

Band of brothers (and sisters): gender framing in U.S. Army commercial advertising and the role of gender in on-the-ground recruitment strategies

by

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B.S., University of Richmond, 2017

A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

A.Q. Miller School of Journalism and Mass Communications
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2020

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Abstract

The U.S. Army spends more than 7 billion dollars in recruitment advertising, with its largest percentages going toward television marketing. However, little research has been dedicated to military advertising and recruiting efforts besides strategic recommendations. This thesis offers a critical investigation on the depiction of gender in military advertising and on-the-ground recruiting. This study uses a mixed-methods approach involving the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study on Army recruitment in relation to gender. First, a content analysis on a sample of U.S. Army commercials produced between 2008 and 2018 offers an exploratory discussion on the Army's advertorial recruitment. Second, longform interviews with present and past recruiters shares a view of on-the-ground recruiting strategies of the U.S. Army over the last decade, and how gender plays a role.

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Acknowledgements

Many people helped me as I worked on this project and I would like to acknowledge their dedication and support. Dr. Raluca Cozma, my committee chair, has been much more than a teacher and mentor. Dr. Raluca Cozma's continual advice, encouragement, and patience (especially as I figured out SPSS), was invaluable to my research and graduate experience alike. I wish to show my gratitude to my entire academic committee at Kansas State University consisting of Professor Bonnie Bressers, Dr. Barbara DeSanto, and Dr. Colene Lind. I am indebted to each committee member's expertise and counsel in crafting this project. I would also like to thank Professor Debra Skidmore, who was instrumental in obtaining permission to perform interviews at a military base. I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my interview participants, for their time spent and willingness to contribute to this body of research.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their continued love, care, and fortitude while I was completing this project. To my husband, Elliott, thank you for being my partner and providing your indispensable 'chill,' supporting and loving me through every Sunday stress outburst. You are truly my better half. To my dad, Mike, thank you for always believing in me. To my mom, Amy, and stepfather, Mark, thank you for inspiring me with your fire and encouragement. To both of my parents, thank you for allowing me the opportunity to continue my education in college and my graduate work, through your hard work and dedication to your children's success stories. To my brother, Bobby, thank you for always supporting my accomplishments and for your ever-abundant, kindness and compassion. To my in-laws, Don, Val, Kyle, and Kacie, thank you for all of your guidance, support, and Kansas travels. To my friends, from the Little to the Big Apple, and everywhere in between, thank you for honoring me with your friendship.

Abbreviations

MOS	Military Occupational Specialty (Formal Job Classification)
AGR	Active Guard Reserve
AVF	All-Volunteer Force
CAV	Cavalry (Armored Cavalry Regiment)
DA	Department of the Army
DOD	Department of Defense
MEDCOM	Army Medical Command
MP	Military Police
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
PT	Physical Training
SF	Special Forces
USAREC	U.S. Army Recruiting Command
NCOER	Non-Commissioned Officer Evaluation Report
ASVAB	Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (A placement test)
88M	Pronounced “88 Mike” – Motor Transport Operator MOS
Females/Male	Women/Men ¹

¹ It is also important to note that it is typical for service members to refer to women as ‘females’ and men as ‘males’ when talking to other members of the military. Some of the interviewees broke this cultural code when talking about men and women with the researcher, since she is classified as a civilian.

Chapter 1 – U.S. Army Recruitment

Just a few years ago, the draft for men was in full effect, women were far from achieving full military status, and the social perceptions of the U.S. Armed Forces was at a record low. In present day, the atmosphere and goals of the military have changed significantly, but overall public perception remains negative (Kieran, 2017). A lot has changed over the past decade. The War in Afghanistan has surpassed the Vietnam War as the longest in U.S. history and changed the Army's overall mission. Women are not only allowed in the military, but as of January 24, 2015, women are also allowed to serve in combat roles (Yeung, Steiner, Hardison, Hanser, & Kamarck, 2017).

Although the U.S. Army's possibilities for recruitment have expanded, its enlistment numbers have readily decreased. For one, modern youth of enlistment age seem more interested in technological advancements and college plans than a patriotic sense of duty (Wang, Elder, & Spence, 2012). However, this low enlistment may be due to a multitude of other external factors, including failed advertising campaigns and the difficulties of present-day recruiters to meet their missions.

The controversial "Army of One" campaign produced in January 2001 in response to the September 11th attacks had a promising start, exceeding recruitment goals by 604 soldiers in 2002 and setting into motion a 'new' kind of Army focused on individuality and diversity (Moore, 2009; Eighmey, 2006). However, this sense of individualism did not translate into long-term conscription. After the Army missed its recruiting target in 2005, by the widest margin to date, 6,627 soldiers, the campaign was exchanged for "Army Strong" in 2006 (Moore, 2009).

Though "Army Strong" (AS) still appears in advertisements to date, "Warriors Wanted" (WW) was added as a new campaign to run simultaneously in 2018. This fragmentation of

branding strongly mirrors the Army's struggles in recruitment into an all-volunteer force, which started its decline in the 1980s and has carried through to current recruitment lows, missing 2018 recruitment goals by 6,500 (Myers, 2018). Additionally, the Army is yet again on the lookout for a new slogan (Cox, 2018).

Furthermore, although the U.S. military spends around 7 billion dollars on advertising annually to attract new recruits, including an incredible amount of taxpayer money, little research has been devoted to military marketing apart from strategic recommendations (Apostle, 2011). In fact, most research dedicated to military advertising has focused on overall effectiveness and general propensity to enlist (Dertouzos & Garber, 2006; Segal, Segal, Bachman, Freedman-Doan, & O'Malley, 1998). However, less is known about message strategy and composition (Park, Shoieb, & Taylor, 2017; Sackett & Mavor, 2004).

With research showing that American youth's propensity to serve is on the decline, the Army is taking an array of measures to boost recruiting efforts, including sending hundreds more recruiters out into the field, boosting the overall recruiting budget, and even buying new furniture to redecorate recruiting stations across the country (Wang, Elder, & Spence, 2012; Myers, 2018). Mirroring the fragmentation of Army advertising, the service's operational tempo for recruitment goals has fluctuated over the past decade, due to a planned drawback after the end of combat deployments to Iraq, but in 2017, the service reversed its trajectory and began rebuilding its numbers for the Active, Reserve, and National Guard's total force (Myers, 2018).

The active component's 2013 goal of 69,000 spiraled to the high 50,000s in 2014 and 2015 before skyrocketing back up to 68,500 in 2017, then 80,000 in 2018 (Myers, 2018). However, according to the most recent National Defense Authorization Act, the service sought 66,400 in 2019 (Smith, 2019; Myers, 2018). Recruitment spending has also adjusted to meet the

needs of these goals. In 2013, the Army spent \$121 million on enlistment bonuses alone, and in 2017 that number more than doubled to \$290 million, and then again to \$600 million for 2018 (Myers, 2018). In 2020, bonuses will make up 7% of the total Army budget, more than schools training at 6% (Fisher, 2019). Finally, the size of the Army's recruiting force has spiked to meet higher demands, surpassing over 8,000 total recruiters (Myers, 2018).

Recruiters are also expected to enlist a certain number of recruits into military service monthly, depending on the overall 'mission' for that station. Each year, the United States Armed Forces projects the number of troops that will exit the service and how many new bodies it will need and distributes this demand accordingly between the branches. This is then broken down for each recruiting station, depending in the location, size of the local population, and typical enlistment rates of each area (Milzarski, 2019). If a recruiter fails his or her individual recruiter goal, the overall station's mission is at risk, as well as the recruiter's overall annual report.

Deeper analysis of Army recruiting strategies both on television and on-the-ground is warranted because of its expense, but correspondingly for its ability to shape how non-recruits and the civilian public understand the military. These commercials and recruitment strategies also influence the expectations and behaviors of recruits once they join the military.

In addition, since recruitment efforts have traditionally focused on a heterosexual male audience, it is important to analyze how military organizations are modifying their recruitment efforts to target other groups, especially women (Hanlon, 2013). According to Air Force chief of personnel, Lt. Gen. Gina Grosso, "The ability to attract more women to serve in the military starts with the messaging...Advertising, both traditional television and print ads, along with online help, but women also need to see diverse leadership" (Werner, 2018). However, while reviewing previous literature, it became apparent that female was a forgotten factor in military

media analyses. In sum, this thesis will be supported by two separate efforts of research with the same goal: A better understanding of U.S. Army Recruiting, with a supplemental focus on the effect of gender framing.

First, a quantitative content analysis explores the framing of gender in U.S. Army commercial advertising within the “Army Strong” and “Warriors Wanted” campaigns from 2008 to 2018. This research examined the virtual visual and verbal framing of gender in Army commercials, particularly in the depiction of military roles and voice of speakers. Findings indicate that females are still depicted in ‘traditional’ jobs within these commercials. Subsequently, for a more complete picture of the realities of recruitment in-person, qualitative longform interviews were conducted with female and male U.S. Army Recruiters past and present to analyze the struggles and strategies facing on-the-ground recruiters over the past decade. Here, gender is framed strategically for a broader recruiting base, creating inconsistencies between the virtual and the physical aspects of recruitment.

Chapter 2 - Army Branding and Access: ‘Be All You Can Be’ and Beyond

Be All You Can Be

The history of the United States Army shows that times with military action demand higher number of recruits than during peacetime. In order to garner interest in recruitment, the Army has used a simple marketing approach: advertising heavily with a specific tagline to recruit the ‘ideal’ soldier. Throughout the many years since the Army’s inception, one way to resonate with potential recruits was through the use of a memorable slogan (Chambers & Verdum, 2006). One of the most popular marketing campaigns ever used was the infamous cartoon of Uncle Sam, pointing a finger almost through the poster, stating “I Want You for the U.S. Army.” It was so successful that it was used for both World Wars (Matulich, Dixon, Atkins, Cece, & Dreschel, 2015).

In the subsequent years, the Army changed its slogans frequently to be more reflective of current times. After the Korean and Vietnam Wars, when the draft was coming to an end, the promotional strategy focused away from patriotism and toward pragmatic motivations, such as enlistment bonuses and the chance to gain new technical skills (Garfield, 1999). However, with the rise of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) Army, and with Project VOLAR² there was an added challenge of Army standard refinement and recruitment.

Beginning in 1980, under the leadership of General Maxwell Reid Thurman, the U.S. Army Recruiting Command (USAREC) attempted this image enhancement for the volunteer force. During Thurman’s tenure, USAREC and N. W. Ayer created one of the most successful

² The expiration of the government to draft young men for military service in mid-1973 placed the United States Army on a volunteer footing for the first time since 1948. In preparation for this challenge the Army had initiated the Modern Volunteer Army Program two and a half years earlier (1971) to attract and increase the enlistment of able men and women, raise the quality of life, and improve professionalism. An important part of this program was Project VOLAR, a field experiment conducted at selected Army bases from 1970 to 1972 to develop methods and procedures for achieving the program’s objectives.

advertising campaigns of all time, “Be All You Can Be.” Simultaneously, President Ronald Reagan along with the media publicly praised the nation’s military. “Be All You Can Be” was tailored to assure potential recruits that the Army could provide acknowledgement of their individual identities, educational opportunities, and marketable skills, in the early part of the 1980s recession.

Thurman credited the Army’s “Be All You Can Be” campaign with changing the public’s perception from “Willie and Joe” to the “high-tech Army of Desert Storm featuring Abrams tanks, Apache helicopters, and most important, quality people” (Moore, 2009). Television ads were central to this campaign premiering in 1980, with an additional 500,000 million bumper stickers printed, and “Be All That You Can Be!” music distributed to 16,000 high school band directors (King & Karabell, 2003). “Be All That You Can Be” was meant to entice the interests of youth, but also to find the Army’s version of the ‘ideal’ recruit, which changed over time.

An Army of One

As the economy boomed at the turn of the millennium and fewer young people were enlisting in the Army, the decision was made to change the Army slogan (Van der Graaf & Nieborg, 2003). This was also due to the shift in youth interests in the new era, shaped by technology (Matulich et al., 2015). The Army then signed a contract worth over \$100 million with the advertising agency Leo Burnett, a Chicago-based company who clients included McDonald’s, Nintendo, and Coca-Cola for the creation of a new advertising campaign for 2001 (Bulik, 2004). The advertising team used the internet and surveys asking 18-24-year-old men about their thoughts on joining the Army and what they thought when they heard the word “Army” (Bulik, 2004). With this information in mind, a new slogan built to share a message of leadership and independence was born – “An Army of One” (Dao, 2001).

