military.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I will demonstrate the ways in which critical theory, critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory/criticism inform my understanding and analysis of schooling and militarization. Expanding on the themes from the previous chapter I will analyze the role that schooling has played within the United States to propagate social inequalities. Next I will delve into a discussion of ideology, hegemony and social reproduction, as it relates to the purpose of schooling drawing from the works of neo-Marxist scholars and critical educational theorists. I will then locate my discussion within postcolonial critique by expounding on “neocolonial” discourses and ideologies used to legitimate militarized practices and military recruitment within certain schools in the United States. Also, I will address the ways in which hybridity and performativity inform the theorizing of agency and resistance within postcolonial studies. Lastly I will integrate the aforementioned theoretical traditions in a discussion of a “Marxist postcolonial” theory.

I. Function of Schools:

My analysis, situated within the critical theory and critical pedagogy traditions, frames education as an inherently political enterprise (Apple, 2009; Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003; Giroux 2001) that has worked “against the class interests of those students who are most politically and economically vulnerable within society” (Darder et al., 2003). According to critical perspectives, schooling within the United States has historically disenfranchised poor, indigenous, non-white and immigrant students, through deculturation or “coercive Americanization” (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998; Valenzuela, 1999), de jure and de facto

segregation and tracking where these students have received an inferior, under-resourced education (Darling-Hammond, 2004a, 2004b; Oakes, 2004; Oakes and Saunders, 2004; Ortiz, 2004; Ready, Lee & Welner, 2004) that has in turn prepared them to join the cheap labor force (Bowles & Gintis, 1976) as well as the prison industrial complex (Kim et al, 2010). However, critical educational scholars have also conceptualized schools as sites of social struggle and have theorized the possibilities of a liberatory education in bringing about social and structural transformation (Darder et al., 2003; Freire, 1970/1993; Giroux, 2001) and making schools microcosms of democracy (Dewey, 1900/1990). In the following section I will further my discussion of the function of schools from a neo-Marxist perspective.

II. Ideology, Social Reproduction and Schools:

Schools play a structural and economic role (Bowles & Gintis, 1976) as well as an ideological role (Apple, 2009) in the reproduction of labor relations and social and economic inequalities. Althusser (1970) asserts that schools, being the most powerful Ideological State Apparatus, reproduce the labor force, the agents of repression and the ideology that sustains the submission of labor.

[T]he reproduction of labor power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also, at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, i.e. a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class (Althusser, 1970, p. 5).

Reproduction of labor is ensured “by giving labor the material means with which to reproduce itself” (Althusser, 1970, p. 3) including low wages, low level skills as well as the ruling ideology that maintains the existing power relations in a capitalist regime (Althusser, 1970; Bowles &

Gintis 1976). The propagation of the ruling ideology takes place within the capitalist educational system as well as other Ideological State Apparatuses such as the church and the media.

Althusser (1970) makes a distinction between the repressive State apparatus (including the military, the police, the courts and the prisons), which functions predominantly by violence and the Ideological State Apparatuses (schools, churches, etc.), which function predominantly through the propagation of the ruling ideology and through hegemony where the working class consents to its own subjugation. “[N]o class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses” (p. 14).

Schools, as Ideological State Apparatuses, simultaneously operate to produce the skills for the labor force as well as the driving ideologies for sustaining labor relations. However, they are also sites of class struggle. Althusser’s framing of the state and its ideological apparatuses is useful yet limiting because of its determinism, structuralism and its exclusion of agency and resistance. It does not allow for a more nuanced analysis of power relations that both contribute to and limit the dominant function of schools¹⁸. Nevertheless his discussion of ideology and its role in the reproduction of class relations are helpful in framing militarization of education and the expansion of the military industrial complex within the United States that ultimately serves the expansion of global capital.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) provide a structural and historicized analysis of the reproduction of labor through the educational system within the United States. They posit that contrary to the notion that schools are the great equalizers of society they are designed to maintain and propagate social inequality.

[A]vailable evidence indicates that the pattern of social relationships fostered in schools is hardly irrational or accidental. Rather, the structure of the educational experience is

¹⁸ Henry Giroux (2001), Pierre Bourdieu & Jean-Claude Passeron (1996) and Paul Willis (1981) offer critiques of the super-structuralist and deterministic analysis of the reproduction of Labor.

admirably suited to nurturing attitudes and behavior consonant with participation in the labor force. Particularly dramatic is the statistically verifiable congruence between the personality traits conducive to proper work performance on the job and those which are rewarded with high grades in the classroom (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 9)

Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that the capitalist educational system not only imparts “technical and social skills and appropriate motivation” for the labor force but also “helps defuse and depoliticize the potentially explosive class relations of the production process and thus serves to perpetuate the social, political, and economic conditions through which a portion of the product of labor is expropriated in the form of profits” (p. 10). Whereas Bowles and Gintis (1976) propose a structural and economic framework for social reproduction through education, Apple (2009) focuses on the mechanisms of domination in the daily life of schools as a tool for social reproduction.

My work draws on Apple’s (2009) analysis of ideology, socialization of norms and the “hidden curriculum”. Apple’s (2009) conceptualization of ideology moves beyond notions of “false consciousness” as articulated in Marxist traditions or utilitarian interpretations of the term in “interest theory” to a more dynamic theory of hegemony drawing from the works of Raymond Williams and Antonio Gramsci. Apple (2009) describes hegemony as:

The idea that ideological saturation permeates our lived experience enables one to see how people can employ frameworks which both assist them in organizing their world and enable them to believe they are neutral participants in the neutral instrumentation of schooling [], while at the same time, these frameworks serve particular economic and ideological interest which are hidden from them (Apple, 2009, p. 20).

Apple (2009) examines the role of schooling in the “creation and recreation of hegemony” (p. 21). He explores the way in which the “lack of distribution of ‘legitimate’ knowledge” (p.21) in schools shapes cultural and economic inequalities. His analysis takes into consideration social relations within schools, the commitment to “consensus” (i.e. not making

waves), normalized ideologies and the way that they shape the formal and informal curricula within schools.

Although the neo-Marxist frameworks discussed in this section offer helpful concepts for the analysis of militarization and schooling, they are also limiting because they do not take into consideration issues of race, gender, sexuality, agency and resistance. For this reason I also incorporate concepts from postcolonial critique and postcolonial theory to extend my theoretical framing of militarization and schooling.

III. Colonial Ideologies and Postcolonial Critique/Theory:

Historically colonial ideologies have served the purposes of legitimating the massacring and subjugation of the natives, the appropriation of native lands and labor and the pillaging of the natural resources of the colonized lands (Fanon, 1963; Fredrikson, 1980; Prochaska, 1990; Shafir, 1996; Said, 1978/1994; Said, 1993). Comparative studies of Settler Colonialisms by Fredrikson (1980), Prochaska (1990) and Shafir (1996) and the works of literary critics and theorists such as Said (1993), Césaire (1955) and Fanon (1963) reveal some general trends about the historical and cultural legacies of colonialism and the discourses that have served to legitimate the colonial project. The following are some of the prevalent themes: the invisibility/exoticization of the natives, the “emptiness” of the land, the dichotomy of the “civilized” colonizers versus the “savage” indigents (manifested in raced, gendered and sexed discourses), the perpetual fear and distrust of natives, the self-congratulatory perceived pietism and generosity of the colonizers and their sense of “mission” to “civilize” the natives.

The Civilizing Project:

Colonial ideologies and discourses such as that of “savagery” and “inferiority” of the colonial subjects have been repackaged and resurfaced throughout the history of the United States. For instance, the eugenics movement and the nativism during the early decades of the twentieth century permeated all aspects of American social, political and economic life. During this movement some people groups, including indigenous populations and former slaves were classified as genetically and mentally inferior to others and in need of “civilizing”—reminiscent of colonial discourses. Also, these same ideologies reappeared later during the late 1920’s and early 1930’s masking the overtly racist discourse of mental inferiority with that of cultural deficiency (Blanton, 2003; Selden 1999; Young, 1995).

Military training and military education throughout the twentieth century was legitimized through these “civilizing” discourses regarding poor, indigenous, immigrant, and non-white populations and also those who didn’t fit into the heteronormative mold (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998, Galaviz et al., 2011). Today, “civilizing” discourses continue to propagate the notion that poor non-white students in urban schools need to learn “responsibility”, “discipline” and the way that they can achieve this is through military education and militarized practices (Galaviz et al, 2011).

Other ideologies driving the militarization of schools, the propagation of military training via JROTC programs and military recruitment include the ideologies of the “American Dream”, “patriotism” “justified violence” and “civilizing” which manifest themselves in neocolonial discourses regarding the “other”—the “other” being not only African American, Latin@, immigrant and economically disadvantage youth but also the so called “enemies” of the United States in the ideological “War on Terror.”

Empty Lands, the Frontier and the “American Dream”:

Bowles and Gintis (1976) expound on the concept of the “frontier” as the symbol for the attainment of the “American Dream.” According to Bowles and Gintis (1976), the “Western frontier was the nineteenth-century land of opportunity. In open competition with nature, venturesome white settlers found their own levels, unfettered by birth or creed. The frontier was a “way out”—out of poverty, out of dismal factories, out of the crowded Eastern cities. The frontier was the Great Escape” (p. 3). Bowls and Gintis (1976) posit that when the “Western frontier” failed to deliver its promises of wealth and escape for the working class, education became the “new frontier” or the new ideology of opportunity. However, upward mobility through education has also become elusive, as the educational system has failed to deliver a better future for many students. Preying on this fact, the military claims to be yet the newest frontier for the attainment of the “American Dream” through promises of upward mobility and naturalization. It also provides a hope of a literal escape from one’s daily realities into an exotic unknown and “empty” place filled with “adventure”—where “war” becomes a war against faceless masses blended into the desert landscape of the “Middle East” and other places in the world.

Patriotism:

Patriotism has been a contentious subject in the United States since the events of September 11. The term has taken on different meanings such as joining the military, fighting for our “freedoms” overseas and blindly subscribing to the hyper-militarism and undemocratic policies of the government. Also, the term has taken on some resistive meanings such as exercising dissent and protesting the war. However, there is little critique of patriotism as a

problematic construct that invokes loyalty to an imagined place, community and culture in exclusion of others (Jensen, 2007).

Jensen (2007) argues that patriotism is particularly dangerous in today's empire, the United States, and it needs to be scraped and relegated as "morally, politically and intellectually bankrupt" because it endangers the planet (p. 76). Salaita (2005) also concurs the dangers of patriotism particularly in times of war as has been evidenced by the post 9/11 political climate. Salaita (2005) describes the post 9/11 mutation of patriotism within the United States as "imperative patriotism" and proposes that it is a common ideology within settler colonies.

Imperative patriotism assumes (or demands) that dissent in matters of governance and foreign affairs is unpatriotic and therefore unsavory. It is drawn from a longstanding sensibility that nonconformity to whatever at the time is considered to be 'the national interest' is unpatriotic. Imperative patriotism is most likely to arise in settler societies, which need to create a juridical mentality that professes some sort of divine mandate to legitimize their presence on indigenous land. The juridical mentality impresses conformity on the settlers, who might otherwise demur when being asked to slaughter indigenes or when absorbing attacks by them" (Salaita, P. 3)

In other words patriotism in this context translates to mindless subscription to dominant sensibilities and discourses that reify racial and national superiority, centralize military action as the panacea to all conflict, demonize "others" and justify violence.

Justified Violence:

The ideology of justified violence is reified on the one hand through the denouncement of school violence and gang violence via "zero tolerance" policies and on the other hand by the endorsement of military and state violence.

Discourses regarding violence both in the media and in education focus primarily on gang violence, school shootings, "terrorism", "insurgency", suicide bombers and occasional unjustified acts by police and soldiers obscuring the true scope of violence. What is absent from

dominant discourses is a conceptualization of violence that includes state violence, military occupation, the destruction of the whole infrastructure of countries, destabilizing of a whole region, the exiling of millions and causing catastrophic scale of disease and poverty. Even the mass bombings, drone attacks and military raids on civilians are not seen as problematic or violent. As Franz Fanon (1963) put it in the context of colonized Algeria:

[M]achine-gunning from airplanes and bombardments from the fleet go far beyond in horror and magnitude any answer the natives can make. This recurring terror de-mystifies once and for all the most estranged members of the colonized race. They find out on the spot that all the piles of speeches on the equality of human beings do not hide the commonplace fact that the seven Frenchmen killed or wounded...kindles the indignation of all civilized consciences, whereas...the massacre of whole populations...is of not the slightest importance (p. 89).

The double standard on violence communicates a double standard on human life.

It also raises contradictions within schools that are supposed to be “violence free” nurturing environments for students and yet allow and propagate structural violence and celebrate military violence.

Hybridity and Performativity:

Postcolonial theory also informs my analysis of identity production, agency and resistance through the concepts of hybridity and performativity. Hybridity is a term that refers to the historical fact of colonialism (particularly the ways that it has shaped language, culture, identity, etc.), the negative depictions of this fact in colonial discourse (Young, 1995) and to a political and theoretical construct in postcolonial studies that is often used in theorizing agency (Anzaldúa, 2007; Bhabha, 1994; Prabhu, 2007). Hybridity is not only the inevitable product of “cultural contact and mixing” and cross-culturality but also “a site of transformation and change

where fixed identities based on essentialism are called into question” (Kuortti & Nyman, 2007, p. 3).

Friedman (2002) asserts that “hybridity is transgressive, a creative force that disrupts, denaturalizes, and potentially dismantles hegemonic cultural formations” (§ 9). However, she also acknowledges that it is a contested term as it relates to the mediation of power relations. Friedman (2002) highlights the debate over hybridity with the following positions: Some frame hybridity in a negative light because it is the result of colonization and oppression. Others see it as “a form of oppositional resistance to hegemonies of all kinds” (§ 9). However, a third position rejects binary notions of the term but “insists upon a historically and geographically specific reading of hybridic formations, one that takes into account the complex ways in which power circulates” (§ 9). Bhabha (1994) similarly asserts that hybridity informs the construction of all cultural systems. Through his notion of the “Third Space of enunciation”, Bhabha (1994) conceptualizes “an *international* culture, based not on the exoticism or multiculturalism of the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture’s *hybridity*”(§ 13). Hybridity informs my theorization of culture and identity formation within a schooling context where militarism is embraced, challenged and appropriated through discursive and performative means.

The notion of preformativity, similar to hybridity helps the framing of identity production, agency and resistance. Although performativity was first theorized by Austin (1955/1975) and gained prominence through the works of feminist and queer theorist Judith Butler (1990, 1993), it has also been theorized as “colonial mimicry” through the works of postcolonial theorists such as Bhabha (1984).

Friedman (2002) leads a discussion on the different threads of performativity, drawing from linguistic approaches and also theatrical approaches that use the similar concept of performance. She traces the history of the term to Austin (1955/1975) who theorized performativity within “speech act theory.” In this context speaking is not only and always informing but also accomplishing a task or bringing “something into existence.” Others have theorized performance as a “spectacle”, “ritual” and “play” that constitutes a “symbolic form of cultural and cultural/artistic expressivity” (Schechner, 1988 & Phelan, 1993 as referenced in Friedman, 2002, ¶11). Friedman (2002) posits that:

Discourses about identity that draw on linguistic and theatrical models of performativity and performance do so in hybridic fashion, insisting on the porous borders between the two and often changing elements of the original models significantly, especially around issues of agency, singularity, and repetition. The ethnographic adaptations examine ways in which everyday life in different cultures are permeated with performances in both the linguistic and theatrical senses of the term - not only the ritual practices of the customs around the life cycle, bodies, food, or dress but also aesthetic and otherwise symbolic representations that characterize given cultures (¶12)

Friedman (2002) categorizes the different conceptualization of the term as ethnographic, radical constructivist and oppositional. What I find most applicable to my work is Friedman’s (2002) comparison of Butler’s (1990, 1993) radical constructivist theory of performativity to Bhabha’s (1994) and Butler’s (1997) oppositional performativity.

Friedman (2002) asserts that Butler’s (1990, 1993) radical constructivist view “blends a Foucauldian/Althusserian determinism with Austin’s speech act theory to suggest that subjectivity is constituted through repeated performances as an effect of pre-existing regulatory discourses, like ‘gender,’ or ‘race,’ or ‘sexuality.’...[Butler] suggests that identity is the result of the repetition of discursive acts. [Also] [i]n the context of subject or ‘identity’ formation, performativity is a form of ‘citationality,’ a repetition or reiteration of norms” (¶13). She contrasts Butler’s (1990, 1993) deterministic conceptualization of performativity to Butler’s

(1997) and Bhabha's (1984) oppositional theorization of the term that incorporates agency by focusing on the ways "in which a subordinated group parodies or mimics the dominant group", through conscious and subconscious acts, and in doing so "denaturalizes and deauthorizes the structure of domination" (Freidman, 2002, ¶14). Performativity in this context "is inherently subversive, aligned in both form and function with hybridity as a disruptive force" (Freidman, 2002, ¶14). Hybridity and performativity frame my understanding of the ways in which militarized practices, performances and spectacles contribute to identity formation, reification of norms as well as co-optation and appropriation of these practices in resistive forms.

IV. A "Marxist Postcolonial" Theory:

The theoretical underpinnings of this study are drawn from neo-Marxist and postcolonial frameworks. Marxism and postcolonial studies have traditionally assumed "polarizing and exclusionary positions" and there has been little conversation between the two fields (Bartolovich, 2002).

Marxism is said to be indelibly Eurocentric, complicit with the dominative master-narrative of modernity (including that of colonialism itself) and, in its approach to texts, vulgarly reductionistic and totalizing; postcolonial studies in turn, is viewed as complicit with imperialism in its contemporary guise as globalization, oriented exclusively to metropolitan academic adventurism, and, in its approach to texts, irredeemably dematerializing and unhistorical" (p. 1).

Bartolovich and Lazarus (2002) in their edited volume posit a more productive conversation between the two fields and propose a "Marxist postcolonial" theory where "anyone resisting capitalist domination could not afford to ignore its permeation into the nooks and crannies of all aspects of our lives...[as] the insidiousness of *colonial* regimes consisted, similarly, in their ability to capture subjects in the everyday, in language and culture (Bartolovich, 2002, p. 5). Similarly, "[t]he contest of cultures with which postcolonial studies has

been so occupied [] cannot be divorced from rigorous critique of the imbalances of global political economy” (Bartolovich, 2002, p. 12).

Drawing from Bartolovich’s (2002) discussion, I situate my work within a “Marxist postcolonial” framework. I explore not only the structural but also the ideological, discursive and performative aspects of militarization within schools. I also draw upon Catherine Lutz’s (2002) expansive articulation of the process of militarization, as:

[A]n intensification of the labor and resources allocated to military purposes, including the shaping of other institutions in synchrony with military goals. Militarization is simultaneously a discursive process, involving a shift in general societal beliefs and values in ways necessary to legitimate the use of force, the organization of large standing armies and their leaders, and the higher taxes or tribute used to pay for them. Militarization is intimately connected not only to the obvious increase in the size of armies and resurgence of militant nationalisms and militant fundamentalisms but also to the less visible deformation of human potentials into the hierarchies of race, class, gender, and sexuality, and to the shaping of national histories in ways that glorify and legitimate military action (as quoted in Giroux, 2004, page 211).

Lutz’s (2002) conceptualization of militarization encompasses not only the structural, economic and institutional functions but also the gendered, raced and classed discourses and practices that legitimate enforcement, repression, military action and war. In my work I explore not only the allocation of human and material resources to militarized programs, but also the normalization of discourses and practices that promote militarism and “synchronize” the purpose of a school community with “military goals.” I use and build upon Lutz’s (2002) conceptualization of militarization to frame my analysis and describe a working theory of the school-to-military pipeline.

Chapter Four

Methodology

I. Methodological Framework:

This project is most appropriately framed as a qualitative case study of militarism and military recruitment in an urban high school in Southern California. My analysis is situated within the larger sociopolitical context of neoliberal educational reforms, privatization and militarization within the United States, post 9/11. I employed approaches from grounded theory research, critical research and documentary research.

Grounded theory research, as described by Corbin and Strauss (1990), is meant to “develop a well integrated set of concepts that provide a thorough theoretical explanation of social phenomenon under study. A grounded theory should explain as well as describe. It may also implicitly give some degree of predictability, but only with regard to specific conditions” (p. 5).

Corbin and Strauss (1990) highlight two important principles for grounded theory research: The first principle pertains to phenomena as being dynamic and “continually changing in response to evolving conditions” (p. 5). Therefore an important component of the method is to reflect on this process of change. The second principle is the rejection of determinism as well as nondeterminism.

Actors are seen as having, though not always utilizing the means of controlling their destinies by their responses to conditions. They are able to make choices according to their perceptions which are often accurate, about the options they encounter. Thus, grounded theory seeks not only to uncover relevant conditions, but also to determine how the actors respond to changing conditions and to the consequences of their actions. It is the researcher’s responsibility to catch this interplay (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 5)

Drawing upon these principles, this study sought to develop a well-integrated set of concepts that explained as well as described militarized schooling practices and military recruitment within a specific schooling context. The study attempted to capture the ways in which different actors within a school community enabled as well as constrained military recruitment through their actions –which were informed by their perceptions about military service and the choices that they believed were available to students within the school. The objective of this study was not only describing the conditions that made a school a militarized space and privileged the military as a postsecondary path, but also understanding the meaning perspectives of students, teachers and other community members and capturing the ways in which they navigated and appropriated the different resources that were made available to them. To do this, I used a variety of data collection methods.

As in other qualitative approaches, the data for a grounded theory can come from various sources. The data collection procedures involve interviews and observations as well as such other sources as government documents, video tapes, newspapers, letters, and books- anything that may shed light on the questions under study. Each of these sources can be coded in the same way as interviews or observations (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, pp. 161-184) (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p.5).

The data for this study came from formal and informal interviews, participant observations and artifacts such as documents, videos, posters, etc. These data sources are described in more detail in the following sections.

In conjunction with approaches from grounded theory, I also drew upon principles from critical research. Grounded theory within the context of critical research cannot be a disinterested and uninvolved approach by the researcher but it has to be done in collaboration and on behalf of marginalized communities and “geared toward producing knowledge in pursuit of action for change” (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008, p. 15). Critical research is “unapologetically subjective” (Ayers, cited in Katz & Ryan Hatch & Wisniewski, 2010, p. 134) privileging the

narratives, stories, interests and concerns of communities and students that are most intimately shaped by unjust conditions. Also, it draws upon the Freireian notion of praxis—the dialogical relationship between reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it (Freire, 1970/1993).

This study was not a dispassionate academic/intellectual exercise but emerged from my decade-long journey of living, teaching and activism within an urban neighborhood in Southern California and also my engagement in the anti-war movement post 9/11. Through my teaching experiences, my conversations with students and parents, as well as my involvement in different organizations such as the Coalition Against Militarism in our Schools (CAMS) and American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) I became increasingly aware of the issues around militarization and military recruitment in urban schools and its implications for the educational equity and access of African American and Latin@ youth. My research project was formed through these experiences. Although my study was not formally a collaborative endeavor, it was shaped through the multiple conversations that I had with students, parents, community members, educators and activists involved in the counter-recruitment movement, who were concerned about the questionable military recruitment practices within their schools and communities. During these conversations I would often ask the question: “What would you like to find out about military recruitment practices within your school community?” This question would then generate conversations that were informative and useful for the framing of my guiding research questions as well as my interview protocols.

My study included a documentation of the stories, experiences and narratives of students, teachers and other members of a school community. Through these narratives, I was able to identify, describe and analyze the problem of militarization and military recruitment in a

particular schooling context—in hope of producing knowledge and awareness that might be helpful not only for the educational and academic community but also for the mobilizing efforts of the counter-recruitment movement in Southern California.

In addition to grounded theory research and critical research my work drew upon approaches from documentary and narrative research. Documentary research in a sense is a narrative with deep implications for the personal and the ethical.

There is a twofold struggle in documentary work: the “attempt to ascertain what *is*... and that of presentation—how to elicit the interest of others, and how to provide a context, so that an incident, for instance, is connected to the conditions that informed and prompted its occurrence.”(Coles, 1997, p. 87) In essence, documentary work is a representation to others of what has been witnessed and experienced through rich descriptions that are situated within a broader context.

All documentation, however, is put together by a particular mind whose capacities, interests, values, conjectures, suppositions and presuppositions, whose memories, and, not least, whose talents will come to bear directly or indirectly on what is finally presented to the world in the form of words, pictures, or even music or artifacts of one kind or another (Coles, 1997, p. 87).

As I seek to present a written documentary piece on militarism and military recruitment, I acknowledge the importance of continuous self-reflection and critique—by providing a discussion of the ways that my positionality, my privilege as a researcher as well as my biases shaped my access, my analysis and the narrative that I constructed through this study.

II. My Positionality:

My interest in the topic of militarization and military recruitment stemmed from my experiences as a student in a highly militarized school system overseas, an ethnic minority in my

home country, an immigrant and an English Language Learner in the United States and my decade-long journey teaching, living and organizing in a predominantly Latin@ community in East Los Angeles. Hence, I feel that my positioning brought a unique perspective to my research uniting local and global concerns for justice. It also made me as an “insider”, to a certain extent, within the community in which I conducted my research.

My positionality enabled as well as limited my understanding of the issue of militarism and military recruitment in this specific context. My privileged position as a graduate student, from a different cultural and linguistic background than the community in which I conducted my research, made me an outsider and hence limited my understanding of the experiences of students and other members of the school community. Another limitation was that neither I, nor any members of my family had experience serving in the United States Military. Therefore, I had a very limited knowledge and appreciation of military culture and a limited understanding of the significance of military service within the community in which I conducted my research.

III. The Research Site:

The research site was Washington High School¹⁹, which was located in a quiet residential area, on a hillside, in Southern California. Although the school was considered an “urban” school, its beautiful architecture, picturesque surroundings with tall pine trees and rolling hills and its magnificent panoramic view of a downtown area in the distant horizon gave the impression that it was located in a more affluent suburban neighborhood.

Washington High School was located within a historically immigrant, working class Latin@ community with a long legacy of activism and community organizing. For instance

¹⁹ Washington High School was the pseudonym given for the research site.

certain members of the school community had supported and participated in the historic walkouts of 1968, which were a series of protests against the unequal educational conditions in Los Angeles public schools serving predominantly Latin@ students. The protests were also concerning the high minority death toll in the Vietnam War and the ongoing civil rights campaigns of the Chicano Movement (Gonzales & Rodriguez, 2004).

Washington High School was a Title I²⁰, traditional calendar school. The data from the district website, for the 2009-2010 school year, stated that the school's student population was about 2,486 with a majority of Latin@ students 93.6%, followed by a 3.9% Asian students, 1.8% African American students, 0.4% white students and 1.7% students from others ethnicities and backgrounds. Also, 21% of students within the school were English Language Learners.

Washington High School housed two magnet schools: the Washington Administrative Law Magnet and the Washington Police Magnet. Their populations were included in the 2,486 count for the total student body. Washington Administrative Law Magnet opened its doors in 1991. It was a Title I school comprised of 231 students. The student population, similar to the larger school, was predominantly Latin@ 93.1%, with 5.2% African American students, 1.3% Asian students and 0.4% white students. English Language Learners constituted 8.7% of the student population.

Washington Police Academy Magnet was the newest addition to the Washington High School campus. It opened its doors in 1997. It was also a Title I school with a student population of 134. The student body was 96.3% Latin@, 2.2% African American, 0.7% Asian and 0.7% other. Fifteen percent of the student population was comprised of English Language Learners.

²⁰ A designation given to schools serving socioeconomically disadvantaged students that entitles these schools to certain federal supplemental funds.

Washington High School and its two magnet programs did not have any data on special education students for the 2009-2010 school year.

The (1999-2007) data indicated that Washington High School's API scores had been consistently (historically) below the district average, which in turn were below the state average. However, the API growth over the past 9-year period was 96 points, which was higher in comparison to the overall district average (88 points) and the state average (75 points). In 2010 the school's API was 612 with a base of 600 and a growth target of 10 points. Although the school met its school-wide target it did not meet its growth target in all the subgroups including African Americans.

In comparison with other urban schools in its vicinity, Washington High School was not only one of the higher performing schools but also one of the most resourced. Also, it was important to note that although the majority of Washington High School students came from underprivileged socioeconomic backgrounds, a minority of the students came from middle class or more affluent families.

Washington High School, similar to many neighboring urban schools was undergoing some restructuring because of its low performing status and had recently adopted the Small Learning Communities (SLC) model as an intervention. As a result of this move the school was subdivided into eight SLC's. Each of these SLC's focused on specific career paths or fields of study:

- 1) Business & Technology/Computer Science
- 2) Environmental & Urban Studies
- 3) Health Sciences
- 4) Performing Arts

- 5) Public Service & Social Justice/Agents of Change
- 6) Visual Arts
- 7) Law Magnet
- 8) Police Magnet

In addition to the SLC's and the magnet programs, Washington High School offered its students opportunities to explore different career paths through its college and career centers. The focus of the career center was giving students work permits, inviting guest speakers to the campus and organizing/hosting campus wide career fairs. The school also had a vibrant college center which utilized many alumni as volunteers and mentors for students. The center also coordinated many college visits throughout the year, informed students of SAT testing and college application deadlines and organized a college fair for the entire student body.

Also, Washington High School had an active JROTC program. Although there were no public data on the program, the student population of the program, according to one of the JROTC instructors, was approximately 120 during the 2009-2010 school year.

Washington High School also had a very dynamic parent center with many parent volunteers who were on campus throughout the week, assisting with different school projects and events. For example the parent center was involved in organizing a community health fair for the parents and students of the high school, as well as the surrounding elementary schools, during my data collection year.

IV. Site Selection and Access:

Washington High School was selected because it was an urban school in Southern California located within a community that faced many of the socioeconomic challenges

typically associated with an urban, predominantly immigrant, working class community. Also, the school had been the target of heavy military recruitment in the years following the NCLB Act of 2002.

I initially contemplated conducting my study at three different schools. I contacted a number of school principals to discuss the possibility of conducting my research within their schools however most of them did not want a researcher present at their school site. The only administrator who was receptive to my research was the principal of Washington High School.

V. Research Participants:

All of the students enrolled in Washington High School as well as all the staff, teachers, administrators, volunteers, recruiters, parents, alumni and everyone who was part of the school community during the 2009-2010 school year, was a potential participants in this study. A combination of purposeful sampling, snowball sampling, convenience sampling and systematic sampling was used to recruit the participants in this study.

I began recruiting participants for formal interviews and participant observations through purposeful sampling (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2010; Maxwell, 2003; Patton, 1990) by identifying and approaching key individuals within the school community such as the college counselor, the career counselor and the Small Learning Communities coordinator. I asked these key individuals whether I could interview them and visit school events that they had coordinated. These individuals then referred me to other individuals, so on and so forth. I was able to recruit some of the research participants for this study and also find out about different school events through the snowball sampling method (Lodico et al., 2010). Also, I used convenience sampling

by approaching teachers who happened to be available to talk during their conference periods or during lunchtime and asked them whether they would be interested in taking part in my study.

As I wanted representation from different constituent groups (i.e. teachers, students and parents) at the school site I also used purposeful sampling by making myself available in different settings. For instance in order to recruit student participants I made myself available during lunch breaks. I situated myself between the cafeteria and the main school building, a high traffic area, in order to make myself available to as many students as possible. Because of the large amount of foot traffic during lunch, I felt that I was able to recruit a diverse group of students for interviews. Also, I visited the parent center regularly and offered my assistance with certain tasks. Through these regular visits I was able to meet many parents and invite them to take part in my study.

VI. A Comparative Lens:

During my data collection year I was teaching part time at Valley High School²¹, a more affluent high school that was on an alternating A/B block schedule, similar to Washington High School. This enabled me to collect data at Washington High School on alternating days.

Valley High School served predominantly upper middle class, wealthy white (33.55%) and Asian (39.85%) students. There was also a small number of Latin@ students (17.37%), African American students (2.59%) and students from other backgrounds (6.64%). Although I did not collect data at Valley High School it gave me a comparative lens through which I saw my experiences at Washington High School. Throughout my findings chapters I make occasional

²¹ A pseudonym given to the school where I taught for confidentiality.

references to practices as well as resourcing of programs within Valley High School to demonstrate the disparities between the two settings.

VII. Data Collection:

Data collection included conducting formal and informal semi-structured interviews, participant observations and collection of artifacts such as documents, flyers, videos, etc. The different methods of data collection were used to address the different guiding sub-questions in this study.

VIII. Guiding Sub-Questions:

Process of Recruitment:

What I hoped to learn about the process of recruitment within Washington High School were the taken-for-granted day-to-day practices and the hidden curriculum that facilitated the process of recruitment and militarization. The questions that drove this inquiry were the following:

- *Whether the military was a desirable or an exciting career option for students at Washington High School? And if so then why?*
- *What other postsecondary paths were students drawn to? Why?*
- *How did schooling practices mirror military practices?*
- *If and what schooling structures, programs and policies promoted military service?*
- *What were the methods and strategies used within this school community to draw students into the military?*
- *What were students taught regarding the military and the war and how did they respond?*

The participant observations, interviews and artifacts provided the most helpful methods in answering these questions. The data was triangulated using these different sources and drawing upon the perspectives of multiple research participants.

Experiences and Perspectives within the School Community:

What I wanted to learn from the school community were the personal narratives, life experiences and meaning perspectives of students, parents, educators and others and how these experiences informed their actions and their stance regarding military service and the recruitment of students. The following were the questions that drove this inquiry:

- *What issues were students, parents, teachers and other members of the school community concerned with in regards to military recruitment?*
- *How did students, teachers, administrators, parents and community members describe their perspectives regarding militarized practices, military recruitment and the military in general?*
- *What were the stories of students, parents, teachers and other community members regarding their experiences with recruiters, with the JROTC and with the military? And how did these experiences shape their perceptions regarding recruiters, the recruitment process and careers within the military?*

I answered these questions through the ongoing formal and informal interviews that I conducted with different individuals from the school community.

IX. Data Sources:

The data for this study were drawn from formal and informal interviews, participant observations and artifacts. In the following sections I will describe these methods in detail.

Formal Interviews:

Formal interviews were conducted with parents, teachers, administrators, counselors (academic, college and career), the magnet school coordinator, Regional Occupational Program (ROP) staff, school volunteers and one of the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC) instructors. Although I had initially planned on conducting formal interviews with students, obtaining the parental consent forms were a challenge. Therefore I was only able to conduct one formal student interview.

All of the formal interviews were no longer than forty minutes and took place within the school campus at the location of the participant's choosing (usually an empty classroom or the lunch quad). There were five, slightly different versions of the formal interview protocol geared towards different populations: students, teachers/administrators/counselors, parents, career recruiters and volunteers (see Appendix A). The parent and student interview protocols were translated into Spanish.

The student interview protocol included questions geared towards understanding students' backgrounds, their experiences within the school, their extracurricular interests and hobbies and the postsecondary paths that they were interested in pursuing. Also, there were questions about what postsecondary paths students perceived as being promoted within the school. The teacher/administrator/counselor interview protocol was mainly focused on the role that these individuals had within the school and the ways that they used their position to promote postsecondary paths for students. Also, some of the questions were geared towards the perceptions of these individuals regarding the postsecondary paths that were promoted within the school in general. The parent interview protocol was geared towards understanding what parents wanted and hoped for their children in terms of postsecondary pursuits and their perceptions

about what was promoted in the school versus their child's interests. The career recruiter and volunteer interview protocols were similar. They both included questions about how these individuals perceived the school and their own roles in promoting postsecondary paths for students. All of these protocols served only as guiding questions and prodding topics for the interviews –as most participants were given the freedom to take the interview in any direction that they wanted.

I conducted a total of twenty-five formal interviews with six teachers, three administrators, two academic counselors, one career counselor, one college counselor, one social worker, one teacher's aid, one volunteer, one community representative, one activist, six parents and one student. With the written and verbal consent of the interviewees, the formal interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. All of the participants were given pseudonyms.

Informal Interviews:

With the permission and written consent of the principal, I was able to informally interview different members of the school community. Most of the informal interviews were conducted with students on the school campus, during lunchtime, within the different quad areas of the school. Some of these interviews were conducted in strategic settings such as the JROTC wing or near the Police Academy Magnet wing. These informal interviews were on voluntary basis and they lasted no longer than ten minutes. My intention was to learn how students at Washington High School viewed the postsecondary paths and opportunities that they were exposed to within the school. I also wanted to know the different postsecondary interests that students had at Washington High School. I asked students to tell me about their postsecondary plans and interests, including educational and career goals, and how they came to be interested in

pursuing these paths. I also asked them about the careers and postsecondary paths that were promoted within their school.

The interviews were audio-recorded with the verbal consent of the participants. The audiotape served as a record of the range of responses. Participants were asked to give their first names only in order to maintain confidentiality. I conducted a total of 86 informal interviews with students throughout the 2009-2010 school year.

Although most of the informal interviews were with students, I was able to informally interview one military recruiter who declined to be audio-recorded and therefore I wrote down his responses and then typed them in a field note format. All of the audio-recorded interviews were transcribed and students were given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

Participant Observations:

I was able to observe campus events such as lunchtime presentations, classroom instruction, career fairs, a health fair, special class presentations as well as a school-sponsored banquet. I wrote my observations during the events in a small notebook and then typed my observations in the format of fieldnotes. The only event during which I did not write observations was the school-sponsored banquet. I did not feel that it was the appropriate setting to take notes. However, I wrote down all my recollections from the event, immediately following the event and shortly after that I typed these notes in a fieldnote format.

Artifacts and Documents:

I collected artifacts and documents that contributed to my understanding of militarism and military recruitment within this particular school. The artifacts and documents that I used as

data sources included flyers, handouts, posters and other promotional items that were distributed through the college and career centers and at different school events. I was lent a copy of the school yearbook, and given other school documents such as the bell schedule, program memos regarding the small learning communities and a copy of the school planner (given to all students on campus). Also, included in my data sources were snapshots of websites associated with the different programs on campus (such as the JROTC and the Law Magnet) as well as a number of articles in local newspapers regarding these programs. I also used an internal school district study evaluating the JROTC program as a data source. The reason that I used these websites, articles and report as artifacts rather than references was to protect the anonymity of the school.

In addition to these documents, I also took some pictures of physical spaces within the school, such as hallways and classrooms, with the permission of the instructors. I specifically took pictures of commercially produced as well as student-made posters and different displays such as trophy cases, murals, etc. No pictures of students or other research participants were taken. Finally I used the transcript of a video recording of a military commercial that was shown to students during a class presentation.

Reflective Memos:

Writing memos throughout my data collection year proved to be a useful tool for reflecting on my experiences both within and outside of the research site. It was also a helpful practice for continually thinking about my positionality, re-evaluating my data collection approaches, refining my methodology and making my first attempts in the process of data analysis.

X. Data Analysis:

Data collection and data analysis are interrelated processes and each one shapes the other continuously as well as shapes and reshapes the theory that emerges from both processes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). For this reason data analysis was conducted simultaneously with data collection. From the beginning of the data collection process I employed the writing of memos as a reflexive and analytical tool. This was a helpful exercise for exploring my initial thoughts about the data and refining and shaping my subsequent interviews and participant observations. From the beginning of my data collection activities, I employed “open coding” (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995) through multiple readings of interview transcripts, field notes, and documents that were collected as artifacts. The open coding process in conjunction with my initial memos were helpful first steps for identifying the significant themes that were emerging from the data regarding attitudes, practices and norms related to military recruitment and militarism within Washington High School. Also the memos were helpful in strategizing for the second phase of my data collection –which was a similar but a more focused and refined process.

Once all of my data collection activities came to an end, I employed “focused coding” (Emerson et al., 1995) of all of my data sources. Drawing upon the emerging themes from the data as well as my personal experiences and my theoretical framework I developed analytical categories and sub-categories (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003) to address my research questions and sub-questions. The initial broad categories that I used for coding my data included “military”, “careers” and “college” because I was interested in different postsecondary paths that were promoted within the school including the military. During this initial coding, I noticed that “police”, “law” and “medicine” were some of the themes that appeared most frequently within the category of “careers” so I began coding for these terms as well. Other themes that emerged

through my coding included “discipline/disciplining”, “character” and “leadership”, “uniform”, “policing” and “soldiering.” I observed that these themes appeared most frequently within the categories of “police”, “military” and “law.” Within these sub-categories I coded for positive, negative and neutral discourses and also looked for the conflation of different categories and sub-categories. The aforementioned themes addressed my research question regarding the discourses and practices privileging and promoting military service. This process was used for coding other emergent themes such as “giving access”, “denying access”, “celebration”, etc. which helped in answering the other research questions in this study. All sources of data were coded manually in this fashion.

Frequency tables and bar graphs were utilized in the organization and the simple mathematical analysis of some of the codes. For instance, I used frequency tables to count the number of times different postsecondary paths were mentioned in the interviews. I then coded for the postsecondary paths that students were interested in versus the ones that they perceived as being promoted within the school. These tallies were then presented as bar graphs demonstrating the privileging of certain career paths over others. Also, I used “integrative memos” (Emerson et al., 1995) to explore and test different assertions and ways of integrating my findings into a narrative with a coherent and focused analysis.

XI. Limitations:

The case study approach makes the findings of this study only generalizable to Washington High School—an atypical urban school with a unique set of programs and practices contributing to a certain manifestation of militarism and military recruitment. However, I believe that important insights are gained from this study that contribute to the theoretical

knowledge of militarism, military recruitment within urban high schools and the school-to-military pipeline. Although my biases and my positionality also provide limitations to this study, the triangulation of the data that I provide, such as using multiple data sources and drawing upon the perspectives of multiple participants, strengthens the validity of the assertions that I make.

XII. Presentation of the Findings:

The findings of this study are organized in four chapters: *“Security” and High Stakes Accountability*, *The Junior Reserve Officers’ Training Corps*, *The Police Academy and Law Magnets and Recruiters* and *“Gate-openers.”* I chose to organize my findings chapters around these themes and spaces rather than my research questions and sub-questions because I felt that understanding these spaces, and the ways in which they functioned and shaped the school community, were critical in addressing my research questions. Within each of these chapters I was able to address most of my research questions and sub-questions. Also, this method of organization made more sense for my narrative approach.

Chapter V

“Security” and High Stakes Accountability

In this chapter I will address my first and second orienting questions by discussing the ways in which campus safety policies and practices as well as high stakes accountability measures served as mechanisms of surveillance, control and enforcement and contributed to the militarization of Washington High School. As discussed in the literature review chapter, Furumoto (2005) argues that control, bureaucratization and high stakes accountability within the context of NCLB are inherently militaristic practices and approaches for running an organization. Lipman (2004) similarly argues that the “surveillance, regulation and punishment” within the high stakes accountability context is militaristic. I will use Furumoto’s (2005) and Lipman’s (2004) conceptualizations to analyze the ways in which high stakes accountability measures shaped Washington High School. I will also extend this argument to address campus safety policies and practices that contributed to the militarization of the school.

I. Closed vs. Open Campus and the Preoccupation with “Security”:

Washington High School had a closed campus policy. This meant that all visitors to the campus had to sign in at the entrance of the school where someone was permanently stationed with a foldable chair, a table and a sign-in book. Visitors had to write their first and last name, address, date of visit, time of visit and purpose of visit in the sign-in book in order to receive a name tag from the check-in person and proceed to the main office for a second check-in. Once visitors informed the main office of the purpose of their visit they were able to proceed to their intended destination. Also, on their way out, visitors had to sign out at the school entrance. They had to write down the time of their exit and turn in their name tags (a disposable sticker with the

district's emblem and a space to write one's name) to the check-in person. In addition to the check-in person there were campus police officers who would spend time around the entrance of the school and monitor the comings and goings of students, parents and visitors.

There was definitely a preoccupation with security and control at Washington High School. During my first few visits to the school, I was asked for an ID—which is unusual even on closed campuses. I had been to quite a few closed high school campuses, as a field supervisor for beginning teachers, and I was never asked for an ID. In my fieldnotes I describe my experiences at the entrance of the school.

As I walked up to the entrance I noticed that the person at the sign-in table was dressed like a P.E. coach. I greeted him and he asked me for my ID I told him that I've never been asked for an ID before and he said something to the extent that some students try to leave campus and students from other schools come in so they need to make sure that this doesn't go on. However, I was clearly dressed in business attire and I'm significantly older than 18 so there was no reason for him to think that I was a student. (FN1- Page1)

Washington High School was in an isolated, hard-to-get-to physical location, which served as a deterrent for people who had no purpose being there to make the trip to the campus. Hence, I was surprised to hear that this was a problem that required special attention. I felt that the guard had to give a justification for asking for my ID to save face and not seem that he was distrustful or targeting me specifically.

Asking for ID's was problematic particularly because Washington High School had undocumented parents and this could have been an obstacle and a deterrent for them to visit the campus. The security of students and staff is a concern on every school campus; however, asking for identification from visitors was not practiced any of the campuses that I've visited.

Although "security" at Washington High School was a preoccupation, in general, the check-in person at the entrance as well as the campus police were welcoming; and as they got to know me and were able to recognize me they became more friendly and informal. The check-in

person would even tell me that I could go ahead without signing in—but I would insist on signing in because I wanted to follow school policy.

The heightened “security” measures at Washington High School were particularly striking when compared to practices within Valley High School, a neighboring high school serving a more affluent community. Valley High School had an open campus and no campus security personnel or police officers. Visitors didn’t have to sign in and get a name tag but, as a courtesy, they would sometimes check in at the main office. This was an understood practice.

During lunchtime, seniors at Valley High School were allowed to leave campus to have lunch at local restaurants. This was the only time when the school entrances were monitored by administrators and teachers. This was done to check students’ identification cards and make sure that those leaving the campus were seniors. The administrators and teachers who had assumed these yard duty responsibilities would usually put a foldable chair at one of the entrances where they would sit and either read the newspaper or chat with other students and faculty. The general feel of Valley High School was casual and welcoming.

At Washington High School, on the other hand, students could not leave campus during lunch. Aside from security concerns there were no places to walk to or buy lunch around the campus—as it was located in an isolated residential area. Also, unlike Valley High School, in Washington High School there was no “nutrition” or “recess” between the first and the second period classes but only a passing period. This policy²² was put in place because of “security” and “campus safety” concerns, as articulated by one of the administrators during an informal conversation. In general Washington High School felt closed, controlled and institutional in contrast to Valley High School.

²² Schools sometimes opt out of recess or “nutrition” and have a passing period instead to eliminate any perceived discipline, crowd control or supervision issues that might result from extra or prolonged breaks.

It is understandable that schools monitor visitors for the safety of students and have proper supervision of students during breaks. Also it is important to note that there had been a few shootings in front of the Washington High School campus the prior year, which had contributed to the heightened sense of caution and concern for “security.”

Regardless of whether the reasons were justified for these campus safety policies within Washington High School, the fact was that it created an atmosphere of control and enforcement. This heightened sense of control at Washington High School reified a relationship of distance and inaccessibility between the school and the community. Parents, students and visitors needed to wait in line, give out their information, receive a name tag and be appropriately labeled in order to be given permission and access to the campus. In contrast, the open campus policy at Valley High School, reified a relationship of entitlement and access that parents and students had with the school.

II. The High Stakes Accountability Context:

Because of its low-performing status, Washington High School had been under the threat of sanctions under the No Child Left Behind Act—including a possible reconstitution and/or transformation into a charter school. Although I didn’t collect data documenting the experiences and perceptions of the school community regarding high stakes accountability measures, I observed a heavy focus on testing and test preparation during my data collection year. There were many campus announcements regarding the preparation of students in the lead up to the testing dates. The high stakes accountability measures that the school faced created an atmosphere of standardization, enforcement and disciplining not only for students but also for

teachers and administrators who were under the threat of losing their jobs and positions if the school did not meet its API goals.

III. Conclusion:

The high stakes accountability threats as well as the heightened “security” measures within Washington High School contributed to a climate of control, enforcement, disciplining and militarism. The heavy focus on student testing also contributed to the narrowing of the curriculum within a school that did not offer its students many enrichment activities and elective classes. Within this context the Junior Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (JROTC) was one of the few well-resourced “fun” outlets for students within the school.

Chapter VI

The Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps

One of the ways that the military was promoted at Washington High was through the JROTC program. In this chapter I will address all of my orienting questions, to different extents, through an analysis of the JROTC program. I will look at the ways in which the program promoted militarism and military recruitment. Specifically, I will analyze the structures, policies, practices and discourses as well as the meaning perspectives of the actors within the program.

The JROTC, whether officially articulated or not, is by design, a program that promotes militarized practices, military values and military service as a postsecondary path. Washington High School was located within a district that housed approximately 26 JROTC chapters in its high schools. The district website stated that the JROTC was not meant to function as a recruiting tool for military service. The program was described as “A Premier Character Development and Enhancement Program for High School Students” and the opening paragraph read:

The Congress of the United States of America established this “Leadership” program in 1916. The acronym “JROTC” stands for Junior Reserve Officers’ Training Corps. The title of this program is somewhat misleading because it implies that high school students are being trained to become officers in the military reserve; “such is not the case”. The JROTC program is not a recruiting tool for the military services. Therefore, a student who participates in Junior ROTC has “NO OBLIGATION” to serve in the Military Forces, active or inactive, in anyway what-so-ever.

It is true that students joining a JROTC program, within a high school in the United States, are not obligated to serve in the military in any way. However, that does not mean that JROTC programs do not serve as a recruitment tool for the military. The logic of the statement on the district website is analogous to the statement: “A car commercial is not meant to be a tool

to persuade or ‘recruit’ people into buying a car because people are not obligated to buy a car when they watch the commercial.”

In this chapter, I will attempt to give a detailed picture of the JROTC program at Washington High School and its positioning within the larger school community. I will describe the practices, structures, rituals, sights, sounds and spaces of the program and the ways that they promote and privilege the military as a post secondary path. I will argue that the JROTC program at Washington High School is a living, breathing and practicing commercial for the Armed Forces and an effective pedagogical tool for the teaching of militarized practices and values.

I. Description of the program:

The JROTC program at Washington High School was an Army JROTC. I was not able to find any published data on the student population of the program. However, according to one of the instructors, approximately 120 students were enrolled in the program during my data collection year. From my observations it seemed that the demographics of the JROTC program mirrored that of the school—the majority of students being Latin@. The enrollment of students in the JROTC program was voluntary according to California Education Code Section 51750 that stated: *"students shall not be required to enroll in any course in military science and tactics."* Students had to request to be placed in the program. However, a number of students stated that their counselors placed them in the program, without their request. Although I wasn't able to confirm this with school counselors, the JROTC instructor alluded to this fact a number of times by stating that counselors would place specific “problem” students in the JROTC program, upon teachers’ and his requests, as an intervention for their behavioral problems.

A Well-Resourced Program:

The JROTC program was one of the most resourced programs within the school. A whole wing of Washington High School was devoted to the JROTC program. During my first visit to the JROTC wing I was struck by the amount of physical space that was allocated to the program.

I felt a bit intimidated as I walked through the doors and discovered a whole annex devoted to the JROTC ... The annex had a hallway around which there were doors to five other rooms including a large classroom that included a gym-like section [the classroom was divided into two sections: one side looked like a traditional classroom and the other side was a gym/shooting range]. One of the other rooms around the hallway was the JROTC coordinator's office. The other room was used as a storage unit for JROTC uniforms and other supplies such as mock and real rifles. The third room was filled with computers (it looked like a computer lab) and the fourth had its door shut so I didn't find out what it was used for (FN2, page 4).



Figure 6.1: The JROTC classroom/shooting range

In Figure 6.1 you can see one half of the JROTC classroom—the half that was used as the gym/shooting range. I did not want to take a picture of the other side of the classroom because it would have identified the school.

It is important to note that the JROTC annex was located in a prominent place within the school campus and JROTC classes utilized two quad areas of the school for their drill practices. So students passing by the building could see the annex door that had a large JROTC sign and they could observe JROTC students doing their drill exercises.

The JROTC program was given proportionately far more classroom and office space than many of the other programs within the high school. For instance, the entire physical education department had a much smaller and shared office space in comparison to the JROTC program. Academic teachers, in general, did not have any office space aside from their desk area within their classroom. However, the JROTC instructors had their own spacious office with a window overlooking the JROTC classroom and the shooting range.

Valley High School, a neighboring high school that served a more affluent community did not have a JROTC program. However, a program within Valley High School that was comparably resourced was the drama/theater program to which a whole building of the school was dedicated.

The JROTC program at Washington High School had two full time instructors, Sgt. Larsen and Sgt. Brown, who were both veterans. Although I did not attain information about the salaries of these specific JROTC instructors, the salaries of JROTC instructors in general are partially paid by the Department of Defense and partially by the local school districts. For this reason, JROTC programs are often perceived as not costing the local school district much money. However, the true cost of these programs for the local districts is usually much higher than the estimates provided by the military. Also, the relative cost of a JROTC instructor is greater than that of an academic teacher due to the lower student to instructor ratios within the JROTC classes (American Friends Service Committee, 2000).

During my data collection year I observed two JROTC classes, which had less than twenty students each. These were the smallest classes that I had seen at the high school level with the exception of Special Education classes. Most high school academic and non-academic classes in the district had on average 36 students and a non-JROTC full time high school teacher had (36 students x 5 periods) 180 students on average. Physical education classes on the other hand had even a larger number of students (around 250) per instructor. In comparison, the JROTC program at Washington had two full time instructors who co-taught a total of 120 students. So the JROTC instructors had an average of 60 students each. Oftentimes students enrolled in the JROTC program in lieu of taking a physical education class. The small size of the JROTC classes made them more desirable to students than the extremely large and impersonal physical education classes.

Students described the JROTC program as being “intimate” and a “second home.” JROTC classes not only provided students with a more intimate and personal setting but students perceived it to be more rigorous than regular physical education classes. The following were two of the students that I interviewed from the JROTC program.

S.A.: How did you get into the JROTC program?

Grace: Um...on the first day, I think I came for the orientation and then they were recruiting people and they asked if I was interested and I said OK 'cause it was an alternative to P.E. and I wasn't really sure how it went but after I joined I found it...it's a very nice environment.

S.A.: Tell me what you like about it.

Grace: I like the fact that um... the people here are very nice and you get to know like you become more intimate with them as opposed to P.E. where there is a whole group of people. And I like the fact that I actually get a workout because in P.E. you see people slacking off and here they like emphasize it more. I really like that I can do pushups now, previously I wasn't able to do that and also improve my speed in running (ITS2, INT1, page 1).

Another student also confirmed that she initially joined the program for the physical challenge that it provided. However, the sense of community within the program made it a second home for her.

S.A.: How did you join the JROTC program?

Leticia: Well at first I decided to join it because I wanted to get fit...But then eventually I started getting into it and now it's like it's like a second home to me. The people that I met and everything... (ITS2, INT2, page 1).

In addition to the small class sizes in the JROTC program, the JROTC instructors were perceived as welcoming and caring people who fostered a sense of community within the program. Sgt. Larsen, one of the JROTC instructors stated that they made a conscious effort to create a sense of community within the program. When asked whether the JROTC was considered a small learning community, Sgt. Larsen replied:

I think though, what they're trying to do, as a small learning community, is what we've been doing for years. You know, they they want the kids to feel like they have a home, a sense of belonging and we, we've been doing that. And I always tell the principal this IS the original small learning community you know (IT5, page 5).

Sgt. Larsen, similar to his students, perceived the JROTC program as a place that provided students with a sense of “community.” He also perceived the program to be more rigorous than regular physical education classes.

Like P.E., they're out every day doing P.E., yet we pass fitness grams which is required for all freshmen at an 80% rate whereas P.E. passes at a 48% rate. So we do physical training two to three days a week vs. the five that P.E. does. But 80% of our kids, over 80% actually pass fitness gram the first time -- whereas if you go to P.E. about 48% passes. So what we do...we do exceptionally well (IT5, pages 4).

Although Sgt. Larsen did not explain how he obtained his statistics on student performance, he nevertheless believed that his students outperformed physical education students within the school. As JROTC was one of the well resourced programs in the school and as JROTC classes had some of the lowest student-to-instructor ratios within the school it was not a

surprise that students felt a deeper connection with their instructors, a sense of belonging and community as well as a “higher rigor”—as opposed to the overcrowded and underfunded physical education classes.

II. Promotion Of the Military:

I will now discuss the ways in which the JROTC, one of the most resourced programs within the school, contributed to the militarization of the school and was, in practice, a recruitment tool for the military.

A Visually and Textually Rich Environment:

The JROTC annex and classroom were visually and textually rich environments that promoted and celebrated militarized practices and military service. The JROTC annex hallway had a large display case that held many trophies from past competitions (see Figure 6.2). This display was significant because it was a tribute to all the drill and marksmanship competitions that the Washington High School JROTC students had won against all the other JROTC chapters within the district and the region. The drill competitions showcased the drill and ceremony exercises that students had mastered within the JROTC program. These celebrated drill exercises resembled drill and ceremony exercises performed within the military. In addition to the trophy case there were different display cases in the hallway that held brochures and informational literature about the different branches of the military (see Figure 6.3). The titles of these brochures or journals included: The NCO Journal (a professional publication for Non Commissioned Officers of the U.S. Army), Soldiers (the official U.S. Army Magazine), Army Logistician, the West Point magazine, Army Sustainment, etc.



Figure 6.2: JROTC Annex Hallway- Trophy gallery and literature stand



Figure 6.3: JROTC Annex Hallway- Literature stand

From the entrance of the JROTC annex you encountered images and words that referred to the military. As you entered the JROTC classroom from the annex hallway you noticed that it was a textually and visually rich space. On one of the walls in the JROTC classroom was a large

mural of the school mascot, an anteater²³, dressed in a JROTC uniform. The anteater was marching with its fists clinched and with an angry expression on its face and smokes coming out of its nostrils. It was interesting that an anteater, a relatively nonaggressive animal, was made to look like an intimidating soldier in this mural. Another wall was decorated by pictures of male U.S. Army generals as well as some past and present JROTC students with their decorated uniforms. Also, there were some illustrations of what seemed to be soldiers and military officers from the colonial and pre-civil-war eras (see Figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4: JROTC classroom poster 1

The pictures of soldiers and military leaders mixed with JROTC students seemed to communicate a continuous legacy of the U.S. military. It was striking to see the pictures of students in their uniforms next to the pictures of U.S. military generals and also the colonial illustrations. The rest of the walls were decorated with posters about the JROTC program, the different branches of the military, the different ranks within the military and the uniform

²³ The mascot of the school was not an anteater, but it was a similar animal that is usually not portrayed as aggressive or violent. I chose to not state the real mascot of the school for confidentiality purposes.

components and guides associated with the different ranks of JROTC and the Army. It took special attention to distinguish the posters that were JROTC related (see Figures 6.6 and 6.7) from the posters that were about the different branches of the military (see Figure 6.5).



Figure 6.5: JROTC classroom poster 2

The textually and visually rich environment of the JROTC program privileged and promoted the military, the ranks within the military and positioned JROTC students within the military context.

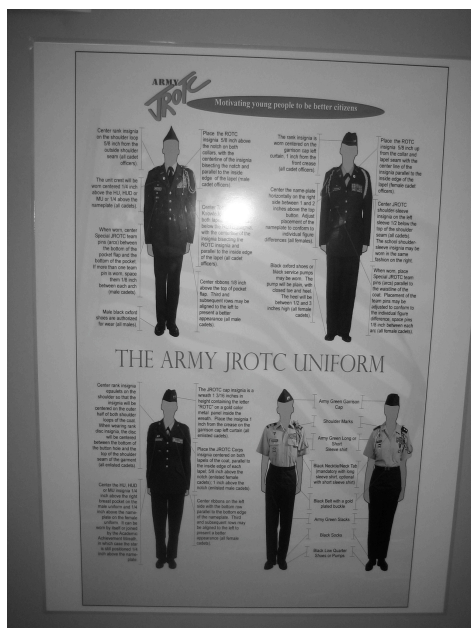


Figure 6.6: JROTC classroom poster 3

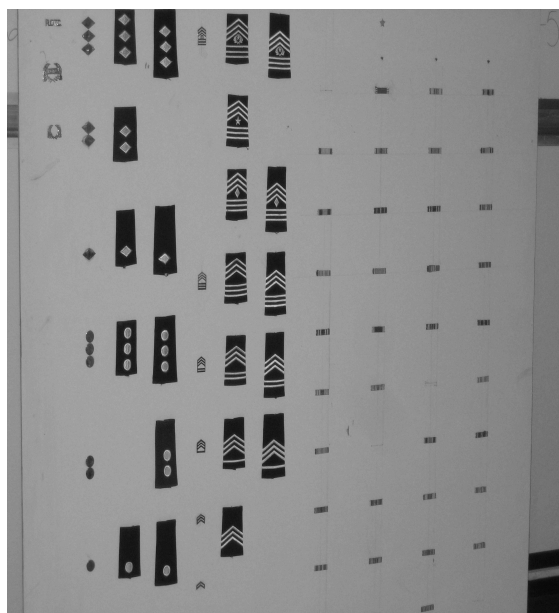


Figure 6.7: JROTC classroom poster 4

In addition to the aforementioned posters there were student-generated posters all around the room (see Figures 6.8 and 6.9). The posters were made during a class activity where students had to list strategies that helped them with the learning process. It was interesting that different posters had similar “helpful” and “unhelpful” behavior lists that pigeonholed certain behaviors like talking, listening to music and daydreaming as “bad” versus not talking and reading directions as “good.” Also listed in the helpful strategies section were words such as focusing, paying attention and taking notes, however, there were no suggestions of how these things could be achieved.

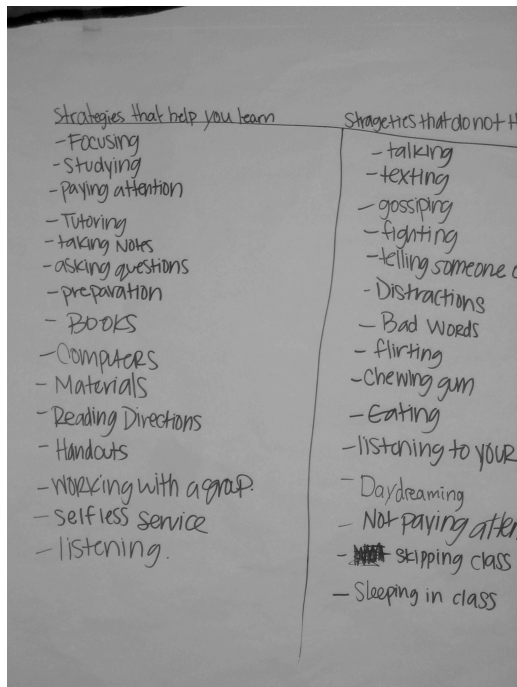


Figure 6.8: Student work 1

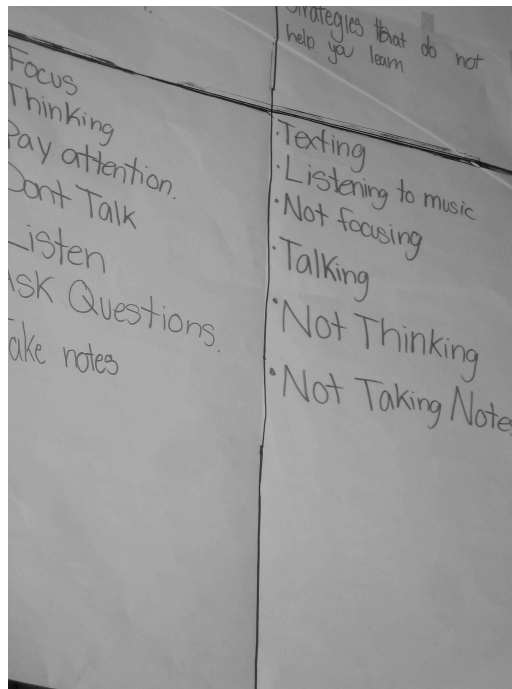


Figure 6.9: Student work 2

The student-generated work demonstrated that students were engaged in reductionist categorizing of activities as “good” or “bad” rather than being engaged in activities that promoted critical analysis and creativity. Although there were two mentions of “asking questions”, one mention of “working with a group” and one mention of “thinking” these didn’t necessarily suggest that JROTC students were engaged in collaborative work that led to critical analysis and creativity. The very activity of the reductionist categorization was done in a group setting where students labeled “thinking” and “asking questions” as merely “good.” Also, from my observations of the JROTC class as well as my interviews with the JROTC instructor and students, “asking questions” was not necessarily interpreted, within the context of the JROTC classroom, as critical questioning or challenging the status quo but rather as asking for instructions, facts and permissions. Also, “thinking” within this context could have been viewed as a marker of “character” and “obedience.” Although this sort of reductionism could be found

in many classrooms the JROTC program by design was a key site for promoting reductionist thinking because of its explicit focus on militaristic “discipline” and obedience within a highly ritualized and structured chain of command—as will be discussed in a later section.

Role Models:

The JROTC program provided students with role models that they could identify with and examples of people who were able to take advantage of all the things that the military promises. The JROTC instructors, Sgt. Larsen and Sgt. Brown, were both African American veterans. The lead instructor, Sgt. Larsen, was a middle-aged man and Sgt. Brown was a younger man who was second in command to Sgt. Larsen. I had informal conversations with both instructors. However, Sgt. Larsen was my primary contact or point-person within the program. In addition to a number of informal conversations, I had a formal interview with the Sgt. Larsen. I also conducted multiple informal class visits as well as formal observations of two of Sgt. Larsen’s classes during my data collection year. Additionally I attended the year-end formal banquet of the JROTC program that I was invited to by the Sergeant himself.

Sgt. Larsen had been working as a JROTC instructor for eleven years at Washington High School. He was born in the South and he joined the military at the age of eighteen, immediately following high school. He served in the military for twenty-two years before he retired and pursued a teaching career as a JROTC instructor. When I asked him how he decided to join the military, he responded:

Well one thing is, I had brothers that were in the military and I kind of...I talked to them a lot and I kinda liked some of the things that they said about the military. A lot of the opportunities you had... Most of us don't have the opportunity for instance to travel the world. And where I was from, that pretty much wasn't gonna happen, you know... So I saw that as an opportunity to do that. I really didn't look at it as a career choice. I was tired of school when I graduated from high school and so I assumed that I would wanna

go back to school at some point in time. So I looked at the military because they, if I did four years, they would pay for my schooling no matter where I went—for four years of schooling! So I looked at that and I said, well, you know, I do maybe four years and I'll get out and go to college. At the end, I kinda like got all the "not wanting to go back to school" out of my system and... I can continue with my life. But what actually happened is a... about a year, a year and a half into the military I decided that, it wasn't really worth getting out and then going to college, starting all over again (IT5, page 1).

Sgt. Larsen was a living, breathing example of a success story from the military. He, like many of his students, had siblings and family members in the military that influenced his decision to join. He joined the military to have a break from school with the intention of leaving the military in a few years and attending college full time. However, within six months after joining the military, he began taking classes in a satellite college campus when he was stationed in Japan. He transferred to a number of different satellite college campuses and eventually got a bachelor's degree in business and information technology and a master's degree in education. He completed all of his schooling while serving in the military. He not only was able to travel the world but also acquire an education while serving in the military and pay for his education through the G.I. Bill. Sgt. Larsen talked about his underprivileged background and how he understood where his students were coming. He emphasized the necessity of providing them with options.

[These] kids they're from, mostly from under-privileged homes, lower income families they they aren't exposed to a lot and they don't know a lot about a lot of things and I grew up in a really poor family so I can understand that and you know a lot of things I didn't learn until later on in life so it would have helped me drastically if I would have been exposed to different things (IT5, page 9).

I asked the Sergeant if he was ever stationed in a war zone, he replied: *"No, actually I spent 22 years in the military and I never had to go to combat (laugh). So I kinda hit that lucky time period after the Vietnam war and before Iraq"* (IT5, page 2). Sgt. Larsen had a full career in the military without ever going into combat—which is the concern of many students who are

contemplating joining the military. In essence, Sgt. Larsen was the military poster child. Because he came from a similar background as his students he was able to be a positive role model for them and provide them with a successful example of how the military could be an avenue for success and upward mobility.

Sgt. Larsen's military background was not concealed but rather was an integral part of his role as an instructor. He not only talked to students about the military but also taught students practices that were employed within the military. He wore his military uniform once a week to school and was referred to as "Sergeant"—clarifying any ambiguity concerning his and the program's connection to and positive association with the military.

Sgt. Larsen, similar to all JROTC instructors, was a veteran of the Armed Forces—he could not have been a JROTC instructor otherwise. According to the district website the "JROTC Program is conducted and taught by highly certified and credentialed **retired Officers and Noncommissioned Officers** of the **Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps**, who must have **twenty or more years of active "honorable" service** with the U.S. Military Forces."

The JROTC classes could not be taught by a civilian. Similar to other teaching positions, JROTC instructors had to be experts in the subject (military science) that they were teaching. If the JROTC program was simply a character development program, as it was claimed, then anyone should have been able to be trained to teach the program—not just veterans.

Integration Within The School Community:

Sgt. Larsen was very warm and welcoming but at the same time direct and firm. It was apparent to me that he had a good rapport with his students. In fact many of the students would spend their lunch hour in the JROTC classroom to socialize with other JROTC students and Sgt.

Larsen. Also, a number of students would spend time before and after school in the JROTC annex.

Sgt. Larsen's influence and presence went beyond the JROTC classroom, the lunch hour and the other informal spaces within JROTC program. He was seen as one of the school's disciplinarians. Sgt. Larsen described himself as the "go-to" person for teachers with "misbehaving" students. He positioned himself as an authority figure within the school and he considered himself the enforcer of school policy. He took on the role of an administrator or a dean and he prescribed the JROTC program as a remedy for "problem" students. During one of our informal conversations Sgt. Larsen described his role as well as the role of the JROTC program in disciplining students.

The JROTC instructor told me about how JROTC is good for students. He told me about a student in a P.E. class who was misbehaving. One of the counselors asked the JROTC instructor to sit in, observe and help out with this student. He said that he did and he listened to/observed this student for half an hour and his assessment was that the teacher was approaching this student in the wrong way. The teacher was approaching the student from a negative perspective, he/she perceived the student in a negative light. After observing and listening to the student for half an hour the JROTC instructor talked with the student and requested that the student be transferred into JROTC. Sgt. Larsen stated that the student had a complete turnaround in his program and really flourished. He told me that other teachers would also send problem students to him because "he knew how to handle them" (FN2, page 5).

Sgt. Larsen positioned himself as someone who understood students as opposed to other teachers who didn't understand students and couldn't manage the issues that they faced with uncooperative students. In the above example, Sgt. Larsen stated that he listened to the student and approached the student from a "positive perspective" as opposed to the teacher who was approaching him from a "negative perspective." However, he didn't explain what he meant by a "positive perspective" and he didn't detail the process by which the student was "transformed." He defined "problem students" as noncompliant, "misbehaving" and stated that he knew "how to

handle” these types of students. In other words he knew how to correct their “noncompliance.” Sgt. Larsen prescribed the JROTC as a regiment to correct the “noncompliance” and “misbehavior” of students.

Other members of the school community also saw Sgt. Larsen as the disciplinarian and I would argue that this was largely due to his positioning as a “military” person. His role as the disciplinarian was a taken-for-granted normalized fact because of his military background. This is perhaps because people are conditioned to see someone in a uniform as the authority or the disciplinarian and are conditioned to follow orders from someone in a uniform. Sgt. Larsen’s positioning as the school disciplinarian gave the JROTC program more visibility, credibility, authority, standing and exposure within the larger school community.

In general, Sgt. Larsen perceived JROTC as a good thing for all students because according to him they could all benefit from the “discipline”, direction, guidance and “responsibility” that the program offered. For this reason he actively promoted the JROTC program within the school.

In addition to Sgt. Larsen’s positioning as the school disciplinarian, JROTC students were seen as the “model” students within the school. They were given visible leadership roles within the school. JROTC students were often present with their uniforms at different school events and they would do tasks that would normally be assigned to the students within student government. For instance, they were the welcoming committee at one of the career fairs. They held large signs at the entrance of the school, greeted guests and directed them to the appropriate sites. Sgt. Larsen stated that JROTC students often served as the “security” people at sports games. JROTC students were the ready volunteer force helping teachers and counselors at different school events. The presence of JROTC students was made visible at school events

through their uniforms and their militarized manners such as their intentional good posture and overly polite responses to adults.