Although initially unpopular with veterans of the Army, since the Army had always been about teamwork (Chambers & Verdum, 2006), Tim Bergen, the Senior Vice Present of Army business at Leo Burnett, felt that the message conveyed to potential enlistees that “Instead of thinking they were just a number in the Army, we wanted them to think about what the Army could do for their goals and career” (Bulik, 2004, p. 2).

In the spring of 2005, the Army was faced with a new reality of recruits not wanting to follow the call for joining as expected (Kaplan, 2008). Amidst current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the ever-looming threat of terrorism, appealing to the candidates’ individualism or their interest to learn was no longer enough. The military disclosed that it would miss its February 2005 recruiting goal by more than 27% (Matulich et al., 2015). For the total fiscal year (October 2004 to September 2005) the active-duty Army needed to recruit 80,000 new soldiers in order to replenish its positions (Matulich et al., 2015). The Army Guard and Army Reserve were also drastically behind their recruiting goals (Matulich et al., 2015). Interestingly, in comparison to the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Air Force did not report any recruiting problems at this time (Miles, 2005). It is conjectured that this distinctive Army recruiting issue may stem from its mission often putting soldiers in more danger than other branches.

Army Strong and Warriors Wanted

In November of 2006, the “Army of One” campaign was retired and replaced with “Army Strong.” The campaign was produced by nine agencies, eight of them part of the McCann Worldgroup (Elliott, 2009). It originally appeared as though the “Army Strong” campaign would strike a balance between promoting the material benefits of enlistment and highlighting the values that shaped the branch (Moore, 2009). In 2015, the tagline was officially retired, but

soldiers still continue to see the phrase in internal Army communications, and in commercials today. It was decided that although soldiers and veterans loved the slogan and understood it, the phrase did not resonate with those the Army was trying to recruit (Lilley, 2015). In addition, Army Strong has also been the frequent butt of jokes and memes, often used with photos of overweight soldiers (Haltiwanger, 2018).

In 2018, the U.S. Army launched a new marketing campaign called “Warriors Wanted” featuring short ads aimed at Generation Z (Cox, 2018). Rather than a new recruiting slogan to replace “Army Strong,” this was instead part of the Army’s recruiting reform effort launched after the service missed its annual recruiting goal by more than 6,000 soldiers (Cox, 2018). The campaign aired on social media, but also on networks such as TBS, TNT, ESPN, and AMC, featuring soldiers from the 75th Rangers, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), 5th Special Forces Group and 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment. Alison Bettencourt, spokeswoman for the Army Marketing and Research Group, said, “Whereas past campaigns focused on a little bit about why we do what we do... this one is really focusing on a very modern, ready, and lethal force” (Atlamazzoglou, 2019).

What’s Your Warrior

Most recently, the Army launched its new advertising campaign in November 2019 called “What’s Your Warrior?” With this new campaign also came a move for the Army’s Marketing arm from its long-time headquarters near the Pentagon to Chicago. This move comes after a \$4 billion contract was awarded to DDB Chicago, a full-service ad agency. The new campaign focused on Generation Z, or those born after 1996, has a goal to cater to the generational ideal of seeking a larger purpose and narrative in life (Rempfer, 2019). According to Army Times, this effort will be laid out in a series of chapters, the first release focusing on the

team aspect of service, and then later this year, a second release will exhibit the individual, or the person, behind the soldier (Rempfer, 2019).

A major goal of this campaign in juxtaposition to the lethality angle of Warriors Wanted, is to feature MOS's outside of combat service, in particular fields with the most need. Rempfer (2019) reports that some of these career paths include a lab tech, a signals troop, an aviator, a cyber operator, and a sniper-qualified soldier. This also contrasts the qualitative findings of this thesis, which reveal a high need in 'less sexy' MOS's such as truck drivers and cooks.

Locating The 'Ideal' Recruit

Finding the ideal recruit is not as easy (or difficult) as finding the perfect tagline for appeal. The federal government offers assistance in targeting youth for recruitment. The federal government facilitates the military recruiters' mission by providing access to two comprehensive lists of high school student information. First, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act requires public high schools that receive federal funding to provide recruiters, upon request, a list of students' names, addresses, and telephone numbers (Goodman, 2009; U.S. Congress, 2002). Second, recruiters gather student contact information through the ASVAB administered in approximately 14,000 high schools annually (Base-ops.net, 2009). The ASVAB is designed by the Department of Defense (DOD) and provided to schools free of charge (ASVABprogram.com, 2009).

Information collected using NCLB access and ASVAB scores is compiled by the DOD's Joint Advertising Market Research Studies (JAMRS) recruiting database and used to support military recruitment strategies (Tiboni, 2005; U.S. Department of Defense, 2009). Interviews conducted in this research also found admission that the government frequently uses locational data from consumers shopping to pick out potential targets for recruitment.

Integration of Women into Combat Roles

In 2013, Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta rescinded the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Exclusion policy that had prevented women from serving in ground combat jobs in the military. He gave the services until the end of 2015 to establish valid gender-neutral standards for those occupations or to provide a compelling reason that the jobs should remain closed to women. The services complied, and on December 3, 2015, then-Defense Secretary Ash Carter announced that, as of January 2016, all military occupations and positions would be opened to women (Yeung et al., 2017).

Among the services, this change was likely to have a greater effect on the Army, as a larger share of its job specialties identified as ground combat under this 1994 definition. Conversely, the Navy has allowed women to serve on surface ships since 1978 and authorized women to serve on submarines in April 2010 (Yeung et al., 2017).

This thesis was designed to focus most heavily on the impact of this policy change on recruiting and military advertising. For that reason, some of the interviewees were asked specifically about the combat exclusion policy change. This also provided the impetus and importance for focusing on how the U.S. Army has framed gender in its recruiting strategies, both on the ground and commercially.

Chapter 3 – Framing Theory in Army Recruitment

Originating from sociologist Erving Goffman (1974), “frame analysis” is used to provide a logical account of how we use expectations to conceptualize everyday life situations and the people in them. This micro-level theory can also be expanded into the realm of communications research. Increasingly, framing theory has been used to discuss how media have influence within the social world. William Gamson (1989) argues that frames originating in the media have shaped the successes and failures of social movements to the extent that the medium promotes or does not promote frames consistent with ideological interests, such as in the realm of global warming, or in this scenario, military perception.

Framing theory has similarly been defined as “attention paid to one perspective over competing perspectives” (Glazier & Boydston, 2012, p. 430). Entman (2004) adds that frames define particular conditions as problems, identify their causes, convey moral judgements, and endorse particular solutions. Others supporting Entman (2004) argue that frames can unify information and can be based on culture (Tewskbury & Scheufele, 2009). Therefore, Army commercials play a key role in framing gender stereotypes by amplifying the frames of individuals or groups within their media depiction of the ‘ideal’ Army. This shapes the way that the public perceives the military, its expectations, and its culture (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Tuchman, 1978).

Furthermore, Goffman’s framing theory suggests that how something is presented to an audience influences the choices people make about how to process that information. In the contexts of this thesis, the U.S. Army focuses attention on certain events and places them into a field of meaning. For example, commercials that focus on financial incentives and bonuses rather than potential dangers of military enlistment propagate the idea that the military is lucrative and

‘safe.’ On-the-ground, recruiters focus attention strategically on the applicants’ interests and personality, in order to ‘sell’ the Army.

Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) extend framing theory by labeling certain framing techniques such as metaphor, stories, tradition, slogan, artifact, contrast, and spin. These persuasive devices are used to form the connection between leadership and communication, two qualities that are intensely relevant to military advertising. Fairhurst and Sarr adopt Pondy’s (1978) view that “leadership is a language game,” wherein leaders, or in this study leading institutions, craft their communication with deliberate linguistic and symbolic tools. These tools influence perceptions of the world, beliefs about causes and consequences, and theories about possible futures. In their viewpoint, framing selects and highlights certain aspects of a situation, and excludes others, so that one meaning or set of meanings is chosen and accepted.

The U.S. Army is the land warfare service branch of the United States Armed forces and is under the direct supervision of the U.S. government and the Commander-in-Chief, the real and symbolic leader of the United States. Referring to Fairhurst and Sarr’s (1996) correlation between leadership and language, the Army under direct jurisdiction of the government selects certain aspects of the military and excludes others to form a positive public perception and to increase recruitment. The military uses similar tools in framing its advertisements, in particular combining the use of slogan, tradition, and metaphor in the “Army Strong” and “Warriors Wanted” campaigns.

Military and Metaphor: Calling, Occupation or Tradition

Metaphors shape social judgments and “help people understand and communicate abstract and elusive ideas by reference to more concrete objects and processes, transferring attributes from one domain to another” (Kalmoe, Gubler, & Wood, 2018, p. 334). Metaphors are

also used to create interpretative frames, and therefore have a strong influence on people's actions (Van Stee, 2018). In armed forces advertising, metaphor is a persuasive framing mechanism used to facilitate positive public attitudes toward the military and persuade their target audiences to enlist.

After the September 11th attacks, "Army of One" replaced "Be All You Can Be," the first long-lasting and recognizable Army slogan, introduced in 1981. It also initiated the metaphor of the "warrior," which has reemerged within the current Warriors Wanted campaign. However, "Army of One's" subsequent campaign "Army Strong" borrows metaphoric modes from two main sources: action films and reality television (Hakola, 2018). From a cultural studies approach, giving special attention to the logic of popular culture and its effects on commercials such as familiar modes of narration, music, and image from popular films, television, and video games, "Army Strong" is an effort to present the Army as an exciting and appealing opportunity for the few who 'have what it takes' (Hakola, 2018). This supports the view that the all-volunteer Army is still depicted as a metaphoric 'calling,' rather than strictly an occupation (Moskos, 1997).

The strength of Army Strong lies in its presentation of patriotic variables and action, while also actively avoiding a true depiction of war during war time (Moore, 2009). This campaign highlights adventure and patriotism, but avoids the possible futures associated with enlistment, such as war, death, long periods away from home, etc. However, an underlying "paternalistic remuneration system" of compensation through non-cash benefits such as skill development, housing, education, and uniforms grounds and juxtaposes the action and adventure in commercials by highlighting only the 'good' realities of military life, building the credibility of the action-filled advertisement (Moskos, 1997). On the other hand, these paternalistic appeals

could potentially isolate females or the college-bound as target audiences, who may be seeking different, or more occupational-based goals such as advancement, leadership, sense of purpose, etc. (Segal, Segal, Bachman, Freedman-Doan & O'Malley, 1998; Bachman, Freedman-Doan, O'Malley, 2001).

The “Warriors Wanted” campaign also contains inherent framing problems in relation to gendered propensity to enlist. Reichert, Kim, and Fosu (2007) utilized the theory of reasoned action to assess efficacy of an experimental group who viewed five recruitment commercials and had rated more positive enlistment beliefs than a control group. This experiment found that intention and social norms acted as antecedents to behavior (Reichert, Kim, & Fosu, 2007). In other words, behavior was a direct effect of attitude, positioned by framing.

WW frames the military in its normative values such as duty, honor, and country, which anchors the campaign in tradition (Moskos, 1977; Wang, Elder, & Spence, 2012). The tradition frame posits WW with innate gender exclusion, focusing on the customary masculinity of the warrior/soldier metaphor and reinforcing traditional social norms of an all-male military (Hanlon, 2013; Reichert, Kim, & Fosu, 2007).

Negative Frames

It is also important to recognize the dark side of military tradition: its long history of sexual assault and harassment incidences. In 2011, it was reported that women in the U.S. military were more likely to be raped by fellow soldiers than they were to be killed in combat (Ellison, 2013). In 2015, the Department of Defense (DoD) found that in the past year 52% of active service members who reported sexual assault had experienced retaliation in the form of professional, social, and administrative actions or punishments (Human Rights Watch, 2015). More recently, the DoD’s Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military from 2017 to 2018,

demonstrated that service member reporting of sexual assault had increased by about 10 percent (Ferdinando, 2018). In the fiscal year 2017 the DoD received 6,769 reports of sexual assault involving service members as either victims or subjects of criminal investigation (Ferdinando, 2018). This increase occurred across all four military services.

The media have also responded to the high-profile scandals and featured human interest stories and reviews of reports on scientific research related to sexual assault and harassment in the military. For example, in 2007, *The New York Times Magazine* published an article that tied female servicemembers' psychological trauma with combat-related activities as well as sexual harassment and assault experienced during deployments (Corbett, 2007). In 2012, the Sundance Film Festival screened *The Invisible War*, an investigative documentary that profiled male and female veterans and their physical, legal, and psychological challenges in coping with the aftermath of sexual assault while serving in the military.