“Leadership,” “Discipline” and Militarized Practices:

JROTC programs have often been portrayed as programs that teach discipline, responsibility, good behavior and leadership to students. According to the district website the purpose of the JROTC program was “to teach high school students the value of citizenship, leadership, service to community, personal responsibility, and a sense of accomplishment, while instilling in them self-esteem, teamwork, and self-discipline. [Preparing] high school students for responsible leadership roles while making them aware of their rights, responsibilities, and privileges as American citizens.”

The discourses and practices within the JROTC program at Washington High School revolved around notions of “discipline” and “leadership” that were highly militarized. Students participated in activities and assumed leadership roles that mirrored activities and roles within the military. In my formal interview with Sgt. Larsen I asked him about the ways that his program prepared students for their post secondary lives.

Sgt. Larsen: For instance if they want to go to college?

S.A.: yes, or whatever else they want to do.

Sgt. Larsen: And see that’s distinctly what we are designed to do. We start them off...let’s say we get a freshman. The curriculum is set up so that we teach that freshman like something as simple as wearing the uniform. They have to be very meticulous about it. They have to be detail oriented and so by the end of that freshman year that freshman is an attention-to-detail type of person. They pay attention to the little things. We emphasize them being better than your general student population and over time the school faculty, administrators, teachers... they expect JROTC students to be better than your normal student, you know. They expect them to conduct themselves in class properly. They expect them to be on time, to do their work, and to actually get good grades... (IT5, page 3)

The first thing that Sgt. Larsen stated in response to my question was the wearing of the uniform and the way that it was meant to teach students to be “meticulous” and learn how to pay “attention to detail.” This “attention to detail” pertained to the careful measuring of the distances between the positions of all the badges, ribbons and medals that students wore on their JROTC uniforms. The JROTC uniform and all its components were meant to display the accomplishments and rankings of students similar to the military uniform. Larsen made the assertion that this was a valuable life skill for students and that it prepared them for their postsecondary pursuits whether it was college or something else.

Sgt. Larsen explained that there was a noticeable distinction between JROTC students and other students by saying things like “We emphasize them being better than your general student population and over time the school faculty, administrators, teachers, they expect JROTC students to be better than your normal student you know.” To Sgt. Larsen “better” referred first and foremost to behavior in terms of compliance, punctuality, “order” and “attention-to-detail”, which he summed up as “discipline.” For instance the first thing that he stated in explaining what he meant by “better” was that teachers expected JROTC students “to conduct themselves in class properly.” He then stated that students were expected to be “on time”, “do their work”, and “actually get good grades” in that order.

Sgt. Larsen repeatedly stated during the course of the interview that he perceived achievement resulting from “discipline,” “good conduct” and “punctuality.” In contrast, Sgt. Larsen perceived “normal” students as not having the qualities of JROTC students, hence, to him, a non-JROTC student was undisciplined, disorderly, and tardy and was not expected to “do his/her work” and “get good grades.”

Sgt. Larsen also stated that his students gained “responsibility” and “self discipline” through the leadership and teaching roles that they assumed within the JROTC context.

...they [students] teach classes their second, third and fourth year. They go to middle schools, elementary schools and teach. They do public speaking. They are required to do all of this stuff... I've for instance I've had two cadets that were what we call All City Colonel and they're in charge of the cadet corps for LAUSD, which is about 6000 cadets. So you've got a sixteen, seventeen year old student that's in charge of that and they manage that quite well...(IT5, page 3).

Sgt. Larsen explained the way in which students developed leadership skills through assuming teaching and mentoring roles within the JROTC program. Students were also required to volunteer for activities such as mentoring younger students in elementary and middle schools. The teaching assignments that students assumed in the JROTC class were not occasional but were part of the daily routine within the classroom—so much so that classes would often run by themselves without the presence of the instructor. Sgt. Larsen in an informal conversation talked about the way in which students run and take ownership of the JROTC class.

He said that in JROTC students develop a sense of responsibility. He explained that all students had roles. He said that the class runs itself whether there is an instructor or not. He talked about how substitutes don't have to do anything because their [JROTC] students are well trained and they run the class on their own...[he] told me how students get upset if he does their job. He said they like the responsibility (FN2- page 5).

During a formal observation of one of the JROTC classes I was able to witness the way in which students conducted their teaching responsibilities.

Twenty minutes passed after the bell rang and Sgt. Larsen was still talking to me in his office. I could see through the large office glass window what was taking place in the classroom. While the Sergeant and I were talking, the student officer, first in command, took role in a very formalized and ritualized call-and-response fashion, conducted the pledging of allegiance ceremony and began leading the class through different drill exercises. I was feeling uncomfortable at this point and thought maybe I'm keeping the Sgt. from doing his job. I sat at the edge of my seat and was motioning with my body language that perhaps we should move to the class but the Sgt. seemed to not be phased by my uneasiness and my continual glances out the window. Eventually I said “should we head over to the class?” and so Sgt. Larsen finally got up from his seat and we walked over (FN15, page 3).

Sgt. Larsen felt completely at ease entrusting the instruction of the class to a student and was in no rush to supervise or monitor the class. It seemed that there were well-established routines in the class that students seemed to follow without the teacher's presence. The student who was teaching the class seemed equally at ease with his role.

Although giving students responsibilities and leadership roles is pedagogically sound, the form and the content of the activities in which students take leadership roles is just as important. The leadership roles and activities that students assumed were embedded within the hierarchical structures of the JROTC program at the classroom, school and district levels and they mirrored the structures and relationships within the military. JROTC students were referred to as "cadets" and the student leaders as sergeants or colonels who were "in charge" of the "cadets." Students in the JROTC program were given the same titles that were used in the military such a "cadet" which is an officer in training and "colonel" which refers to a senior military officer. The relationship that the higher ranked JROTC students had with lower ranked ones was that of authority—they were "in charge" of those who were ranked below them. For instance I interviewed one of the higher-ranking student leaders within the JROTC program and asked him about his position.

S.A.: What's your position in JROTC?

Felix: I'm an All City staff member.

S.A.: All City staff member?

Felix: Yeah, and I'm the battalion commander here.

S.A.: So what does that mean?

Felix: That means that I'm in charge of everything that happens here in the JROTC program (ITS2, INT5, page 2).

One of the ways that student leaders enacted their authority over other students was through the teaching roles that they assumed and through the drill and ceremony exercises. The district website described the "leadership development" within its JROTC programs as

consisting of “basic drill activities where cadets learn precise movements as part of a group or formation, and develop physical coordination, self-discipline,” and “how to teach” other cadets. According to the JROTC district website, “leadership development” took place through teaching students drill practices and giving them the opportunity to teach other students these practices.

The drill and ceremony exercises as well as other physical activities in which students participated within the JROTC classroom mirrored activities and exercises in the military. Students within the JROTC program engaged in practices that looked like role-playing being a soldier. To illustrate this I will show a sequence of exercises that took place within a JROTC class. After taking attendance and calling role in a highly formalized call-and-response fashion the student leader lead the class through a series of drill exercises.

A young African-American student, who was the first in command in his class, was leading the class through a series of stretches and exercises accompanied by call and response chants.

First in Command: “Class Atteeeention! Pushups!”

Collective response by class: “The pushups first sergeant!”

First in Command: “One two three”

Class in a loud unison voice: “ONE”

First in Command: “One two three”

Class in a loud unison voice: “TWO”

First in command: “One two three”

Class in a loud unison voice: “THREE”

This continued until the set was completed and then he would begin a new set.

The officer 2nd in command, a young Latina student, was yelling at her peers from the back of the classroom “No talking!”

They did multiple sets of push-ups, sit-ups and other exercises in this fashion.

Sgt. Larsen would interrupt them periodically to comment on the exercises and instruct them to do things differently. The student second in command would also periodically call orders from the back of the room. Eventually each of the students in the class led one of the class exercises. (FN 15, pages 3-4).

Although giving JROTC students responsibilities and roles in conducting class exercises gave them a sense of belonging and enabled them to have a more vested interest in the classroom, the manner in which they ran the class promoted and reified rigid hierarchical

relationships where students gave orders to their subordinates and followed the orders of their superiors. These relationships and roles mirrored relationships and roles in the military –as detailed in the Army Command Policy (2011) *“A simple and direct chain of command facilitates the transmittal of orders from the highest to the lowest levels in a minimum of time and with the least chance of misinterpretation... Proper use of the chain of command is vital to the overall effectiveness of the Army... All persons in the military Service are required to strictly obey and promptly execute the legal orders of their lawful seniors”* (pages 21-22). The JROTC chapter at Washington High School, being an Army JROTC, taught students the Army chain of command policies. Students learned military discipline, conduct, obedience to orders and consequences for non-compliance.

Students were also involved in activities that utilized mock rifles or real rifles. For instance during a formal visit of one of the JROTC classes, I observed students going around the room and doing squats while carrying mock rifles on their shoulders.

As I walked through the JROTC corridor into the classroom/gym I saw that students were going around the room and doing squats while they were carrying what seemed to be very realistic looking rifles across their backs/shoulders... I realized that the class was coming to an end. After a few exercises the Sgt. asked his students to start putting the rifles away... As students were putting the rifles away, the Sgt. asked students to make sure that the cereal number on the boxes matched the cereal number on the rifles. I made a comment to the Sgt.: “wow, these rifles seem to be quiet heavy.” He said: “Nah, they’re not that heavy, just a few pounds... 5 lbs.” I asked if I could lift one up. He reluctantly let me lift up the one that he was holding but he didn’t let go of it so that he was carrying part of the weight. Nevertheless, they felt pretty heavy. I think they weighed more than 5 lbs. My laptop weighs 4.5 lbs. and the rifle was much heavier than my laptop (FN15, pages 1-2).

This activity was later referred to as Rifle P.T. or Rifle Physical training. Following this class period Sgt. Larsen told the student officer in charge of the next class: *“Tell the class to behave because the previous class got Rifle PT because they were acting up”* (FN15, page 2).

It was striking that Sgt. Larsen asked the class officer to tell his fellow students to “behave” and to threaten them with “rifle PT” meaning rifle physical training. This again was a demonstration of students using their rank to tell other students what to do and threaten them with “disciplining” measures. The severity of the physical exercise, as evidenced by the weight of the rifles, coupled with the Sergeant’s comment communicated to me that the exercise that I observed was meant to be a form of corporal punishment—which is against the California Educational Code and the local district policy. However, this kind of disciplining is widely practiced not only within JROTC classes but also in many physical education classes and sports teams.

During my formal interview with Sgt. Larsen I asked whether the JROTC program offered marksmanship classes for students. He said that they did.

Sgt. Larsen: Yeah we do. Uh...the kids that do that they have to have at least a 2.0 GPA. They can have no U’s ...it’s pellet-rifles. We’ve been doing this... since they started JROTC. At one point they were doing .22 rifles and we went away from that. Really cause that’s not a good emphasis to have –weapons on campus. The pellet rifles are more of a sport for the kids. They get a chance to come in um....it’s the camaraderie. We have a league where we travel to different schools and we compete but uh...we’ve never had an incident with a kid with a weapon or anything like that, not in the ten and eleven years that I’ve been here and I’ve talked to instructors who have been here for 25- 30 years (IT5, page 6).

Sgt. Larsen continued describing the marksmanship classes and how they were held on campus but under strict supervision and with many security measures in place for students’ safety. Although he alluded to the problematic aspects of rifles on high school campuses, particularly with the district’s zero tolerance policy of weapons on campus, he then continued to talk about the ways that marksmanship was celebrated within the program, through the inter-school competitions. The use of rifles whether they were mock rifles during physical exercises or pellet rifles during marksmanship training, conjured up images of military training in boot camp.

Students in the JROTC program were not only involved in activities that were peripherally or subtly militaristic but also in ones such as marksmanship and wearing of the uniform that were unquestionably mirroring the military.

Ceremonies, Rituals and Celebrations:

The JROTC program, in addition to its daily rituals, held special events that rewarded and celebrated militarized practices. For instance, in addition to the marksmanship competitions, students participated in a number of district wide JROTC drill competitions throughout the year. I was not able to attend these competitions but Sgt. Larsen would talk about them often and boast about the accomplishments of his students in the drill competitions. The trophies earned by the Washington High School JROTC students were prominently displayed, year long, in the large display case that was located in the middle of the JROTC annex hallway. Students would see the trophy case every time they entered the JROTC classroom.

In addition to the drill competitions, the JROTC program held its annual JROTC formal banquet where decorated military officers were invited to give awards to JROTC students in the presence of their family and friends. The awards ceremony, during my data collection year, was held at a local country club and hosted 250 people.

As I sat down I looked around me and there was a sea of students in their JROTC uniforms (there were about 220-250 people in the banquet hall most of them in uniform). I counted 21 tables (ten people each), plus the head table, plus other students who were walking around and helping out. The hall was in a country club. I had been in that very hall for a friend's wedding, so it was surreal to be in the same place for the JROTC banquet. Just like a wedding banquet there was a head table where veterans and other military personnel dressed in their decorated uniforms were sitting (one of them was the Lieutenant Colonel who oversaw all the JROTC programs in the district, another guest was a decorated representative from Veterans of Foreign Wars). Also at the head table were two students in their highly decorated military uniforms (they were the two leading officers for the whole JROTC program within the school –or as it was called the whole “Battalion”). Later on the principal and the vice principal relocated to the head table [as well as two teachers]... The head table was on an elevated platform and below (in front

of) the head table was another table full of awards, trophies and certificates. There seemed to be more awards on the table than students in the banquet hall (FN 17, pages 1-2).

The JROTC banquet was a well-funded, formal banquet that was meant to celebrate students' accomplishments in the JROTC program. They had table service and a three-course meal: "*salad and bread rolls, chicken/rice/vegetables or a vegetarian option and finally a chocolate mouse cake for dessert with coffee*" (FN17, page 3). The guests of honor were decorated military officers who were prominently sitting at the head table, elevated above everyone else. The principal, vice principal and two non-JROTC (academic) teachers sitting at the head table gave the impression that this was not only a JROTC event but also a school event supported by the school leadership. The two students who were at the head table were rewarded for their accomplishments and high ranks within the JROTC program. It was interesting to note that one of those students was the head JROTC student leader at Washington High School and was referred to as Major and Battalion Commander. This student had enlisted in the Army and was waiting to be deployed right after graduation. The banquet was a celebration of the military and militarized practices such as the presentation of the color guard by JROTC students.

The banquet opened up with the presentation of the color guard (four male students with rifles and flags marching and calling orders ceremonially). This was followed by the singing of the national anthem by a female JROTC student (off key). Next, there was an invocation (prayer) by one of the decorated military personnel sitting at the head table (FN17, page 3).

Students taking part in the presentation of the color guard at the beginning of the banquet, as well as the retiring of the color guard at the end of the banquet, were wearing what seemed to be real military fatigues and combat boots and they were carrying real vintage rifles. The rifles were displayed at the end of the banquet on a table at the entrance of the banquet Hall. I asked the person who was monitoring the rifles whether they were real. He told me that they were real

vintage rifles. From my conversations with students and from observing these ceremonies, I gathered that being in the color guard was a big honor for students and a celebration of their accomplishments in the program.

I was surprised that there was an opening prayer at an official school event, given that the school was a public school. It was also interesting to note that the person leading the prayer was a military officer. The prayer gave another layer of legitimacy to the event and to the JROTC program. JROTC not only had the blessing of the school leadership but also the blessing of the Almighty.

It was also interesting to note that all of the color guard as well as all the decorated military personnel at the head table were all male. The division of labor within the JROTC banquet seemed very much along the lines of traditional gender roles. Female students were doing the singing or the service-oriented, behind the scene tasks such as keeping count of the guest lists and running errands for the Sergeant. On the other hand, male students conducted the prominently displayed and celebrated tasks such as sitting at the head table and taking part in the color guard. What was celebrated and rewarded in the JROTC program was being a “good soldier” and as students became good soldiers, they were rewarded through higher-ranking positions and more prestigious awards at the ceremony.

I sat at a table with the family of one of the JROTC students that I had met during my classroom visits. Claudia was the second in command in one of the JROTC classes. Sgt. Larsen had told me that she was an accomplished student and she should have been first in command but she had not met some of the requirements to move up in the ranks. These requirements had to do with taking part in some competition (there were two types of JROTC competitions: Drill Competitions and Marksmanship Competitions). As I conversed with Claudia’s parents I found

out that her father was in the Navy. Claudia's parents told me that they were very proud of their daughter. The father kept taunting his daughter playfully about not being first in command. He kept asking her jokingly when she was finally going to move up the ranks in the JROTC program. I noticed that Claudia had a highly decorated uniform so I asked her about the meaning of the badges and ribbons that she was wearing.

*[S]he told me that all the pins and the decorations had to do with good behavior and some kind of accomplishment. She told me that it took her mom forever to put all the pins and decorations on her uniform because they had to be measured carefully before they were placed. The measurements and the distances between the decorations had to be very precise. She told me that she had medals but she couldn't wear them because girls can't wear medals for some reason...(she didn't know the reason why). She said that she is **staff** that's why she is wearing a jacket and most of the other cadets weren't wearing jackets. Only the **staff** and the color guard wear the jackets. She explained to me about the hierarchy of the cadets: the S3, S4, S5 and S6 positions...(FN17, page 3).*

I was overwhelmed with the different ranks and positions that students assumed within the JROTC program. I couldn't keep pace with Claudia's descriptions. It seemed that even she did not know all the different ranks and hierarchies within the JROTC program. Her father asked her about what the next rank was that she would assume and she didn't seem to know. The ranks within JROTC seemed to mirror ranks in the military with titles such as Cadet, First Sergeant, Colonel and Battalion Commander. The ranks of students were displayed and celebrated through the JROTC uniform. Students took great pride in wearing the JROTC uniform and displaying all of their badges, ribbons and medals at the banquet. Although I had no confirmation of female students not being able to wear their medals, it was interesting that Claudia had that impression.

After the dinner began the awards ceremony. There were a series of speeches by the military guests sitting at the head table, followed by the presentation of the awards that seemed to go on and on. Some students received multiple awards. The Sgt. qualified and mentioned that these were only the most prestigious awards that were given to students, because there was no time during the banquet to mention ALL of the awards that students had received in their program during the course of the year (FN17, page 4).

The award ceremony was overwhelming and long. It seemed that almost all students in JROTC program received some type of award and some students received multiple awards. The following were some of the awards listed in the banquet program: Citizenship Award (Awarded by the JROTC Headquarters at the District), American Veterans (AMVETS) Award, 82nd Airborne Association, Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) Award, Military Order of the Purple Heart (MOPH) Award, Association of the United States Army (AUSA) Award, Noncommissioned Officers Association (NCOA) Award, U.S. Army Recruiting Command (USAREC) Award, Scottish Rite of Freemasonry Award, American Legion (Military, Scholastic and Medallion) Awards, Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) Award, Military Order of the World Wars (MOWW) Award, Service Learning Award, Best (Squad, Platoon and Company) School Level Awards, Recruiting Award, JROTC Athletics Award, Good Conduct Award, Marksmanship Team Award, Academic Achievement Award, Honor Student Award, Color Guard/Honor Guard Award and Prefect Attendance Award (See an exhaustive list in Appendix B).

There were fifty types of awards—some of them were awarded to one student and some to multiple students. The awards were sponsored by either a military/veterans organization, by the JROTC program at the district level or by the JROTC chapter at Washington High School. Also there were a few awards that were sponsored by other organizations such as the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Daughters of the American Revolution and Sons of the American Revolution (ultra conservative organizations that celebrate the revolutionary war, Americanism and “Patriotism”).

Thirteen out of the fifty types of awards were directly associated with a military or veterans groups and they were presented to students by decorated veterans or military personnel.

Most of the other awards were given to students by Sgt. Larsen. Some of these awards were given for some type of accomplishment within JROTC and others were given for simply participating in a JROTC activity or a JROTC group such as the Marksmanship Team, the Color/Honor Guard, the Drill Team, etc. There were also some awards that were given to students for academic achievement, involvement in school groups such as student government or for taking part in community service projects.

In the descriptions of the qualifications for the awards, special assignments/ranks/contributions within JROTC was mentioned 18 times. Exceptional “leadership” was mentioned 10 times, academic achievement 10 times and patriotism 7 times. There were 5 mentions of “outstanding or exceptional achievement” but they did not specify in what activity. Additionally, there were 2 mentions of outstanding “discipline”, 2 of outstanding “character”, one of “outstanding conduct”, one of service to “god”, one of excelling in “military studies” and one mention of high degree of “military bearing.”

Although some students were celebrated for their academic achievements or community service most of the awards acknowledged participation in different activities within the JROTC program. Moreover, students were awarded for illusive/ambiguous characteristics such as “leadership”, “good character”, “discipline” and “patriotism.” Even though these terms were not clearly explained or defined in the awards ceremony or the awards program, the fact that these awards were given by military or veterans organizations as well as the JROTC program communicated that these terms referred to “leadership” and “discipline” as defined in the JROTC program or by the military.

Leadership defined by the JROTC program referred to participation in drill and ceremony practices and the acquiring of higher ranks within the program. Discipline within JROTC, as

discussed in the previous section, meant following orders, conforming and taking seriously activities such as the wearing of the uniform. It was particularly interesting that patriotism was mentioned seven times and service to “god” was mentioned once in the description of the awards. The awards ceremony, whether it was through the decorated uniforms that the students were wearing, the presence of military personnel, the awards given by military and veterans groups, or the fastidious and ceremonial practices such as the presentation of the color guard, demonstrated the unquestioned connection of the JROTC to the military and the celebration of militarized practices and militarized versions of “leadership” and “discipline.”

The JROTC program was given legitimacy and high standing within the school community through the participation of the school principal in the presentation of the awards and the presence of other school leaders and teachers at the ceremony. Sgt. Larsen officially acknowledged the support that the program received from the school community.

[A]t the end of the Awards, Sgt. Larsen as well as Sgt. Brown got awards from the students (trophies and plaques). Sgt. Larsen gave a short acceptance speech and said: “I just want to recognize that without the support of our administrators this program would not be what it is...Thanks also for the parents, teachers, ... it takes a village to raise a child.” After his speech there was a big standing ovation with the students yelling to the Sgt.: “WE LOVE YOU!”(FNI7, page 4).

It was touching to see the students’ excitement when they presented the award to their JROTC instructors. Sgt. Larsen and Sgt. Brown definitely had their students’ respect and admiration as well as the support of the school community. After all, they had made the JROTC a very pedagogically effective program that successfully engaged students and taught them what it meant to be a cadet or a soldier in training. JROTC instructors used multimodal pedagogical approaches including visual, textual and performative elements and created a sense of community within their classroom. Students not only play-acted being soldiers, but were also engaged in teaching other students how to be cadets in training. The learning that took place

within the JROTC context was affirmed and celebrated through events such as the JROTC competitions and the end of the year JROTC banquet. The pedagogically effective context of the JROTC classroom raised a number of questions: What was the content and the substance of the lessons that students were learning in this environment? Did the JROTC program give students the tools, knowledge and skills that they needed for higher education? What types of postsecondary paths were students being prepared for through their participation in the JROTC program? Was the JROTC program merely a recruitment tool for the military?

III. College Preparation vs. Military Recruitment:

The prevalent discourses about the JROTC is that it's not a recruitment tool for the military and that it's a program that promotes discipline and leadership and prepares students for college. Sgt. Larsen stated this point a number of times during the course of our formal interview. Even though I never asked him whether the JROTC program promoted the military, he brought up this topic a number of times.

JROTC is a citizenship program and we actually have nothing to do with the military. We base it on the military because it's that structure, that leadership, that discipline that we want to instill in the kids. But we have no association with recruiting or things of that nature so we don't. A lot of people think that our job is to come here and train the kids to go into the military but in the ten years that I've been in this school, I think I had maybe six kids who joined the military, and that was because they wanted to but it's not something that we....push the kids to do, nor it's something that's a policy for JROTC. Actually we have more kids that graduate, that are in JROTC for two or more years, go to college than most ...than the school population. I'm talking percentage wise you know (IT5, page 2).

Sgt. Larsen, in his interview, denied that JROTC had any connections to the military. However, in the same breath, he said that the program was based on the military and the “structure”, “leadership” and “discipline” that they instilled in students followed the military model. As he denied JROTC's function in promoting the military he claimed that the program

promoted college. During the interview, Sgt. Larsen further distanced himself from the military and particularly from recruiters. He went as far as stating that he would caution students from jumping into a military career without having all the facts.

And if that happens they'll come in and talk to me and ask me, you know, what do you think about this? And what do you think about that? And then, I'll give them my advice and I'll also tell them if you go to a recruiter or somebody like that you don't sign anything! Don't do anything unless you talk to me because that's one of the fields that I used to be in so I know the ins and outs of it so I'm not gonna let them go and get involved into something that's not right, you know (IT5, page 3).

The impression that Sgt. Larsen gave in the interview was that the military was not promoted and even if it was peripherally promoted it only had a minimal impact on students. The Sergeant communicated to me that he made every effort to help his students make informed decisions about the military. He stated that during the ten years that he had been teaching at Washington High School only six or so JROTC students joined the military. This contrasted with the fact that three out of the seven JROTC students that I interviewed (from one JROTC class) during my data collection year had signed up for early enlistment in the Armed Forces. Either this was a particularly unusual year or Sgt. Larsen significantly understated the number of JROTC students who joined the military. When I asked, Enrique, one of those students why he decided to join the military, he replied:

"Well, I kinda had an interest in the military ever since middle school and...and just ever since I got into the JROTC program –not by the Sergeant's influence but by my own influence I decided to go into the military"(ITS2, INT3, page 1).

Enrique stated that the Sgt., and by extension the JROTC program, had no influence on his decision to join the military. Even though, by his own admission, he had become interested in the military "ever since [he] got into the JROTC program." It appeared that students were taught the discourse that neither the JROTC program nor the JROTC instructors were promoting the military. If students happened to develop an interest in the military, they were being taught that it

they had developed that interest all on their own. It was also interesting to note that Enrique had an older sibling who had joined the Marine Corps and was in active duty at the time. Enrique did mention that his brother was a role model and that he was initially intrigued by the military in Junior High School when his brother enlisted. When I asked Enrique about his brother's experience in the military, he replied *"I'm not gonna lie to you, he didn't really like it but it's ...a job is a job he says."* Although it could be argued that Enrique's brother could have been the primary influence on his decision to join the military, I would argue that the JROTC program encouraged and solidified his pre-existing interest in enlistment. Even though Enrique's brother didn't like his experience in the military, Enrique still thought that it was a good career choice.

I demonstrated in the previous sections, there was a plethora of evidence suggesting that the JROTC program at Washington High School was promoting and celebrating the militarized practices and military service. However, there was little evidence suggesting that the program promoted college. Although students were able to get physical training within the JROTC classroom, the activities that they engaged in, such as standing in line, marching, paying attention to detail about non-academic things such as wearing of the uniform/appearance, taking or giving orders to other students, taught them militarized versions of "leadership" and "citizenship."

There was no evidence suggesting that the formal instruction in the JROTC classroom promoted dialogue, exploration of different points of views and critical analysis, which are essential for college. In fact, in 2004, the program evaluation and research branch of the district in which Washington High was located released an internal study concluding that *"In senior high schools [within the district], no meaningful differences among attendance, grade point averages, or AP course enrollment were observed; however, military science students had lower*

A-G enrollment, retention, and credit accumulation rates” and that “no positive student outcomes were associated with military science participation when compared with students in physical education” at the high school level (July 2004).

Although there was no evidence that the JROTC program at Washington High School promoted higher education and gave students the skills necessary for college, some students who were interested in college strategically joined the JROTC program to list it on their college applications. For instance, when I asked Claudia, one of the JROTC student leaders, whether she was interested in joining the military she told me: *“hell no, I want to be a pediatrician, I don’t want to join the military it [JROTC] just looks good on my resume and college applications”* (FN17, page 2). Although Claudia was very proud of her accomplishments and her rank within JROTC she had no interest in the military whatsoever. In fact her reaction communicated to me that she was not only indifferent to a career in the military but also opposed to it. James, another student leader in JROTC, who was planning on going to a four-year college and pursuing a business degree, stated: *“It’s not for me. I’m more into school than military”* (ITS2, INT4, page 1). James had decided to join the JROTC because he had friends in the program and it looked like fun to him. Another student, Grace, who wanted to go to medical school, had joined the JROTC program because it was more rigorous than physical education and she wanted to “get in shape.” She said: *“I really like that I can do pushups now, previously I wasn’t able to do that and also improve my speed in running.”* When I asked her whether she wanted to continue with ROTC in college she said that she hoped she had time for it but she had a feeling that it wasn’t going to be possible with her pre-med schedule of classes (ITS2, INT1, page 1).

Even though the JROTC program did not provide students with the skills needed for college, some students used their JROTC enrollment as another extracurricular activity that they

could list on their college applications. Students were justified in listing their JROTC enrollment on their college applications because it was one more activity to list. However, this did not mean that the JROTC, as a program, promoted or enhanced college access.

IV. Conclusion:

JROTC programs in general and the JROTC chapter at Washington High School in particular have been portrayed as programs that promote discipline and develop leadership in students. There has been a concerted effort to convince the public that these programs are not recruitment tools for the military. From my interviews, conversations, observations and experiences within the JROTC program at Washington High School I found that the program, regardless of its claims otherwise, effectively promoted militarized practices and military service.

The textually and visually rich environment of the JROTC classroom promoted the military –whether it was through posters containing military related content, pictures of generals and military leaders, mural of the militarized school mascot, the literature stands that held official military journals or the student generated posters reifying a reductionist categorization of actions as “good” or “bad.” Students were engaged in role-playing as soldiers through the different practices of the JROTC program. One such practice was the wearing of the JROTC uniforms, which mirrored military uniforms. Another practice was the assuming of different hierarchical ranks similar to the military. Students were given titles such as cadet, sergeant and colonel that were the same titles used in the military. Students marched, took part in drill and ceremony exercises, gave and followed orders and trained with real as well as mock rifles.

These practices were reinforced and celebrated through events such as the formal banquet, where students were given awards by military officers for taking part and assuming different ranks within the JROTC program. The JROTC program was supported by the school leadership and the larger school community and was seen as a character development program that taught students discipline and leadership. It had become a normalized and in fact a celebrated program within the school as evidenced by the presence and participation of teachers and the administration at the awards banquet. Although the JROTC program was normalized, it violated a number of norms for public schools such as the use of weapons, the affirmation of certain religious practices such as prayer (within the context of the JROTC banquet) and the use of disciplinary measures that could have been perceived as corporal punishment.

The JROTC instructor had established himself as the disciplinarian within the larger school community. He used his position to promote the program and prescribe it to “uncooperative” students. JROTC students were seen as model students within the school and were given respected and prestigious tasks such as being the welcoming committee at career fairs and the security personnel at sports events. JROTC was not a small operation. It was one of the most resourced programs at Washington High School and hence one of the most effective programs at accomplishing its goals. Students preferred the JROTC classes to physical education classes because it provided them with a more intimate and personal experience.

Although the JROTC program claimed that it promoted college there was not much evidence to back this claim. The JROTC curriculum, contrary to the claims of the instructor, did not promote skills that were useful for college. Even though the majority of JROTC students did not want to join the military there were a significant number of students who did. Other students appropriated JROTC for their own purposes such as using it for their college application. While

there were many students who did not develop an interest in a military career path because of their participation in JROTC, the program served to create positive dispositions towards the military and to normalize the military as just another career path. Nonetheless there were some students who were still critical of the military and although they thought it was “fun” to role-play being a soldier, they were vehemently opposed to joining the military.

Chapter VII

The Police Academy And Law Magnets

Similar to the JROTC program there were other institutionalized programs at Washington High School that promoted militarized practices and military service. One such program was the Police Academy Magnet. The district in which Washington High School was located had Police Academy Magnets in six of its high schools and “Law/Public Service” Magnets in four of its high schools. Both categories of magnet programs were listed under the umbrella of “Law/Government/Police Academies” on the district website and they were described as programs “*designed to prepare young people who wish to pursue careers in law, police science, criminology, forensics and related fields.*”

The school district website stated that: “*The [] Police Academy Magnet School Program offers a rigorous, police officer-led high school curriculum developed for young men and women expressing an interest in a career in law enforcement. The program provides a better understanding of law enforcement for students no matter what career path they eventually follow, and also provides a high quality recruiting resource for the [] Police Department.*” The Washington City Police Department was the official sponsor of the Police Academy Magnet programs in the district. Students within the Police Academy Magnet programs, in addition to their regular academic classes, were required to take Police Academy elective classes in lieu of physical education for four years. These classes, called Physical Training (P.T.) classes had a similar structure to JROTC classes with a focus on drill and ceremony exercises. The P.T. classes were taught by active duty police officers from the Washington City²⁴ Police Department in collaboration with one of the onsite physical education teachers. Also, the academic classes that

²⁴ A pseudonym given to the city in which Washington High School was located.

students took within the magnet program had a thematic focus on law enforcement and criminology.

Although the officially articulated purpose of the Police Academy Magnet program, at the district as well as the school levels, was to expose students to careers in law enforcement and serve as a recruiting source for the city's police department, in practice, it also served as a recruiting tool for the military. In this chapter, I will address all of my orienting questions, through an analysis of the Police Academy and the Law Magnet programs. I will look at the structures, policies, practices and discourses as well as the meaning perspectives of the actors within the programs. I will demonstrate the ways in which the Police Academy Magnet at Washington High School engaged students in militarized practices, similar to the JROTC, and indirectly promoted military service as a postsecondary path and as a stepping-stone to careers in law enforcement. Also, I will briefly discuss the ways in which the Administrative Law Magnet program promoted careers in law-enforcement and criminology and functioned as an extension of the Police Academy Magnet program.

I. Description of the Programs:

Washington High School housed two magnet schools: the Washington Administrative Law Magnet and the Washington Police Academy Magnet. Although the two magnet programs were separate, they shared a common administrative office and Mr. Parsons served as the coordinator for both programs.

Demographics:

The magnet programs had a total of 365 students during my data collection year (2009-2010), which represented 15% of the total Washington High School student population. The

Police Academy Magnet was the newest addition to the Washington High School campus. It was founded in 1997 and was a Title I school (it was a school within a school like many magnet programs) with a student population of 134. During my data collection year the student body of the Police Academy, according to the district website, was 96.3% Latin@, 2.2% African American, 0.7% Asian and 0.7% other ethnicities. Fifteen percent of the student population was comprised of English Language Learners. The Administrative Law Magnet, founded in 1991, was also a Title I school with a student population of 231. The demographics of the Administrative Law Magnet were similar to that of the Police Academy Magnet: with 93.1% Latin@, 5.2% African American, 1.3% Asian and 0.4% white students. English Language Learners constituted 8.7% of the student population. The demographics of both programs were representative of Washington High School as a whole.

Even though the magnet programs at Washington High School were somewhat autonomous from the main campus, they were still under the management and supervision of the Washington High School administration. Also, students from the magnet programs had overlapping lunch periods and elective classes with the rest of the Washington High School student population.

Allocation of Human Resources:

In a formal interview, Mr. Parsons, the magnet coordinator, explained the structure of the magnet programs and the number of personnel and faculty who worked within the two programs.

[T]he law magnet started sixteen years ago, the police academy twelve years ago. They are separate programs... [T]he law magnet has ten teachers, no nine teachers, we used to have ten but because of the RIF [Reduction In Force] last year we have nine and the police academy has five -that's fourteen total, not including myself as a coordinator. We have a dedicated counselor and she manages all the total population, which is four hundred. It's roughly 250 something for the law and 120-ish for the police and you know,

these have been adjusting numbers for the past couple of years. And we have a clerk that's dedicated um...and the administrator that oversees is actually the principal of the school (IT4, page 2).

In addition to an administrative office with a full time coordinator, counselor, receptionist and a clerk, the magnet programs had their own academic teachers who taught exclusively for the two programs. So the Police Academy and the Law Magnet programs had their own English, math and science teachers. However, magnet students enrolled in certain elective or Advanced Placement classes within the main campus because they were not offered in the magnet programs. Mr. Parsons stated:

We're our own school in a parasitical kind of way because our kids, you know we offer almost all the classes that our magnet students take unless they need something else particularly like advance classes like P-chem class, then we go out and take them. But the school can't come in and take our AP, no we're dictated strictly by a 75% to 25% ratio, which really only allows the school to put in our classes one or two students (IT4, page 8).

Although the magnet schools utilized resources from the main campus and enrolled their students in some of the elective courses offered within the main campus, non-magnet students from Washington High School were not able to utilize the magnet resources to the same extent. This was also true for the physical space that was allocated to the magnet program.

Allocation of Physical Space:

An entire section of Washington High School's campus was dedicated solely to the two magnet programs. This section was comprised of a cluster of bungalows and was located at the bottom of a hill away from the main Washington High School campus (which was located at the top of the same hill). Many students from the magnet programs had to hike up the steep hill to get to the main campus and they often did this during lunchtime because the cafeteria was located on top of the hill and there weren't any benches or tables at the bottom of the hill where

students could sit, socialize and have their lunch. In addition to this section of the campus, a whole floor of one of the main campus buildings at Washington High School was dedicated to the magnet programs. The P.T.²⁵ or the Physical Training classes for the Police Academy Magnet were held at one of the main campus quads on top of the hill, which was also used by other physical education classes. Also, the Administrative Law Magnet utilized a student courtroom in the main building that was modeled after a real courtroom with a bar, a judge's bench, witness stands, a jury box, etc. Although the magnet programs utilized the quad areas, the cafeteria and also some of the classrooms and office spaces within the main campus – non-magnet students and teachers from the main campus did not have much access to the sections of the school campus that were dedicated to the magnet programs.

Furthermore, the police officers who co-taught the P.T. classes had an office space right next to the JROTC wing. Although their office had a couch and a few chairs it was a relatively small space and was not conducive for students to visit, and “hang out” like Sgt. Larsen's office. Nevertheless, it was interesting that the police officers who taught the P.T. classes had a dedicated office space on campus whereas most academic teachers did not have any office space aside from their desk area within their classroom.

Student-to-Teacher Ratio:

The Police Academy P.T. classes, where the Police Academy drill training took place, were larger than the JROTC classes. They had an average of 35 students similar to other academic classes within Washington High School. However, compared to regular physical education classes (which averaged at 50 students per class), the P.T. classes seemed manageable

²⁵ The P.T. or the Physical Training class, similar to the JROTC class, engaged students in drill and ceremony exercises. Students in the Police Academy Magnet were required to enroll in a P.T. class for four years, in lieu of physical education.

in size. Also the P.T. classes were taught by three adults (averaging 12 students per adult), compared to regular physical education classes that were taught by one adult (averaging 50 students per adult).

The Physical Training Instructors:

The instructors of the P.T. classes were two active duty police officers who were assigned to the school site for a short period of time (one or two years) and a physical education teacher. During my data collection year Officer Muñoz and Officer Hansen were assigned to teach the P.T. classes in the Police Academy Magnet at Washington High School. Officer Muñoz, the lead officer, was a young Latina woman in her early thirties and her assistant, Officer Hansen, was a white middle-aged man in his fifties. Both officer Muñoz and officer Hansen's official assignment period to the magnet program was completed the first semester of the school year. However, they were there for a prolonged time filling the post because their replacements had not been assigned yet. My sense was that the high turnover of officers assigned to the school site gave less continuity and less of a sense of community within the P.T. classroom compared to the JROTC classes, which were taught by the same instructor for many years²⁶. This was also exacerbated by the lack of a communal space like the JROTC wing where the Police Academy Magnet students could congregate and socialize.

I was also unsure whether Officer Muñoz and Officer Hansen had any (pedagogical) training or experience in instructing high school students prior to their assignment to the school site. Although JROTC instructors did not need a single subject credential in physical education

²⁶ Sgt. Larsen had taught JROTC for eleven years.

like P.E. teachers, they had to undergo their own certification process²⁷ before teaching at a school site. Sgt. Larsen stated in his formal interview that he had to undergo a certification process to become a JROTC instructor. He also happened to have a Masters degree in education. Sgt. Larsen contrasted his training with that of the police officers' in the Police Academy Magnet:

Sgt. Larsen: [] They're [the police officers in the Police Magnet Program] not qualified [to teach at a high school], that's why you have a P.E. teacher who oversees that, but you see, a P.E. teacher is not qualified to do the drill.

S.A.: So she's there to supervise?

Sgt. Larsen: She's there for legal purposes (IT5, page 8).

Sgt. Larsen stated in his response that P.E. teachers were not qualified to teach "drill" that's why they needed police officers teaching the P.T. class. However, the police officers couldn't be there on their own either, because they were not qualified to instruct high school students, so they needed the presence of an adult who was qualified –a credentialed P.E. teacher. It took a lot of human resources to run the P.T. classes at Washington High School.

Whether it was the lack of communal space, the lack of continuity in the teaching team or the lack of educational training of the police officers, the Police Academy Magnet program did not feel like a cohesive schooling community. Unlike the JROTC program, none of the students that I interviewed stated that the Police Academy Magnet or the P.T. classroom was like a "second home" to them. However, students did perceive the P.T. classes to be challenging and rigorous, similar to the JROTC classes. For instance, Fabian, a student stated that "*[I]n the Police Academy you can learn discipline and how to respect others and yourself most important and it also keeps you in great shape*" (ITS1, INT4, page 1). Another student, Daniel, stated: "*We get to help people out and we get a physical workout and mental strength and stuff*" (21M).

²⁷ Counter-recruitment campaigns critique this certification process by stating that it is not a very rigorous process compared to a single subject credential.

Integration Within the School Community:

Although the Police Academy was essentially a separate school within Washington High School, students from the academy interacted with the rest of the student population at Washington High during lunchtime and also during shared elective classes on the main campus.

Similar to the JROTC program, students in the Police Academy Magnet program wore their uniforms to school once a week and they conducted their drill and ceremony exercise in one of the central quad areas on the main campus. This gave the Police Academy high visibility within the main campus. Also, as the Police Academy was a magnet program, it had automatic status and legitimacy within the main campus.

II. A Comparison with the JROTC Program:

In this section, I will discuss the ways in which the Police Academy Magnet program indirectly promoted the military as a postsecondary path for students. I will demonstrate the ways in which the Police Academy Magnet resembled the JROTC program at Washington High School in its practices and goals. Although the stated purpose of the program was the promotion of law enforcement as a career path, the program, similar to the JROTC, promoted the military as a postsecondary path through its militarized practices.

Role Models:

The founder of the Police Academy Programs, a white middle-aged woman, was a former school district board member. She wrote an article in the local newspaper promoting the Police Academy Magnet Program when it was initially launched a decade ago. The article stated that:

“Under this program, the [Washington City] PD places a full-time officer at each academy as a resource and role model.” Similar to the JROTC program, the Police Academy Magnet provided role models that students could identify with and examples of people who were able to make a career for themselves out of law enforcement. Although I was not able to interview either of the two police officers, Officer Muñoz, being a young Latina who had built a career for herself in law enforcement, was undoubtedly a role model that students identified with at Washington High School.

Both Officer Muñoz and Officer Hansen who co-taught the P.T. classes were active duty officers. There was no ambiguity regarding their connection to the police. They always wore their police uniforms and carried their handguns and batons on their belts at all times. Officer Muñoz and Officer Hansen displayed and promoted their profession unapologetically. This contrasted with Sgt. Larsen who wore workout clothes most days of the week and only wore his uniform once a week with the rest of the JROTC students. Also, Sgt. Larsen never carried a gun while he was teaching. In addition to the police officers who were the P.T. instructors, there were school police officers who oversaw campus safety. They had a very visible role on campus as they often stood at the main entrance keeping watch over the comings and goings of students and visitors. The large number of active duty police officers on the school campus, who wore their uniforms on a daily basis, provided students with many law enforcement role models.

Implications of Having Police Officers as Teachers:

I thought that having fully armed police officers as instructors made for an interesting power dynamic within the P.T. classroom and also the school. The police officers, who were also the teachers, were doing their teaching while on active duty and hence, theoretically, were able to

give tickets (traffic, truancy, etc.), make arrests and use their handguns not only on students but also on adults within the school while they were acting as instructors. The authority that the police officers had within the school was not symbolic and/or “earned” authority, like the authority given to Sgt. Larsen because of his military background as well as his involvement within the school community. The police officers not only had legal authority but also legal obligation to enforce the municipal law to the full extent.

The pedagogical implications of this were significant because for students to disagree, question or contradict their instructor meant that they were disagreeing, questioning or contradicting a police officer. A defiant student was not just defiant towards a teacher but defiant towards a law enforcement officer. Also, given that there were undocumented students within the school, they had an especially tenuous situation (real and perceived) because of the Secure Communities Act²⁸ (Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2012) where a minor run-in with the law could theoretically lead to a deportation. Therefore, having fully armed police officers, as teachers might not have been something that would have created a safe and supportive environment in a classroom where students felt free to experiment, take risks and not fear failure.

Furthermore, police officers were not just other members of the teaching staff—they had legal authority over teachers and even over the principal. Although, I didn’t see an instance where Officer Muñoz and Officer Hansen had to enforce laws as police officers within Washington High School, the fact that they theoretically could, coupled with their aloof

²⁸ The U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement webpage states: “Secure Communities is a simple and common sense way to carry out ICE’s priorities. It uses an already-existing federal information-sharing partnership between ICE and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that helps to identify criminal aliens without imposing new or additional requirements on state and local law enforcement”. Secure Communities allows state and local police to check the fingerprints of an individual they are booking into a jail against Department of Homeland Security (DHS) immigration databases. If there is a match in an immigration database, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) is automatically notified, even if the person has not been convicted of any criminal act.

disposition made them, in my opinion, intimidating and unapproachable –two qualities that are not conducive for student learning.

My first encounter with Officer Muñoz was during lunchtime in the hallway of the building where her office was located. The following excerpt from my field notes describes this encounter:

I came across two students dressed in the police academy uniform in the hallway leading to the JROTC wing. I approached them, introduced myself and asked if I could interview them... [] As I had barely begun the interview, [Officer Muñoz] came out of [her office] and interrupted me abruptly in a very stern and reproaching voice... “What are you doing?” I was a bit startled from the mere volume of her voice. I introduced myself to her and told her about my study. She said “Oh OK, go ahead –you can interview these two...” and gave the students and I “permission” even though we didn’t really need it. The principal of the school had granted me permission to interview students during lunchtime, with their consent, but she [officer Muñoz] made me feel like I needed her permission. I poked my head into the room where she came from – it looked like a staff-lounge and there was another officer there (white male). Both officers were wearing the full police uniform and were fully armed (FN8, page 4).

Officer Muñoz made me feel like I was doing something wrong when in fact I had the permission of the school principal to conduct my interviews. I can see how I might have looked out of place—interviewing students with an audio recorder. It was understandable that Officer Muñoz had questions for me. However, the way in which she interrupted me felt a bit over the top. Officer Muñoz assumed that she had authority over me and it was O.K. for her to talk to me like I was a child. No one else that I encountered at the school interacted with me in the same way. This encounter contrasted sharply with my first encounter with Sgt. Larsen. Although Sgt. Larsen was skeptical about my project at first, he welcomed me into the JROTC wing, had a long conversation with me and invited me to come and visit the JROTC wing any time I wanted. I did not expect the same warm welcome from everyone. However, as a professional and an adult I had been conditioned to anticipate a certain level of respect.

I didn't ask how students felt about having on duty police officers as their teachers, but I myself, as a researcher and a Ph.D. candidate, felt a bit intimidated by them and didn't feel free to engage with them. This might have been a personality issue, however, police officers are not in a profession where they are expected to create a nurturing, loving environment conducive to learning—on the contrary, they are enforcers of the law and hence have to be forceful, imposing and intimidating. Also, they have legal permission to use physical force. This, coupled with the fact that the officers had no training as teachers, made their presence in the classroom problematic. I wanted to hear Officer Muñoz's perspective on her assignment to the school site but I was unable to interview her. Although I had multiple conversations with Sgt. Larsen and interviewed him twice, once formally and once informally, I was not able to get any interviews with either Officer Muñoz or Officer Hansen. When I asked whether I could interview them, they evaded my question and referred me to the P.E. instructor who co-taught the P.T. classes with them.

Discourses of "Leadership" and "Discipline":

Similar to the JROTC program, the Police Academy Magnet was portrayed to the public as a program that promoted "leadership" and "discipline" and prepared students for college. In a newspaper article published a decade ago, the founder of the Police Academy Magnet described the program as:

[A] four-year career program for students interested in law enforcement...[It] is a college-bound curriculum that teaches self-discipline and self-sufficiency and emphasizes topics in law and criminal justice, report writing, morality, ethics, physical fitness, forensic science and community service.

The article stated that in addition to the expected curriculum (such as topics in law, criminal justice, report writing and physical fitness), the program also taught students illusive

and ambiguous things such as “self-discipline,” “self-sufficiency,” “morality” and “ethics.”

There was no explanation about the form and content of the “morality” and “ethics” that students were taught. However, the premise behind the purpose of the Police Academy Magnet was that it was for students who lacked these qualities and that this program was their remedy. It was interesting that the Police Academy Magnets in the district, similar to the JROTC programs, were primarily found in schools serving predominantly low-income, non-white communities.

The founder of the Police Academy Magnet program detailed the way in which students became “self-disciplined.”

Students wear uniforms, stand when an adult enters the room, work at police facilities, participate in a range of activities sponsored by [the Washington City Police Department] and volunteer at the school and in the community.

According to the founder, “discipline” meant compliance and students were taught “self-discipline” through the wearing of the Police Academy uniforms, ritualized ways of addressing adults, drill and ceremony practices and assuming leadership roles that were hierarchical. Students also were asked to volunteer at school and other community events similar to the JROTC program. Mr. Parker, one of the teachers in the Police Academy Magnet, stated in a formal interview that students were taught “core values” that the Washington City Police Department expected of cadets among which were “ethics,” “morality,” student responsibility, citizenship, “good demeanor” and adherence to rules.

The Police Academy, similar to the JROTC program, was seen as a program that taught students “leadership,” “responsibility” and “discipline.” This was not only the perspective of the founder of the program and of the teaching staff but also of some parents who placed their children in the program for those purposes. For instance, Ms. Hernandez, a parent, placed her daughter Juana in the Police Academy Magnet because she perceived it to provide an

environment where her daughter could “thrive.” Ms. Hernandez was a 45 year old, single mother who was a homemaker and a parent volunteer at Washington High School. She was very active within the school community and particularly the parent center. She described her role within the school as an interpreter and a mentor:

I interpret for other parents who have any difficulties in the school with their children and I help other children know about gang violence because I was in a gang before and I tell them it doesn't lead them anywhere and just try to encourage them to be themselves, and to love themselves, to educate themselves (IT7, page 1).

Ms. Hernandez had four children. Her two eldest daughters dropped out of high school and one of them became a drug addict. Ms. Hernandez had decided that this was not going to happen to her two youngest children. This was the reason why she pushed her daughter Juana to join the Police Academy Magnet. She perceived the Police Academy Magnet as a place that had “tight control” over students and a place that would keep her daughter “out of trouble.” She also perceived the magnet program to have a more rigorous academic environment than the rest of the school. Ms. Hernandez recognized that magnet schools had more resources, funding and prestige than the rest of the school—that they were exclusive programs. She wanted her daughter to have the best education that was available for her. Also, she hoped that it would lead her daughter into pursuing a meaningful postsecondary path.

S.A.: How did your daughter get into the police academy?

Ms. Hernandez: I pushed it on her (laugh). She didn't wanna make a decision and I forced her to get into the Police Academy [] Um... I was involved in the school and I'd ask questions and you know and I found out what was available for her and how she could do something that was meaningful, you know, to the, to the community you know... to her.

S.A.: And why the Police Academy in particular?

Ms. Hernandez: I think that that's an honorable job. Maybe some people don't look at it like that but I think it's an honorable job and it has, it comes with some respect and dignity and that's what I want for her. Some respect for herself and for the community. The police –are –here –for –us [with emphasis] to help us, to keep order in our communities (IT7, pages 1-2).

Ms. Hernandez wanted Juana to pursue a career in law enforcement—she perceived the profession to be honorable, respectful and attainable. She associated the police with “honor,” “order” and “structure” and she believed that her daughter would flourish in an environment where these values were promoted. During a conversation prior to our formal interview she stated that her daughter had a desire to become a fashion designer. However, she had discouraged her from pursuing that course and encouraged her to get into law-enforcement instead because she stated: *“Let’s be real, that’s where all the jobs are.”* Ms. Hernandez saw herself as a pragmatic person and she perceived the Police Academy Magnet to be the best practical choice for her daughter. She stated that it was much easier for her daughter to be successful and earn a “decent living” as a police officer than as a fashion designer with “no connections.” The starting salary for a police officer in the Washington City Police Department was \$46,600 (for a high school graduate), which was more than the \$45,600 starting salary for a teacher at Washington High School (with a bachelor’s degree and at least a teaching credential). This reminded me of my own parents, first generation immigrants, who discouraged me from being an artist and encouraged me to study something practical like “mathematics” so that I would always have a way to earn a living—and they were right.

Militarized Practices:

Similar to the JROTC program, the discourses and practices within the Police Academy Magnet program at Washington High School revolved around notions of “discipline” and “leadership” that were highly militarized. Students participated in activities and assumed leadership roles that mirrored roles and activities within a real police academy. Furthermore,

these activities and roles were not very different than the activities and roles that students assumed within the JROTC program; that in turn mirrored the military.

Uniforms:

The Police Academy Magnet uniforms were very similar to the JROTC uniforms. The only distinguishable difference between them, from an outsider's perspective, was the color: the JROTC uniforms were olive green and the Police Academy Magnet uniforms were navy blue. The Police Academy magnet, similar to the JROTC program, emphasized the importance of the uniform. Students wore their Police Academy uniforms once a week to campus and they spent a significant portion of the class period checking the proper wearing of the uniforms.

During my formal observation of the P.T. class, ten minutes of class time was spent on taking attendance and 20 minutes spent on the uniform check (FN8). Students from both the Police Academy Magnet and the JROTC (254 students or approximately 10% of the entire student population at Washington High School) wore their uniforms once a week, and often on the same day. In addition to giving heightened visibility for both programs and also for the professions that they represented, wearing of the uniforms contributed to the occupation of physical and visual spaces on campus with militarized images.

Drill and Ceremony in the P.T. Class:

My first encounter with the Police Academy Magnet program was during a class period when I happened to be walking through one of the quad areas within the school campus and I noticed students in a column formation conducting drill exercises. I thought at first that this was one of the JROTC classes. However, as I approached them, I found out that it was a Police

Academy Magnet P.T. class. The similarities between the two classes were striking. On days when students did not wear their uniforms it was hard to tell which class was the JROTC class and which one was the Police Academy P.T. class—except for the size of the classes. The JROTC classes were much smaller than the P.T. classes. The following vignette is from a formal observation of the P.T. class:

[Officer Muñoz] told me that I can come and interview students in her class right after lunch. I told her that I rather not take away from class-time. She insisted and said: "it's not a problem!" As we were talking, the bell rang and lunchtime was over so she told me to go ahead of her and wait for her in the quad where the class was being held. She and [Officer Hansen] were finishing up their lunch. I went downstairs into the quad area and saw students in a line formation (It looked like it could have been the JROTC class) The lead officer (12th grade, Latino student) was calling roll and as he called each student's names they replied in a ceremonial fashion "Here sir!" Another adult was supervising the class but she didn't seem to be an officer. She wasn't dressed in uniform [] the roll call lasted a good 10 minutes and then they (student leaders) began the inspection of the uniforms. As that was going on (30 minutes into the class) the officers finally came down from their office. [Officer Muñoz] called the student officer first in command and told him about me. The student then approached me and told me that I could interview any of the students that I wanted. I said I don't want to disturb what they're doing and that I would interview students after class was over. Following the roll call and the inspection of the uniforms, the student officer first in command, led the class in some drill and ceremony exercises. Another student, who seemed to be second in command, was walking around and yelling to students to look straight ahead and focus. (FN8, pages 4-5).

Similar to the JROTC, students assumed teaching responsibilities within the P.T. classroom. These teaching responsibilities were not occasional but part of the daily routine within the P.T. classroom—so much so that classes would often be run by students without the presence of instructors—as was demonstrated by my observation of the P.T. class and conversation with a Police Academy magnet teacher. The police officers in charge of instruction were not present until halfway through the class period. Although there was an adult supervising students, she was not engaged in any of the class activities but was observing everything from a distance. There were well-established routines within the P.T. classrooms that students

participated in without the assistance or presence of adults. Student leaders were very much at ease with their leadership and teaching roles.

Although giving students responsibilities and leadership roles is generally good teaching practice, the form and the content of the activities in which students participate in is just as important. Similar to the JROTC, the leadership roles that students assumed within the P.T. classroom were embedded in the hierarchical structure of the Police Academy Magnet program and they mirrored the structures and relationships within the police force. Also, the practices within the P.T. classroom were almost identical to the practices within the JROTC classroom, which in turn mirrored practices in the military. For instance, students in the Police Academy Magnet program were referred to as “cadets” (which is an officer in training) and given titles such as lieutenant—titles used within the police force. Also, these were the same titles used to refer to students in the JROTC program and also to soldiers in the military.

Student leaders enacted their authority over other students through practices such as the highly formalized roll call, the uniform check and the drill and ceremony exercises. The manner in which the P.T. classes were run reified rigid hierarchical relationships where students gave orders to others (their subordinates) and followed orders of their “superiors.” During my formal observation of the P.T. class, student leaders not only were commanding their fellow students to “behave” properly but they also served as the intermediary between the police officers and myself. I felt that it was a bit comical for the Police Officers to communicate to me via the student leader and tell me that I could go ahead and interview students, as if they were too important to convey their own message to me. Through this act, I was being drawn to participate in the militarized spectacle of the P.T. classroom. It was also very problematic that they told me I could interview students during class time because—given the structure of the class and the way

that students were expected to follow orders—I didn't think that students would have felt free to give their true consent for the interviews. Also, interviewing students during class would have interfered with their instructional time. Hence, I told the student leader that I would conduct interviews at a later point, on my own time.

The socialization of students into rigid hierarchical ways of relating to each other was not contained within the context of the drill and ceremony exercises and the formal instruction within the P.T. classroom. Students embodied and enacted their ranks in other settings as well. Juana, Ms. Hernandez's daughter, described her experiences within the Police Academy Magnet program and particularly the P.T. classroom.

Juana: I didn't want to be yelled at. But I've only gotten yelled at like once! Other than that I do all the yelling (laugh).

S.A.: Are you an officer?

Juana: No I didn't try out for ranks but I I have, I don't know I give commands to the people anyways and nobody questions me so it's like "lock it up" or "close the door" and they're like "yes ma'am!"

S.A.: So are you in a higher position to tell other people, students what to do?

Juana: No, when you get in as a freshman you'll have like anything but it's like a natural rank when you go up in like your grade levels. So if you don't have rank but you're a senior you can tell a freshman and underclassmen what to do.

S.A.: Ok, and they usually respond?

Juana: Yeah, but if you're like a freshman and you have lieutenant II rank you can tell seniors what to do.

S.A.: Ok, so do other students tell you what to do?

Juana: Sometimes...they're just like "do this", but I'm like "no you do it" and they'll do it (laugh) (IT8, page 3).

Juana described her interactions with other students in the program in terms of "yelling" or "being yelled at." It was interesting that she used the word "yelling" as it implied reprimanding and also commanding. The "yelling" or the commanding was performed by students who had a higher positioning and directed towards those who had a lower positioning. The positioning of students had to do with their formal rank/title or their seniority within the Police Academy Magnet. It was interesting that ranking trumped seniority.

Juana alluded to some of the ways that students enacted authority over other students outside of the P.T. training and drill and ceremony context. She stated that she would order her classmates to do things such as “closing the door” or “locking up.” Although Juana did not have a high rank within the P.T. classroom, she assumed or performed the role of a “leader” and she stated that no one questioned her. Juana didn’t like “being told what to do,” so the way that she resisted was by telling others “what to do” and pretending that she had a higher ranking. She was mimicking the behavior of someone “in charge” as a way of resisting and undermining the establish power relations within the program. When I asked Juana what she learned in the P.T. class, in addition to the P.T. curriculum she stated:

Juana: Um... well they have like core values like respect for your community, integrity in all you say and do, um...we learn like discipline like some people when they first come in they're like I'm not gonna take an order, like if you yell at me I'll yell at you back and then they're just like ok we get used to it but it's all like...it all depends on the person like some kids just defy all the way through. They're just not gonna do what you tell them to do. They're in it because they just don't want to go to their home school (IT8, page 4).

In addition to “respect” and “integrity”, it was interesting that Juana mentioned “discipline” as one of the “core values” of the Police Academy Magnet and she explained it as following orders. She described the process of being “disciplined” within the Police Academy as going from defiance to compliance and from resisting orders to getting used to them, giving in and following them. According to her, defiant students were those who were not going to do what they were told. Juana followed this explanation by saying that “They’re in it because they just don’t want to go to their home school” as opposed to being in it because they were necessarily interested in the Police Academy aspect of it. It was interesting that Juana prior to this explanation had stated that she herself was somewhat defiant and didn’t like to be told what to do. Although she resisted following orders and “being told what to do,” she recognized that this was what was required/expected of her within the program. Following her description of

“discipline” within the Police Academy context, I asked Juana what it meant to her to be disciplined. She replied:

Juana: Um... there's a lot of different meanings...like you can be disciplined like in your schoolwork or like not giving up. Like when I first went I'd say "I can't do it, I can't do it" and they're just like don't ever say you can't because you always can it just how much effort you're putting into it. And then I'll be able to do stuff like when I hang out with younger kids and they tell me "I can't do it" I'll say "you can! 'cause if I can do it, you can do it!" and I started off as a sophomore without any training and I'm trying to work my way up (IT8, page 4).

Juana saw discipline in two different ways. Within the context of the P.T. classroom, she defined “discipline” as following orders and being compliant. However, when I asked her opinion on what it meant to be disciplined, she described it as working hard, “not giving up” and being a role model for younger students.

The roll call, drill and ceremony exercises, the wearing of the uniform and the hierarchical ranks assumed by students were some of the militarized practices within the P.T. classroom that taught students a certain brand of “discipline” and “leadership.” Students within the P.T. classroom were engaged in role-playing being police officers. Also, because the practices within the P.T. classroom were very similar to those within the JROTC program, students, in a way, were also being trained to be soldiers. The Washington Police Department’s webpage concurred: *“Past and present Cadets agree that the program is rewarding and fun. They credit the program with teaching them skills that they bring with them into careers in law enforcement and the Armed Services.”*

Marksmanship vs. Law Enforcement Training:

Unlike the JROTC program, students within the Police Academy Magnet program did not have marksmanship training. When I asked Mr. Parsons, the magnet coordinator, about marksmanship training within the police academy he responded defensively:

S.A.: Do they [students] also have marksmanship training?

Mr. Parsons: [abruptly] there is NO shooting! And there is no weapons! It's, you know...you learn about carrying the belt, you know we've never even used like pretend guns and things like that, I mean it's just insurance and legal issues, things like that.

S.A.: I think Washington offers that through the JROTC...

Mr. Parsons: We don't do that! I mean I don't think, I have mixed feelings about that you know. There is so much more to police work than, you know, things of that nature and we like to... I think emphasize, kind of the thinking skills of police work as opposed to just going out and shooting guns. We do take them to, I mean they don't get to operate, to the shooting ranges at Washington Park (at a police academy in the neighborhood) and they do see that stuff um...you know, they get to talk to SWAT officers and stuff like that. No actual handling of weapons (IT4, page 6).

Similar to Sgt. Larsen, Mr. Parsons was hesitant about marksmanship and saw the problematic aspects of guns on campus. He did not want to convey in any way that “shooting guns” was something that the Police Academy endorsed or promoted. Students within the Police Academy Magnet did not receive marksmanship training or use mock rifles. However, they would go on regular visits to the local police academy shooting ranges and observe the marksmanship training of police officers. Also, the police officers who co-taught the P.T. classes carried their handguns on them all the time. Although students did not get experiential training in using handguns or rifles, they observed police officers shooting their guns (at the shooting ranges) and carrying them on their belts around campus.

Mr. Parsons stated that there was “so much more to police work” than “shooting guns” and that the Police Academy Magnet emphasized the “thinking skills” involved in police work—giving the impression that students used critical thinking skills and problem solving within the P.T. classroom. From my observations of the P.T. classroom and my interviews with students

and one of the P.T. instructors, I did not find much evidence supporting that claim. When I asked Mr. Parker, one of the non-police P.T. instructors, about the curriculum of the P.T. class, he responded:

In the P.T. class [] our curriculum is pretty much based on the Washington City Police Department standards. We teach the core values, we teach um... the City Police Department core values, we teach the phonetic code, we teach um... handcuffing techniques, [] you know it it's as close as we can get it to being a police academy [] and we do touch on all the criminology and things like that and we um...talk about the law and what the codes are and everything else... You know, um...basic calls on the radio, and things like that and just things that they will be exposed to, and things that also, you know, things like the difference between the letter of the law and kinda the... you know, the enforcement of the law and how there is that slight difference and just going through the criminology and the thought process of that (IT9, page 4).

Although Mr. Parker alluded to some activities that might require higher thinking skills such as analyzing the difference “between the letter of the law” and the “enforcement of the law” and talked about teaching students the “thought process” behind criminology, everything else that he stated regarding the curriculum of the P.T. class revolved around memorization of core values, police codes and radio calls and learning things like handcuffing techniques.

Also, in a formal interview, Juana, Ms. Hernandez’s daughter, detailed the types of things that she learned within the P.T. classroom:

Juana: [] Police Academy is just one period so it takes place of your P.E. period. Instead of having it for two years, you have it for all the four years. And you work out and you run, you exercise, sometimes you do scenarios where we use a police cop-car and an officer will bring a cop car and we'll use a cop car and we'll do like a pull over and approach or um... low risk frisk...

S.A.: What's that?

Juana: Like when you frisk a person that's low risk, like they look like a person but they're not high risk like with guns or weapons or like, said to be deadly people. So it's just like “ok, stop please, raise your hands, put your palms together behind your head and interlace your fingers” and then like grab their hands and help them or whatever, touch them (motioning a pat down).

S.A.: Do you use handcuffs?

Juana: No we just pretend because if somebody loses a key we'll have someone handcuffed for the rest of the day (laugh).

S.A.: That's a good point (IT8, pages 3-4).

Similar to Mr. Parsons, the aspects of the P.T. class that Juana highlighted were not centered around collaboration, critical thinking or problem posing. Although I did not prod Juana about how one would make the decision whether a person was “high risk” vs. “low risk” the fact that students were taught profiling as a taken-for-granted practice was troubling. In a community where police brutality was not uncommon and people were often pulled over and harassed by the police solely based on how they looked—teaching profiling to students as a taken-for-granted, normalized practice was troubling to me. There was no evidence that students were taught to look at these practices critically and identify the problematic aspects of profiling.

III. Conflation of the Police and the Military:

Although there was no evidence of collaboration between the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet at Washington High School, the two programs independently promoted, taught and reinforced the same types of practices and values. Some of the common practices included the promotion of a certain brand of “discipline” and “leadership” through practices such as drill and ceremony exercises, the hierarchical ranks assumed by students and the wearing of the uniform. Both programs promoted values such as compliance, obedience, uniformity, patriotism, etc. As stated previously, it was hard to distinguish the P.T. classes from the JROTC ones on non-uniform days.

When I formally interviewed Sgt. Larsen, the JROTC lead instructor, I asked him whether there were similarities between the Police Academy Magnet and the JROTC programs and whether there was any collaboration between them. Although Sgt. Larsen recognized that they were similar he stated that there was no formal collaboration between the two programs at Washington High School. However, he also stated that in some schools, where there were no

police officers, the JROTC instructors taught the P.T. classes because they were trained to teach “drill” exercises whereas P.E. teachers were not.

Sgt. Larsen: In some schools the JROTC instructors actually teach the police academy classes. For instance, they don't have, for drill, they don't have instructors that are qualified to do drill. They don't have regulations governing how it's supposed to be done. For JROTC if you see drill here and you go to Texas or North Carolina it's all the same. If you...you can take my curriculum here and take it to any other school in any other state anywhere else and it's the same. We're standardized across. Most schools laugh because they try to standardize a school...we're standardized across a country (IT5, page 7)!

Although Sgt. Larsen saw the two programs as separate, he stated, at the same time, that the JROTC instructors (military veterans) were qualified to take on the roles of the police officers in instructing the P.T. classes because the curriculum (i.e. “drill”) was the same in both programs. The instructors of the programs (military veterans and active duty police officers) were seen as having interchangeable roles in instructing the two classes—one could stand in place of the other because, according to Sgt. Larsen, they both had the same training—whereas non-veterans and non-police officers (i.e. civilians) such as physical education teachers were not qualified to instruct students in “drill” in either program.

At another instance, Sgt. Larsen talked about the way in which JROTC students provided “security” for the sports games. It was deemed appropriate for JROTC students to provide “security”—which is something that is traditionally seen as connected with policing.

[Sgt. Larsen] told me that he had a long day ahead of him and that he was going to be on campus until 8:00pm. I asked him why and he told me that JROTC was doing the security for the football game and he had to be there until the end. I asked him if they usually provided security for sports games, he said that they did. I asked if the police academy also provided security. He said that they actually should provide security because it makes more sense and they had done this in the past, but the few times that they did, it turned out to be a disaster. So the school asked if the JROTC could take care of it instead. He told me that the police academy students pulled a prank once and that they were not as mature and as professional as his students, so they [the JROTC students] ended up doing the security for sports event (FN10, page 3).

Sgt. Larsen acknowledged that “security” is something that is associated with policing and that it would have made more sense for the Police Academy Magnet students to assume that role. However, I wasn’t sure whether it was appropriate for any high school student to provide “security” at school events. My impression was that Sgt. Larsen used the word “security” loosely to refer to things such as checking tickets at the door and directing people to their seats. Nevertheless, the fact that JROTC students were asked to provide services that were described as “security” during sports events, communicated to me that school personnel saw participation in JROTC as something that gave students the appropriate background and training to then assume a policing role. Students in JROTC not only role-played being a soldier but also a “security” guard or campus police.

There were a number of other subtle ways that the two programs crossed paths. For instance, during the end of the year JROTC banquet/award ceremony there was an award given to a student from the Police Academy Magnet. Sgt. Larsen introduced the award recipient who was wearing his Police Academy uniform to the JROTC banquet. The student could not have been a participant in both programs because it would have required him/her to be enrolled in two “P.E.” classes every semester—P.T. and JROTC. Although it wasn’t clear how this particular student was involved with the JROTC program or why he got an award during the JROTC banquet—the fact that the JROTC program formally acknowledged and celebrated the accomplishments of someone in the Police Academy Magnet communicated, at the very least, that there was some connectedness, overlap, coordination or collaboration between the programs. It also communicated that whatever was practiced within one program was celebrated in the other.

The JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet were seen as similar programs that essentially had the same curriculum (i.e. “drill”). The roles of the instructors in both programs (military veterans and active duty police officers) were seen as interchangeable because their training was perceived as similar or the same. Furthermore, “policing” and “soldiering” were treated as interchangeable roles as evidenced by the role-playing of the JROTC students (trained in “soldiering”) as school “security” (taking policing roles) during sports games. Also, there were many instances when students and adults at Washington High School conflated the terms “military” and “police” in their discourse. An example of this type of conflation was during my interview with Felix, one of the JROTC students.

S.A.: Cool, so what do you want to do after you graduate?

Felix: I currently enlisted in the United States Marine Corps so I’m waiting for my shipment day.

S.A.: How did you decide to do that?

Felix: Um... my whole life it’s been based around the military life...

S.A.: How come?

Felix: Well my father was a police officer and um...I guess I wanted to be just like him you know...serve my nation so there was no better way to do it then to join the military and it’s just always been in me. It’s something I wanted to be (ITS2, INT5, page 2).