An extensive account of sexual assault issues has occurred in the background of outward television advertising depicting an advantageous and safe military career for all. Given the growth in media attention that sexual harassment and assault in the military has received, this study helps examine the impact this may have on recruiting.

Furthermore, suicide is another dark spot affecting the positive framing of the military. A new report finds that suicide is becoming deadlier than combat for those in the military (Kime, 2019; Carroll, 2019). The suicide rate for active-duty U.S. military members in 2018 was the highest on record since the Defense Department began tracking self-inflicted deaths after 9/11 (Kime, 2019). The Army had the highest number of active-duty suicides in 2018 with 139, which translates into a rate of 24.8 per 100,000 soldiers (Kime, 2019). In fact, while Army suicides

have historically decreased during wartime, that trend appears to have reversed in recent decades (Carroll, 2019).

Recruiter suicides have also prompted investigations. In 2009, NPR reported that the Army investigated a cluster of suicides in the Houston Recruiting Battalion, where five soldiers have taken their own lives since 2001. At that time, nationally, 17 recruiters had committed suicide during the same period. The same article tells the story of Aron Andersson, who in March of 2007, locked himself in his Ford 150 pickup called home to say he was going to kill himself, turned up the radio, and then shot himself in the head. He had threatened suicide five months earlier to his father, Bob Andersson. According to his father, Andersson had trouble delivering the required two recruits a month, after his active duty tours in Iraq. “How could you be over there and see some of the things he saw and dealt with, and try to hire people to go over and do that?” Bob Andersson said. Recruiting is considered one of the most stressful jobs in the military (McChesney, 2009).

Further perpetuating these negative frames, counterrecruiters (CRs) have mobilized around the country resisting the armed forces’ recruiting efforts in public high schools (Friesen, 2014). The federal legislation included in the 2001 No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act requires public schools to give military recruiters student contact information and the same access to students provided to colleges, universities, and potential employers (U.S Congress, 2002). According to Friesen (2014), these counterrecruiters use five framing campaigns themselves, including the rendition of information, educational space, heroic military narrative, educational mission, and vocational vision. These sorts of conflicting arguments further impede and confuse the Army’s attempt at enforcing positive frames of military service.

Chapter 4 – A History of Gender and Race in Military Advertising and Enlistment

From 1971 to 2005, Army television advertising consistently promised to provide occupational, educational, and monetary advantages to the recruit while softening the Army's demands of sacrifice and conformity (Moore, 2009). The advertising highlighted what market research had demonstrated the American youth wanted to hear (Fu, 2013; Park, Lee, & Park, 2017; Park, Shoeib, & Taylor, 2017). In fact, the largest obstacle market research found, first cited in the historic PROVIDE study³, was that the Army was not particularly well regarded by American youth. This market research also indicated the lack in foresight of the possible future allowing female enlistment and set the tone for a gap in research on women's propensity to enlist (Maley, 2013):

Young American men feared that if they joined the Army, they would lose their personal freedom, [and they] would be submerged in an institution that showed no respect for individuality (Bailey, 2007, pg. 61).

In the early 2000s, Army advertising tried a new approach, one aimed at humanizing soldiers and assuring young Americans their individuality would not be threatened. However, a stint of record college attendance, a strong economy, and post-9/11 outrage cooling, sapped its power. The "Army of One" campaign initially tried to bridge this gap between individualism and enlistment by depicting an Army welcome to a range of talent and a focus on the 'one,' but ultimately failed in its recruitment goals.

³ Project Volunteer in Defense of the Nation (PROVIDE) published in January 1969, was produced after the original "Career Force Study," ordered by General Westmoreland in his attempts to bolster the future All-Volunteer Force (AVF). Both studies contained many important assertions that would guide the Army's advertising efforts over the course of the AVF era. It also revealed that the general public ranked the Army last among the services of preferred enlistment.

Subsequently, the “Army Strong” campaign seemed to initially strike the balance between promoting material benefits and highlighting values that shaped the service, however, eventually the campaign reverted to the traditional “Be All You Can Be”-esque style, promoting job skills and educational opportunities (Moore, 2009).

Gender and Race in Military Advertising and Enlistment

Military advertising has long targeted both males and females; however, the goals of this advertising has significantly changed pertaining to females, mirroring the changes in societal expectations of women. In the 1960s, popular women’s magazines advertised for the Women’s Army Corps and Nurse Corps and featured militarized femininity at its finest, depicting an environment in which young women could explore job opportunities, travel, and build self-esteem, while meeting male suitors (Ghilani, 2017). Print advertisements in this era rested on gender normativity and heteronormativity, but also balanced the rhetoric of second-wave feminism.

For example, one popular advertisement during this period depicted an attractive woman with perfectly coifed hair in a dress uniform holding a two-way radio device (N. W. Ayer Advertising Records, 1968). She looks serious as she works, as a handsome young man in a non-dress military uniform is shown working behind her. The caption says, “Even the General has to clear through Patricia.” The advertisement on its surface frames Patricia as powerful in her role, since the General must receive permission to depart or land from an air traffic controller, but the text also ensures that a hierarchy of gendered roles prevails. This is depicted through an almost sarcastic-language choice and an insistence on what most girls do or do not know. The fine print of the advertisement states that Patricia serves as an air traffic controller in a job that “most girls don’t even know exists.” Furthermore, the ad’s description lists ‘female-friendly fields’ such as

communication, photography, medicine, personnel administration, and public relations (N. W. Ayer Advertising Records, 1968).

While this ad contains obvious sexism, it well illustrates this study's means and goals. This study analyzed how gender was framed both visually and verbally, and how the two interacted to strengthen gender expectations and roles. Sexism may not be as apparently glaring in current advertisements, but a tendency to frame males and females in specific and separate military roles thrived and fermented underneath the surface.

Furthermore, age structure, racial composition, and military-institutional presence were found to be key factors for Army enlistment (2005, Maley). However, advertisements in the 1960s were described as 'white-washed' for both male and females (Ghilani, 2017). Ironically, the demographics for the current enlisted Army are the antithesis. Studies have shown that more than 85 percent of recruits are between 18-24 years old (Cadigan, 2006; Sackett & Mavor, 2003; Sellman, 2004) and non-whites are more likely than whites to volunteer for military service (Lutz, 2008; Moskos & Butler, 1996; Orvis, Sastry, & McDonald, 1996).

It is interesting to note that most of these studies focused on male-centered demographics, rather than female demographics. In fact, research studying gender and propensity to enlist found that less is known of background variables' effects on women's propensity to enlist, opposed to men's (Segal, Segal, Backman, Freedman-Doan, & O'Malley, 1998; Maley, 2005; Backman, Freedman-Doan, & O'Malley, 2001). For example, it is unknown if the southern tradition of higher enlistment holds true for women, too.

However, according to the U.S. Army Recruiting Command's official website, it does appear as if geography is an important factor for on-the-ground recruiting. About 50% of Regular Army (RA) and Army Reserve (AR) recruits come from the following eight states:

Texas (11.6%), California (10.6%), Florida (8.4%), North Carolina (4.8%), Georgia (4.7%) New York (3.6%), Ohio (3.3%), and Virginia (3.1%).

However, in 2018 when the Recruiting Command last updated its web statistics, 71% of youth did not qualify for military service because of obesity, drugs, physical and mental health problems, misconduct, and aptitude, which may explain why only 1% of the population currently serves. The familial tradition of military service was also demonstrated, with 79% of recruits having a relative who served.

In sum, this thesis sought to fill the gap in literature exploring a critical analysis of the U.S. Army's recruitment, by examining commercial depictions of the 'ideal' Army and on-the-ground recruiters' strategies for finding the 'ideal' recruit. This research advances knowledge surrounding a specific military service's message strategy utilizing Erving Goffman's Framing Theory (1974).

In addition, triangulation, occurring when both quantitative and qualitative research approaches are used in tandem, will help facilitate a well-rounded picture of Army recruitment. More particularly, the researcher conducted a content analysis of Army commercials to examine how gender is visually and verbally framed in advertorial recruiting mechanisms. Then the researcher performed semi-structured interviews of both female and male U.S. Army Recruiters for better insights into the current recruiting strategies of the Army, and whether or not gender is a factor in on-the-ground recruiting mechanisms. Therefore, this thesis sought to investigate the following research questions:

RQ1: How is gender visually framed during the "Army Strong" and "Warriors Wanted" campaigns?

RQ2: How is gender verbally framed during the “Army Strong” and “Warriors Wanted” campaigns?

RQ3: To what extent does the gender of recruiters affect recruiting strategies?

RQ4: To what extent does the gender of potential recruits affect the information provided by U.S. Army recruiters?

RQ5: How do male and female U.S. Army recruiters describe their jobs and roles?

Chapter 5 – Methodology

This thesis offers a mixed methods study involving the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study. Mixed methods offer confirmation and complementarity that “enables the researcher to simultaneously answer confirmatory and exploratory questions, and therefore verify and generate theory at the same time” (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, p. 15). Small (2009) cautions against inappropriate applications of quantitative criteria to qualitative research design, but also offers numerous examples of mixed -method projects where the two bolster each other’s findings.

Particularly worth highlighting in the context of this study is “the complementary use of qualitative and quantitative designs on the same topic, including...qualitative research developed to interpret quantitative findings” (Spillman, 2014). In this view, qualitative studies not only generate findings to be explained and generalized in quantitative studies, but also help explain quantitative correlations (Small, 2011; Spillman, 2014).

Quantitative Analysis

Content analysis is “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952, p. 18). The definition was further expanded by Kolbe and Burnett (1991), who wrote that content analysis is “an observational research method that is used to systematically evaluate the symbolic content of all forms of recorded communication. These communications can also be analyzed at many levels (image, word, frames, etc.), thereby creating a realm of research opportunities” (p. 243). In this exploratory study, U.S. Army commercials were examined for gender frames.

Furthermore, content analysis has many advantages including systematic, replicable, and unobtrusive observation and study. In this particular longitudinal type of study, content analysis

is possible due to videos being stored in a military archive. These archived videos can be cataloged using quantitative assessments. Quantitative content analysis is defined as:

The systematic and replicable examinations of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical method. . .in order to infer from the communication to its context. (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 1998, p. 25)

Riffe and Freitag (1997) note several studies that demonstrate that improved access to media content through databases and archives, along with new tools for computerized analysis, has created an increasing use of content analysis in communication.

Further, a macro-analysis of communication is interested in viewing content as a social event that goes beyond individual behavior and “explores the possible consequences of personal and institutional dynamic, reflected in cultural products” (Gerbner, 1958, p. 87). This study’s research is a macro-analysis of mass media advertising content and is concerned with “broad regularities in a large system of mass-produced cultural commodities” (Gerbner, 1958). There is an assumption made that the military branch under study, the U.S. Army, is a creator of a large system of archival records, and therefore contributes to these cultural commodities.

Population

This content analysis focused on the U.S. Army’s framing of gender in the “Army Strong” and “Warriors Wanted” advertising campaigns from 2008-2018. Research has shown differences in effectiveness between joint and specific service advertising, finding the latter to be most efficient (Brockett, Cooper, Kumbhakar, Kwinn, & McCarthy, 2004). The researcher conducted a content analysis of U.S. Army advertising as the specific service because the Army accounts for more than half of the military’s annual advertising budgets (DOD, 2014).

Furthermore, most of the Army's advertising budget is allocated to television advertising, making commercial advertising an appropriate form to evaluate.

The author sent several emails to officers in the U.S. Army, requesting access to an online archive of Army commercials; however, an archive received from these officers did not include the entire population of commercials.

To locate commercials within the 2008-2018 population, the author searched corporate archives (e.g. iSpot.tv) and other websites (e.g. YouTube). Finally, a total of 54 commercials was obtained.

For inclusion, the video must have been an aired commercial, rather than a Public Service Announcement (PSA). Time considerations also impeded the finding of the entire population size, so a convenience sample was selected to produce results that can be generalized with reasonable confidence.

Sample

The units of analysis for this study are commercial clips, which offer the opportunity to study both progression of gender framing within a commercial and the framing of gender in comparison with other commercials. A commercial clip can be defined as a single complete picture in a series, which forms the overall commercial. For example, the opening clip of a commercial could include a series of soldiers jumping out of a helicopter on a mission. The second clip immediately following this first, could depict a soldier hugging a child in a foreign country. A cut to a different scene marks the beginning and end of a clip.