Felix, who was a high-ranking student leader within the JROTC program, had enlisted in the Marine Corps and was waiting for his shipment day right after graduation. He stated that the reason he joined the military was because his “whole life” was “based around the military.” When I prodded him to explain his statement, he responded by saying that his “father was a police officer” and he “wanted to be just like him.” It was interesting that Felix did not say: “my father was a police officer and that’s a similar profession to the military.” Felix conflated the words “military” and “police” in his discourse—he used the terms interchangeably. Not only did Felix talk about the police and the military as if they were the same profession, but also associated both professions with “patriotism” or serving one’s “nation.”

Another instance of conflation was during my interview with Mr. Parsons, the Police Academy Magnet coordinator. I asked Mr. Parsons whether the Police Academy Magnet provided internship opportunities for students. He responded:

[T]hey get a lot of internships that work, doing stuff with the [Washington]PD. None of them pay, but, it's you know, a lot of experiences. Far more than the law magnet um... You know they do a program that's paid for, it's a Marine program in the summer, you know, it's called devil pubs. Very intensive training kind of program which is you know, um... essentially a mentorship program. I'm looking into this year purchasing, it's not called idesign I think it's "I can be" or "I could be." It's an internet mentorship program for students and you register and it's all monitored. It's very safe, it's endorsed by the [the district and stuff. Maybe that's one way to get them some experience and contact, and kinda mentorship work with people in law and law enforcement (IT4, page 9).

In this excerpt Mr. Parsons listed two internships or mentorship programs offered through the Police Academy Magnet that connected students with “people in law and law enforcement.” He first mentioned an internship program with the Washington Police Department, followed by a program called the Devil Pubs²⁹, which is associated with the military. Although he introduced it as a “Marine” program in passing, he didn’t qualify it as not being law enforcement related per se. He didn’t offer an explanation about why the Police Academy Magnet was connecting students to a Marine Corps affiliated internship/mentorship program. The third program that he mentioned was something that he was considering to bring to the program in the future. So the only programs that were implemented were the first two. Also, at the end of his statement he summarized the programs as internships in “law enforcement” or policing and in doing so conflated the categories of “police” and “military.”

²⁹ The Devil Pubs official website stated “In 1953, retired Marine Corps Colonel Duncan Shaw, Sr., learned that a group of teenagers burned an American flag at a Southern California high school. Aggravated by this activity and the attitudes among American youth it represented, Colonel Shaw and a group of retired Marine Corps Reserve Officers, now prominent Southern California businessmen, asked the Commandant of the Marine Corps to help with a community benefit project that would aid the development of character qualities in teenage boys and girls, and enable them to become healthier and more successful young citizens”. The program denies any official connection to or sponsorship by the Marine Corps and states on its website that it is not a recruiting organization for the Marine Corps. However, the fact that retired Marine Corps reserve officers formed the organization, demonstrates that it is a military related organization.

Another instance of conflation of the “police” and the “military” took place during a classroom presentation by military recruiters. After the military recruiters completed their forty-five minute presentation, they held a Q & A session and one of the students in the class asked whether there were special perks associated with being in the military.

Leo: “Is it true that if you’re in the military and you speed you get out of a ticket?” SSG Mendez responded jokingly: “We don’t speed! (Students laughed)... (SSG Mendez continued more seriously) We are part of one brotherhood, if you’re a cop and see the military sticker on a car then you would let the person go.” He told students about the time when he thought he had a parking ticket on his windshield, but when he opened the envelope it was a note saying “Be careful where you park”(FN16, page 12)!

Although the military recruiter did not use the terms “military” and “police” interchangeably, he stated that they were “one brotherhood.” The term “brotherhood” implied something deeper than just similarity and interrelation—it implied a deep sense of connection, unity and allegiance. It almost had the ring of a college fraternity. This connection and allegiance meant that people from the “brotherhood” would “cut slack” for each other, “let things slide” or give each other preferential treatment. SSG Mendez also implied that when someone was a member of this “brotherhood”, then they were not held to the same standards as others or they were slightly above the law—as marked by his response “If you’re a cop and see the military sticker on a car then you would let the person go.”

The conflation of the terms “military” and “police” in the discourses of students and adults demonstrated that the two professions were seen, at least, as closely related and at most as the same profession or different branches of the same profession. Therefore a program promoting the “police” could have been perceived as promoting the “military” and vice versa.

IV. College, Law Enforcement or the Military?

The prevalent narrative about the Police Academy Magnet was that it was a program that promoted discipline, prepared students for college and exposed them to careers in law enforcement. Although there was plenty of evidence suggesting that the Police Academy was promoting law enforcement as a career path, there was not much evidence supporting the claim that it promoted college. Furthermore, the militarized practices within the Police Academy Magnet P.T. classes and its similarity with the JROTC program—as detailed in the previous sections—demonstrated that the Police Academy Magnet was indirectly promoting the military as well.

During my interview with Mr. Parsons, he stated that the Police Academy Magnet, prior to his arrival, did not have a “college going” culture but rather a culture that promoted the military.

[W]hen I started [teaching in the Police Academy Magnet] fewer [students] were looking at college. I mean I remember my first year as a teacher at a senior class and, you know... the senior class [was] between 25 and 30 that year. Twelve went into the Marines! We had a culture of ...I think...the Armed Forces...um...Even when I started this program, there were still a lot of kids who kinda saw that as their route. I think [] the counselor and myself took a different angle. We really began to focus on college, community college, as a route, Cal States and they have a fairly high... I would say 70% are now attending a four year. A vast majority, Cal States um...although we have had some starting to get into the UC's, UC Santa Barbara, UCLA, um... UC San Diego so...I think in the last five years that culture is really changed—being far more of a college going culture now which is one of the things I look at [] in a proud, prideful way [] I think we've really worked hard to change that mentality of oh the police academy, the Marines and then try to get a job in law enforcement after that (IT4, page 4).

Mr. Parsons stated that, prior to his assignment as the magnet coordinator, many students from the Police Academy Magnet would choose to go into the military. It was interesting that he attributed this to a culture of “the Armed Forces” within the program and to the “mentality” of going from the “Police Academy, [to] the Marines and then try[ing] to get a job in law

enforcement.” Although Mr. Parsons stated that this was a thing of the past, and that through his efforts and the efforts of the counselor they had changed the culture of the program to “more of a college going” one, my observations of the program and interviews with students and teachers demonstrated otherwise. Perhaps the program was less militarized now that it had been in the past. However, it was hard to imagine a more militarized Police Academy Magnet than the one that I observed during my data collection year.

The path from the military to law enforcement was not simply a matter of students’ perceptions—it was explicitly promoted by the Washington City Police Department. The website of the police department stated that they offered “an exceptional career opportunity for men and women transitioning out of the military, with excellent salaries and benefits” and that police officers “that are military veterans are highly encouraged to wear their military ribbons on their [police] uniforms.”

Mr. Parsons spoke about the promotion of the military within the Police Academy without reservation contrary to Sgt. Larsen who profusely denied that the military was promoted within the JROTC program. Although Mr. Parsons explained that this was no longer the case and that the program was moving towards promoting college, there was a plethora of evidence demonstrating that the Police Academy Magnet still had a very strong culture of “the Armed Forces”—as demonstrated in the previous sections. Also, three out of the five students that I interviewed, from one Police Academy P.T. class, wanted to join the military. Although these students were randomly selected from one P.T. class and they might not have been representative of the Police Academy Magnet program, their perspectives were illuminating.

Fabian who was a senior in the Police Academy Magnet had decided to go into the Marine Corps right after high school. When I asked him about how he made his decision he responded:

Oh, ever since I was little, I've always seen commercials and everything and the police academy has helped me to develop my communication skills and my leadership traits and all that and so I guess I just want to build on it for my future (ITS 1, INT1, page 1).

Although Fabian invoked the popular “ever since I was little” reply that many students gave when they were asked about their career aspirations—implying that it was an intrinsic affinity—he continued by saying that he’s always seen commercials and that the police academy has helped him develop his “communication skills and leadership traits.” It was interesting that in addition to the commercials³⁰ that he saw outside of the school context, the Police Academy was the school related factor that influenced his interest in the military. Although the Police Academy did not explicitly promote the military, it was interesting that Fabian viewed his training in the Police Academy Magnet as a preparation for the military or the military as a place where he could build on the things that he had learned within the Police Academy Magnet.

Luis, who was a freshman, also had an interest in joining the Marine Corps. When I asked him what had shaped his interest, he responded: *“Well always, ever since I was little I loved the military...the things that they make you do...the discipline your learn...”(ITS1, INT4, page2)*. Raymond, a senior, was also contemplating the Marine Corps. When I asked him why he had an interest in the Marine Corps, he replied: *“It’s because I love my country and I’m willing to serve for it”* (ITS1, INT5, page 2). Three out of the five students that I interviewed were contemplating the military and particularly the Marine Corps. This was not a surprise because the Marine Corps and the Army were the two branches of the military that were heavily

³⁰ Although the heavy advertising campaign of the military is no doubt a big contributing factor in drawing students to the military, this study is primarily concerned with the schooling practices that promote the military.

promoted at Washington High School. The Marine Corps and the Army also had lower requirements for enlisting than the Navy and the Air Force—which were viewed as the more prestigious branches of the military. Out of the five students that I interviewed, from the one P.T. class, Javier was the only one who was interested in joining a Police Academy and pursuing law enforcement and Jamila was the only one who was interested in attending college and studying Architecture.

Aside from these five students, I also interviewed Juana who was placed in the program by her mother Ms. Hernandez. As I had stated earlier, Ms. Hernandez wanted her daughter to pursue a career in law enforcement because it was a practical, attainable and a “respectable” career that would enable her daughter to earn a “decent living.” When I asked Juana what she was planning on doing after high school, she stated:

Juana: Well, since I've been in the Police Academy I think I'm just gonna be a cop nowadays and that's what I'm gonna do but...I don't know, there was a lot of things that I wanted to do when I was growing up...

S.A.: Like what?

Juana: I wanted to be...um...what did I wanna be?... I wanted to do pathology like cutting people up and doing autopsies like other stuff. I don't think I have the stomach for that anymore. I tried...I think I'll throw up or something (laugh) and then I won't be able to tell what happened to the body like that's my food that I ate a few days ago (laugh) Um... then I wanted to be some kind of artist, photographer or fashion designer. I wanted to do the jobs like those that kids wanna do, like when you're young you wanna be a doctor, or a ballerina or like a teacher...I don't wanna do that...

S.A.: Why not?

Juana: I don't know. I just don't want to do that kind of stuff. That doesn't spark my interest like I don't wanna be a teacher, too much dealing with little kids, I can't really do it myself (IT8, page 6).

Juana said that she had decided to be a police officer after joining the Police Academy Magnet program. Although she had interests in different careers like medicine, photography and art, she considered those to be unrealistic, unattainable and even childish. She distinguished between things one dreams of doing when they are young and idealistic versus the things that

one actually ends up doing as an adult. Although Juana's decision was undoubtedly influenced by her mother's desires for her, the Police Academy Magnet also had its role in shaping her decision. During our interview, Juana stated that what the Police Academy Magnet had taught her was policing techniques and "discipline." She did not mention college once. It was interesting that after joining the Police Academy Magnet, Juana had become more cynical or "realistic" about her postsecondary pursuits.

In my interviews with 74 random students, during lunchtime, in the main quad of the campus and over the course of a year, the career path that received the most number of mentions (the career path that students perceived as most promoted within their school) was law enforcement (31), followed by careers in the medical field (28), education (25), the arts (17), the military (11) and nine other (much smaller) categories (see Figure 7.1). There were only six mentions of careers in "law." It was significant that students perceived "police" or "law enforcement" to be the most promoted career on campus even though the Police Academy Magnet was not the largest specialized program—it was the Law Magnet. So I would have expected that students would see "law" as the most promoted career. However, given that many students interpreted "law" as "criminology" or "criminal justice" (as I will show in the coming section) this was not a surprise.

Also, six out of the eleven mentions of the military were in the same breath as the police. For instance when I asked Ernesto about the careers or postsecondary paths that were promoted at Washington High School he stated: "Like policeman, going out to fight for the United States like being in the Army, stuff like that" (25M). For this reason, as well as all the aforementioned evidence in this chapter about the ways in which the "police" and the "military" were seen as

very similar or the same, I thought that it was appropriate to group these two categories into one (see figure 7.1).

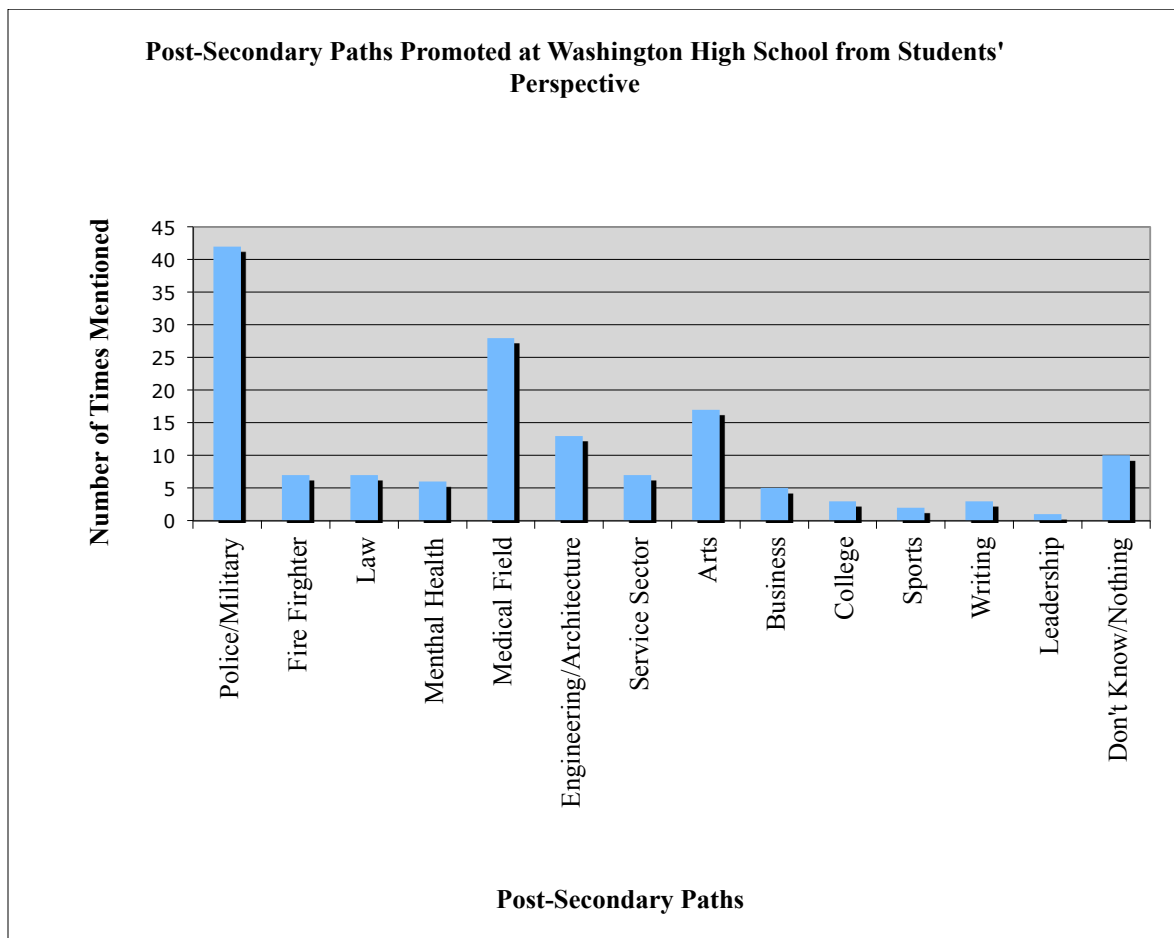


Figure 7.1: Postsecondary paths promoted at Washington High School from students' perspectives

The Police Academy Magnet explicitly promoted careers in law enforcement whereas the JROTC program implicitly promoted the military as a postsecondary path (as demonstrated in the prior chapter). However, the similarities of practices and values promoted within the two programs—as well as the conflation of the roles of “policing” and “soldiering” and the conflation of the terms “police” and “military” in the discourses of adults and students—demonstrated some cross-promotion between the two programs and the postsecondary paths that they represented.

The primary postsecondary path that the Police Academy Magnet promoted was law enforcement followed by the military whereas the primary postsecondary path that the JROTC promoted was the military, followed by law enforcement. Although there was some evidence (symbolic evidence) suggesting that law enforcement was promoted within the JROTC, there was much stronger evidence suggesting that the military was promoted in the Police Academy Magnet program. Among the seven students that I interviewed from a JROTC class, none of them were interested in law enforcement, however, three of them wanted to join the military. Also, three out of five of the students that I interviewed from a P.T. class wanted to join the military and only one of them wanted to pursue law enforcement.

Perhaps, this was because joining the police force had more requirements than joining the military. For instance, a student was able to join the military at the age of seventeen, while still a minor in high school and sometimes without a high school diploma. In contrast joining the police force had a higher age requirement (20 or 21 depending on the type of position) and a minimum of a high school diploma. Although both programs promoted the military and law enforcement, the path from high school to the military was shorter and more accessible than the path from high school to law enforcement. Hence, joining the military was a more attainable goal and was seen as a stepping-stone to a career in law enforcement.

Although there was evidence suggesting that the Police Academy Magnet promoted careers in law enforcement and the military, there was not much evidence that it promoted college. This was significant because parents viewed the Police Academy Magnet as a program that promoted college and law enforcement but not necessarily the military. For instance when I asked Ms. Hernandez (whose daughter was in the Police Academy) how she would feel if her daughter decided to join the military, she replied:

Ms. Hernandez: I wouldn't, but I would respect her choice and I would support her even if I... even if I didn't like it, I would support her.

S.A.: I'm sorry, I didn't catch that! Did you say you wouldn't want her to?

Ms. Hernandez: No! but even if I don't like it I would support her. It would crush my heart! Yeah. It would crush my heart but unfortunately I live in this country (laugh) I'm not going nowhere (laugh). So if she's going to defend this country then god bless her! Cause I know that's a tough choice also. And we talked about it too (IT7, page 4).

Ms. Hernandez did not want her daughter to join the military. In fact, she felt strongly about this and said: “it would crush [her] heart!” Although Juana had no intention of going into the military, her best friend in the Police Academy Magnet had enlisted. I wonder whether Ms. Hernandez would have placed her daughter in the Police Academy Magnet had she perceived it as also promoting the military.

V. The Law Magnet: An Extension of the Police Academy?

Although the Law Magnet program was not the focus of my study, I thought that its connection to the Police Academy Magnet was significant and worth a short discussion. The Law Magnet as well as the Police Academy Magnet were under the same leadership and administration with Mr. Parsons as the coordinator of both programs. Similar to the Police Academy Magnet, the Law Magnet promoted a certain brand of “law” that was primarily focused on law enforcement. Also, the program promoted certain practices that were focused on control and enforcement similar to the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet programs.

Mr. Parsons perceived the Law Magnet to be the more “academic” program out of the two magnets. He stated that

The law magnet has always had a strong tradition of []being a college bound program that really pushes the students to look at life after high school in terms of education um... and we've had great success in terms of ...you know students going into Ivy League schools and going into top UC schools and you know um...great small private schools like the Claremont Colleges or Smith or Williams things like that um...for our law magnet students. You know [] and those are kind of our top years and you know students

fluctuate with different things [] but you know I still think even in down years, you know, what we call down years, you know, students, probably 80%, are still going into 4 years, into Cal States, you know, a UC, maybe a second tier UC school and we push that you know. We really push them to look at all their options, look at all the different types of schools they have. We try to get them to go out of state um...that's you know...only a few brave ones will go out of state um...so it's been you know, I'll say 80% that's a rough estimate, in some years it may be higher, some years a little bit lower (IT4, page 3).

At an initial glance, the Law Magnet seemed like an impressive program. Mr. Parsons highlighted the “college going” culture of the Law Magnet, giving the impression that it was an impressive prep school in an urban setting, promoting college, and ultimately law school as a postsecondary path for students. He gave impressive statistics such as 80% of students going into four-year colleges and universities. He described the “college bound” curriculum of the Law Magnet program in the following way:

[]...well the history is that we've always had um... a constitutional law class for the Juniors and we also have a psych and sociology class which was also focused on kind of legal issues—so their last two years they would get those classes. Now, with our new schedule, um...they get a law class every year. So we have like youth law, um...we have an environmental class, I think we're calling it urban ecology, [] legal urban issues um...they still have constitutional law, they still have psych/soc. So they actually get elective of the law every year all the way through their senior year um...so they get hit with it a lot. Plus the social studies, English classes emphasize, I think, legal issues and.... You know we'll build it into their curriculum and their pacing plans thematically (IT4, page 4).

By stating that the Law Magnet offered students “constitutional law” and “psych and sociology” classes, Mr. Parsons painted a highly rigorous and academic picture of the program. He contrasted his impressive description of the Law Magnet curriculum with the Police Academy Magnet program—saying that the latter did not always have a strong college going culture but rather a culture of “the Armed Forces.” Although Mr. Parsons built up the image of the Law Magnet as the more “college” oriented program, the one example of college that he gave was that of a student who went to a military academy:

Mr. Parsons: You know I've had one student from the law magnet get into West Point and she was so talented in every way um...and she had, she had her CHOICE of schools, but she had her whole life been really dedicated to try and get into West Point and she'd been...I mean, I remember the day that she told me um... I was teaching then and she... I had written a lot of letters of rec for her and was beginning to send them out so it was probably early December, late November but she came in, she just walked into the class that wasn't her class and she said: "I did it! I got in!" and she said "you can stop writing my letters, I'm going" and she did it. She is you know, she is... I hear from her occasionally. She's been very successful in the military...

S.A.: What does she do?

Parsons: She is, I don't know what the military position is, but she learned, you know, multiple languages. She was always, I think, tri-lingual so she was, she was Korean, spoke Korean, she spoke English, she learned Spanish here um...and then she went into the military and learned two more languages and she was, you know...she's moved up, she's an officer, she's is having a, you know, very successful career [] (IT4, page 5).

Although, the overall student population of Washington High School, as well as the two magnet programs were overwhelmingly Latin@, it was interesting that the one example of “college” attainment that Mr. Parsons gave was that of a Korean American student who went into West Point—a military academy. Perhaps the reason that he gave this example was that we had just discussed students going into the military from the Police Academy Magnet and hence the military was on his mind. However, he did not give any other examples of students from the Law Magnet going into college and when I asked to confirm his statistics, he began to downplay the initial statistics that he gave saying:

S. A.: So 80% go to a four-year?

Mr. Parsons: Right, right, you know, and I think last year we were at 75% but I'm just thinking about my time here overall 'cause some years are, you know, really really high. You know...most all of them I think go to, at least begin at a 2 year um...community college here in the city um... A lot go to like [Santa Catalina]. You know they're picking that school 'cause they see it as the highest transfer rate to into the UC's like UCSD, UCLA and you know, so you know they're keeping that focus um...you know...whether it's... their not documented so they know they can't afford right off the bat to go to a Cal State or a UC so they go to community college um...you know it's just to save money...you know...just because they're they're working students (IT4, page 3).

Even though the statistics on students pursuing college from the Law Magnet were not confirmed, it was still significant that students were being exposed to “constitutional law”,

“sociology” and other law related topics. There was also a former lawyer on the faculty of the Law Magnet who seemed very dedicated to his students and was setting up opportunities for them to meet other lawyers from local law firms and talk to them about their career aspirations.

Also, the Law Magnet participated in a program called Teen Court, which was sponsored by the superior court of the city. The district in which Washington High School was located had Teen Court programs in ten of its high schools. All of these high schools were Title I schools and served predominantly Latin@ students. The website of the superior court stated that:

Teen Court provides an opportunity for young people who commit non-serious crimes to be questioned, judged, and sentenced by a jury of their peers. Teen Court is based on the philosophy that a young person who engages in criminal activity for the first time should have the opportunity to correct their habits before “graduating” to more serious crimes. [] Teen Courts [] are ‘courts’ located on campus that function in one of three ways. Some programs have actual courtrooms; some schools use classrooms and have occasional sessions at a local law school; but most programs use classrooms or auditorium spaces on campuses. Jurors are selected from the high school's student body. The juvenile defendant and the students who volunteer to participate as jurors, clerks, and bailiffs benefit from participation in this intervention program.

Unlike the “Mock Trial”³¹ program that the superior court also sponsored within some schools in the district, the Teen Court program actually held real court sessions on high school campuses where student jurors made legally binding decisions or judgments for their peers. The language of the website was striking as it stated: “a young person who engages in criminal activity for the first time should have the opportunity to correct their habits before ‘graduating to more serious crimes.’” I found the language of the court website to be problematic as it used the word “criminal” in relation to students. The offenses that were tried at Teen Court included misdemeanors such as vandalism, graffiti, petty theft and curfew violations—which in my

³¹ The Superior Court’s website states that the Mock Trial is a program co-sponsored by the Superior Court and the Constitutional Rights Foundation that “promotes a working knowledge of our justice system among youth by having students role play the various facets of a legal case in courthouses throughout the County. Students actively experience the excitement of working in teams, exchanging ideas, setting goals, and examining issues while interacting with positive role models from the legal community”.

opinion did not merit the “criminal” label. Also, the phrase “graduating to more serious crimes” communicated that a life of crime was the expectation for young people who had found themselves in trouble with the law for perhaps a youthful lapse of judgment.

The superior court claimed on their website that Teen Court was an “effective” program with only 4% recidivism. Also, the website stated that Teen Court was beneficial to both the “juvenile defendant” and the court system.

For the juvenile defendant, the Teen Court offers the incentive of having no record of criminal conviction if the sentence imposed is completed within a six month period. For the other students, it offers valuable lessons about how courts operate. The Court benefits from this program because it prevents minor juvenile offenses from clogging an already burdened juvenile justice system and because it helps educate the public about the work of the courts.

In addition to being an educational program for students and the public, the website stated that Teen Court was a remedy for the “already burdened juvenile justice system.” Teen Court was run on a volunteer basis. The students, the judges, the probation officers as well as the teacher coordinators at the school site had to volunteer on their own time to take part in Teen Court. So the program had no costs because it was run by free labor.

In order to participate, teenagers and their parents had to sign a document waving their right to confidentiality. The minors tried at Teen Court were not to be students at the host school. However there were no provisions insuring that the defendants were not from a rival school, which could have been problematic given certain school rivalries.

At Washington High School, Teen Court was held after school from 3:30pm to 5:00pm in a fully equipped courtroom on the school campus. The courtroom had a judge's bench, a witness stand, a jury box and even wood paneling. One of the most widely read newspapers in the country had an article in 2003 about the Teen Court program and stated that at Washington High School “Police Explorers (another name given to Police Academy Students) or Junior ROTC

cadets usually act[ed] as bailiffs.” This was particularly interesting because it was another demonstration of the interconnectedness of the JROTC with the Police Academy Magnet and also the Law Magnet. Students from the Law Magnet program served as the jurors and clerks and students from the JROTC and the Police Magnet served as the bailiffs—however, there were no student lawyers.

It was striking that the Teen Court at Washington High School—a program that was sponsored by the superior court of the city and the Law Magnet program of the school—gave students the opportunity to take on the roles of jurors and bailiffs (as well as defendants) but not lawyers and judges. Although there was a real judge presiding over Teen Court, there were no lawyers at all (neither teen “lawyers” nor real lawyers). After presenting their side of the story, “Juvenile Offenders”, were questioned by the jury before the jury went into deliberations. So the defendants were their own advocates and the “unbiased” jury did the cross-examination (or took on the role that is normally assumed by prosecution lawyers).

Teen Court sounded like a mock trial but it wasn’t. Students were not only “role playing” court but also “real playing” court. Even though Teen Court sounded like an educational exercise or play, teens were given real and legally binding judgments by their peers. ABC news published an article during my data collection year on the Teen Court program at Washington High School and other schools in the district. In the article, one of the probation officers who served as a coordinators of Teen Court stated that: “The perhaps counterintuitive observation I notice from watching this is that the sentences are probably stricter and harsher than those given out at juvenile court.” It was striking that the probation officer thought that students gave harsher judgments to their peers than juvenile court—particularly because this program was painted as the easy way out.

Students at Washington High School learned about “law” through the Law Magnet and Teen Court—two programs that seemed to focus on a very particular branch and perspective of “law.” Students, through the Teen Court program, were being taught to relate to each other in highly ritualized hierarchical ways—similar to the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet programs.

The Law Magnet was the largest specialized program within Washington High School that seemed to promote careers in “law.” Therefore, it was interesting to find out that many students at Washington High School associated the word “law” with criminology or criminal justice. I was not able to intentionally select and interview a group of students from the Law Magnet, nor was I able to observe any of the Law Magnet classes. However, during the course of a year, I interviewed 74 random students from all of Washington High School. In these interviews I found that seven students associated “law” with “criminology,” “law enforcement” or “criminal justice.” For instance Claudia said that she was interested in pursuing a career in “law.” When I asked Claudia to explain what she meant by “law” she replied:

Claudia: I don't know... I just like the fact that I could put dangerous people away. I just like the fact that I could put people who are dangerous to others off the streets.

S.A.: And how did you decide on that?

Claudia: My sister was in the Law Magnet program (8F).

Another student, Julio, stated that he wanted to be a “profiler.” When I asked him why, he replied: *“I just love law and I love studying stuff and I also got it off Criminal Minds (T.V. Show)” (4M).* Although Julio’s interest in profiling was sparked through a television show, he associated “profiling” with “law.” Martha, another student that I interviewed, stated that she wanted to go to college and study law. When I asked her what kind of law she was interested in, she responded:

Martha: I wanna do criminal justice. I wanna, I don't know, I wanna just like I'm really good at arguing (laugh) so I don't know...I just...my mom suggested it to me and I looked, I kinda thought about it and I was like oh, I probably like it, so... the thing about that is that I haven't really looked into it but, I so far, I think, I want to.

S.A.: So why criminal justice per se? []

Martha: Um... well my uncle he's in, he's in jail. He's been there for a while now. And I don't know, I though maybe helping people out, like it would be a good thing. If anything, try to do like uh, get him another day in court or something. Later... because it wouldn't be anytime now. But I don't know, just in general helping people (26F).

Although Martha wanted to be a lawyer, she also associated “law” with “criminal justice.” She had a very personal reason in pursuing a career in “law”—because she wanted to help her uncle who was in jail and get him “another day in court.” Martha could have said, “I want to be an advocate” or “I want to give my uncle a fair representation in court.” However, she chose to say “I wanna do criminal justice” associating “law” with enforcement rather than advocacy. Leticia also stated: “I want to go into justice and stuff like that.” When I asked her what she meant by “justice,” she replied “Like criminal justice or like judge”(20F). It was striking that many students associated “law” with criminology or criminal justice. None of the students who were interested in “law” stated that they wanted to study constitutional law, property law, family law, environmental law, international law, etc. Although I did not study in depth the practices within the Law Magnet, the student interviews raised the question as to whether the Law Magnet was promoting a specific brand or branch of the law above others. Given the vast span of careers in “law” it was significant that what students at Washington High School seemed to be interested in was “criminology” and “law enforcement.” As the two magnets were connected on an administrative level and as they both seemed to promote criminology, criminal justice and law enforcement; this raised the question of whether the Law Magnet functioned as an extension of the Police Academy Magnet by promoting enforcement,

policing and disciplining and contributing to a culture of enforcement and militarism within the school.

VI. Conclusion:

The Police Academy Magnet program at Washington High School was perceived as a program that promoted “leadership” and “discipline” and exposed students to careers in law enforcement. Also, it was seen as a place that provided students with a more rigorous academic environment (particularly because of its magnet status) and prepared students for college. Through my interviews, conversations, participant observations and experiences within the Police Academy Magnet program I found that the program, in addition to promoting law enforcement, also promoted the military as a postsecondary path. In fact, the program had a very strong “culture of the Armed Forces” as the magnet coordinator stated. Although the magnet coordinator said that the culture of the program had changed to a “college going” one the evidence suggested that the military culture was still persistent.

The militarized practices within the Police Academy Magnet mirrored practice within the JROTC program that in turned mirrored practices in the military. These practices included drill and ceremony exercises, wearing of the uniform and hierarchical roles that students assumed within the P.T. classroom. The P.T. classes within the Police Academy Magnet were almost identical to the JROTC classes—so much so that on non-uniform days it was hard to distinguish between the two classes. Although students did not have marksmanship training in the Police Academy Magnet program, they visited the shooting range in a nearby police academy and observed police officers’ marksmanship training. They also observed police officers carrying their guns to school on their belts.

Students within the Police Academy Magnet were engaged in role-playing being a police officer as they learned things such as handcuffing techniques and “stop and frisk” practices. They were also, in a way, role-playing being soldiers during the drill and ceremony practices. Students were given titles such as “cadets” and “lieutenants” that were used within the police force as well as the military. The overlaps and commonalities between the Police Academy Magnet and the JROTC program as well as the respective career paths that they represented were striking—even though there was no official collaboration between the two programs. Also, students and faculty often conflated the terms “law enforcement” and “military” and they saw the roles played by individuals in the two professions as interchangeable. So a program promoting one of those professions could have been perceived as promoting the other as well.

In addition to the aforementioned militarized practices, the military was promoted within the Police Academy Magnet through a mentorship program that was directly related to the military. In addition to the school related factors, the police department of the city gave special considerations to military veterans who were considering going into law enforcement. It was no surprise then that a number of students that I interviewed from the Police Academy Magnet wanted to join the military. The military was seen as a stepping-stone to a career in law enforcement because it was much easier to enlist in the military than become a police officer.

The Police Academy Magnet and even the Law Magnet promoted similar values and similar interpretations of “discipline” and “leadership” as the JROTC program—values that focused on compliance, obedience and conformity. Students also assumed “leadership” roles that were hierarchical and they enacted their authority over other students through highly ritualized practices such as drill and ceremony exercises, wearing of the Police Academy Uniform, assuming hierarchical roles and titles such as cadets and lieutenants and “real playing” court. In

addition to these practices, the promotion of the military within the first two programs (JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet) as well as enforcement careers in all three programs (including the Law Magnet) contributed, in my opinion, to the militarization of the school and the reification of a pedagogy of enforcement.

Chapter Eight

Recruiters and “Gate-openers”

In addition to institutionalized programs such as the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet, the military was promoted at Washington High School by military recruiters who made regular visits to the school and had regular contact with students. Although, post 9/11, the NCLB Act of 2001³² was partially responsible for emboldening recruiters by giving them unprecedented access to high school campuses serving predominantly low-income students, “gate-openers” such as certain administrators, counselors and teachers amplified this access at Washington High School by inviting recruiters to school events and giving them instructional time within classrooms. No representative from any other career sector, organization or company was given the same amount of time, resources and access to students at Washington High School as military recruiters with the exception of law enforcement.

In this chapter, I will address all of my orienting questions through analyzing the ways in which military recruiters, with the help of “gate-openers,” promoted and privileged the military as a post secondary path for students at Washington High School. I will also critically examine the narrative that recruiters communicated to students about military service and the ways that students responded to, challenged and engaged with recruiters.

³² Section 9528 of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, which was signed into law in 2002 states that Local Educational Agencies (LEAs) receiving financial assistance (such as Title I funds) under the NCLB Act are obligated to give student names, addresses and phone numbers to military recruiters upon request, unless parents “opt out”. The law states that “Each local educational agency receiving assistance under this Act shall provide military recruiters the same access to secondary school students as is provided generally to post secondary educational institutions or to prospective employers of those students”.

I. The recruiters:

Washington High School was frequented by a number of military recruiters, on a regular basis. Recruiters interacted with students during lunchtime (on the quad and at the career center), during classroom presentations, before and after school hours and off campus. In this section, I will describe the ways and the extent to which military recruiters were resourced. Also, I will discuss the way in which the positioning of the recruiters enabled them to portray the military as an attractive postsecondary path for students at Washington High School.

Allocation of Resources:

Military recruitment was one of the most resourced non-academic operations at Washington High School. During my data collection year, I crossed paths with eight different recruiters from three different branches of the military: the Army, the Marine Corps and also the Air Force. A number of these recruiters visited Washington High School frequently. In this section I will describe the financial and human resources that were allocated to having these military recruiters at Washington High School on a regular basis.

Recruiters always came to Washington High School dressed in their decorated military uniforms (contributing to the occupation of visual spaces within the school campus with military symbols) and they brought with them glossy informational brochures and impressive “freebies” such as key chains, pins, stickers, posters, t-shirts and other promotional items to pass out to students. These promotional materials were not cheap. However, recruiters passed them out in abundance not only to students but also to teachers and other school officials as a way of building goodwill with these “Gate-openers.” Even I was given an “Army” key chain as well as a

quality stainless steel travelers' mug with the "Army" emblem, during a presentation that recruiters gave in an English classroom.

One of the recruiters who frequented Washington High School was Staff Sergeant (SSG) Hernandez from the Marine Corps. SSG Hernandez had just begun his eighth year in the military and his third year as a military recruiter. In an informal conversation I asked SSG Hernandez about his assignment. He stated that recruiting was a three-year assignment—he had been recruiting for two years and had one more year to go. He described his work in the following way:

[SSG Hernandez] said he was assigned to three schools. He would visit each school once or twice a week—it varied. I asked him how many students he recruited on average [] he said that on average he recruited two students per month total—meaning from all the three schools [combined] that he was assigned to (FN11, pages 2-3).

SSG Hernandez's full time job was recruiting students into the military from three different schools in the neighborhood, including Washington High School. He gave classroom and lunchtime presentations and interacted with students not only during lunch, but also before and after school and even off campus. SSG Hernandez stated that he was able to recruit on average a total of two students per month from all the three schools to which he was assigned. I don't know whether this figure was accurate, but military recruiters in general were expected to have two recruits per month (Thompson, 2009, April 2)—which was not an easy job. Because of the unpopularity of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan it was difficult to convince prospective recruits to join the military. During my data collection year, Time magazine published an exposé on the awful work conditions and the extreme pressures that military recruiters were under which often lead them to resort to questionable means of meeting their quota such as giving misleading information and pressuring students into enlisting (Thompson, 2009, April 2).

As stated previously SSG Hernandez was not the only recruiter assigned to Washington High School. Representatives from different branches of the military visited the campus. No other organization, company or job sector had full time employees whose sole assignment was visiting schools on a regular basis to recruit students to that particular organization, company or job sector. An equivalent of a military recruiter would have been, for instance, a full time employee of a company, who was on a three year assignment, visiting three high schools once or twice a week, giving classroom promotional presentations and having one-on-one interactions with students in order to convince them to sign a contract with his/her company.

In addition to the heavy presence of recruiters on campus, there was an Army recruitment office within the neighborhood where Washington High School was located. Recruiters would often invite students to stop by the recruitment office and they would also invite students to off campus events. A great amount of financial and human resources were dedicated to having military recruiters at Washington High School and its surrounding neighborhood. In 2009 the military spent approximately five billion dollars on recruiting which enabled them to recruit 168,968 active duty troops and 127,537 reserve troops according to the Army Times (McMichael, 2009, October 13). This amounted to approximately \$16,860 per recruit.

Role Models:

Most of the military recruiters who visited Washington High School on a regular basis came from a similar cultural and socio-economic background as Washington High School students. Six out of the eight recruiters that I personally interacted with were Latin@s. The unique positioning of these recruiters gave them a certain level of credibility with students

because they themselves had gone through similar life experiences and struggles and through it all they had been able to successfully make a career for themselves in the military.

SSG Hernandez was one such example. He stated, in an informal interview, that he became interested in the military through “watching T.V. and through friends³³” and joined the military right after he finished high school—similar to a number of Washington High School students. Before joining the military he was also interested in auto-mechanics because “*He used to work on cars with his dad.*” However, he thought that the training to become an auto-mechanic was too long: “*6-7 months.*” He joined the military because there were no prerequisites and he could start right after he graduated from high school and make a living. SSG Hernandez was able to get the training necessary to become an aviation mechanic while he was in the military. He stated that “*the Marine Corps paid for his schooling which was a seven month long program and he got a certificate at the end of it*”(FN 11, page 2).

The military paid for his schooling, which was not a four-year degree and might not have been transferable to or useful in the civilian job sector. SSG Hernandez was eventually able to get a job that was not in a war zone—after being deployed to Iraq twice. He seemed to have made a successful career for himself in the military and that’s the image that he portrayed to students. However, when I asked him whether he liked his job as a recruiter he stated that he “preferred being a mechanic.”

In an informal conversation, SSG Hernandez stated that he did not like his job and he did it reluctantly. He did not explain why he was unhappy with his current position. Regardless of his feelings about the job he was positioned as a role model for students at Washington High School and he gave them a positive portrayal of military service. Also, SSG Hernandez was

³³ One of the reoccurring themes in my data was that peer relationships had an influence on students’ participation in school programs such as the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet. Although, this theme is not highlighted in my dissertation, it would be worth exploring in a future study.

relatively close in age to the high school students that he was recruiting—as opposed to other military role models such as Sgt. Larsen who had retired many years back—which made him more easily relatable to students. Because SSG Hernandez had been recently deployed to Iraq and was currently on active duty, he was well positioned to give students relevant and up-to-date information about life in the military.

Military recruiters, such as SSG Hernandez, who frequented Washington High School, had made careers for themselves in the military. Hence, they were examples of military success stories that students could look up to, particularly because they came from a similar socioeconomic and cultural background as students at Washington High School. Regardless of their perspectives, military recruiters projected a positive image of their experiences in the military to students because that was what was required of them.

Also, it was interesting to note that most of the recruiters who visited Washington High School were from the Army and the Marine Corps. For instance, during one of the campus wide career fairs there were two recruiters from the Air Force, two from the Marine Corps and three from the Army. All recruiters from the Marine Corps and the Army were Latin@ (all men with the exception of one woman from the Army), whereas both recruiters (a man and a woman) from the Air Force were white. Although I often saw the recruiters from the Army and the Marine Corps visiting Washington High School, I never saw Air Force recruiters at the school before the career day. The Marine Corps and the Army were the two branches of the military that were heavily promoted at Washington High School. They also happened to be the less selective branches of the military, with regards to academic requirements, in comparison to the Air Force, the Navy and the Coast Guard. According to the military.com (2012) website students needed to score a minimum of 31 points for the Army and 32 points for the Marine Corps on the Armed

Forces Qualification Test (AFQT). However, they need a minimum score of 35 to join the Navy, 40 to join the Air Force and 45 to join the Coast Guard. Furthermore, new enlistees in the Army and the Marine Corps had the most likelihood of being assigned to combat jobs (Gifford, 2005).

Students at Washington High School had frequent interactions with recruiters from the Army and the Marine Corps. In contrast, Valley High School, a neighboring school that served a more affluent, predominantly white and Asian community only had a single visit from two recruiters during the whole academic year. These recruiters were from the Air Force and they limited their visiting activities to manning a table in the quad during lunchtime.

II. Gate-openers:

Military recruiters at Washington High School were emboldened by legislation such as the NCLB Act of 2002 and by the many resources at their disposal. However, they could not have done their job as effectively as they did without the assistance of the “gate-openers” within the school. Section 9528 of the NCLB Act of 2002 obligated schools receiving Title I funds, such as Washington High School, to give increased access to military recruiters. However, the actual implementation of the law varied significantly from school to school and depended largely on the dispositions and interpretations of the administration and the faculty.

The access given to military recruiters at Washington High School was well beyond the minimum requirements of the law. The school administration had lax policies about military recruitment on campus and recruiters were invited regularly by the career counselor and by certain teachers to give classroom presentations, host lunchtime events and occupy career fairs with their disproportionate presence. As military recruiters sought to gain increased access to the Washington High School campus, “gate-openers” within the school gave recruiters this increased

access because it often conflated with their own interests as well as beliefs about the choices available to their students. In the following section, I will demonstrate the way in which the aligned interests of the recruiters and the “gate-openers” at Washington High School resulted in the unparalleled privileging of military recruitment within the school.

Alignment of Interests:

A few weeks into the first semester the career center began hosting lunchtime events where guest speakers from different organizations would make presentations and inform students of internship or mentorship opportunities available to them. My first encounter with SSG Hernandez, one of the military recruiters who frequented Washington High School, was during one of these lunchtime events.

The career counselor, Ms. Anderson had invited Inner-city Filmmakers to host a lunchtime meeting, however, they had canceled unexpectedly. As a result Ms. Anderson had asked SSG Hernandez, earlier that day, to host the lunchtime meeting instead. Shortly after the school bell dismissed students to lunch, Ms. Anderson announced the change of plans over the public address (P.A.) system and invited students to attend the meeting (FN11, page 1).

SSG Hernandez and other recruiters visited the school often (once or twice a week) and were on call, ready to make impromptu appearances and presentations. This made it really easy for the career counselor as well as teachers to have recruiters as guest speakers at school events and within classrooms. As demonstrated in the above field note, Ms. Anderson was able to get SSG Hernandez to host the lunchtime event with a very short notice.

In my own experiences organizing career fairs, during my internship with the Coalition Against Militarism in Our Schools (CAMS), I found it incredibly difficult to recruit guest speakers from different organizations and business sectors to commit a few hours of their day for a high school career fair. It was difficult to convince people to take time out of their busy

workdays, drive to a school site and give a presentation to students. Also guest visits usually had to be arranged weeks in advance. As recruiters had a full time, paid assignment to do this very thing, it made them the default people that counselors and teachers relied on to fill speaker slots at different school events. As a result, military recruiters were overrepresented as guest speakers in classrooms and at school events. For instance, during the campus-wide career fair in the spring, seven out of thirty guests (23% of guests) were from the military.

When I asked Ms. Anderson, the career counselor, about the professionals, companies and organizations that had the most prominent presence during career fairs she answered:

Ms. Anderson: [] The military! (very decisively) it's really hard to get businesses here because a lot of them want to hire people who are 18 and over and...well...lots of our kids are still 17 um...so I don't really...it's hard to get like trade schools... junior colleges that are advertising like two year trade programs... the military, some businesses but...it's really hard because...there is nothing in it for them to come out here, you know. Like UPS will come out here but again... they want someone who is 18 and over, you know, so...and I don't blame them. You know what I mean? Because really, businesses, they want high school graduates or over 18...yeah (IT2, page 5).

Ms. Anderson stated that the reason why many businesses did not attend career fairs was because they were interested in hiring high school graduates who were eighteen years or older. However, “career fairs” at the high school level are not necessarily a place where companies do actual recruiting and hiring—as many “careers” require some type of education or training beyond high school. They are more about exposing students to professionals from different career sectors and igniting their imagination. However, Ms. Anderson did not perceive career fairs in this way, rather she viewed them as job fairs where businesses do actual hiring. Perhaps Ms. Anderson thought that students at Washington High School needed jobs right after graduation because they needed to make money right away; or she didn't believe that they could or wanted to pursue careers requiring higher education. Regardless of her reasoning behind this perception, Ms. Anderson invited seven recruiters to the campus wide career fair because, in

addition to their availability and willingness, they were actually recruiting or “hiring” students before they reached eighteen or graduated from high school.

As military recruiters were given unparalleled access to the high school campus, they had a heightened sense of entitlement when it came to their positioning within the school. For instance, during the career day, Ms. Anderson had organized a luncheon at the conference room located inside the school library for all the guest speakers. After Ms. Anderson welcomed the guests to the luncheon, asked them to introduce themselves and invited them to eat, all the military recruiters left the conference room and began speaking with students in the library as the rest of the guests proceeded eating their lunch in the conference room (FN16).

Recruiters acted as if they were employees of the school and had permission and even the obligation to roam around campus and have individual conversations with students outside the parameters that were set for the rest of the guests. In certain schools this was prohibited by the administration, but not at Washington High School. Although the former principal had set strict guidelines for recruiters, the current principal had a much more relaxed attitude about these guidelines and was much more welcoming of recruiters.

In addition to the heavy presence of recruiters on campus and at campus-wide events, such as the career fairs, many of the teachers that I interviewed had, at some point in the school year, invited military recruiters as guest speakers into their classrooms. Guest speakers were a welcome break for teachers at Washington High School who had heavy workloads and overcrowded classrooms. Military recruiters usually took 40 to 100 minutes³⁴ of instructional time to give their presentations. As military recruiters were readily available to give presentations in classrooms, this made them highly accessible and desirable as classroom guests.

³⁴ Washington High School was on block scheduling, which permitted the prolonged guest speaker presentations in classrooms.

However, it wasn't enough that recruiters were ready and available to give talks at school events, make classroom presentations and interact with students—administrators, counselors and teachers had to either have “neutral” dispositions towards military recruitment or believe that the military was actually a good postsecondary option for students in order for them to justify dedicating instructional time for recruitment. Military recruiters were able to gain access to classrooms and to students through these, “neutral” or pro-military-recruitment “gate-openers.” There were also some teachers who were skeptical or opposed to military recruitment, however they were pressured—by the administration, the career counselor and perceived social expectations—into giving military recruiters access to their classrooms and hence were made into reluctant “gate-openers.” In the following sections, I will discuss at length some of the key “gate-openers” within Washington High School and the ways in which they viewed and participated in the process of military recruitment.

The Principal:

Ms. Fullenwider, the new principal, was one of the most significant “gate-openers” at Washington High School. She was a white woman in her late forties who was on her first assignment as a principal. Although I wasn't able to interview her personally, from my observations, she seemed to be supportive of military oriented events and military recruitment. She did not set clear boundaries and restrictions on military recruiters. For that reason, recruiters were often roaming around campus freely and talking to students—as was evidenced in the discussion in the previous section about the sense of entitlement that recruiters had within the campus. Also, she supported and celebrated militarized programs. For instance she attended the

JROTC end of the year banquet, sat at the head table and was recognized as one of the supporters of the program. Ms. Anderson, the career counselor, also made this observation:

[I]t depends on the principal, who is the principal at the time. How do they feel about the military coming into campus? Because although they'll come into the classrooms and they talk about different careers that are available through the military...um...you'll find that they want to wander around the campus and talk to kids and we kind of prohibit individuals setting up tables and talking to students at lunchtime and it's really at the discretion of the principal...we have a new principal and I don't know what her feelings are but our former principal said no visitors at lunch... whatsoever (IT2, page 3).

Ms. Anderson recognized the significant role that the school administration played in giving access to recruiters. Whereas in previous years the former principal had put limitations on when and where recruiters could interact with students, the career counselor was not sure whether the new principal had the same expectations and guidelines. The principal's active support of militarized programs such as the JROTC and her unclear stance on the guidelines and boundaries for military recruitment had emboldened recruiters to act in ways that were normally unacceptable in most schools.

The Career Counselor:

As mentioned in the previous sections, another one of the most influential "gate-openers" at Washington High School was Ms. Lourdes Anderson, the career counselor. Ms. Anderson was a Latina Woman in her late thirties (her English surname was her married name) and she had lived in the community for many years. She also had worked at Washington High School for fifteen years, first as a Regional Occupational Program (ROP) teacher for the adult education division of the school and then as a career counselor.

Ms. Anderson's responsibilities entailed managing the career center, organizing a campus wide career fair (at least once a year), creating a monthly newsletter to inform students of

different internship and part-time job opportunities and coordinating visits of different guests speakers to the campus. In addition to her responsibilities as a career counselor, Ms. Anderson processed work permits for students. She also assumed some administrative responsibilities for the continuation school on site and coordinated the submission and the binding of senior portfolios. Ms. Anderson used to have an assistant but because of the district budget cuts her assistant was laid off, so she was running the career center on her own.

During my first visit to the career center, I noticed that it was unorganized and neglected. It wasn't a very hospitable and student friendly place. This was no doubt largely due to Ms. Anderson's very busy schedule. She had been displaced from her previous office and she hadn't had the time, prior to the start of the school year, to organize her new space. Over the course of the first semester, the center became somewhat organized but it still lacked a certain level of visual engagement that you would expect from a career center. However, the only thing that stood out was the overwhelming presence of militarized images.

I noticed a large stack of book covers on the desk in the middle of the room [The career center] with Marine Corps advertisement on them. These book covers reminded me of the "Be all you can be" book covers with Army advertisements that were passed out in my own high school in the 90's. Next to them was a stack of Marine Corps brochures. I looked around the room and noticed that there were a number of posters with military ads and the most prominently positioned free-standing display case had brochures from the different branches of the military. Basically the military was the most visually promoted postsecondary path at the career center (FN12, page 1).

During my formal interview with Ms. Anderson, she mentioned that she had invited many guest speakers to Washington High School. I asked her to list some of these guest speakers. The only guests that she listed were from the fire department, the police department and the military (IT2).

Although students were exposed to the police and the military through the Police Academy Magnet Program and the JROTC program at Washington High School, Ms. Anderson

gave even further exposure to these overrepresented career paths through inviting guests speakers from the police and the military. Although Ms. Anderson recognized that the military in particular was controversial, she did not hesitate to invite recruiters who were readily available to do the job. The military, and to some extent the police, had paid employees or recruiters to do this very thing.

Ms. Anderson knew that military recruitment was not something that was widely acceptable so she was cautiously enthusiastic about it in her interview. When I asked her how she felt about military recruitment, she responded:

Ms. Anderson: [] personally [] I feel very indifferent. I went to this educator's workshop...um... and I've seen invitations from other [] military branches but I was invited to this five day workshop um...and it was down in San Diego for the Marines and... it was nice [laugh] cause they paid for our room and board you know...down in San Diego...we stayed at a nice hotel by the beach um...but I learned so much from my visit. We got to see the guys in training um...on two different occasions I had lunch with two recruits...we got to go to the shooting range...we got to see the fancy [] vehicles we got to listen to CD's and different speakers who were basically guys in the military or in the Marines um...we got to go to the Aviation division and a lot of them talked about the careers that they were able to get through the military (IT2, pages 3-4).

Ms. Anderson had gone through a military sponsored program called the Educator Workshop. The Educator Workshop was an all expense paid program geared towards teachers, counselors and other “Gate-openers” within schools to give them a positive perspective on the military as a post secondary career path for students. The Marine Corps base in San Diego sponsored the specific workshop in which Ms. Anderson participated. The program's webpage stated that it was an “*awareness program geared toward informing high school and community college educators and media representatives about the making of a U. S. Marine [and it] provide[d] its guests the opportunity to learn about Marine Corps boot camp, its training methods and the culture behind being one of the world's most elite military organizations*”

(AT10, page 1). A less formal Facebook page regarding the Educator Workshop in San Diego stated:

A yearly program designed to acquaint educators with the transition process a person goes through to become a Marine. Our goal is to show the tangible and intangible benefits derived from this process and provide educators with first hand knowledge and experience to inform students who may be interested in trying to become a Marine. During the tour educators and influencers will visit Marine Corps Recruit Depot San Diego...(AT11, page 1).

The purpose of the Workshop was recruiting and training “educators and influencers” to become spokespeople for the Marine Corps within their schools. Ms. Anderson and her family were put in a nice hotel by the ocean and wined and dined—compliments of the military. They were given tours of the military base and were impressed by their “fancy vehicles”, multi-media presentations and ritualized practices. This was in stark contrast to the way that the school district sponsored teachers who wanted to attend professional development workshops or educational conferences. Teachers had to pay out of pocket for their travel expenses and then submit the receipts to the district office for approval. Once and if the receipts were approved, it took the district many months to reimburse teachers. For this reason, teachers within the district did not choose to attend conferences often. Although Ms. Anderson exuded a lot of enthusiasm when she talked about the Educator Workshop she stated that she was “indifferent” towards the military. Ms. Anderson seemed conflicted about military recruitment in her interview. She stated:

[]my personal opinion is that these high school students they're too young, they're too young to make that decision [to join the military]! Because I see a lot of them go in there and they come out and they're like Ok now what do I do? Like I didn't learn a career, I don't have anything and they go and get a job at a warehouse, you know, but I think if they...if they were to go into the military and did it the right way they would learn a trade while there in there so that either they have a career with the military or have a career that they can...you know...look into when they get out...you know such as a mechanic specially like an airplane mechanic but ...I think...of course no body wants to see their child or relatives go to war but I think that for some kids like um...I thin—k it's a good

cho-ice if you can get an education, you can get training and you can get discipline...but it's it's it's just...it's just one of those things ...it's really hard to say...yeah but I think 17 and 18 I think it's a little young to make that decision...you know what I mean? So I ...so I just kinda feel very indifferent about it (IT2, page 4).

Ms. Anderson framed her hesitation about military recruitment as an age issue.

According to her, students were too young to make “that decision” in high school because they were not prepared to take advantage of all that the military offered. Ms. Anderson’s hesitation was not so much about the military path itself but rather about whether high school students were mature enough to take advantage of the opportunities it offered. She mentioned in passing: “of course nobody wants to see their child or relative go to war.” However, she followed this comment by saying that “for some kids...it’s a good choice” because it offers “education,” “training” and “discipline.” Ms. Anderson did not specify what made some students more suited for the military than others and what made it acceptable to see some students go to war versus others. However, it was interesting that she mentioned “discipline” as one of the things that they would gain through enlisting. This was reminiscent of the discourses of “discipline” within the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet programs.

It seemed that Ms. Anderson viewed the military as a suitable postsecondary path for students at Washington High School because she believed that they needed the “discipline” that the military offered. She also believed that this was the best postsecondary option for students at Washington High School, given their socioeconomic background. This was evidenced by her comment following the formal interview that “some students would be lucky to get into the military.” Some of Ms. Anderson’s views were embedded in deficit notions of what students at Washington High School were able to accomplish.

The Teachers:

Ms. Anderson, the career counselor, gave a great deal of access to recruiters at the career center, during career fairs and during lunchtime events. However, teachers were the ones who gave recruiters precious instructional time to do their bidding with students. As opposed to a career fair or a lunchtime event where attendance was optional, students could not easily opt out of a class presentation. This was particularly problematic because most students at Washington High School were not interested in pursuing a military career as evidenced by my lunchtime interviews. From the 74 random lunchtime interviews of students that I conducted over the course of a year, I found that the two most popular postsecondary paths students wanted to pursue were college (23%) and careers in the medical field (22%). Only three students (2%) were interested in the military so it was not surprising that the lunchtime events held by military recruiters did not attract many students. For instance, no students attended SSG Hernandez's lunchtime presentation that was held in the career center in lieu of the Inner City Filmmakers' presentation.

Whereas students could freely choose or not choose to attend a lunchtime event, they did not have a choice when it came to classroom presentations—they were captive audiences. Additionally, none of the seven parents that I interviewed wanted the military path for their children. Regardless of the desires of students and parents, military recruiters gained access to classrooms through teachers who acted as willing or sometimes reluctant “gate-openers.”

One of the teachers who invited military recruiters into his classroom was Mr. Tang, a social studies and a special education teacher. Mr. Tang was a Chinese American man in his late thirties who had been teaching at Washington high school for ten years. He grew up in the same

community as his students and he also was a graduate of Washington High School. In his formal interview Mr. Tang stated that he became a teacher to give back to his community.

Mr. Tang: [] I've been working at Washington for more than...it's about my 11th year now. []I chose this school number one, because I graduated from Washington and I live in the area and um...and I wanted to um...come back to the school you know, that I graduated from to see um...to try to see if I can help other kids, make a difference in their lives. Since I live in the area, I understand, I like to say I understand, the kids a little bit more. What they're looking for and where they've been (IT10, page 1).

Mr. Tang stated that he cared about his students and was invested in their success. He decided to go into teaching because he wanted to help students at Washington High School and “make a difference” in their lives. Having grown up in the same community as his students, Mr. Tang felt that he could connect with them in a way that others couldn't.

My main focus was try to get them to learn as much as I can, but also discuss about what goes on outside of the high school to make them hopefully better prepared for different types of careers and the types of colleges that they want to go to, or military service -just to expose them to a wide range of things (IT10, page 1).

Mr. Tang talked about the ways in which he helped his students prepare for life after high school and how he exposed them to different postsecondary paths. It was significant that the first career path he mentioned was the military, followed by teaching and working for the California Transportation Authority.

I try to gear my instruction towards life outside of the classroom or outside of high school really. [] one of the classes that I teach is government. Um...you know and I tie government to as much as I can to what goes on outside. For example, like I talk about um...the teaching profession and I tie the taxes that we pay to how we get our jobs here. You know, so they can see oh you're teaching so you work for the government. You go outside and you see CalTrans working on the freeways. So getting them familiar as much as I can. The military... being in prior service myself, I don't encourage kids to go into the military but I do tell the kids that this is what you, um...this is what happens if you go into the military. These are the good things and the consequences. If you don't go in, this is what can happen. You know, if you wanna go to college, you know, you can get some money from them, by doing, you know, by serving for four years. If you don't go into the military, you can go to college, you can also get financial aid. So I try to give them, you know, a wide range of ideas for the kids, to know that when they get out they have options

out there. Sometimes they might be controversial, maybe not...I mean it's all relative who you talk to (IT10, page 4).

Mr. Tang mentioned three different postsecondary paths that were related to “government”—the subject that he taught at Washington High School. He spoke at length about the military path perhaps because he himself had served in the military. Also, he recognized the controversial nature of military recruitment and hence stated that he didn’t “encourage kids to go into the military”—he simply gave them all the facts about military service to enable them to make informed choices. However, the only guest speaker that Mr. Tang mentioned inviting into his class was a friend of his from the Air Force. Although Mr. Tang’s friend was not an official military recruiter, he nevertheless served the same purpose—promoting the military as a postsecondary path for students.

Mr. Tang taught in the Health Sciences Small Learning Community (SLC). However, Health Sciences was not mentioned once during the entire interview until I asked him specifically what SLC he belonged to. I would have expected him to say that he had healthcare professionals as guest speakers in his classroom because the focus of his SLC was Health Sciences. Mr. Tang’s personal connection to the military was likely one of the reasons why he invited a guest speaker from the military. Mr. Tang himself had had joined the Army Reserves right after high school. After our formal interview I asked him how he became interested in the military.

He said he actually was in the Army Reserves because the Army bases were more accessible and close to his house (in the neighborhood where Washington High School was located). He was introduced to the Army in Junior high school through a program called the California Cadet Program that doesn’t exist anymore in a lot of schools (FN6, page 1).

Mr. Tang was enticed to pursue a military career while he was a minor, through his school, similar to his students at Washington High School. Given that Mr. Tang had grown up in the

same community as his students and attended Washington High School, it made me wonder about the historical roots of military recruitment within this particular community. Mr. Tang mentioned that the Army Reserves base was located within close proximity to his house as well as the high school—making the Army a more accessible choice for him and also his students as opposed to the Air Force or the Navy. The location of the Army base made the Army (the least selective branch of the military in terms of academic requirements) the most accessible military branch to students at Washington High School.

While he was in the reserves, Mr. Tang worked as a manager at a retail chain for six years before he went to college and received his Bachelor's degree and teaching credential. He was able to take advantage of the G.I. Bill and pay for his education through his military service.

Mr. Tang: At the time, the Army reserve had provided me two things. Um...the G.I. Bill I think it was up to...I think it was like 46 no I think it was like \$66,000 for college, spent over 32-36 months. I don't remember exactly how much it was, I think it might have been 88. And also, there was a loan repayment program that was offered to me where it was up to \$5,000 I believe. No I'm sorry \$10,000. So where, you know, I took loans out and I submitted my paperwork to the government and they would reimburse or actually help pay off a portion of my loan every year that I served in the reserves. [] Along with the discipline and all the other things that you learn, you know, I mean they were all good things (IT10, page 5).

The experiences that Mr. Tang had in the military were positive ones. He was able to fund his education through the G.I. Bill. He also stated that he benefited from the “discipline” that he learned within the military. After our formal interview I asked him if he was ever called to active duty service.

[Mr. Tang] replied that the only time he was called for service, during the whole six years that he was in the reserves, was when there was a North and South Korea issue and former president Jimmy Carter was intervening in a diplomatic effort. He said they were all ready to go but it was called off the last minute so he never went to North Korea. He told me that his time in the Army Reserves was right after the Gulf War and right before 9/11 (he was in the reserves from 1996-2002). He stated that if he had actually been called to service he would have had a very different life story (FN6, pages 1-2).

Mr. Tang had never served in combat. Although Mr. Tang recognized that his life would have been very different had he gone to war, he nevertheless promoted the military to his students in a time of war. Mr. Tang cared about his students and hence he would not have wanted to promote something that he believed to be problematic for them. Hence, at the core, he was enthusiastic about the military regardless of the issues associated with it. Even though he acknowledged that not everyone would have agreed with him, he still viewed it as a positive postsecondary path for his students because of his own positive experiences—regardless of the fact that his students were living in very different times.

Another teacher who gave recruiters access to his classroom was Mr. Acuña, an English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher. Mr. Acuña had been teaching at Washington High School for two years, however, he was not new to the profession—he had been teaching at the high school level for the past fifteen years. Mr. Acuña, had a passion for teaching ESL because he himself had been an ESL student.

Mr. Acuña: Well I was born in Mexico and I came to the U.S. when I was fifteen years old and I wanted to go to school because my parents always wanted the children in the family to go to school so they impressed it upon us from a very young age that we had to go to school or we wouldn't amount to anything. So even though I had many obstacles coming to the States and not speaking English I was set on going to college and becoming a professional in some field. Um...after graduating from high school I went to a junior college, then I graduated from... from Cal State L.A. and got my masters in Education. Um...After I graduated from Cal State L.A. I didn't know exactly what I wanted to do. I wasn't sure if I wanted to teach so I went to Law School and I have a doctorate in Law and at that point, after having passed the bar exam after five times, I decided to become a teacher and I've been teaching for the past fifteen years. Uh...since my background was...being an immigrant, having to learn English, I decided to um...to teach ESL to the newcomers to the States and uh...people that are in need of learning English. Also to offer them some guidance as to what to do and to encourage them to go to a university. Basically that covers my career as a teacher and the reasons as to why I wanted to become a teacher and the way I came to be in the United States, you know, we are an immigrant family, and not even first generation. I'm just an immigrant myself (IT11, page 1).

Mr. Acuña had overcome many obstacles as an immigrant and as a second language learner and was able to eventually complete his doctorate in law, pass the bar, complete his teaching credential and become a teacher at Washington High School. He was dedicated to teaching immigrant students English and helping them navigate through the schooling process. He wanted to use his own experiences as an immigrant and an English Language Learner to connect with his students and to inspire them to pursue higher education or whatever they wanted to do post high school. I asked Mr. Acuña about the postsecondary paths that were promoted at Washington High School. He stated that college was the path that was promoted most, followed by the military. Mr. Acuña spoke about the guest speakers who had visited his classroom.

Mr. Acuña: We've had the college and career centers come by and offer the students guidance on what to do to get financial aid, how to apply and when the deadlines are...um...how to...go to schools that specialize in their interests and they can go to schools that offer them what they want... We have the Army and the Navy and the Air Force coming around often. They also offer, not only an opportunity to...to be disciplined, to acquire... traits that they don't have, that they need to develop very quickly so... that may be a solution for some. And they offer them help to go to universities, financial aid or free money [](IT11, page 4).

Mr. Acuña acknowledged that aside from college and career counselors the only other visitors that came to his class were military recruiters. He stated that they frequented his classroom often and offered students an “opportunity” to be “disciplined” and acquire “traits that they don’t have.” This reminded me of the mantra that many people give about the military and the ways in which it is a good career path for certain students (usually meaning poor and non-white students in urban schools).

Mr. Acuña’s comments might have been interpreted as pro-military, however, from the tone of his voice I felt that he was making these statements in a perfunctory and dispassionate fashion. He also followed these statements by stating ambivalently that the military “may be a

solution for some.” I wondered whether Mr. Acuña felt comfortable expressing his true feelings about military recruitment and whether he felt that he had to appear “neutral” because of the controversial nature of the topic. Mr. Acuña did recognize that the military might offer financial aid for college, which was something that he wanted for his students. Although Mr. Acuña did not seem to be someone who was necessarily pro-military, he nevertheless allowed military recruiters to visit his classroom and take up instructional time to do their presentation.

Another teacher who acted as a gate opener to recruiters was Ms. Khalil, a young English teacher in her mid-twenties who had been teaching at Washington High School for three years. When I first met Ms. Khalil, I recognized that her surname was Arabic. I asked her about her name and she said that her mother was Jewish and her father was an Egyptian immigrant who still had close ties to his home country.

Ms. Khalil was someone who was somewhat critical of military recruitment. However, she felt pressured into having recruiters as guest speakers in her classroom. During the school-wide-career fair different guest speakers were assigned to different classrooms to make forty-minute presentations. Three military recruiters and a representative from a fashion institute were assigned to be the presenters in Ms. Khalil’s class. Sometime after the career fair I formally interviewed Ms. Khalil and asked her about her participation and role in the career fair:

Ms. Khalil: Yeah, I didn’t work with it that much. I kinda got just assigned a person but I guess some people brought people in. Like Ms. B I think her husband came in as her guest speaker, yeah but...

S.A.: So it was mostly organized by the career counselor?

Ms. Khalil: Yeah, she asked if we had anyone in mind but, you know, she did most of the work (IT12, page 2).

Ms. Khalil was asked whether she wanted a particular person to give the career day presentation in her class. However, like many teachers, she did not choose her guest speakers because that would have been additional work for her. So Ms. Anderson assigned guest speakers to Ms.

Khalil's class—three of which happened to be military recruiters. Ms. Khalil did not have a chance to approve or reject her guest speaker list because they were assigned to her on the day of the career fair. I asked Ms. Khalil what she thought about her guest speakers. She replied:

Ms. Khalil: It was good. I felt kind of uneasy about the Army people that came in though.

S.A.: Could you tell me more about that?

Ms. Khalil: Uh...it's just, I dunno, usually, at my school, at my high school they weren't allowed at career fairs because it's just kind of...it could be misleading—some of the things they said.

S.A.: What do you mean?

Ms. Khalil: Well it's just that people in the class seemed very interested in it. I dunno (laugh) it's very, I dunno how I should put it. The experience that students have with recruiters, It's kind of one-sided, but I dunno.

S.A.: Um, did you have a discussion with your class afterwards about it?

Ms. Khalil: Yeah, like I didn't wanna do it in front of the people cause it's really disrespectful. Especially (laugh) you know since they're taking the time and yeah. [] So I kinda gave the other side just because I didn't want the students listening thinking that they were never gonna see war and they could pick whatever job they want [in the military] (IT12, pages 2-3).

Ms. Khalil stated that she felt “uneasy” about having recruiters in her classroom because they were giving students “misleading” and incomplete information about what it meant to enlist in the military. She also stated that some of her students seemed to be enthusiastic about the military, so this added another layer of concern for her. Ms. Khalil recalled that recruiters were not invited to career fairs in her own high school for the aforementioned reasons. Regardless of her concerns, she did not choose to stop recruiters from visiting her classroom.

Ms. Khalil's actions were informed by many factors, both at the institutional and personal levels, that constrained her choices. Because of her heavy workload she choose to take an inactive role in planning the career fair and did not choose to invite her own guest speakers. As a result, the career counselor assigned guest speakers to her class that she didn't necessarily want. Ms. Khalil then had the choice to disinvite the recruiters from her class. However, she didn't have the opportunity to do that before they came to her class, so she would have had to ask them

to leave in front of the students. Had Ms. Khalil chosen to ask the recruiters to leave her class, she would have endured a socially awkward interaction and risked looking like she did not respect the military, which would have had unforeseen social consequences for her.

Ms. Khalil also felt that she couldn't challenge the statements that the recruiters made in her class, during their actual presentation, because it would have been "really disrespectful." So she was silent throughout their class presentation. Although Ms. Khalil did not actively seek out recruiters and invite them to her classroom, her choices lead to her playing the role of a "gate opener." However, she stated that she debriefed with her students the next day and gave them the "other side" of the story. So she was able to mitigate, to a certain level, the uncritical and one-sided presentation of the recruiters.

It was interesting to note that Ms. Khalil's uneasiness with recruiters did not stem necessarily from an anti-militaristic perspective, but from a concern about students making informed choices regarding their future employment. While Ms. Khalil didn't necessarily think that the military was a good postsecondary path for her students, she thought that law enforcement was. Ms. Khalil stated that the police was "better than the military. Just 'cause even though it's dangerous still, it's a high pay for a high school diploma" (IT12, page 3). Although Ms. Khalil thought that joining the police force was also dangerous, she believed that it was better than the military both in terms of the risks and the compensation. She also thought that the "discipline" that the Police Academy offered was a good thing.