The choice behind this unit of analysis was determined by the researcher's concern for fair representation of the commercial's content and time constraints. In order to study both the visual and verbal elements in relation to other variables such as gender, ethnicity, and narration,

the researcher chose to study six clips per commercial. Clips 1, 2, 3, and 4, were the first four clips of the commercial, while clip 5 and clip 6 were the last two clips of the commercials that displayed people. In other words, the last clip depicting solely the army logo and/or campaign phrase was not coded, since this would be the same for every commercial. The first four clips allowed the researcher to study who and what appeared in the commercial, in the opening and the middle of a commercial. The last two clips allowed the researcher to study who and what was shown as the ‘closing argument’ of the commercial. Research has found that message order can influence advertising processing, with the first and last clips of a commercial advertisement being most impactful (Brunel & Nelson, 2003). In total, the researcher examined a sample of 324 clips.

In addition, each clip’s number of females and males was counted for their totals per clip (12 was used if it was unknown how many people were in a large group). However, if there was more than 3 people in the clip, the coder was instructed to code only the first three individuals clearly pictured in the clip from left to right. If the gender could not be determined the individual was not coded. If there were fewer than three people left to right, one or two people were coded in the clip. This was done due to time restraints and for clarity of instruction. See codebook in **Appendix B** for more information.

The codebook for gender framing was adapted from previous research including “A Woman in the Army Is Still a Woman: Representations of Women in US Military Recruiting Advertisements for the All-Volunteer Force,” (Brown, 2012) which focused solely on print advertising. Individual clips were coded to turn operational concepts and definitions into numbers to then be analyzed. In the process of this coding, there is always some degree of error.

Finally, intercoder reliability is “near the heart of content analysis; if the coding is not reliable, the analysis cannot be trusted” (Singletary, 1993, p. 294). In order to reduce error in content analysis coding, two coders independently coded the same set of videos. The coders coded the same six commercials, which represented ten percent of the total sample. The researcher determined the Cohen’s kappa coefficient for each variable to measure the inter-rate agreement. The (κ) mean was .97. Since this is generally a more robust measurement than simple percent agreement calculation and also takes into account the possibility of the agreement occurring by chance, this was a very high reliability. The Intercoder Reliability for each variable is depicted in **Appendix A**.

Qualitative Analysis

Similar to quantitative analyses, long form interviews can be developed to obtain thick, rich data utilizing a qualitative investigational perspective (Creswell, 2007; Turner, 2010). In this study, a general interview guide approach was used, allowing more structure than the informal conversational interview, but leaving enough room for flexibility (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003; Turner, 2010). According to McNamara (2009), this style interview allows the researcher “...to ensure that the same general areas of information are collected from each interviewee; this provides more focus than the conversational approach, but still allows a degree of freedom and adaptability in getting information from the interviewee” (Types of Interviews section, para. 1).

A key element of interviews is that “they can access different levels of information about people’s motivation, beliefs, meanings, feelings, and practices – in other words, the culture they use – often in the same sitting” (Pugh, 2013, p. 50). Pugh (2013) argues that there are four different kinds of information discovered from interviews, including the honorable, the schematic, the visceral, and meta-feelings. In the honorable category, interviewees frame their

answer to present themselves in the most admirable light (p. 50). The schematic category allows a researcher to pick up on language and non-verbal cues such as metaphors, jokes, turns of phrase, and discursive innovations to convey the frame through which they see and describe their world (p. 50). Finally, the visceral demonstrates the interviewees' emotional landscape of desire, morality, and expectations that shape actions and reactions, while meta-feelings are a measure of the distance between how someone feels and how they feel they ought to feel (Hochschild, 1983). Studying interviewees' responses in these categories helped produce rich results for a population adept at hiding or suppressing emotion and individuality.

Population

The author conducted six longform interviews of past and present Army and National Guard Recruiters. The population included three female and three male recruiters. All interviews took place in person, except for two. These interviews took place over separate Zoom Video Conference Calls. Each of the interviewees worked in recruitment within 2000-2020.

For the potential job safety of these military members, each recruiter's identity will remain anonymous in the context of this study, however further details will be described below. Enlisted rank order can be found in Table 1, where "E" stands for enlisted, and "O" for Officer. It is important to note that even the lowest of officer ranks outrank the highest of enlisted ranks. To be considered an officer in the U.S. Army, military members are required to have a college-degree and either attend Officer Training School (OCS), complete an undergraduate ROTC-program, or attend a military university such as West Point.

Table 1.1 The U.S. Army Rank Chart for Enlisted and Commissioned Soldiers

E-1	Private (PV1)	O-1	2nd Lieutenant (2LT)
E-2	Private (PV2)	O-2	1st Lieutenant (1LT)
E-3	Private First Class (PFC)	O-3	Captain (CPT)
E-4	Corporal (CPL) / Specialist (SPC)	O-4	Major (MAJ)
E-5	Sergeant (SGT)	O-5	Lieutenant Colonel (LTC)
E-6	Staff Sergeant (SSG)	O-6	Colonel (COL)
E-7	Sergeant First Class (SFC)	O-7	Brigadier General (BG) / One-Star
E-8	Master Sergeant (MSG) First Sergeant (1SG)	O-8	Major General (MG) / Two-Star
E-9	Sergeant Major (SGM) Command	O-9	Lieutenant General (LTG) / Three-Star
E-9	Sergeant Major (CSM)	O-10	General (Gen) / Four-Star
Special	Sergeant Major of the Army (SMA)	Special	General of the Army (GOA) / Five-Star

Sample

Interview selection in the present study was limited to U.S. Army veterans or current soldiers who had previously or presently worked as a recruiter. The recruiters were contacted by the researcher via email or telephone, who described the purpose of the study and promised confidentiality. The researcher applied a snowball sampling technique, since the target characteristics of this military population are not easily accessible. As stated by Polit-O’Hara and Beck (2009), this method, which is also called the ‘chain method,’ is efficient and cost-effective to access people who would otherwise be very difficult to find, by asking the first few participants if they know anyone with similar recruiting experiences. The snowball method provides the researcher with the opportunity to communicate better with the sample, as they are acquaintances of the first sample, and the first sample is linked to the researcher (Polit-O’Hara &

Beck, 2009). This type of networking is particularly useful for finding people who are not willing to reveal their identities (Hejazi, 2006).

In accordance with the purpose of the study, an interview guide consisting of basic predetermined open-ended questions in the format of an in-depth, conversation-style interview was used. The questions were semi structured, which is part of an informal interviewing technique that can also be described as a mixture of conversation and embedded questions (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). These questions dealt with matters such as where they recruited and basic demographics, and also with their particular recruiting strategies and experiences. A framework for the interview questions is available in **Appendix C**.

In order to create a comfortable setting, each participant chose both the meeting place and time for their planned interviews. This was, for example, in the interviewers' office, at their homes or at a coffee shop close to the interviewee's work. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and 2 hours.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed. A constant comparative analysis of data between participants was conducted to find categories based on common dimensions and themes, and to provide answers for the predetermined research questions (Patton, 2002).

Recruiter Details

Recruiter A identifies as a Caucasian male in his early 50s. Prior to "in essence volunteering" to be a recruiter, he had been part of the field artillery MOS and then a Military Police (MP) Unit. After his orders to go to Germany were suddenly canceled, his platoon was planned to deploy to South Korea instead. He described feeling that this was not fair. He ultimately switched his orders with his Battalion Sergeant Major, who was not interested in recruiting. He enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1989 and served for 27 years. Three of those years he

was in the National Guard, and during his 24 years of active duty service he deployed to Bosnia for a peacekeeping mission in 1997, Iraq in 2003 for the initial year-long invasion, and again in 2007, for the 18-months surge.

Between 1999 to 2002, Recruiter A served as a recruiter in Lubbock, Texas. There were two recruiting stations in the region, Lubbock Recruiting Station, where he served, and one other within Texas Tech University. Although recruiting at a critical time pre- and post- the Twin Towers' attacks on September 11th, 2001, Recruiter A did not notice an uptick in interested recruits at his particular station. He retired in 2016 as a Sergeant First Class.

Recruiter B identifies as a Latino male in his early 40s. In the summer of 2001, Recruiter B enlisted in the U.S. Army and has served for the past 18 years. Prior to his DA selection for recruiting, he had served "four or five combat tours of duty." Between 2007 and 2011, Recruiter B served as an Army recruiter in Southern California Recruiting Battalion, which is responsible for the region from the border of Mexico north to Barstow, and from the Pacific Ocean to just inside Arizona. At the time of recruiting, his ranks were Staff Sergeant Promotable and a Sergeant First Class. He described Southern California's potential recruits to be "predominantly upper-middle class white males, or lower income Hispanic minorities." He served as both a field recruiter and a station commander during this time, before his permanent change of station (Commonly referred to as 'PCS-ing') as a lieutenant. Following his recruiting stint, a mentor, his battalion commander, had encouraged him to obtain his college degree, which allowed him to become an officer in the U.S. Army. He is currently serving as an Armor Captain at a large midwestern base.

Recruiter C identifies as a Caucasian male in his mid-30s. Prior to being DA selected to be a recruiter, he had bounced between being a tank gunner, a Humvee gunner, and a fire team

leader and squad leader in Iraq. He enlisted in the U.S. Army in 2006 and has served for the past 14 years. Between May 10, 2012, and June 11, 2015, Recruiter C served as a recruiter for the Las Vegas recruiting company, which included three large centers, North Las Vegas, Henderson, and Central Las Vegas. He recruited from a satellite station in St. George, Utah, which he described covering most of Utah, parts of Arizona, parts of Nevada and all of Southern Utah. He described this recruiting area as “Mormonville.” At the time of recruiting, his ranks were Sergeant Promotable and Staff Sergeant. He now serves a senior non-commissioned officer, a Sergeant First Class, for the Army’s Armor branch at a large midwestern base.

Recruiter D identifies as a Caucasian female in her mid-30s. She began her time in the Army on temporary orders as a recruiter from February 2008 to November 2008 in Ottawa, Kansas, with a very rural population of recruits. She was then hired as an AGR Recruiter, who are selected from an AGR panel, in November in Emporia, Kansas, and recruited there until 2011. She enlisted in the U.S. National Guard as a recruiter and has served for the past 12 years. She has recently been promoted to a Recruiting and Retention Section Chief for the Army National Guard (NCOIC) as a First Sergeant, which puts her in command over a team of National Guard recruiters in three regions of a large midwestern state. Within these units, she is responsible for six recruiter positions, but currently only five of those positions are filled.

Recruiter E identifies as a Latino female in her late-30s. Recruiter E’s interview took place over a video conference. She began her time in the National Guard 16 years ago in 2004, as a 68-whiskey medic in Kansas. She was deployed in 2005 to serve as a medic in Iraq. Before recruiting, she was then a medical instructor for about seven years. Following this instructorship, Recruiter E had a brief year-long stint in recruiting. She then became a flight medic in aviation, and now has been back at recruiting for the past 3 years. Her father had been active duty and

served as a JROTC instructor at her high school. Recruiter E was planning on playing softball in college and wanted to become a doctor, and decided she was going to join the National Guard because they were going to pay for her schooling. Recruiter E is currently a Sergeant First Class.

Recruiter F identifies as a Caucasian female in her mid-30s. Recruiter F's interview took place over a video conference. She began her time in the National Guard in 2009, in Louisiana. Before recruiting, she was in the Military Police Corps, because she requested "the closest thing to combat that a female could do. In 2011, she was deployed to Iraq as an MP, and has done close to "three hundred or so missions outside of the wire." In 2016, during drill one day, she was approached by a First Sergeant who was told by one of her recruiters that she would be a good recruiter, due to her communication skills. She decided to "try it out" and has been a recruiter for the past four years. Recruiter F is currently a Staff Sergeant.

Chapter 6 – Results

Content Analysis

Although the U.S. military spends around 7 billion dollars on advertising annually to attract new recruits, little research has been devoted to military marketing apart from strategic recommendations. This exploratory study sought to explore the message composition of U.S. Army commercials and its visual and verbal framing of gender. This study found the framing of gender in Army advertising offers various implications for recruitment and public perception. This paper begins with the results for the quantitative content analysis portion of the mixed-methods study.

Visual Framing

RQ1 asks how gender is visually framed during the “Army Strong,” and “Warriors Wanted” campaigns. The researcher used crosstabulations to determine the Chi Square significance of independent variables surrounding the visual framing of gender including frequency of gender, depiction of role, ethnicity, clothing, physical location, presence of children, and overall visual focus of the clip.