Ms. Khalil: [The Police Academy Magnet is] really good. [T]here is [sic] a lot more disciplined students 'cause you can actually get kicked out of it. [] like if they missed so many days [] there's consequences, like we can't really do that. You can't get kicked out or drop out from a class if you miss twenty days (IT12, page 3).

Ms. Khalil's objection to the military as a postsecondary path was a pragmatic objection not an ideological one. She did not want her students to have false pretenses about what it meant to join

the military and the dangers associated with that. However, she still bought into the idea that militaristic “discipline,” such as the one in the Police Academy Magnet, was a good thing for students.

Although the teachers discussed in this section had different perspectives on the military as a postsecondary path for students, they all acted as “gate-openers” to recruiters. They allowed recruiters access to their classrooms and gave them instructional time. Also, they all supported the notion that militaristic “discipline” was a good thing for students at Washington High School. Mr. Tang, Mr. Acuña and Ms. Khalil had similar perspectives as other teachers at Washington High School who gave recruiters access to their classroom. Some “gate-openers” were actively engaged in giving recruiters access, while others gave access passively or even reluctantly. However, it is important to note that while these teachers gave recruiters access to their classrooms, they also, to varying extents, exposed students to other postsecondary paths. For instance, some teachers like Mr. Acuña actively promoted college. Others, like Ms. Khalil, provided students with a counter narrative regarding military service.

Also, it is important to acknowledge that the teachers I interviewed might not have disclosed their true feelings about the military as a postsecondary option for students, given that military recruitment was a highly contested topic. Furthermore, the choices that teachers made in giving recruiters access to their classrooms were undoubtedly constrained by the post 9/11 political climate in the United States where the military was treated as a “sacred cow” and anyone critical of the military and its practices was seen as “radical” and “un-American.” In this context refusing recruiters’ requests for classroom visits might have been perceived as anti-military and hence teachers might have been faced with unforeseen social consequences within the school.

Finally there were a few teachers who actively opposed military recruitment and provided students with non-militarized alternatives. One such teacher was Ms. Jimenez, an English teacher who organized a social justice career fair and intentionally excluded military recruiters from the guest list. She invited doctors, lawyers, academics and also representatives from a counter-recruitment organization to the event. However, her efforts were partially sabotaged by Ms. Anderson, the career counselor, who invited a large group of police officers to the fair without consulting Ms. Jimenez. Although, there were no representatives from the military, the police officers had an overwhelming presence. They made up twenty five percent of the guests at the career fair and they contributed to the militarization of the career fair through their presence (IT13).

Ms. Jimenez was not the only adult within the Washington High School community who led a concerted effort in countering the militarized schooling culture and creating alternative spaces for students. There were other teachers, students and activists who were involved in mobilized efforts to counter militarism at Washington High School. However, doing justice to these efforts would require a subsequent study.

III. The Pedagogy of Denial:

Administrators, counselors and teachers who acted as gate-openers to recruiters, without offering a counter-narrative, were complicit, to varying degrees, in the propagation of the misleading information that recruiters gave students regarding military service. In this section, I will critically analyze the messages that recruiters conveyed to students during their classroom and lunchtime presentations.

One of the common themes in the discourses of recruiters was that the military provided funding for college. During an informal interview, SSG Hernandez, one of the recruiters who frequented Washington High School, told me about the message that he would try to communicate to students.

I asked him if I were a student what would he tell me? He said he would talk to me about the benefits of joining the military. He would ask me what my interests were and what is it that I want to do when I graduate. I asked him what would he tell me if I said I wanted to be an artist? He said he would tell me “you need schooling for that and the military has educational opportunities for you.” He stated that I could get \$80,000 towards school and I can attend satellite campuses as long as I maintain a C average. He said: “After you join and serve on the Marine Corps for four years you can still use the G.I. bill for 10 years after that—starting from the day you get out. You sign up for the G.I. bill in boot camp and once you sign up the money is there” (FN11, page 2).

SSG Hernandez’s main pitch for students was that the military helped them pay for their college education. He stated that he would approach students, ask them about their interests and tell them that the military would pay for the training that is necessary to achieve their goals. Regardless of what students were interested in, SSG Hernandez would find a way to make the military relevant to their interests as indicated by his response to my hypothetical statement about wanting to become an artist—something that is not naturally or easily connected to military service. Also, SSG Hernandez made it seem that the G.I. Bill benefits were easy to access and use and they were available as soon as someone enlisted. The reality was that once someone enlisted they had to pay into the G.I. Bill and go through many hurdles before they were able to get funding for their education³⁵. In fact, only a small fraction of those who enlist in

³⁵ The Seattle Draft and Military Counseling Center, in a formal statement on the Montgomery G.I. Bill stated: “In order to receive any education benefit there are several conditions that must be met. First, you must contribute \$100 per month for the first twelve months of your tour. Those payments must be made for all twelve months and can't be cancelled once they're begun. There is no refund of that \$1200, ever. Additionally, you must receive an honorable discharge, something that 20% of all veterans don't get. The maximum benefit you can qualify for under the Montgomery GI Bill is \$12,000. To earn a larger benefit, like the \$17,000 and \$25,200 the military is so fond of advertising, you must qualify for the Army/Navy College Fund. To do this you must score in the top half of the military entry tests and be willing to enter a designated job specialty. These designated Military Occupational

the military use the full benefits of the G.I Bill because they are hard to access³⁶. It is much easier for students to apply for financial aid monies.

Other common themes in the discourses of recruiters were that military service was patriotic and it required special courage and strength. On the one hand they portrayed military service as a good career choice for immigrants and Latin@s in particular, and on the other hand they denied that the military was targeting Latin@s for recruitment. Another theme was that being in the military developed character and discipline, it was the “manly” thing to do and it wasn’t for “weak” people and/or women who were not going to perform as men. Also, recruiters emphasized that the military provided food, shelter and good compensation to soldiers and it was the best alternative to being in a gang, going to prison or having a low-skill/low-wage job—the subtext being that these were the only options available to students at Washington High School. In addition to the aforementioned themes, there was no honest discussion about the realities of war but rather an evasion, sterilization or making light of the topic.

Specialties are the most unpopular in the military. The military has a hard time filling them because they have no skills that are transferable to the civilian job market. You might think that once you're discharged, you're immediately eligible for college aid. Unfortunately, even after you've been honorably discharged you're still a long way from getting that money. Even though you've earned your tuition benefit you probably won't get it all. The military has still more requirements for you to fulfill before you get all of your money. Of course, you must be attending an accredited school [although more and more enlistees are able to use their benefits in for-profit institutions]. The military's payment plan is based on a four-year college schedule: they'll pay you equal portions of your money over 36 months (the equivalent of four academic years of nine months each). This schedule is not flexible! If you, like the 41% of 1972 veterans who attend college, attend a two-year school you cannot receive larger payments over a shorter period of time. That means a two-year college graduate will receive only half of the money they have earned!” However, the Post 9/11 G.I. Bill is supposed to be easier to access.

³⁶ Although there hasn’t been any significant academic studies that address this issue, there has been a few studies that address the effects of the G.I. Bill on the colligate outcomes for African Americans in the South. Even though some of these studies claim that the G.I. Bill has had an overall positive effect on the educational outcomes for Whites and African Americans, other studies suggest that the G.I. Bill has had little effect on college enrollment of minorities who come from economically disadvantaged backgrounds (Katznelson & Mettler, 2008; Turner & Bound, 2003).

To give an illustration of these discourses, I will use my fieldnotes from a forty-five-minute joint presentation that three military recruiters gave, in Ms. Khalil's classroom, during the annual campus-wide career fair.

Introductions:

As students were arriving to the classroom SSG Mendez set up an LCD projector and wrote on the board the names of all the presenters "SSG Mendez, SSG Rodriguez and PFC Tejada." The two Staff Sergeants (SSG)s were men while the Private First Class (PFC) was a woman who had a lower rank than the two men. PFC Tejada spoke the least throughout the presentation and she stood behind the two men most of the time.

When all the students had arrived and taken a seat SSG Mendez addressed them with a loud and commanding voice "Can I get your attention please?" Students responded with scattered yeses. He then introduced his two colleagues and stated: "We're here to give you options for your future" (FN16, page 4)!

SSG Mendez had a lot of experience presenting in front of a high school audience. He addressed students in a way that was meant to grab their attention and make them anticipate his presentation. He was "rallying up the troops" so to speak and making grand claims about what he was going to do. He then introduced himself and his two colleagues to the class. All three of them took turns giving a summary of why they joined the military. They also gave short descriptions of their assignments within the military.

SSG Mendez first talked about how he was born and raised in Mexico and how his family immigrated to the United States. He then talked about enlisting in high school. He said that while he was in the military he got married and had three children. He told students that he ended up working in the human resources department of the Army. He talked about his future plans in the military, his upcoming travels and his interest in learning Portuguese. Then SSG Rodriguez took over and he introduced himself saying that he had been in the Army for 12 years and had worked as a helicopter mechanic since the age of 18. SSG Rodriguez said: "If anything, the Army is a great first step and to get started with your civilian life." Next the woman recruiter, PFC Tejada introduced herself: "I

was born and raised in the San Fernando Valley... I never saw it [the military] as an option but school was so expensive so I thought I could fund my education through joining the Army...I went to UC Northridge and became a chemical specialist....I'll be stationed in Germany and I'm excited to travel all over the world..."(FN16, pages 4-5).

SSG Mendez began his presentation with his personal narrative about his immigration to the United States and his enlistment in the military right after high school. In this act, SSG Mendez was connecting his own experiences as an immigrant from Mexico to the experiences of his students and positioning himself as an insider and hence a role model for students.

PFC Tejeda, talked about growing up in the San Fernando Valley in a similar community as the one surrounding Washington High School—a predominantly working class, Latin@ community. Similar to SSG Mendez, she attempted to connect her experiences as a Chicana to the experiences of the students within Ms. Khalil's class. Both SSG Mendez and PFC Tejeda talked about the ways in which the military had provided them job training and money for schooling. Their narrative reified the notion that the military was a good option for Latin@ students coming from working class, immigrant families. It was a good career path for students who needed money for college or who wanted to be gainfully employed right out of high school.

All three recruiters stated that they received funding for their schooling or vocational training through the military and they were able to make successful careers for themselves within the military. SSG Mendez worked in the human resources division, SSG Rodriguez was a helicopter mechanic and PFC Tejeda was a chemical specialist who was going to be stationed in Germany. None of the recruiters appeared to have had jobs that required them to be in combat. It was interesting that SSG Rodriguez stated that the Army was "a great first step [] to get started with your civilian life." Although he did not follow up this comment by an explanation, he gave the impression that in order for someone to be a "good civilian" they needed to be a good soldier first and learn militarized "discipline."

The “Hook”:

The introductions were then followed by a video presentation that was meant to act as a “hook” for students. The video was an advertisement for the Army with the “Army Strong” theme song running in the background. The following is a summarized transcription of the video presentation:

The video alternated between white captions against a black background and video clips and pictures of military training scenes. The following were the captions shown throughout the video:

Caption: Webster defines strong as having great physical power,

Caption: As having moral or intellectual power,

Caption: As striking or superior of its kind.

Caption: But with all due respect to Webster,

Caption: There’s strong,

Caption: And then there’s Army Strong.

Caption: It is a strength like none other.

Caption: It’s a physical strength.

Caption: It’s an emotional strength.

Caption: It is a strength of character,

Caption: And strength of purpose.

Caption: The strength to do good today,

Caption: And the strength to do well tomorrow.

Caption: The strength to obey,

Caption: And the strength to command.

Caption: The strength to build,

Caption: And strength to tear down.

Caption: The strength to get yourself over,

Caption: And the strength to get over yourself.

Caption: There is nothing on this green earth

Caption: That is stronger than the US Army.

Caption: Because there is nothing on this green earth

Caption: That is stronger than a U.S. Army Soldier.

Caption: Strong.

Caption: Army Strong (FN16, pages 5-8) (See Appendix C for the full transcript).

One of the themes throughout this video presentation was that the military in general and the Army in particular were associated with the acquisition of nebulous and yet positive sounding characteristics such as “emotional strength,” “strength of character” and “strength of purpose.” This was reminiscent of the discourses regarding “leadership,” “discipline” and

“character” within the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet programs. The video seemed to project the message that the Army was the place where an individual developed these positive sounding characteristics. Although these characteristics were not defined, the pictures and video clips following the captions were indicative of the way in which they were meant to be interpreted.

For instance, the caption “It is a strength of character” was followed by images that were about receiving military honors such as the young Latina female soldier who was being decorated with a medal by her two white male superiors. Also, the caption “strength of purpose” was followed by images of soldiers marching and firing their rifles—implying that the willingness and ability to march and kill demonstrated “strength of purpose.” The message then progressed to suggest that these characteristics enabled someone to “do good today” and “well tomorrow” implying that doing “good deeds” like “serving one’s country” by enlisting in the military today will result in being rewarded by upward mobility in the future.

The video reified the notion that being in the military was about obeying and commanding and building and tearing down. It was significant that the caption “the strength to build” was followed by a video of an explosion of a boat and a bridge, communicating that a destructive act by the military is in fact constructive. Most of the images and video clips were about military style marching, saluting, firing rifles, flying military planes/helicopters and other images such as explosions that glorified war and military action.

It was significant that the word “strength” and its derivations were repeated twenty one times in the video clip associating strength not only with military action and force but also with hypermasculinity and whiteness. There were images and videos of 33 men (20 white men, 8 African American men and 6 Latino men), eight women (3 white women, 3 African American

women and 2 Latina women) and four young male children (3 Middle Eastern children and one African American child)³⁷. The video primarily highlighted the images of men with interspersed images of women and male children.

The men were generally portrayed to be in leadership positions and accomplishing physically and also mentally challenging tasks such as jumping out of planes, going through obstacle courses with their muscular arms exposed, operating heavy machinery, etc. It was significant that none of the African American or Latino men were shown carrying rifles—reifying the neo-colonial anxieties and fears within the U.S. regarding men of color. They were “domesticated” and relegated to the less threatening roles of being patted on the back by white men, working in an office or spending time with their child. At the same time these images also communicated that African American and Latino men did not have to serve in combat jobs.

The women in this video advertisement were portrayed as passive, subordinate, docile, weak and assuming traditionally feminized roles. Similar to the African American and Latino men, none of the women were carrying rifles. One of the images had four women soldiers sitting down, posing unwittingly for the camera and assuming very passive roles. Also, the women in this image seemed very young, as they were not wearing their full military uniform, but rather tank tops and “hoodies.” They almost looked like high school students sitting on a bench, in a physical education class.

Another image was that of a white civilian woman giving an embrace to a white male soldier—an act that communicated “caring” or “giving support” which is associated with

³⁷ These were my assumptions based on the appearances of the people in the video. Making these assumptions is problematic and does not account for the complexity of an individual. However, I felt that it was important to count these instances, at face value, because those were the general portrayals that the video intended to project. The actual identities of the individuals within the video were not important to my analysis because regardless of the ways that these individuals might have self-identified, the purpose of the video was to project a certain raced and gendered narrative which is what I am concerned with in my analysis. It was also important to consider the context in which the video was shown (i.e. a school in a predominantly working class Latin@ community).

femininity in dominant images and representations. In a different image, a Latina soldier was receiving a medal from two white male soldiers positioning her in a subordinate rank to the white men as she was receiving validity and approval from them. There was also an image of a woman next to seven men and she stood in the front center of the picture highlighting her “specialness” within the military.

Finally the last woman in the video was a white woman climbing a wall but she couldn’t do it on her own and needed a helping hand to get over to the other side. Although this was the only woman who was doing something that was proactive and physically challenging, she still needed assistance to get the task done. In contrast, the men in the video were marching, leading, firing rifles, flying planes, giving protection and guidance to children, validating the women, etc.

The only Iraqis and Afghans were male children who were in the custody and under the protection of a white American male soldier. Aside from the image of these children there were no signs of Iraqis and Afghans within the militarized and war stricken landscapes shown in the video. The soldiers in the video were fighting an invisible enemy and saving their “poor children.”

The Lecture:

The video set the stage for the presentation and discussion that was to follow. After the video ended, SSG Mendez gave a short talk about joining the military.

He began by stating that he was going to answer the most common questions that he gets from students and followed this comment by saying: “YES! You get three meals a day!” (students laughed). He then continued: “We’re going to be passing some good stuff today!” and began passing out freebies (stickers, key chains, pins with the Army emblem) to students. While passing out the freebies, SSG Hernandez said: “The bottom line is that we’re here to give you information not to recruit you...If your nation called you, wouldn’t you go? To defend your lifestyle? That’s why we need an army!” (FN16, pages 8-9).

SSG Mendez began his presentation with a joke that took away the seriousness of the topic of enlisting in the military. Although the comment about the “three meals a day” was meant to make light of military service and cause students to laugh, it was also meant to appeal to the economic positioning of the students. SSG Mendez’s words and actions communicated to students that the military would provide for them physically and financially. His words about the “three meals” were then, followed by his action of passing out free things to students emphasizing the “giving” qualities of the military.

Although SSG Mendez appealed to the economic needs and aspirations of students he also appealed to their patriotic sense by asking “If your nation called you, wouldn’t you go?” This question then positioned military service as a “calling” or something connected to a “higher purpose.” However, he quickly changed the focus back to the economics by articulating nationalism or “the nation” as a “lifestyle” and the purpose of military service being the defending of an implied economic “lifestyle” rather than an imagined “homeland” or a “nation.”

It was also interesting that SSG Mendez denied his very purpose in being at Washington High School by stating: “we’re here to give you information, not to recruit you.” SSG Mendez’s denial of his actions was reminiscent of Sgt. Larsen’s denial about the JROTC program being a recruiting tool for the military even though all the evidence suggested otherwise. SSG Mendez continued to convey this message of denial by stating later on in his presentation: *“Most people think that the military is recruiting people of color and Latinos but that’s not true...The majority of the Army is white, like the majority of the country... we are a mirror image...”*(FN16, page 14). Although it is true that the majority of the Army is white, this did not then mean that the military was not actively recruiting Latin@s. SSG Mendez did not point out that Latin@s, as a group, were in fact overrepresented in the military as a whole and specifically in combat jobs

(Gifford, 2005). Also, this was in direct contradiction to the way in which SSG Mendez and his colleagues introduced themselves at the beginning of the presentation, posing themselves as Latin@ success stories within the military.

SSG Mendez and his colleagues made claims that were often contradictory and/or partially true. It was no surprise then that he did not want me to audiotape their presentation.

I gave them the same spiel [about my research] and SSG Mendez said: "Actually you can't audio-record us, there is a protocol and you need to get permission from the appropriate authorities in order to tape-record us." SSG Rodrigues echoed and said that they didn't want people to take what they said out of context and butcher their presentation. I asked them if I could observe them and take notes while they presented. They said yes (FN16, page 1).

I asked many of the guests speakers at the career fair if I could audio-record their presentation.

They all said yes with the exception of the recruiters from the Army and the Marine Corps.

SSG Mendez proceeded with his presentation by explaining the steps that students needed to take to join the Army. He gave the impression that students had to go through challenging processes in order for them to qualify for enlistment.

SSG Mendez: "The first thing we do is have an interview with you. In order for you to qualify for incentives [pause] meaning money, you have to be screened. Less than 10% of people are qualified to enter the Army. If you have felonies or drug related charges you can't join! Sometimes people think that they can send the bad kids into the military... we hire the good kids! You have to take the ASVAB and you have to score 31-91 on it to qualify. It's called the APPT [It's actually called the AFQT (Armed Forces Qualification Test)]. Once you take this test then we know what kind of jobs you qualify for. Then you take the physical test and medical inspection. We want to make sure you're able to see, hear, breath properly. Then you go to boot camp and basic training... if you're 17... most of you are seniors, right (FN16, page 9)?

SSG Mendez attempted to portray the military as highly selective by listing the different steps that students had to go through in order to enlist. Students had to be interviewed and screened. They needed to take the ASVAB and score 31-91 on the AFQT. Furthermore, they had to pass the physical test, the medical exam and complete boot camp in order to become a soldier.

SSG Mendez was attempting to challenge the commonly held perception that the military was for “bad kids” or students who were not high achiever. His strategy was creating a sense of exclusivity, prestige and selectivity through listing multiple things that students had to do in order to enlist. However, a closer look at the screening steps that he mentioned would prove otherwise. For instance, SSG Mendez stated: “If you have felonies or drug related charges you can’t join!” which is not exactly setting a high bar for enlistees. He then stated that students had to score 31-91 on the “APPT” to qualify. SSG Mendez meant to say the AFQT, which is computed using Standard Scores from four ASVAB subtests: Arithmetic Reasoning (AR), Mathematics Knowledge (MK), Paragraph Comprehension (PC), and Word Knowledge (WK) (ASVAB, 2012). The scores are then reported as percentiles between 1 and 99. I have not studied the content of the ASVAB test and hence cannot speak to the rigor and validity of the test in assessing student knowledge or ability. However, according to SSG Mendez, a student had to score at least in the 31st percentile to qualify for enlistment, which is not exactly a high standard.

Also, SSG Mendez ended his explanation by stating that once a student completes all of these steps and meets the requirements, he/she can then join as long as he/she is seventeen year old. In other words, students didn’t even need to be adults (eighteen or older) to join the military.

Q & A and Discussion:

After his presentation, SSG Mendez engaged students in a question and answer session and a class discussion regarding the information that he had conveyed to students. Initially he began questioning students on what they had learned and then students began their own questioning.

SSG Mendez asked students: "What do you want to be?" [He began calling on individual students]. One student, Jose, replied: "A chef." Another student, Marco said: "Joining the Marines." SSG Mendez asked Marco "Why?"

Marco replied: "Because they got my attention!"

SSG Mendez: "How?"

Marco: "Because of the opportunities that they offer."

SSG Mendez validated Marco's comment by saying: "Now I'm in the service and I have a great lifestyle but some of my friends are working in car washes or are locked up." SSG Mendez continued talking about basic training. He said: "It lasts 9 weeks but AIT (Advanced Individual Training) could last for 2-12 months based on how much training you need." He then told students about his travels and adventures in the military and his future plans. SSG Mendez said: "I'm going to learn Portuguese because I'm going to Portugal. I've been to Japan, South Korea and I was in Iraq for a year. When you come back you have the option of either being in the reserves or active duty." As he was talking he drew on the board two non intersecting circles next to each other and wrote the word Reserves in one and Active duty in the other. As he continued to explain the different options he wrote "not full pay" in the circle that had the word Reserves and wrote "full pay" in the circle marked with the words Active Duty. He then wrote the word college on the board below the two circles and drew arrows from each circle to the word college—indicating that you can go to college whether you are in the reserves or on active duty. Then PFC Tejeda interjected and talked about how she was going to be stationed in Germany as a chemical specialist (FN16, pages 9-10).

SSG Mendez through his questions and responses reified the narrative that the military offered students opportunities that they otherwise might not have such as traveling all over the world, learning new languages, attending college, funding college and having a "great lifestyle." SSG Mendez used students' interests to engage them in a dialogue about enlisting in the military. Expanding on Marco's comment about the opportunities that the military offered, SSG Mendez told students about the many adventures that he had in the military. He compared his situation to that of his friends' who were working at "car washes" or were "locked up" in prison. SSG Mendez reified the narrative that, aside from the military, the only other two postsecondary paths available for students at Washington High School were low-skill, low-wage jobs or prison.

PFC Tejeda gave further legitimacy to the military path by telling students about her own experiences and the opportunities that she was given through the military such as her upcoming travels to Germany. Although some students were caught in the excitement of the narrative about

military life, others approached the topic with more pragmatism and caution and even questioned and challenged some of the claims that were made by the recruiters.

Isidro asked: “I have a question, if you die would the money still go to your family?”

SSG Mendez: “We have great life insurance—our life insurance goes up to \$500,000” and then he began passing out brochures about the army.

Another student asked about whether soldiers paid taxes, SSG Mendez responded: “You still have to pay taxes.”

Another student, Octavio, asked: “Would you get paid if you’re injured?”

SSG Mendez: “EVEN if you get injured you get paid!”

SSG Mendez continued saying: “I jump out of planes but it’s not for everybody [I felt like he was bragging] ... When I got a fracture, I was getting paid and getting treated... You get a break!” He talked about how he was given a few months to rest and recuperate after his injury.

Another student, Cecilia: “What is human resources?” SSG Mendez explained what it was and stated: “The Army is so vast that there are many jobs and there is a lot to know about it, even I don’t know everything that is available in the Army”

Then he emphatically stated: “You have to make a decision about your future”(FN16, pages 10-11)!

Although SSG Mendez was attempting to obfuscate the realities of war by exclusively talking about the “opportunities” and the “adventures” that the military offered, and in doing so engaging in an adult-to-child conversation with students, Isidro brought the conversation back to reality and back to an adult-to-adult conversation. Isidro was very aware of the fact that enlisting in the military would mean risking one’s life. His focus was not so much on the “adventures” to be had but rather on how he would be able to provide for his family, even after his death.

Octavio also was aware that getting injured could be part of the bargain and he was concerned about making a living in case he got injured. Although SSG Mendez was forced to engage seriously with both Isidro and Octavio, he again attempted to bring the “adventure” and “awe” factor back into the conversation by stating that he jumped out of airplanes. He also conveyed that the military was going to take care of soldiers—financially, medically and with “time off”—if they had any injuries on the job. However, his narrative was followed by another practical question by Cecilia about working in Human Resources. What Cecilia was interested in

was a path within the military that didn't require her to be in combat. SSG Mendez was getting a bit impatient with this line of questioning so he told the students emphatically: "You have to make a decision about your future!" However, this did not stop students from prodding.

*José asked: "If you're an engineer or a doctor do you still have to go to the war zone?"
SSG Mendez: "They have Green, Amber and Red zones and it depends on the zone that you're assigned."*

Daniel asked SSG Mendez: "What was it like in Iraq?"

SSG Mendez replied: "Let me tell you. Being in Iraq... it was the year when I was best fed! I had shrimp! Taco Bell! Ice-cream!..." then he stated: "Some people have never seen the battle field and they've been in the Army for 10 years"(FN16, page 11)!

José wanted to know if there was any way of serving in the military without being in a war zone. SSG Mendez avoided answering his question directly. He gave the impression that there were many different options within the military—the "Green", "Amber" or "Red" zones. SSG Mendez did not make it clear that it wasn't up to the enlistees to decide where they were stationed.

Daniel was aware of the possibility of being placed in a war zone and he wanted to know what it was like. When Daniel asked SSG Mendez directly about his own experiences in a combat zone, he completely ignored the legitimacy and seriousness of Daniel's question by describing war as if it was an amusement park with an all-you-can-eat buffet. However, he also addressed Daniel's underlying question, which was: "Do I have to be stationed in a war zone?" by stating that "some people have never seen the battle field and they've been in the Army for 10 years." Although, theoretically, it is possible for a person to be in the military for ten years without ever seeing the battlefield, the fact was that this was highly unlikely for students who were being recruited right out of high school, with no prior specialized training or higher education, and while the country was at war on two fronts.

Although SSG Mendez attempted to avoid talking about the unmentionable subjects of killing and dying, students kept prodding him about these issues.

Eduardo: "How do you prepare mentally to pull a rifle and shoot somebody?"
SSG Mendez: "By training... when I first jumped out of a plane I was 18 and the night before that day I slept like a baby because I was trained!"
Eduardo: "Have you ever seen anyone get shot?"
SSG Mendez: "No, I am color blind so I was disqualified from combat jobs."
He continued saying: "My family—most of them are in the service!"
Xochitl asked about women not being able to serve in combat. He replied saying that president Obama is reviewing the policies and is trying to change them.
SSG Mendez: "If you are able to perform like the guys then you should be able to be in combat"(FN16, page 13).

Eduardo wanted to know how one would prepare mentally to kill someone. SSG Mendez sterilized the topic of killing by making it about training and by focusing on the example of jumping out of a plane. Although both of those actions are highly stressful, there are vast differences in the moral, psychological and emotional ramifications of shooting someone versus skydiving. It was also significant that SSG Mendez had not served in combat and yet he was promoting the military for students in a time of war, similar to Sgt. Larsen and Mr. Tang. My impression was that SSG Mendez realized that not serving in combat was taking away from his credibility so he stated that most of his family members were in "the service" to gain back some of that credibility. Xochitl, building on the previous conversation, asked about why women were not allowed to serve in combat. SSG Mendez's response continued the gendered discourses about women needing to be like men in order for them to assume the same roles in the military.

Students were not only concerned with the realities of war but with the effects of military service on one's family. For instance Maria asked SSG Mendez whether he "missed out on his family" and SSG Mendez replied by stating that his wife was very understanding and that she took care of the children, the household and everything else while he was away. Other students asked: "Didn't you miss your family?" He responded by saying: "This is not for the faint-hearted! If you're strong-hearted then go for it" (FN16, page 12)! SSG Mendez engaged in a gendered discourse about the different spheres of responsibility—his being on the battlefield and

his wife's being in the home and with the children. He portrayed familial attachment as a weakness by stating that military service was not for the "faint-hearted" or those who would miss their families.

Students in Ms. Khalil's class were also concerned about life after the military including employment possibilities.

Araceli: "How is life after?"

SSG Mendez: "I have no intention of being out of the military... I want to get 're-hired' instead of 're-tired'" He continued explaining that in the military you acquire leadership skills that would help you with jobs afterwards.

SSG Mendez: "When I came to the U.S. I knew this much English (he emphasized with his fingers showing how little)" and he talked about how far he has come (FN16, pages 11-12).

SSG Mendez gave the impression that the military was such a positive place for him that he had no intention of retiring or having a "life after" the military. He stated that the military gives enlistees "leadership skills" which in turn would help them in future employment—one of the common discourses about military service. However, SSG Mendez did not give any examples of skills that students can learn in the military, but rather told them about how he knew very little English when he came to the U.S. and how he had come a long way since. He started his life as a non-English-speaking immigrant and now he was moving up the ranks in the United States military. It almost sounded like the military was the place where he had learned English, which I don't think was the case. What SSG Mendez was doing was communicating to students that being in the military was an achievement in itself and that students did not need to look further than the military. However, students continued the dialogue about life after the military.

Eligio: "How about all the homeless veterans?"

SSG Mendez: "A lot of the homeless who say they are vets they say it to get money"

Antonio: "Yeah, but I've seen them!" [Disagreed with SSG Mendez]

Maria insisted that there are veterans who are homeless, SSG replied: "They are homeless because they are mentally unstable, they are on crack..."

Students Laughed.

Martin: “How can someone be kicked out of the military?”
SSG Mendez: “Because of stealing, doing drugs...” (FN16, page 12).

Although Eligio, Antonio and Maria were aware of the homelessness problem in the veteran community and wanted to know more about it, SSG Mendez completely invalidated their questions. He first denied that there was a homelessness problem in the veteran community by stating that the homeless claim to be veterans to get money. He disregarded the fact that homelessness among veterans was more than double the rate of homelessness in the general population (United States Department of Veterans Affairs [USDVA], 2011). But when students insisted that there were in fact homeless veterans he responded by stating that they were “mentally unstable” and were “on crack.”

It is true that psychiatric illness, substance abuse and chronic illness are prevalent issues among homeless Veterans but these issues are largely connected to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (USDVA, 2011). The way in which SSG Mendez responded was derogatory towards people with mental disabilities and drug abuse problems. His use of the term “being on crack” was classed, raced and insulting—not descriptive. When students responded with laughter, SSG Mendez made no effort to correct himself, to explain the seriousness of these issue and communicate to students that this was no laughing matter. His reaction was highly problematic and inappropriate—particularly because he was assuming a teaching role in the classroom and was in a position to influence minors.

Also, SSG’s comment on homeless veterans was particularly surprising because it violated the comradery, respect and loyalty that soldiers are expected to have for one another. SSG Mendez was very much aware of this “military code of respect” and comradery as he referred to it in his concluding comments: *“They [the men in the Army] are my brothers of honor! They are my cousins! Everyone in the army acts and thinks alike. There is a whole*

culture and a mentality”(FN16, page 13). He also extended this “code of respect” to those who were in the police force. When Leo, one of the students, asked whether being in the military would give him certain privileges such as getting out of traffic tickets. SSG Mendez replied by stating “We are one brotherhood, if you’re a cop and see the military sticker on a car then you let the person go”(FN16, page 12).

While students were asking SSG Mendez questions SSG Rodriguez was passing out key-chains to those students who participated. These were quality, metal rock-climbing carabiner key chains with the Army emblem on the fabric end. SSG Rodriguez also passed out playing cards with the Army logo.

Throughout the class discussion students continually veered the conversation towards the realities of war and life after the military, despite SSG Mendez’s best efforts to avoid the topics. However, it was striking to me that there was no mention of the people who were the object or target of our wars. There was no discussion about Iraq and Afghanistan and the issues with United States interventionism abroad. The recruiters’ presentation completely erased and made invisible the “enemies” that the military was fighting—they made it seem like they were fighting a war on an empty landscape. Also, what stood out to me was the irony of this presentation, taking place within the classroom of an English teacher who had Middle Eastern roots.

Although public schools receiving federal monies under NCLB of 2002 were required to give military recruiters access to students, they were not required to teach students about the current Middle East and United States interventionism. In the California History-Social Science content standards the Middle East was listed only four times: 1) in the context of the spread of the bubonic plague, 2) in the context of WWI, 3) in relation to the formation of the state of Israel

and finally 4) in an optional topic about the Gulf War (California State Board of Education [CSBE], 1998).

The Assessment:

The recruiters gave a well-organized lesson. The whole presentation was a forty-five minute interactive and hands-on advertisement. It included introductions, a “hook”, a lecture, a class discussion and an assessment. At the end of his presentation SSG Mendez decided to have an informal “quiz” for students.

SSG Mendez: “We have 10 more minutes... any more questions?” No one responded.

SSG Mendez: “OK, let’s do a quiz” He began asking students trivia questions about the Army and passed out gifts to students who answered correctly.”

SSG Mendez: “How many jobs are there in the Army?”

Marco: “150...”

SSG Mendez: “If you get caught stealing would you be kicked out?”

José: “Depends.”

SSG Mendez: “Yes, if it’s a felony. If you’re stealing less than \$500 it’s a misdemeanor”(FN16, page 13).

The quiz was not only a way for SSG Mendez to assess his success in teaching students certain “facts” about the military but also to further emphasize the points that he meant to communicate to them. He rewarded students for taking part in this assessment and getting the “correct” answers by giving them more “freebees.”

Although the recruiters’ class presentation resembled a well-planned lesson, the purpose of the lesson was not illumination but rather obfuscation—as advertisements are often meant to do. Students were not given all the facts about enlistment and about life in the military and they were not encouraged to engage critically with the information that was presented. I felt that the goal of the presentation was indoctrination not education. Even though students challenged SSG Mendez on many fronts and tried to veer the conversation towards the realities of enlistment,

SSG Mendez continually brought back the conversation to the uncritical and one-sided presentation of the “opportunities” and “adventures” that the military offered. In my opinion the net outcome of this presentation was the propagation of half-truths about military enlistment.

IV. Conclusion:

One of the ways that the military was promoted and privileged at Washington High School, as a postsecondary path for students, was through the heavy presence of military recruiters. A significant amount of monetary and human resources were dedicated to having recruiters at Washington High School on a regular basis.

Although legislation such as the NCLB Act had given unprecedented access to recruiters within high school campuses, certain administrators, counselors and teachers amplified this access by having lax campus policies regarding recruitment and by inviting recruiters to lunchtime events, career fairs and classroom presentations.

One of the reasons why adults within Washington High School invited recruiters to career fairs and classrooms was because it was extremely easy to do so. Recruiters were readily available to attend school events because it was their job—as opposed to other volunteer guest speakers who had to take time off of their workday to visit the school. Also, certain counselors and teacher viewed the military as a positive postsecondary path for students because they themselves were veterans, had veteran friends, or had attended the Educator Workshop—a program geared towards building positive dispositions among educators and other “influencers” towards the military.

Although there were some teachers who were unsure about military recruitment, they found themselves in a position where they felt obliged to give recruiters access to their

classrooms. Whether willingly or reluctantly, these adults acted as “gate-openers” to recruiters and were hence complicit to varying degrees in the propagation of the half-truths and misleading information that recruiters often gave to students. However, it is also important to note that some of these individuals promoted other postsecondary paths for their students and even gave counter narratives regarding military enlistment.

Many of the military recruiters who frequented Washington High School came from a similar cultural and socio-economic background as the students at the school and hence were natural role models for them. The pressures under which recruiters worked made them resort to questionable means of recruiting students such as telling half-truths about military service and about the realities of war.

One of the prevalent messages recruiters attempted to communicate to students was that they would be able to fund their postsecondary schooling through the G.I. Bill. Although, getting the full benefits of the G.I. Bill is often difficult, recruiters gave the impression that the monies were readily accessible once a student enlisted in the military. Recruiters communicated that the only viable way of funding a college education was through the military. Also, recruiters gave the impression that it was up to an individual enlistee to decide where they were stationed and what types of jobs they assumed within the military.

Another prevalent message that recruiters conveyed was that the military provided enlistees with food, shelter and compensation and it was the best postsecondary option for them because the alternatives available were gangs, prison or the cheap labor market. These were based on deficit notions regarding what students at Washington High School could accomplish. It would have been unimaginable to hear this same narrative, at a career fair, at Valley High School—a neighboring school that served a more affluent community.

Other themes that emerged in the discourses of recruiters were, that the military was good for building “character,” strength and “discipline” and it was the patriotic and/or “manly” thing to do—which were reminiscent of discourses regarding the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet programs.

Students were not given all the facts about enlistment, life in the military and the realities of war. Also, they were not encouraged to engage critically with the problematic narratives and half-truths that were presented to them. Nevertheless, students continually questioned and challenged the uncritical narratives that they were given. They also continually veered the conversation to pragmatic discussions of whether and how military service could provide for them and their families and help them meet their goals without requiring them to serve in combat.

Chapter Nine

Discussion

The Web of Militarism:

Summary of Findings:

Washington High School was characterized with the typical challenges that many urban schools serving predominantly low-income, non-white students face such as the lack of resources (including extracurricular and enrichment programs), overcrowding of classrooms and the threat of high stakes accountability measures. The preoccupation of the school leadership with “safety” issues in conjunction with the high stakes accountability pressures, contributed to a culture of control, enforcement and disciplining within the school.

The few “fun” programs that were adequately funded and resourced were institutionalized programs that were characterized by militarism. These programs included the Junior Reserve Officers’ Training Corps and the Police Academy Magnet programs. Students within these programs were socialized through militarized practices such as drill and ceremony exercises, the wearing of military style uniforms (with markings of different ranks and accomplishments), marksmanship training, handcuffing techniques and other such practices. Also, students assumed hierarchical positions mirroring roles within the military and the police force and they were engaged in role-playing as soldiers and police officers.

Also, within these programs, militarized practices and military service were promoted through the occupation of visual and physical spaces by military posters, displays and drill and ceremony competition trophies. Furthermore, militarized values were celebrated and legitimized through campus-wide spectacles such as the JROTC banquet and other school events where

JROTC and Police Academy Magnet students were given special positions, responsibilities and honors.

The JROTC as well as the Police Academy Magnet were perceived as programs where “low performing,” “unruly,” “undisciplined,” and “problem” students were sent to gain “discipline” and “purpose.” The practices and performances within these programs reified militarized notions of discipline and leadership where students were taught to conform, follow orders and not question authority. In summary, these programs promoted a pedagogy of enforcement which was justified through civilizing discourses regarding what students (specifically low-income, Latin@ and African American students) “needed” and deficit notions of what they were capable of accomplishing.

Students often enrolled in the JROTC program or in the P.T. (Physical Training) classes within the Police Academy Magnet in lieu of regular physical education classes. Although some students were placed within these programs by a counselor and/or upon the request of a parent, others joined these programs on their own volition because they viewed them as being more intimate, supportive, rigorous and fun environments in comparison to the overcrowded physical education classes. Some students were drawn into the military or law enforcement as a result of their enrollment in these programs. Others were strategically using their enrollment in these programs to better their chances for college admittance. Also, there were students who were critical and resistant to the militarized socialization within these programs. Although some students enjoyed role-playing as soldiers, they stated that they would never consider joining the military.

There were significant number of overlaps and commonalities between the Police Academy Magnet and the JROTC program as well as the respective career paths that they

represented. It was not surprising that many students and faculty often conflated the terms “police” and “military” and perceived each of these categories as a proxy for the other. Hence, the JROTC, which by design promoted the military, also promoted law enforcement. Conversely, the Police Academy Magnet, which was meant to promote law enforcement, also promoted the military as a postsecondary path for students. In fact many students saw the military as a stepping-stone to a career in law enforcement because the prerequisites for military enlistment were much lower than joining the police force and a military background was seen as a good preparation for a career in law enforcement.

Although both the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet programs claimed to promote and prepare students for college, there was not much evidence of these claims. However, there was plenty of evidence that both programs promoted skills appreciated in low-skill and low-wage labor sectors.

In addition to these two programs, the Law Magnet program also contributed to the culture of militarism within Washington High School in more subtle ways. For example, the Teen Court, sponsored by the Law Magnet, was a program where students faced legally binding decisions made by their peers. They were in essence “real-playing” courts as opposed to “mock trials” where students were play-acting a court session. Students within the context of Teen Court assumed either the roles of jury or defendants and were denied taking on the more prestigious and challenging roles of attorney and judge³⁸.

The Law Magnet, similar to the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet programs, promoted hierarchical and oppositional relationships between students and reified a pedagogy of enforcement. Also, it created a very narrow perception of law—one that was focused on

³⁸ This was particularly striking in comparison with “mock trials” that were held within schools in more affluent neighborhoods, where students were strictly engaged in role-playing. Students in “mock trials” assumed all the roles within a courtroom including attorneys and judges.

criminology, law enforcement and policing. Hence, it was no surprise that many students within Washington High School and within the Law Magnet program interpreted the word “law” as “law enforcement” or criminology. Although there were many dimensions of Washington High School that were hierarchical and did not promote high status jobs, the way that the Law Magnet was different than other programs was that it explicitly promoted policing and enforcement. Although the program did not promote the military, it promoted practices that were on the military-policing-law enforcement continuum. The parallels between the JROTC, the Police Academy Magnet as well as the Law Magnet was that they all promoted the repressive state apparatus as conceptualized by Althusser (1970), which includes the military, the police, the courts and the prisons.

Although these programs did not always draw students into militarized postsecondary career paths, they nevertheless served to create positive dispositions towards the military and/or law enforcement and normalized enforcement and military values as “collective common sense” (Mariscal, 2003, p.48).

In addition to militarized institutionalized programs, the school received regular visits from military recruiters. Although military recruiters were given increased access to school campuses as a result of the NCLB Act of 2002, “gate-openers” such as administrators, counselors and certain teachers magnified this access within Washington High School. Recruiters were invited by “gate keepers” to give presentations at career fairs and within classrooms. They were also allowed to walk around campus and talk to students freely without any restrictions.

The “gate-openers” at Washington High School gave recruiters increased access for different reasons. Some believed that the military was a positive career choice for their students.

Others invited recruiters to the school and to their classrooms because it was convenient and the recruiters were readily available to visit. Also, there were some who gave recruiters access reluctantly because they felt pressured to do so. Whether willingly or reluctantly “gate-openers” at Washington High School enabled recruiters to have increased contact with students during campus events and also within classrooms. However, it is also important to note that some teachers promoted non-militarized postsecondary paths and engaged their students in critical conversations about military service and the realities of war.

The discrepancy between military recruiters and representatives from other career sectors was striking—as no other organization or company was similarly represented on campus, multiple times a year, by paid, full time employees whose sole purpose was recruiting students. Also, recruiters were well prepared and they brought with them a lot of “freebies” such as pens, t-shirts, mugs, stickers, posters and other items to pass out to students and faculty to gain their favor.

Recruiters came from similar socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds as the students at Washington High School. Hence, they were effective role models—as students could identify with their experiences. Through their presentations, recruiters reified inaccurate and misleading narratives of what it meant to be in the military and the “benefits” that students could reap from enlisting. For instance, they promoted the notion that military service was an easy way of funding higher education through the G.I. Bill. Although theoretically possible, getting G.I. benefits has been proven to be difficult. Therefore only a small percentage of individuals within the military actually take advantage of all the G.I. Bill benefits. Another misleading narrative was that individual enlistees had a say in where they were stationed and the types of positions they assumed.

Also, recruiters conveyed that the military was the best postsecondary option for students at Washington High School because it built “character,” “strength” and “discipline” and was the only viable alternative to gangs, prison and low-skill/low-wage jobs. Reminiscent of the justifications used for the JROTC and the Police Academy Magnet programs, and disguised as “reality,” these discourses were based on deficit notions regarding what students (i.e. low-income, non-white students) at Washington High School could accomplish. Also, the military was associated with “strength” and hypermasculinity and familial attachment was portrayed as “weak” and feminine.

Recruiters presented misleading and romanticized notions of military service and evaded the questions and concerns that students had regarding the realities of war, PTSD and employment post military. However, students continually questioned and challenged the narratives that they were presented and veered the conversation towards the ways that they could use military service to provide for themselves and their families.

Contextualizing the Findings:

High stakes accountability measures, the heightened sense of “security” on campus, institutionalized programs such as the JROTC, the Police Academy Magnet and the Law Magnet in conjunction with the heavy presence of military recruiters and the increased access given to them by “gate-openers” created a web of militarism within Washington High School that reified and normalized a pedagogy of enforcement and served to promote and privilege not only the military but also law enforcement as postsecondary paths for students.

The culmination of all of these factors was particularly striking when Washington High School was compared to schools in more affluent neighborhoods where none of these programs

and practices were present. The web of militarism was validated through raced and classed civilizing discourses that reified deficit notions of students at Washington High School.

However, these were only some of the schooling factors that contributed to the web of militarism. What was not explored within this study was the role played by the heavy advertising campaign of the military, students' familial connections to the military and a plethora of other schooling and non-schooling factors that contribute to the normalizing of military values and the privileging of militarized postsecondary paths for students within predominantly low-income non-white communities.

Caveats:

Although Washington High School was shaped by the militarism, it was not defined by it. Washington High School was a complex community that embraced as well as challenged militarized values and practices. There were many educators and groups of educators who engaged their students in critical analysis of social issues and worked towards creating alternative spaces where students could have meaningful educational experiences. For instance a group of the teachers and students formed a MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) chapter on campus and through this setting they conceptualize, collaborated and create a community garden on campus for the purpose of educating the student body about sustainable agriculture and nutrition from indigenous and local perspectives. Another teacher organized a social justice career fair where she invited doctors, lawyers and professors instead of military recruiters.

However, the purpose of my study was not telling the stories of hope within Washington High School but highlighting a systemic issue that shaped not only Washington High School but

many urban schools serving low-income, non-white students. Also, my goal was not scapegoating the “gate-keepers,” the JROTC instructors, military recruiters, the career counselor or other individuals and groups within the school community, but understanding the ways in which they were caught up within the web of militarism (i.e. the ways that they were shaped by and also the ways that they participated in and enabled the web of militarism).

Other Considerations:

Although I conducted multiple interviews with parents, because of time limitations, I was not able to utilize these interviews fully and explore the ways in which parents at Washington High School viewed militarized schooling practices and military enlistment for their children. Other data that I wasn’t able to use because of time limitations were the many counter-recruitment pamphlets and artifacts that I collected as well as an interview with a counter-recruitment activist and recorded presentations of non-military career representatives during the school-wide career fair and the social justice career day. These data sources could be used in a future study to further understand militarism as well as counter-recruitment within this schooling context.

Implications for Theory:

Critical conceptualizations of militarization and schooling are often situated within Neo-Marxist perspectives that relate militarization to the expansion of global capital and corporatization of education. Although my work draws from this theoretical tradition, it also incorporates postcolonial critique/theory in analyzing the discursive as well as performative processes that shape identity formation and agency. In this framework, the school-to-military

pipeline is not an inevitability but rather a contested as well as a lopsided (i.e. pitted against the interests of underprivileged communities) terrain in which individuals (students, parents, teachers, etc.), possessing agency, are engaged in negotiating their interests.

Counter-Recruitment:

In response to the increased militarization of urban schools and the aggressive recruitment campaigns of the military, parents, students and community organizations have launched counter-recruitment efforts to set limitations on the activities of recruiters within their schools and recruit students away from military enlistment.

Groups such as Coalition Against Militarism in Schools (CAMS), American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Project on Youth And Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO), New York Core Of Radical Educators (NYCORE), the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY), Association of Raza Educators (ARE) and others have been providing students and communities with counter-recruitment workshops and working with communities to form action plans and campaigns for raising student awareness regarding the realities of war and military service.

Also, activists from these organizations have been engaged in distributing pamphlets and informational materials to students in front of school campuses. Others have sought to set up “peace tables” inside school campuses next to recruiters’ tables. However, these efforts have encountered opposition from certain administrators and superintendents who have sought to deny counter-recruiters access to school campuses claiming that they are engaged in anti-patriotic activities. Therefore counter-recruitment groups are increasingly engaged in litigation battles for equal access to campuses (Nava, 2011).

From my own experiences the curriculum of the counter-recruitment efforts primarily focuses on exposing the ways in which the military does not keep its promises to soldiers and the ways in which military service does not produce upward mobility. Although this is somewhat of an effective strategy it doesn't provide for a deeper critique of the military/security/law enforcement industrial complex and militarization.

Students from low-income, non-white communities are recruited into the United States military not only to fight "foreigners" overseas but also their own communities within and at the borders of the United States. Hence, counter-recruitment efforts can gain from moving beyond utilitarian approaches that challenge the military's claims of providing a means for upward mobility to building critical consciousness and solidarity with indigenous and displaced communities both within the United States and outside, problematizing militarism as anti-human and threatening to the planet and promoting more humanizing and connected pedagogical approaches.

Appendix A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL-Student

INTERVIEWEE: _____

INTERVIEW DATE: _____

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Suzie Abajian

Ask for permission to tape the interview. If permission is not given, handwrite the responses. If permission is given, turn on the tape recorder and state the following:

Do I have your permission to tape this interview? Thank you for taking some time to talk to me about your career plans after graduation and your school experiences and interactions with college and career recruiters and others who have shaped your career interests. I am tape recording in order to accurately capture everything you tell me. This is [first name of subject]. The date is [Date].

This interview is part of a study on the ways in which students are recruited into different career paths while they are in high school. The study focuses on how students develop interests in military careers vs. other career paths including college-- based on the options that are made available to them at school as well as their personal experiences/interests/backgrounds and perceived/real options related to income, college preparedness, familial expectations, interactions with recruiters and other factors.

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. I think your insights will shed light on the ways in which students are recruited into Postsecondary careers while they are in high school. If you have any questions throughout the interview, please feel free to ask me.

The focus of this interview is on your school experiences. These are open-ended interview questions, and they are meant to open up a conversation about your experiences and understandings. My interest in this interview process is to focus on YOUR interpretation of your educational and career trajectory-- the road you have taken thus far and where you see yourself after graduation.

OPEN ENDED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

Student Information

- 1. Tell me a little about yourself and your family. What is your age? What grade are you in currently? What is your ethnicity? What is your primary language? How do you do in school?*
- 2. How has your high school experience been so far? [Probe: What challenges (educational and personal) have you faced while in high school? What do you think of your school? (What do you like/dislike about it? Why?)] What is your favorite class? Your least favorite class? Why?*

Hobbies/Interests/Special Programs

3. *What are some of your hobbies and interests? Why are you interested in these particular things?*
4. *Are you involved in any extra-curricular activities or special programs at school [Probe: ROP, Magnet School, Sports, Clubs, JROTC, etc.]? How did you decide to take part in these activities/programs? Tell me about your experience in these programs. What are your thoughts?*
5. *Do you wish that your school offered different programs? Can you tell me what types of programs? Why?*

Postsecondary Plans

6. *Where do you see yourself after graduation? What makes you say that?*
7. *Do you want to go to college? Why/Why not? Which college/university? Why?*
8. *How can you fund your college education?*
9. *What careers are you interested in? How did you learn about these careers? Why are you interested in these careers? What are the benefits and the drawbacks?*
10. *What do your parents/family think about these career choices? Why do you think that's their opinion?*
11. *Do you have any family members or friends who have pursued this line of work? What do they say about it?*
12. *What do your teachers think about this career choice? How can you tell? Do you know why?*
13. *Have you considered joining the military? Why/Why not?*

Special School Events

14. *Have you had a college, career or military day/assembly at your school? What was it like? Who was there? What did you learn?*
15. *Have you had any guest speakers in your classes who presented on different careers? Who were the guest speakers? What did they talk about? What did you learn? What did you think about the presentations?*
16. *Have you been contacted or approached by a college recruiter? Military recruiter? Other job recruiters? How was your experience like?*
17. *Is there a career that you wish you knew more about? Which career?*

18. *Do you have any concluding comments or questions for me?*

I want to thank you for your time. We are done with this interview. Once again, if you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL-Teachers, Administrators, Counselors and other school staff

INTERVIEWEE: _____

INTERVIEW DATE: _____

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Suzie Abajian

Ask for permission to tape the interview. If permission is not given, handwrite the responses. If permission is given, turn on the tape and state the following:

Do I have your permission to tape this interview? Thank you for taking some time to talk to me about your role within the school and how you inform students about their post secondary career options. I am tape recording in order to accurately capture everything you tell me. This is [first name of subject]. The date is [Date].

This interview is part of a study on the ways in which students are recruited into different Postsecondary career paths while they are in high school. The study focuses on how students develop interests in military careers vs. other career paths including college-- based on the options that are made available to them at school as well as their personal experiences/interests/backgrounds and perceived/real options related to income, college preparedness, familial expectations, interactions with recruiters and other factors.

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. I think your insights will shed light on the ways in which students are recruited into Postsecondary careers while they are in high school. If you have any questions throughout the interview, please feel free to ask me.

These are open-ended interview questions, and they are meant to open up a conversation about your experiences, observations and perspective.

OPEN ENDED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

Personal and Professional Background

1) Tell me a little bit about yourself. How long have you worked in this particular school? How did you decide to be a _____? Why did you decide to work at this particular school site?

School's Role in Promoting Different Postsecondary Paths for Students

2) How does this school prepare students for their Postsecondary lives? How do you know that? What are your thoughts?

3) What are the different programs that the school offers students to inform them of their Postsecondary career options and set them on a certain career trajectory?

4) What are some of the career options that are promoted within this school? Prompts: (Colleges? What types of colleges? What types of Careers?) What makes you say that? Tell me about what you have observed? Elaborate. What are your thoughts?

5) *Tell me about the college and career center in your school. What are the strengths of this center? What careers are promoted in this center? What are areas that need improvement?*

6) *What are the extracurricular programs that the school offers students? What is your opinion about these programs? Do you think that these programs shape students Postsecondary career trajectories? How?*

Interviewee's Role in Informing and Encouraging Students Towards Different Postsecondary Paths

7) *If you could promote a career path what would it be? Why?*

8) *How do you see your role in preparing students for their Postsecondary lives? How do you/your school help students to be informed about their options? Elaborate. Do you have any particular stories that you can tell? Have you had any guest speakers in classes informing students of different career paths?*

9) *How do you make higher education more accessible to your students? How can students pursue higher education and receive college funding? What are some of the barriers?*

Recruiters' Role in Promoting Different Postsecondary Paths for Students

10) *What colleges, companies and other organizations actively recruit students from your school? Why do you think that is? What is your opinion about these colleges/careers and recruiters?*

11) *Have you had any college and career days? What were the some of the most promoted careers on these days? What is your opinion on this?*

12) *Have you had military days on campus? What were your impressions? What are your thoughts?*

13) *Does the military recruit on your campus? How? How often? What do you think of military recruitment? Do you think that the military is a good option for your students? Why? Why not?*

14) *Do you have any concluding questions or comments?*

I want to thank you for your time. We are done with this interview. Once again, if you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL-Parents

INTERVIEWEE: _____

INTERVIEW DATE: _____

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Suzie Abajian

Ask for permission to tape the interview. If permission is not given, handwrite the responses. If permission is given, turn on the tape and state the following:

Do I have your permission to tape this interview? Thank you for taking some time to talk to me about your role within the school and how you inform students about their post secondary career options. I am tape recording in order to accurately capture everything you tell me. This is [first name of subject]. The date is [Date].

This interview is part of a study on the ways in which students are recruited into different Postsecondary career paths while they are in high school. The study focuses on how students develop interests in military careers vs. other career paths including college-- based on the options that are made available to them at school as well as their personal experiences/interests/backgrounds and perceived/real options related to income, college preparedness, familial expectations, interactions with recruiters and other factors.

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. I think your insights will shed light on the ways in which students are recruited into Postsecondary careers while they are in high school and the role that parents and families play in the process. If you have any questions throughout the interview, please feel free to ask me.

These are open-ended interview questions, and they are meant to open up a conversation about your experiences, observations and perspective.

OPEN ENDED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

Personal Background

1) Tell me about yourself. What is your ethnic background? What is your profession? Tell me about your job.

2) How long have you worked in this particular field? How did you decide to work as a _____?

Perceptions about the Student

3) Tell me about your son/daughter _____? What are his/her interests?

4) Where do you see your child after he/she graduates? What makes you say that?

5) *What are some of the careers that your son/daughter is interested in? Do you know how they developed this interest? What is your opinion about this career path?*

Observations About the School

6) *Tell me about the school that your son/daughter attends? How is this school preparing your son/daughter for his/her Postsecondary life? How do you know that? What are your thoughts?*

7) *What are some of the career options that are promoted within your son's/daughter's school? Prompts: (Colleges? What types of colleges? What types of Careers?) What makes you say that? Tell me about what you have observed? Elaborate. What are your thoughts?*

Parental Role/Perspective

8) *If you could promote a career path for your son/daughter what would it be? Why?*

9) *How do you see your role in preparing your son/daughter for their Postsecondary lives? How do you help him/her to be informed about his/her options? Elaborate. Do you have any particular stories that you can tell?*

10) *What do you think about college? Do you know about different ways of funding a college education? Elaborate.*

11) *How do you feel about your son/daughter joining the military? Why or Why not? What do you think about military recruiters on the school campus?*

12) *Do you have any concluding questions or comments?*

I want to thank you for your time. We are done with this interview. Once again, if you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL- Career Recruiters

INTERVIEWEE: _____

INTERVIEW DATE: _____

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Suzie Abajian

Ask for permission to tape the interview. If permission is not given, handwrite the responses. If permission is given, turn on the tape recorder and state the following:

Do I have your permission to tape this interview? Thank you for taking some time to talk to me about your role within the school and how you inform students about their post secondary career options. I am tape recording in order to accurately capture everything you tell me. This is [first name of subject]. The date is [Date].

This interview is part of a study on the ways in which students are recruited into different career paths while they are in high school. The study focuses on how students develop interests in military careers vs. other career paths including college-- based on the options that are made available to them at school as well as their personal experiences/interests/backgrounds and perceived/real options related to income, college preparedness, familial expectations, interactions with recruiters and other factors.

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. I think your insights will shed light on the ways in which students are recruited into Postsecondary careers while they are in high school. If you have any questions throughout the interview, please feel free to ask me.

These are open-ended interview questions, and they are meant to open up a conversation about your experiences, observations and perspectives.

OPEN ENDED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

Personal and Professional Background

1) Tell me a little bit about yourself. Tell me about your family and educational history. What is your job title? What organization/company do you work for?

2) Tell me about your job. How did you decide to work as a _____? How long have you worked in this particular field? How long have you worked in this particular school? How do you like your job?

Impressions of the School

3) What are your impressions about this school? What are the strengths of this particular school as it relates to recruiting? What are the challenges of recruiting within this school?

Recruiting Process

4) What is/are the career path(s) that you are promoting or recruiting for? Can you tell me about this career path? What are the advantages and challenges of this profession? Why is this a good option for students? What are the drawbacks or challenges of this career path?

5) Are there particular types of students that you are targeting? Why?

6) How do you recruit students? Where? How often?

7) If I were a student interested in _____ what would you tell me?

8) How successful are you in recruiting students? Elaborate. How many students have you successfully recruited in the past year?

9) Do you have any concluding comments or questions?

I want to thank you for your time. We are done with this interview. Once again, if you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL- Community Volunteers/ Alumni

INTERVIEWEE: _____

INTERVIEW DATE: _____

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Suzie Abajian

Ask for permission to tape the interview. If permission is not given, handwrite the responses. If permission is given, turn on the tape and state the following:

Do I have your permission to tape this interview? Thank you for taking some time to talk to me about your role within the school and how you inform students about their post secondary career options. I am tape recording in order to accurately capture everything you tell me. This is [first name of subject]. The date is [Date].

This interview is part of a study on the ways in which students are recruited into different career paths while they are in high school. The study focuses on how students develop interests in military careers vs. other career paths including college-- based on the options that are made available to them at school as well as their personal experiences/interests/backgrounds and perceived/real options related to income, college preparedness, familial expectations, interactions with recruiters and other factors.

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. I think your insights will shed light on the ways in which students are recruited into Postsecondary careers while they are in high school. If you have any questions throughout the interview, please feel free to ask me.

These are open-ended interview questions, and they are meant to open up a conversation about your experiences, observations and perspectives.

OPEN ENDED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

Personal Background

1) Tell me a little bit about yourself. ? How did you decide to be a _____? Tell me about your position. How long have you volunteered in this particular school? Why did you decide to volunteer at this particular school site?

School's Role in Promoting Different Postsecondary Paths for Students

2) How does this school prepare students for their Postsecondary lives? How do you know that? What are your thoughts?

3) What are the different programs that the school offers students to inform them of their Postsecondary career options and set them on a certain career trajectory?

4) What are some of the career options that are promoted within this school? Prompts: (Colleges? What types of colleges? What types of Careers?) What makes you say that? Tell me about what you have observed? Elaborate. What are your thoughts?

Interviewee's Perspective regarding career promotion in high schools

5) If you could promote a career path what would it be? Why?

6) What are your thoughts about a military career for students? Elaborate.

7) How do you help students to be informed about their options? Elaborate. Do you have any particular stories that you can tell?

8) Do you have any concluding questions or comments?

I want to thank you for your time. We are done with this interview. Once again, if you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

Appendix B

Award Title	Presented By	Presented To
82 nd Airborne Association	82 nd Airborne Association Representative	“Awarded to one exceptional JROTC cadet in each school”
Academic Achievement Award	Director of Army Instructor	“Awarded annually to those cadets who maintain an “A” in JROTC and “B” in remaining academic subjects”
Academic Achievement Award	School Principal	“To recognize those cadets who maintained a grade of “A” in all academic subjects.
Academic Excellence Award	School Principal	“To recognize those cadets in each LET level who maintain the highest academic school grades”
Adventure Training Award	Senior Army Instructor	To cadets “who are members of adventure training teams”
American Legion (Medallion)	American Legion Representative	“The highest award presented by the American Legion...to one outstanding cadet in the city who demonstrates leadership, patriotism, discipline and excellent character”
American Legion (Military) Award	American Legion Representative	“Awarded to one cadet who demonstrated outstanding qualities in leadership, discipline, character, and citizenship”
American Legion (Scholastic)	American Legion Representative	“Awarded to one cadet in the top 10% of his/her class and have demonstrated leadership qualities”
American Veterans (AMVETS) Award	AMVETS Representative	“Recognizes one cadet for diligence in the discharge of duties and willingness to serve god and country for the mutual benefit of all”
Association of the United States Army (AUSA) Award	AUSA Representative	“One cadet for outstanding leadership and academic performance”

Best Company School Level Award	Senior Army Instructor	“To recognize members of the special Company chosen to represent the unit in the All-City Drill competitions.
Best Platoon School Level Award	Senior Army Instructor	“To recognize members of the special Platoon chosen to represent the unit in the All-City Drill competitions”
Best Squad School Level Award	Senior Army Instructor	“To recognize members of the special squad chosen to represent the unit in the All-City Drill competitions”
Citizenship Award (Awarded by the JROTC Headquarters at the District)	The Lieutenant Colonel in charge of all the JROTC programs in the district.	A cadet who has “demonstrated outstanding contributions in the pursuit of exemplary citizenship”
Color Guard/Honor Guard Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded annually to members of the Color/Honor Guard”
Commendation Award	Senior Army Instructor	Cadets “who’s performance of duty exceptionally exceeds that expected for grade and experience”
Courtesy Patrol/Flag Detail Award	Senior Army Instructor	Cadets who “demonstrated outstanding support to the school and community throughout the year”
Da Superior Cadet Award	Director of Army Instruction	“To recognize the most outstanding cadet in the JROTC program at each LET level”
DAI/SAI Instructor Leadership Ribbon Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded annually to the one cadet in each LET level who displays the highest degree of leadership”
Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) Award	DAR Representative	Awarded to a “cadet at each institution for outstanding ability and achievement”
Disaster Squad Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Disaster Squad Commander provides emergency services to the school”

Distinguished Cadet Award For Scholastic Excellence	School Principal	“To honor the cadets who maintain the highest degree of excellence in scholastics”
Drill Team Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded annually for members of the Drill team”
Excellent Staff Performance Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded Annually to cadet staff officers for excellent performance”
Good Conduct Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded annually to the cadets who have demonstrated outstanding conduct throughout the school year”
Honor Student Award	School Principal	Awarded to cadets who “maintain at least a 3.5 GPA for the entire school year”
JROTC Athletics Award	Senior Army Instructor	Cadets who “scored 50% or better in all five events in the cadet challenge competition”
JROTC Camp Participant Award	Senior Army Instructor	“To recognize those cadets who participated in the JROTC Camp Leadership Challenge (JCLC)”
Leadership Development Award	Senior Army Instructor	“To recognize those cadets who have successfully completed one semester of JROTC”
Marksmanship Team Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded annually to rifle team members”
Military Order of the Purple Heart (MOPH) Award	MOPH Representative	“Awarded to one cadet who exhibited leadership, Americanism and patriotism in their school and community”
Military Order of the World Wars (MOWW) Award	MOWW Representative	“Awarded annually to one cadet at each school for overall improvement in military and scholastic studies”
Noncommissioned Officers Association (NCOA) Award	NCOA Representative	A cadet with “outstanding achievement and exceptional leadership”
Order Of Daedalians	Order of Daedalians Representative	“A cadet who is in the top 20% of their class and has demonstrated outstanding patriotism”
Orienteering Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded annually to members of the orienteering team “

Parade Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded to cadets who have participated in local community parades”
Perfect Attendance Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded to cadets with no unexcused absences during each quarter/semester”
Personal Appearance Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded annually to cadets who consistently present an outstanding appearance”
Physical Fitness Award	Senior Army Instructor	Cadets who “scored 85% or better in all five events in the cadet challenge competition”
Proficiency Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded annually to those cadets who have demonstrated an exceptionally high degree of leadership, academic achievement, and performance”
Recruiting Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded to cadets who recruited students into the JROTC program”
Scottish Rite of Freemasonry Award	Scottish Rite Representative	“One outstanding cadet who demonstrates scholastic excellence and Americanism”
Service Learning Award	Senior Army Instructor	“Awarded to cadets who participated in the annual Service Learning Project in the school”
Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) Award	SAR Representative	“Awarded annually to a cadet at each school who exhibits a high degree of leadership, military bearing, all-around excellence in JROTC and community service”
Student Government Award	School Principal	“To recognize those cadets who are elected to the student body government”
The National Sojourners Award	National Sojourners Representative	“One outstanding cadet who contributed the most to encourage and demonstrate Americanism within the Corps of Cadets”

U.S. Army Recruiting Command (USAREC) Award	USAREC Representative	A cadet at each school for “recognition of outstanding achievement and contributions to the JROTC program”
Varsity Athletics Award	School Principal	Cadets who “are members of any varsity sports at the school”
Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) Award	VFW Representative	“Award to one cadet for outstanding achievement and exceptional leadership ability”

Appendix C

Transcript of Military Commercial

The video alternated between white captions against a black background and video clips and pictures of military training scenes.

Caption: Webster defines strong as having great physical power,

Caption: As having moral or intellectual power,

Caption: As striking or superior of its kind.

Caption: But with all due respect to Webster,

Caption: There's strong,

Caption: And then there's Army Strong.

Video: Video clip of 23 or so soldiers (can't make out their faces) who seem to be observing a flag planting ceremony on an open field, followed by a video of soldiers sprinting in a field with their rifles and an airplane landing in the backdrop, followed by a video of a Latino soldier writing something on a glass window, followed by a glimpse of a targeting screen followed by a video of soldiers coming down from an airplane with their parachutes.

Caption: It is a strength Like none other.

Video: Three white male soldiers patting an African American male soldier on his back, followed by a close-up video of an African American male soldier who seems to be calling out an order, followed by a picture of four female soldiers sitting and looking at the camera (Two African American women, one Latina woman and one white woman who seem really young).

Caption: It's a physical strength.

Video: Video of two white male soldiers going through the monkey bars in an obstacle course, followed by a video of a Latino male soldier doing the same, followed by a video of someone coming down from a military helicopter with a parachute, followed by a Latino man running in his sweats, followed by a video of the view from the perspective of a person riding on a boat that's cutting through the water.

Caption: "It's an emotional strength"

Video: A picture of a white male soldier in his uniform embracing a white civilian woman, followed by a picture of a white male soldier in a field with three young "brown" boys who seem to be Iraqi or Afghani.

Caption: "It is a strength of character"

Video: A video clip of an African American male soldier taking in a deep breath, followed by a picture of two white male soldiers putting a pin on the breast of a female soldier who might be Latina, followed by a video clip of a white male veteran saluting what might be soldiers in a parade with other people next to him waving small American flags.

Caption: "And strength of purpose"

Video: Video clip of soldiers marching (can't tell their gender) and being led by a white male soldier, followed by a picture of two male soldiers firing their rifles and another picture of seven male soldiers and one female soldier standing side by side in their uniforms (most of them seem white).

Caption: “The strength to do good today”

Video: Video clip of a Latino soldier communicating with a headset, followed by a video clip of an African American male soldier with a headset looking at maps on a computer and communicating with someone, followed by a video clip of a flying military helicopter.

Caption: “And the strength to do well tomorrow”

Video: A video clip of an African American man in a suit, in an office, looking out from his office window, followed by a video clip of an African American dad fishing with his son.

Caption: “The strength to obey”

Video: A pictures of a white male soldier saluting an African American male soldier in a field, followed by a video clip of a white male decorated soldier marching and saluting.

Caption: “And the strength to command”

Video: Picture of a white male soldier marching with his parachute backpack, followed by a picture of soldiers marching in a field and the one in the front carrying a large American flag (can’t really see their faces).

Caption: “The strength to build”

Video: Video clip of a boat and a bridge exploding.

Caption: “And strength to tear down”

Video: Video clip of a military tank advancing and exploding.

Caption: “The strength to get yourself over”

Video: Video clip of a white female soldier climbing a wall in an obstacle course.

Caption: “And the strength to get over yourself”

Video: Video clip of the same white female soldier going over the wall that she was climbing in the previous clip with the help of a stretched hand from the other side of the wall.

Caption: “There is nothing on this green earth”

Video: Video clip of a soldier flying in a helicopter or plane and looking down to the “green earth” from inside the plain.

Caption: “That is stronger than the US Army”

Video: Video clip of military helicopters flying over a field.

Caption: “Because there is nothing on this green earth”

Video: Video clip of helicopters flying over a green field and soldiers waving at it from the field, followed by a video clip of a large American flag waving.

Caption: “That is stronger than a U.S. Army Soldier”

Video: Video clip of soldiers with their right arms raised saluting a large American flag in the background followed by a clip of a male African American soldier marching along other soldiers (can’t see their faces) who are holding their rifles (can’t see whether the African American soldier is also carrying a rifle), followed by a video clip of three white male soldiers marching with their rifles on a battlefield with flying helicopters in the background, followed by another video clip of a moving tank and finally a video clip of the face of a white male soldier wearing a helmet and looking away towards the sunset in the horizon.

Caption: “Strong”

Caption: “Army Strong”

Picture: US Army emblem with the star. (FN16, pages 5-8).

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