Gender Frequency

First, this study will discuss gender frequency. There were 420 males and 95 females coded within the sample of clips (515 characters total). Therefore, this sample included 18.4% females and 81.6% males. According to the official 2017 Army Profile women make up 17% of the total Army (active, guard, and reserve) (Reynolds, & Shendruk, 2018). Army commercials seem to reflect this numerical frequency in their commercials. However, lower advertorial representation of females could in turn reflect lower numbers of female recruitment. In addition,

this research was more interested in the framing of gender, rather than quantity. It is also important to note that within the Warriors Wanted campaign only one female was featured.

Gender and Depiction of Role

RQ1 was interested in the visual depiction of gender. A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between visual depiction and gender. The relation between these variables was significant, $X^2(7, N = 515) = 94.3, p < .01$. Males were more likely to be depicted in combat roles (97.8%), than females (2.2%).

In addition, females were more likely to be depicted in medical roles (68.8%) than males (31.3%). Females were more likely to be depicted as civilian spouses (88.9%) than males (11.1%). (Table 2).

Table 2. Gender and Depiction of Role (Visual) Crosstabulation

	Medical	Combat	Training	Civilian Spouse	Parent	Driver	Artillery Aid	Other	T
M									
Count	5	136	184	1	8	5	4	77	420
% Depicted	31.3%	97.8%	80.7%	11.1%	50%	100%	100%	78.1%	81.5%
F									
Count	11	3	44	8	8	0	0	21	95
% w/in Depicted	68.8%	2.2%	19.3%	88.9%	50%	0%	0%	21.9%	18.5%
Total									
Count	16	139	228	9	16	5	4	98	515
% Depicted	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Gender and Clothing

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between clothing worn and gender. The relation between these variables was significant, $X^2(8, N = 515) = 37.44, p < .001$. Males were more likely to wear fatigues (67.1%) than females (36.8%). Males were also more likely to wear military dress blues (3.6%) than females (2.1%).

Females were more likely to wear civilian clothes (32.6%) than males (14%). Females were also more likely to wear job clothes (28.4%) than males (14.3%).

Gender and Location

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between location of the clip and gender. The relation between these variables was significant, $X^2(8, N = 515) = 42.46, p < .001$. Males were the only gender pictured on the battlefield (100%). Males were more likely to be shown in training facilities (85.1%) than females (14.9%). Males were more likely to be shown at a civilian job (81.8%) than females (18.2%). Males were also more likely to be shown in a vehicle (90%) than females (10%). Males were more likely to be shown in a foreign country (81%) than females (19%). Lastly, females were more likely to be in hospitals (87.5%) than males (12.5%).

Gender and Presence of Children

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between the presence of children and gender. The relation between these variables was not significant, $X^2(1, N = 515) = 6.33, p = .15$. However, females were more likely to be found in a clip with a child present (66.7%) than males (33.3%). It is important to note that there were only 15 commercial clips featuring children.

Gender and Visual Focus

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between the visual focus and gender. The sample size is smaller here (280) since not every clip featured a visual focus alongside a coded person. The relation between these variables was significant, $X^2(7, N = 280) = 17.88, p < .05$. When females were present, the visual focus of the clip was more likely to be job skill (51%), family (17.6%), and humanitarian (11.8%).

When males were present the visual focus of the clip was more likely to be combat (26.2%) and duty (29.3%).

Table 3. Gender and Focus of Clip (Visual) Crosstabulation

Focus of Clip (Visual)		Males	Females	Total
Incentives	Count	4	1	7
	% Gender	1.7%	2.0%	1.8%
Job Skill	Count	61	26	87
	% Gender	26.6%	51%	31.1%
Combat	Count	60	1	61
	% Gender	26.2%	2.0%	21.8%
Duty	Count	67	6	73
	% Gender	29.3%	2.0%	21.8%
Family	Count	7	9	16
	% Gender	3.1%	17.6%	5.7%
Humanitarian	Count	10	6	16
	% Gender	4.4%	11.8%	5.7%
Other	Count	19	1	20
	% Gender	8.3%	2%	7.1%
Indiscernible	Count	0	1	1
	% Gender	0%	2.0%	.4%
Total	Count	229	51	280
	% Gender	100%	100%	100%

Gender and Message Order

In addition, the methodology section of this paper discussed the importance of message order and its influence on advertising processing. The opening and closing clips of a commercial advertisement were determined to be most impactful on audience perception of importance (Clips 1, 5, 6).

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between clip order and gender. The relation between these variables was not significant, $X^2(5, N = 515) = 5.59, p = .35$. Although not significant, this study found that males were more likely to be found in the opening and the closing of the commercial (Clips 1, 5, and 6). Females were more likely to be found within the middle of the commercial (Clips 2, 3, 4).

Gender and Ethnicity

It is important to note that while there was no significance between gender and ethnicity, a chi-square test of independence was also performed to examine the relation between ethnicity

and role depiction. The relation between these variables was significant, $X^2(18, N = 515) = 22.53, p < .01$.

A person depicted within a medical role was more likely to be Caucasian (56.3%). A person depicted in a combat role was more likely to be Caucasian (72.7%) rather than African American (17.3%). Additionally, a person depicted as a parent or a civilian spouse was always Caucasian (100%).

In addition, according to the Army's 2017 demographics there was an equal black-to-white ratio of females. Among enlisted recruits, 56% of female recruits are Hispanic or a racial minority (Reynolds, & Shendruk, 2018). Female recruits are consistently more diverse than the civilian population and more diverse than male recruits (Reynolds, & Shendruk, 2018). Within these commercial clips, females were more likely to be ethnically depicted as Caucasian (63%). Females were depicted as African American (17%) and Hispanic (10%).

Verbal Framing

RQ2 asks how gender is verbally framed during the “Army Strong,” and “Warriors Wanted” campaigns. The researcher used crosstabulations to determine the chi-square significance of independent variables surrounding the verbal framing of gender such as gender text (if text was on the screen and a person was present), narration, and frequencies of verbal focuses within the clip.

Gender Text and Gender

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between gender text (text on the screen's focus) and gender. The relation between these variables was not significant, $X^2(6, N = 515) = 7.42, p = .28$.

Gender and Verbal Focus

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between verbal focus and gender. The relation between these variables was not significant, $X^2(8, N = 515) = 13.96, p = .08$.

However, the researcher also examined verbal focus frequency, or the most regularly deployed verbal focus in commercials, by gender. The verbal focus when males were present was more likely to be about combat (10.9%) and duty/patriotism (26.2%). The verbal focus when females were present were most likely to be about job skill (35%), incentives (9.8%), and humanitarian efforts (7.8%). By gender, males were featured alongside the verbal focus incentives (3.5%) and humanitarian discussion (2.6%) about half the frequency as females.

Gender and Narration

Finally, narration could vary from no omniscient narrator present, to a narrator with a male voice, a narrator with a female voice, a personal narrative with a female voice or a personal narrative with a male voice. A personal narrative could be described as a character on the screen talking or a non-omniscient voice. *Figure 1* demonstrates that an omniscient narrator was always male (100%), while personal narrative was quadruple more likely to be male (15.7%) than female (3.6%).

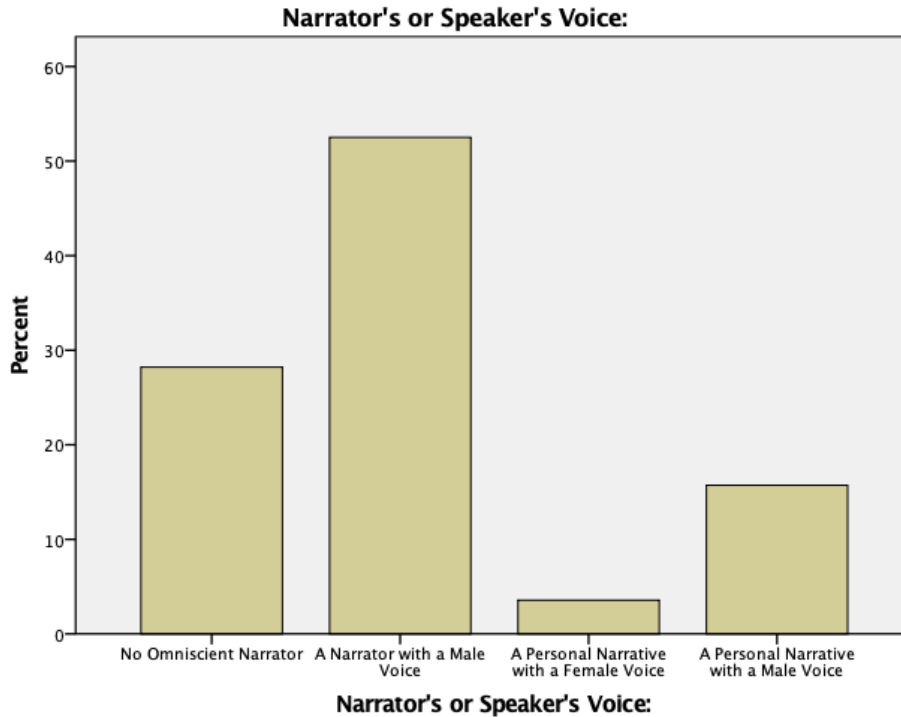


Figure 1. Describes the instances of female and male omniscient and personal narration.

Visual vs. Verbal Focus

The researcher also briefly examined whether or not the verbal and visual framing of gender offered conflicting or competing narratives. It is interesting to note here the juxtaposition of combat within the verbal and visual focuses. Although only featured 10% of the time verbally, combat was visually depicted over 25% within these clips.

Semi-Structured Interviews

An examination of the Army's recruiting force is necessary, as it has spiked to meet higher demands, surpassing over 8,000 total recruiters (Myers, 2018)). Additionally, in 2020, bonuses will make up 7% of the total Army budget, totaling over \$600 million (Fisher, 2019). Although this analysis is warranted because of the fiscal expense, it is also correspondingly justified for its societal overhead, in its ability to shape how non-recruits and the civilian public understand and perceive the military.

The researcher performed six interviews with past and present U.S. Army and its National Guard Recruiters for more insight on the variables and experiences affecting the on-the-ground recruitment process. Four major categories emerged from the analysis of the interviews:

- Differing strategies of recruiters
- Job options and strategic placement based on recruiter and/or recruit gender
- How recruiters describe their experiences with recruiting
- How recruiters compare their experiences with the U.S. Army Commercial Advertisements depiction of the ideal Army

The soldiers interviewed had in many ways very different life situations. Yet there were similarities between their stories that may contribute to enhancing the understanding of recruitment experiencing difficulties in target goals, based on over-worked recruiters and differing strategies. A large dividing line of gendered strategic limitations and differences also became an apparent thread.

Differing recruiting strategies and experiences based on gender

RQ3 asked to what extent the gender of recruiters affects their individual recruiting strategies. Based on these interviews, it seemed everyone had their own individual strategies that ‘worked’ for them. However, as Recruiter F pointed out so adeptly, “females recruit totally different...What works for a guy is not going to work for me, so I kind of had to find my own way to make it work for myself.” According to her, male recruiters have the liberty to be “abrasive” and “kind of cocky,” acting as if they have to make sure recruits are good enough for them/The U.S. Army.

Mirroring this thought, male interviewee Recruiter B said: “We never tried talking people in the Army. We believed very much so in passive recruiting. Like you were interviewing for us. We’re not trying to get you to join. You got to prove to me that you’re worthy to

join... We want to make sure that we're protecting the American taxpayer dollar. We're not just giving this to anybody."

Recruiter F's Strategy is to instead "play momma hen." She mentions that this tactic is especially helpful when dealing with parents of potential recruits – she lets them know that everything is going to be OK. Recruiter F said, "a male can't sell a momma hen like that. That's just kind of weird and creepy."

As if right on cue, while we talked on the video conference, a male soldier entered her office. Almost immediately, she took on her position as Momma Hen, trying to relax the soldier who had just come back from deployment:

Recruiter F: "Welcome back home. Congratulations. You look like a real man now. Was it fun?... Why do you look so shaky and nervous, it's just me...I'm just giving you a hard time, don't be so nervous. Please just relax."

Later in the conversation, Momma Hen seemed to switch to a friend or sibling role.

Recruiter F: "What would you be doing? Kicking in doors and punching people in the face out there or what? WHAA GO AHEAD!" (The inflection in 'go ahead' here sounding a lot like 'Go ahead with your bad self.')

However, by the end of the conversation she had shifted back to a motherly protection when discussing which type of forms he'd need to fill out.

Recruiter F: "I think that's all you need. But if it's not, then it's my fault. You can blame me, ok. And I won't yell at you for blaming me, I promise."

Similarly, Recruiter D seemed to value the recruits' wants above all else. She said, "My strategy was pretty much to get whatever my applicant wanted." If they wanted a \$20,000 sign-on bonus, she found the jobs that, although they may have been "less desirable" to the applicant, would get them that money. If they wanted a particular MOS, she did her best based off their scores to get them that role, or something similar. Rather than the motto, 'Ask us what you can

do for the U.S. Army,' it appeared Recruiter's D recruiting strategy, similar to that of a stereotypical motherly figure, was What Can the U.S. Army Do for You?

Recruiter E offered a bit of a different strategic narrative, far from that of a warm, mother hen role.

Recruiter E: "I'm not aggressive as far as recruiting goes, I'm definitely the person, I just lay out the information to you. Usually when somebody comes in, I don't ever really talk about myself unless it's later on in the conversation to explain something. When someone comes in my office, usually the first thing I say is, why are you here? ...I am definitely very direct. I am not a coddler...I feel like once I figure out what they want, I say this is what it is...And my meetings are very short, like 20 minutes, this is what it is, this is what you need to do...My office partner always makes fun of me because if I'm conducting an interview, I mean, when they come in, I say hi, how are you? But I don't do very many niceties. You're there for a reason. I don't need to waste your time. I don't want you to waste my time...I always think about like when I have a salesperson calling me, I just want them to get to the point because I really don't care. Like I don't want to talk to them no matter what they're talking about."

Conversely, the males' strategies seem to be largely based upon their own interests and self-image. Recruiter C, who described leaving college halfway through his sophomore year, said his "archetype" for recruits was college dropouts because he himself was a college dropout.

Recruiter C: "College dropouts were my favorite, because they know life sucks and they just ate a small percentage of student loans and they got nothing."

Similarly, Recruiter A explained that he also tended to recruit in his own image.

Recruiter A: "You do tend to recruit in your own image...sometimes that's good for you, and sometimes that's bad for you."

He also described his favorite type of recruit to be college dropouts, since he had originally dropped out of college. Recruiter A further discussed his "modus operandi" of recruiting as being passive, and not putting too much pressure on potential recruits. Recruiter B said it was his "experience that people recruit themselves." He added, "So you want to get more women in the military? We put more women in recruiting."

Finally, one of the male recruiters, spoke of the difficulty assimilating to females joining more portions within the U.S. Army.

Recruiter C: My second station commander was a female, which was different for me. We had about 800 something people in my squadron [At Fort Irwin], we had two females, right? As you can notice, walking around here, it's a lot different now. I just became a tank first sergeant and I was for a while, and I had the second wave of female tankers ever in history last fall. I'm not saying like one way or another, and like, I don't disagree with that. I don't. It's just it was just different. It was different. So working for a female, this was the first opportunity that I had to work under a female, that kind of opened my eyes a bit...It's been good working with females in the Army because they're already soldiers and a lot of them know that I'm a higher rank. They'll work for me. They've all come from soft MOS's and they're not used to having, like an actual senior mentor, like experienced and spent some time in the suck. But in the civilian world, if you're a woman, you're looking at me like this dude is way too, too intense."

Job options and strategic placement based on recruiter and/or recruit gender

RQ4 asked to what extent the gender of potential recruits affects the information provided by U.S. Army recruiters. Through these interviews, the researcher found that not only was the information provided by U.S. Army recruiters strategic, it also strategically procured information about recruits.

Recruiter B: "When we recruited, there were tactical segments, tactical recruiting segments -- that's what they call them. They were tied to every geographic location, depending on what your location was really kind of spun toward this tactical segment... When you go to the mall and you buy something, let's say a RC car, right? RC Monster truck. And you go to the cashier and they ask, do you mind if I put in your zip code? That item is associated to that zip code, which helps feed the tactical segment. So as an RC car, a monster truck, some data would correlate that that individual must be mechanically savvy or electronically savvy and interested in exciting things because it's a monster truck."

Later, if assigned to said target RC-purchasing recruit, Recruiter B explained the use of this background homework: "I would talk to him only about or read up on the jobs that are, again, mechanically savvy, electronically, you know, exciting, those kinds of things."

Similarly, Recruiter B said that the Army was very open about assigning someone in a location based on their race and gender.

Recruiter B: “So, you know, the Army was very open, at least in the early 2000s with, hey you’re a white male, you’re gonna go to an area that has a lot of white males. Or you know, you’re from the Deep South, and a black man, you’re probably not going to go to the deep that was Tennessee, where they still have regular Klan meetings... They were very particular about assigning race and gender into the areas they would have the most success in. As a rule of thumb, they would typically send you back to where you came from because you’re familiar with the area. You already fit into the environment. And you can, in theory, show a success story to some of those peers.”

Recruiter A mirrored this finding.

Recruiter A: “So we didn’t have any female recruiters in the Lubbock station, but the University Station had two female recruiters because they were with college students, right, so they were selected to a station where they would be needed – a lot of thought went into who do you put where, especially recruiters of color and female recruiters. If you had a female recruiter of color, I’m sure that she would go into a place that had a high population of people who looked like her. That was a successful formula... One time I handed one of my female recruits off to a female recruiter who was at the University Recruiting Station because I had the feeling that she would join, but only join for a female recruiter...”

However, Recruiter D explained that this way of compartmentalizing by race and gender didn’t exactly end up altering anything for her target recruits.

Recruiter D: “There’s always been an abundant amount of men. And that’s just the military in general. We’re always outnumbered. I guess essentially when they hired me was maybe I’d bring in a different market group, as in females, younger females to join. I know that was the goal. But I actually ended up enlisting a relatively fair number. So as many females I had, I just had the same amount of males. My strategy was pretty much the same for everyone. I always related to the reason why I joined. Like I knew I wanted to have college benefits and my recruiter delivered on that.”

Similarly, Recruiter F explained that her recruits were random in race and gender, despite her placement as a female.

Recruiter F: “For me, it’s kind of just random. I don’t have like – I don’t recruit more females than I do males, or you know, more African-American recruits that I do Caucasian recruits... I know I’m the face, but I don’t know if it’s necessarily my pitch.”

Recruiter E discussed the difficulties of promotion for all recruiters, male and female.

Recruiter E: “All of your promotion depends on... you could be an amazing NCO. But if you’re a crappy recruiter or if you’re a decent recruiter and you just have a rough year because whatever, then that reflects on your NCOER, which will then make it almost

impossible for you to get promoted. Whereas if you're a regular soldier in a unit, your skills as an NCO are based on your leadership vs. your sales ability."

Recruiter A also explained that it was more uncomfortable for him to try to recruit a female candidate due to widely publicized past sexual harassment indiscretions.

Recruiter A: "The patriotism was the same. The benefits were the same, but when I was talking to the females there was a kind of different tension [long pause] in the communication. Where they were wary of talking to like an adult male soldier...you know stories...because once you start looking into recruiting and the Army and recruiters and you just do a quick search. You're going to find some dude in Michigan screwed up or some dude in North Carolina screwed up. So I always assumed that the word was out and they were on the defensive. So I would keep physical distance in respect of making sure of keeping eye-to-eye contact, to not make them feel uncomfortable in any way. Ways I didn't have to do with male recruits. So I was very conscious of that."

Recruiter C, who described himself as "too intense" for recruiting females, said out of the 41 people whom he recruited, he only recruited one female. Recruiter C also found that women who came into his office wanted particular things different in their military careers than men, which was harder to relate to, since he spent most of his time in a combat branch previous to recruiting.

Recruiter C: "The educated females wanted to do intel work. That was their primary. The – I don't want to say uneducated, but like, you know, the high school grad type crowd. They wanted to do medic or MP. Those are two huge ones for females."

Recruiter F, rather than necessarily explaining the differing strategies used for female and male recruits, noted the limitations of her own recruitment options prior to 2009, unsure if it was related to her gender or not.

Recruiter F: "So obviously, I kind of wanted to do something that I knew would matter, but I also had a horrible recruiter, I had a terrible recruiter who gave me three options. Essentially, I scored super high on my ASVAB test, I could have done any job in the guard. Now that I'm a recruiter, I know these things, but before I was kind of naïve. She told me I could be a plumber. She said I could be supply slash HR...or I could do military police...none of those three things appealed to me, but I just asked her which one is the most dangerous...And she said military police, and I said oh ok, that's what I want...So that's how that choice was made. I didn't know that they offered over a

hundred jobs. No, I wasn't given that information. It was just like she wanted me in the guard. So here's what you got. Pick one."

Recruiter F also explained the difficulty for female recruits today, even after formally 'being allowed' to serve in Army combat forces.

Recruiter F: I don't know if females just don't see themselves in that role per se. I've put females in combat engineer before, which basically they just blow stuff up. But that's where we see a lot of our females starting to go as far as state wise. Every national guard, each state has their own, and they all operate a little bit differently. But for us, there's certain things that have to happen before females can actually get into those infantry and cavalry scout roles. You have some gender-neutral training that has to be done within the unit. You have to have a female noncommissioned officer in that unit before you can allow lower enlisted females to be in that unit – For good reason. [Her State] hasn't done that yet. So I've seen one female try to go into a Cav Scout unit. But because [her state] hasn't done what they needed to do, to get that. Get that spot ready for her – She ended up not being able to do it. So there's a lot more that goes into it than just being able to just throw a female into the infantry and that being like a cool thing. But yeah, females don't ever come in asking to do crazy infantry, and you know, kicking down doors and stuff like that.

Recruiter E explained why she thought women possibly weren't inherently interested in combat roles:

Recruiter E: Most of the girls I've enlisted, I've only had one that picked a combat MOS and she was an older woman. So, I would say yes, that most women don't pick combat or one of the combat MOS's like artillery, infantry, engineers, maybe some engineers...I mean most of them will pick anything other than the combat roles. Usually if it's not in something that's like especially dirty or I want to say they tend to pick things that are like smarter positions.

How recruiters describe their experiences

RQ5 asked how do male and female U.S. Army recruiters describe their jobs and roles?

The in-depth interviews revealed that the experiences of recruiting, although varied in time period, gender, and location, had many similarities in terms of challenges. For one, it seemed that the adjustment for the recruiters who had faced combat before being assigned a recruiting detail was one of the most difficult experiences. These recruiters were all male. Difficulties making their 'mission' of minimum monthly recruits was just one small cog of the overall issues.

Recruiter B: “I felt at the prime of my enlisted career, you know. I was one of 10 advanced snipers in the Army. I’d done multiple combat tours and special operations. Like I felt like, man, I’m doing the best thing for my country now by just doing my job. Like me being a recruiter does not do the Army any favors. I thought of myself as an investment and they just pulled out too early like I’d been to countless schools. And now you can’t pay for the kind of experience that I had. And I kind of was really bummed out about [recruiting] cause with me, in particular. I was on my way to Special Forces training and already been through the selection process. I’d been selected. I actually found out I was in recruiting voters the day I signed into S.F. school and was told I couldn’t participate in schooling because I had to comply with my order to be a recruiter. So now you have this person that was already you know, I was a Type A personality. I was kind of cocky, to be quite honest with you. And I felt that the Army was kind of making a poor choice with the investment they had just made, to go and move me to be a recruiter...it was a struggle. I’ve never been in sales before. All I knew was leading, you know infantry teams and sniper squads. I didn’t know how to talk...It was like the Army was setting me up for failure here.”

He also discussed the recruiter circle of life.

Recruiter B: “The recruiter circle of life. It was like the fourth ring in recruiting. Your first year, you have all the excitement and none of the skill. So if you can’t live off that excitement enough or have the foresight to know that it’s going to get better...those guys just went on a depressive spiral...Those people and I had a few of my friends just really kind of gave up, gave up on the Army. And those are usually the first ones that would do something.”

Recruiter C was at first excited to have more down time as a recruiter, but also shared his difficult time adjusting to recruiting, not because of failing to meet his mission, but rather feeling alone and without a team of soldiers.

Recruiter C: “I didn’t care because at that point, my son was 28 months old and I counted and I had only spent of that 28 months, six and a half months, almost exactly and of course non-consecutive with him. So as long as I got to sleep in my own bed, I didn’t give a shit...But then I had a hard time. It wasn’t recruiting. It’s the fact that I left combat, went to school, went on leave, went to school, and now here I am. And I had two other people in my station...And I just felt this intense, like isolation. Nobody around here understands me like I’m alone, like nobody understands what I’ve been through. And like, that’s a self-feeding entity. I’m alone because nobody understands, and no one will. I was kind of entering a dark place.”

However, despite his difficulties, he later took a hardline approach at ‘good’ v. ‘bad’ recruiting.

Recruiter C: “Recruiting is a big-boy place. I found that if you’re a successful recruiter, you tend to not bitch about recruiting. If you suck at it, then your boss takes an active interest in your day and they want to know where you are.”

Although these two recruiters had difficulties adjusting to recruiting life, they both understood this shift as the Army trying to ‘give them a break.’

Recruiter C: “A lot of us combat arms dudes flowed into recruiting. I think that’s because Iraq, December 31st, 2011, the mission was pretty much dark. So what do we do with all these combat arms? Pump them into recruitment... But I mean the suicide rate was through the roof when I got there. And God bless them. Recruiting Command was trying to fix it. A military family life counselor would come out once a quarter and that probably saved my life.

Recruiter B: “They went with who had the most combat experience and gave us a break [using air quotes with his fingers]. They thought recruiting duty would both help us share a story, but really give us, this sounds poor, but give us the mental break that we needed because also concur in this timeframe as a lot of the murder suicides of service members returning in special operations from multiple tours.”

When asked why he decided to frame his ‘give us a break’ with air quotes, Recruiter B responded the following.

Recruiter B: “The first 18 months were probably the most stressful and challenging time I’ve had in my entire Army career to include my nearly dozen combat deployments. We worked six days a week, fifteen hours a day. We had the highest suicide rate than any unit in the Army - to the point where it took the Commanding General taking personal involvement to mandate that our work hours be honored because it just wasn’t the case. And even then, you still worked on average two Sundays a week... You know you get two to three, maybe four days off a month with the constant stress and pressure of having to make your mission, which was directly tied to your rating for that year and could potentially end your career, which is again, what kind of correlated to suicides.”

Another theme that emerged with recruiters and their difficulty with the position came from their like of ‘winning’ and the overall ‘loss’ associated with recruitment.

Recruiter E: “I do like recruiting in and of itself I enjoy. What I don’t enjoy is how...I guess the lack of appreciation on the military side for the amount of work you have to put in as a recruiter because of the way recruiting is structured. Once you make mission, now all of a sudden, you’re reset to zero and then you’re basically a shitbag again. You’re not on mission. So that part of it is very mentally hard because I’m very much so like a winner. Whatever I’m doing, I want to be doing 100 percent in. I want to win whatever

we're doing. So to be in that position where you're basically now all of sudden like a shitbag. It is mentally hard and it's like that every year.

Later in the conversation she added even more difficulties with recruiting, which she equated to a sales position.

Recruiter E: "Every time you're being turned down mentally all those add up over time, and then I think for a lot of people, if they overcome that mental feeling of defeat for each phone call... Then every time they want to go to talk to somebody, it makes it even harder because they don't want the rejection. Like your brain doesn't want rejection, right? It makes you feel bad. So when you get an enlistment you get like a really good high. But then you got two hundred rejections coming behind that where they're like no, F the Army. I hate the Army. This is all a lie, you're trying to trap me... I think puts you in a negative place.

Generally, the female recruiters in this study (D, E, and F) said that most of their difficulties with the Army, rather than being placed in a recruiting sector, was due to the challenges associated with being a female in the military. It's important to note that each female recruiter prefaced this difficulty with a general want to not 'blame' their gender for any shortcomings.

Recruiter E: "I don't think being in the military as a woman is like harder or anything. But I do feel like there is a certain level that you feel like you need to prove yourself more than when you see a man in the military. You just assume they know their job because it's like a manly job. You assume that they're just good at being an infantry soldier because like that's just like a man's thing [LONG PAUSE] I've never met a guy in the military where I've been like I wonder if they know their job. But I think for women, I feel like I have to overly prove whatever work I'm doing to show that I can do it because it's assumed that I probably don't know how to do it because I'm a woman.

Recruiter E even described the lengths she took in her younger years to separate herself from all things deemed 'girly' while on the job:

Recruiter E: "I wouldn't wear any make-up. Because I felt like if I was wearing make-up that they would assume that I was really girly and that I probably don't know my job, which is silly, now that I'm older, I'd be like, I don't care. But when I was younger, I felt like it was – even if I see women that are very dressed up. That is kind of the first thing you're thinking – they probably don't know their jobs. And that's a societal jacked up thing. We put on women that if you're either really pretty or you're caring about your looks, that's probably the only thing that you're worried about. You're probably not very

smart. You're probably not very strong. And you're just a girl...But I don't feel like I have to do it now. Like I'm gonna wear make-up and then I'm gonna go out and deadlift more than you with a bunch of make-up on."

Recruiter D conversely described how it's gotten more competitive as she's risen in the NCO ranks:

Recruiter D: "Back when I was enlisted, my recruiter did say that I would always have to work like 100 times harder than any male that I came across because it's always going to be something that as handed to me, or I did something shady to get whatever I got. But in my lower enlisted days this wasn't necessarily that true. But the more I have grown up in the military and gotten rank there's those accusations there and here recently, with my new rank, it was not favored that there was going to be a female NICOC. We haven't had one since 2009. So there wasn't really that much of a favor. I think this is the reason why is just because most females that make up this high on the enlisted side are opinionated, back their opinions with regulatory guidance and sometimes like innocence cockblock other people's agenda. So they don't like that in their face when they have certain things that they're trying to get done or hook up certain people. It's kind of like a bitch versus boss thing. I'm just an NCO trying to do my job and be more morally, ethically straight versus the good ole boy system."

Recruiter's D and F, both described how their decision to have children has also caused some blowback from families and work colleagues.

Recruiter D: "One big thing was that I'm a new mom and I need to focus and pay attention to that versus, like worry about running a recruiting team, and I'm like do you understand what it takes to be a mom. If I can successfully be a mom, I can successfully run a team.

Recruiter F: "I'm probably a lot different than some moms. I think about it like this. You know what? What is going to best for my family? And if going to the training school is going to help me promote, then the higher I get in promotion, the more money I'll get at retirement, which can really benefit my kids at the end of the day...It's time missed and I get that, but I also want them to be take care of in the future...Some people really just don't agree with it. Like Grandma, doesn't agree with that. Why would do that to your kid? Why would do that to your babies?

However, Recruiter E explained how her almost inherently 'motherly' female connection was actually a helpful asset for recruit and parental trust:

Recruiter E: "I feel like that recruits tend to respond to me better as a woman for a couple different reasons. One, I think guys find it's like a challenge, because if I'm doing it and they're not going to do it, it's like a negative on their masculinity. And then on the

women's side they're like, oh, well there's a woman already here doing it. Well then, I can do it. So, I feel like it's easier as a woman to recruit. People are more likely to come up and talk to me than a man...I think that you feel like a woman is going to lie to you less because they're nurturing. And so, they're not gonna put your child in a bad position or tell you something that isn't true."

How recruiters compare their experiences with the Army's Commercial

Advertisements' depiction of the ideal Army

A few of the recruiters in this study offered their qualms and particular suggestions for the way that the military uses commercials to advertise and enlist soldiers.

Recruiter D: "In recruiting we call them our sexy jobs or sexy MOS's. Those are going to be like your action seeking jobs, tour 11 Bravos, infantry men...Guys that go out and blow things up and stuff like that those are going to be more like what people are going to want to join, because that's what the kind of commercials they see are these really cool aviation jobs and stuff like that. But we're only allocated so many at every single level, so it tends to be those that fill up fast. And then we have like the cooks and the 88M [Motor Transport Operators], so the truck drivers that we desperately need, but we can't get anyone to fill because those are not the cool jobs...So you don't really like hype up those really critical MOS's that we need to have folks in."

Recruiter E: "I mean, if you watch, you never see a recruiting video for a cook. What do you see recruiting videos on? You see them on like the sexy ambulances, the medical jobs. The infantry artillery. Like the stuff that sounds like I blow shit up or you know, I save people. Not the cook. So those jobs are definitely underrepresented, because they're like, not the sexy MOS or the one that you would be like oh, you're putting your life on the line."

In addition to misrepresentation, Recruiter B added that the Army offers too much of a one-size-fit-all strategy when it comes to its recruiting commercials.

Recruiter B: "It's always the best value for the cheapest bid. So, you kind of get what you pay for to a degree. And some of these advertising firms, who, you know, put on some great commercials, I think they market research in such a small area that it is not the true reflection of our country. We're literally a melting pot. And what works for your market research in, let's say South Georgia, doesn't appeal to the people on the West coast."

Chapter 7 – Discussion

This thesis employed two research approaches to offer an exploratory examination of the role of gender in U.S. Army commercial advertising and on-the-ground recruiting strategies. This section will discuss the implications of both the quantitative and qualitative findings and how they intersect and interact to create strategic recommendations.

Quantitative Results Discussion

The quantitative results indicated that the visual framing of U.S. Army commercials along dependent variables such as frequency, depiction, clothing, location, and overall visual focus significantly differed by gender. This study also indicated that the verbal framing variables such as narration and frequency of verbal focus within a clip were significantly different by gender.

This content analysis found that males were more likely to be depicted in combat roles (97.8%), than females (2.2%). According to the Army Times, there were 783 women serving across five divisions and one independent brigade in 2017, just a few years after the Army opened infantry, armor, fire support, and special operator jobs to women for the first time (Myers, 2018). Although formally ‘allowed’ in combat roles, the commercials studied within this project still feature females more prominently in traditional gender roles such as civilian spouses (88.9%) and as medical aid (68.8%). In order to raise these recruitment numbers, rather than mirror the statistical reality of females in combat roles, Army advertising could portray females within a more robust diversity of roles. Perhaps, females without interest in being in the medical field are not ‘seeing’ an Army career path for them.

In addition, as mentioned previously, there is high importance in relation to message order and its influence on the public’s processing of advertising. Although not statistically

significant, this study found that males were more likely to be featured in the opening and closing of the commercials and females were most likely to be found within the middle of the commercial. This indicates that an audience would view males as more salient in the commercial, and thus more important or primary in the 'real' Army. This may discourage potential female recruits.

Verbally, an omniscient narrator was always male (100%), while personal narrative was quadruple more likely to be male (15.7%) than female (3.6%). This indicates that while we may be visually seeing females in commercials, regardless of their depicted role, we are not hearing them. In order to broaden gendered recruitment efforts, more opportunities for female voice is necessary.

Qualitative Results Discussion

Four major categories emerged from the qualitative longform interviews: differing strategies of recruiters, job options and strategic placement based on recruiter and /or recruit gender, how recruiters describe their experiences with recruiting, and how recruiters compare their experiences with the U.S. Army Commercial Advertisements' depiction of the ideal Army.

First, based on these interviews, it seemed everyone had their own individual strategies that may have been based on their gender and its advantages and limitations. As Recruiter F described, females must recruit differently, but she felt men were 'allowed' to be arrogant and abrasive. However, she also described the fact that men couldn't quite play the 'Momma Hen' role, which was very advantageous when it came to making recruits and their families feel comfortable with their enlistment. Recruiter E agreed with this, explaining how her inherently motherly/female connection allowed her the opportunity to 'challenge' male recruits' egos into joining, and allowed women to see that women 'could' really join and be successful.

It also seemed that female recruiters were much more interested in valuing the recruit's individual needs and wants, although Recruiter E acted as a bit of an outlier to that narrative. She shied away from 'niceties' and described herself as not being a coddler. It seemed that the male recruits tended to recruit largely based upon their own interests and self-image. Recruiter C and A both tended to enjoy recruiting college dropouts more than others and were each themselves college dropouts.

In addressing the second point, these interviews found that not only was the information provided - and recruiter assigned - strategic, the U.S. Army also strategically acquired information about potential recruits to target. Recruiter B cited that consumers' purchases then became associated to a zip code, which would correlate that individual to a certain MOS. He also speculated that social media would make this information even more readily available and helpful to tactically recruit.

It was also confirmed by many of the interviewees that the U.S. Army assigned certain genders and ethnicities to certain recruiting areas, either out of safety for that recruiter (e.g., a comment was made about a black man not being sent to the South) potentially or to specifically target a 'type' of recruit. As Recruiter B pointed out, an easy way to bridge the gap between female and male enlistees would be to have more female recruiters to entice others of the same gender. The Pew Research Center reported that women represented 17% of the overall active force, up from 9% in 1980, and just 1% in 1970 (Barroso, 2019). According to Army Times, the Army is working toward increasing the percent of female recruiters by one percent each year, though the current percentage is unreported (Jahner, 2017). The researcher also attempted to receive the current number of female and male Army recruiters through the Army Public Affairs Office, without response.

When it came to genders in combat, both the male and female recruiters shared a range of opinions. However, most of the recruiters had at least one female recruit who said they would like to go into a combat job. Male recruiters expressed varied opinions about females in combat. Recruiter B said that he believed “America was not ready to watch its daughters die.” But he also said he would be comfortable with (and proud of) his two daughters joining the military – he also specified that he would be happier to have them serving as officers, in order to have more control over their careers. He expressed his want for them to be the decision-makers, rather than the decision-executers. All the recruiters in this study reported feeling that women should be allowed into combat if they can meet the same standards as men. With this being said, there was also some concern about opening up combat jobs, including women not being able to handle the physical requirements, America not ‘being ready,’ and unit cohesion being disrupted.

Additionally, whether female or male, it seemed that recruiters are important influencers in recruit decisions. Each of the recruiters in the context of this study expressed the connection and sense of responsibility they felt to their recruits, especially being wary of telling any lies. Many of the interviewees reported a strong bond with their own recruiters.

The high level of mental stress associated with recruiting was also discussed by all interviewees. Recruiters reported dissatisfaction with what they viewed as burdensome administrative requirements (stricter tattoo rules, paperwork, etc.) and the pressures to meet their recruiting mission, which ranged from 2-4 recruits monthly. Males coming from combat roles to recruiting seemed to face an especially difficult transition, some alluding to deep depression and feelings of inadequacy, which affected their personal life and relationships.

In comparison, it seemed that females felt that their personal decisions to have children or wear make-up caused difficulties with their Army experience. Recruiter D and F both concluded

that being a mother and a military member held certain obstacles and judgments from military personnel and family members. Recruiter E felt that a decision to be ‘girly’ possibly by wearing make-up was also seen as a weakness. Interestingly male and female recruiters both thought it was advantageous to convince recruit’s parents through a female recruiter.

These results also indicated incidences of male privilege in U.S. Army recruiting. Recruiters D and F both discussed their motherly personas that they strategically enacted in order to enlist more recruits. Recruiter F referred to this as her ‘momma hen’ role. Conversely, Recruiter E explained her persona acclimated more so to the military’s inherent masculinity by avoiding make-up and almost taunting male recruits to join by implying ‘if a female could do it, why can’t they?’ First, it is interesting to note that these female recruiters took on persona extremities on both end of hyper-female spectrum. Two decided the stereotypical ‘mother’ role worked best while recruiting, while the third rejected this typecast and sacrificed her femininity for the sake of recruitment. Here we see a feminized idea of catering to their mostly male audience.

However, the male recruiters A, B and C, when asked about their recruiting strategies, did not feel the need to put on any extreme persona. Unconsciously, the male recruiters exhibited male privilege by not feeling the need to even conceptualize a strategic persona. Instead while recruiting, they performed an interview of candidates, similar to those of any other job, intrinsically flaunting the privilege of being male in the military, and in recruitment, where-in male is the norm. In this study it appeared that to females this persona was at the forefront of strategy, while males considered it an afterthought.

Similarly, at first it struck the researcher as surprising that the male recruiters were so open with their feelings of depression due to gender norms restricting emotion in males,

especially in the context of the military. Females seemed to complain much less about the difficulties of recruiting, focusing on what could be changed for the better, rather than their own personal depressive periods. Although exploratory, this indicates yet another realm of possible male privilege in the recruitment and military world. Males are 'allowed' to complain, whereas females feel grateful for their military careers at all, therefore forgoing complaints and issues. Females have been conditioned to not make excuses for themselves in a masculine military where-in their emotion could be construed as an innate weakness.

Finally, Recruiter C discusses his original excitement for recruiting as an opportunity to possibly spend more time with his son. Conversely, females in the recruitment role, namely Recruiters D and F, were instead focused on putting their maternal narrative behind their military. Recruiter F discussed the sacrifices in time with her children, as a way to better them for the future with her ending pension. Recruiter D was questioned by male military peers whether or not she would have time to recruit while raising a family. Again, male privilege is evident here in Recruiter C's discussion of being able to actually spend more time with his child in his recruiting role, while the female recruiters discussed preserving their military roles primary, and their family life secondary.

Results in Tandem

These results in tandem contribute overall triangulation, which allows the researcher the ability to make strategic recommendations based on these two levels of exploration. Grounded on the findings of this study, the researcher recommends the following actions to not only recruit more women, but to also improve the effectiveness of recruiting on-the-ground and commercially overall:

1. Increase the proportion of female recruiters.

- This will allow better strategic placement across recruiting stations to maximize representation.
 - This may also increase recruits, as recruiters attest to the certain skills and advantages female recruiters tend to have with recruits and parents.
2. Increase opportunities for females to ‘actually’ be able to serve in combat branches.
- An interviewee discussed the barriers still in place for preventing females from ‘actually’ being able to join the combat force due to state by state rules stating that a female NCO must be present in order for a recruit to choose a combat MOS. A more streamlined approach is necessary to increase diversity in these roles.
3. Increase outreach targeted toward the minority genders, locations, and MOSs.
- Create additional advertising highlighting the variety of roles that women fill (and can fill) in the military services, to counter stereotypes and misperceptions about military service. A much higher proportion of female representation within these commercials should be dedicated to roles outside medical, MP, and administrative roles.
 - Create additional and appealing advertising highlighting the “non-sexy” MOSs that are really in demand according to recruiters, including truck drivers and cooks.
 - Increase market research in each recruiting station location in order to provide recruiters with a more accurate depiction of potential recruits. Additionally, with this same research, rather than a one-size-fits-all commercial approach based on slogan, create commercials dependent to a target recruiting location.

4. Increase mental health resources for recruiters, especially for those switching from combat.
 - Recruiting needs to be taken seriously as one of the most stressful Army MOSs. Rather than treating this job as an office job where-in soldiers ‘get a break,’ the Army must equip recruiters with more resources to address underlying stress and feelings of failure. Additional support for family counseling and sales refresher courses outside of the original 6-week recruiter training school, may also be considered.
5. Consider decreasing mandated DA-required recruitment duties or enacting a formal assessment of ability.
 - Many active Army recruiters discussed their difficulties with recruitment, some of which stemmed from this disinterest in recruiting or their lack of sales ability. As in most jobs, those who are forced into a role they did not plan, tend to like it less.
 - Although, Army recruitment may not allow for a decrease in mandated recruitment duties, it may be helpful for both recruiter and the Army, to create an assessment to determine a soldier’s ability to recruit, prior to mandating their recruiting assignment.

Contributions to Theory

Research requires more than sound methodology; it must also be grounded in solid theory. In the case of recruiting and advertising policies, theory concerns individual decision-making processes and behavior, as it relates to both male and female recruiters and recruits. For example, according to the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1985) whether or not someone

enlists in the military is a direct function of the person's intention to enlist. In other words, if a person intends to enlist in the military, he or she probably will (National Research Council, 2004). However, this thesis' findings expand the conversation on recruiting and communication methods trying to recruit both males and females, using framing theory.

This thesis adds to the body of knowledge surrounding the effect of information framing on the intentions, behaviors, and experiences of those within the U.S. Army's recruitment process. Framing theory is defined as "attention paid to one perspective over competing perspectives" (Glazier & Boydston, 2012, p. 430). Frames can unify information and can be based on culture (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009; Entman, 2004).

Within U.S. Army commercials attention is paid to males over female subjects. This is indicated within the commercials by the much higher frequency of their appearance, the diversity of roles demonstrated by males, and the message order putting men first and last. This may be a reflection of the current Army culture, or perhaps the larger Western culture, as well. Recruiter B noted: "America [is] not ready to watch its daughters die." Additionally, within the interviews, recruiters emphasized that attention was paid to "sexy MOS's," which are heavily saturated by males.

While exploring other types of communications that discuss recruiting based on gender, the research found the majority of the literature either attempts to recruit females to male-stereotyped positions, such as STEM fields, or to recruit males to female-stereotyped positions, such as teaching (Thom, Pickering, Thompson, 2002; Diekman, Weisgram, & Belanger, 2015; Rice & Goessling, 2005). This study includes a military job in which females make up a minority of soldiers and therefore compares theoretical results with those of similar research goals.

Diekman, Weisgram, and Belanger (2015) who examine recruitment of females into STEM, conclude that in addition to more advertisement featuring women, the incorporation of more female role models (through high school speaker engagements, women in high ranks of corporations, etc.) would aid greatly in the expansion of females entering the once male-oriented STEM fields. Similarly, this thesis finds that purely ‘seeing’ more women in combat-oriented or military fields may help persuade more females to join.

However, Diekman et al., also find that increasing female-centric advertisement negatively impacts male recruitment. Within the longform interviews conducted in this thesis, men did not seem less inclined to join the military or combat positions with the introduction of women in these roles. In fact, Recruiter C said he was hopeful for the next generation of soldiers, saying that the younger generation of soldiers seemed less fixated on the possible distractions and potential harms introduced with female and male role integration (romantic relationships, higher rates of sexual assault, etc.).

Recruiter C: “I see these soldiers in the barracks and they hang out together and as the older part of me, when male and female soldiers hang out, like you worry, like F***. But I feel like this newer group is different. They hang out to hang out...I think [the introduction of more female roles] is going to require, honestly, the older types to just disappear.”

However, strong themes of male entitlement and privilege emerged when recruiters chose (or did not choose) to discuss their personas, emotion, and family life in relation to their recruiting positions.

In sum, this thesis advances our knowledge of framing theory in relation to gender and recruitment strategies within the U.S. Army, but also a wider breadth of communication research.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

As an exploratory study looking at how gender is framed in Army commercial advertising and how it affects recruiting, this research found many tools for furthering future research.

The content analysis portion of this study sampled from YouTube and iSpot.tv for its commercials, examining six clips within each commercial due to time restraints. Future research may rely upon a wider population or examine a larger number of clips per commercial. This study examined the visual and verbal framing of gender over a span of 10 years. Future research may look at a wider set of time or pick a set ‘before’ and ‘after’ research period, such as before and after females were allowed in combat roles. Future studies may look to perform a content analysis on the next wave of advertorial content, such as military advertisements on social media.

The findings related to gender in this study carry broad implications, both for practice and for society at large. Although females are officially ‘allowed’ in expanded military roles, they are not being depicted in a wide diversity of roles within U.S. Army commercials. The findings of this study imply that the majority of the commercial sample visually featured males more frequently, and most often in combat roles. This study found that verbally, the male voice was also more prominent than the female. In order to reach and target a broader recruitment audience, the U.S. Army will have to examine how they frame minority groups within their advertisements. In turn, this shift may incur a more positive public perception of females and their ‘place’ in the military.

This study found significant correlations between gender and a range of variables in U.S. Army advertising. It also opened a new realm for possible exploration, looking at gender across

Armed Forces advertising. Within the context of this study, it appears females are featured less prominently than males in U.S. Army commercials.

This thesis also extracted four major categories developed from its longform interviews including the differing strategies of recruiters, job options, and strategic placement based on recruiter and/or recruit's gender, and how recruiters describe their experiences with recruiting, and how these recruiters compare these experiences with the U.S. Army Commercial Advertisements' depiction of the ideal Army.

Although each recruiter had to have their own style of recruiting based around personal preference and experience, it did seem that some differences stemmed solely from the recruiter's gender. Female recruiters said that male recruiters had the ability to be abrasive and arrogant, while they mostly stayed in motherly and comforting roles. The latter allowed for female recruiters to better communicate with parents of recruits. It also appeared that there were boundaries still stopping interested female recruits from being placed in combat battalions, notwithstanding formal legislation 'allowing' them to do so. The Army here offers a conflicting narrative of females being 'able' to join, perhaps solely checking the boxes of 21st century diversity, but contrarily implements roadblocks in female recruits' paths to combat.

However, one common finding among all the recruiters not dependent on the time period in which they recruited nor the location, was the intense amount of mental stress associated with a job considered to be administrative or 'a break.' The Army again finds itself in a contradictory conundrum, the administration framing recruitment as a rest period, while recruiters framed it as their most stressful experience.

Feelings of inadequacy and deep depressive states were especially prevalent within the male population who had seen combat previous to their recruiting stations. Recruiter-related

deaths is still rampant in the military, even after wartime (Kime, 2019). Additionally, in particular aspects of recruitment, including recruiting strategy and use of persona, and description of emotion or family, a gendered power divide between female and male recruiters emerged. A larger population of interviewing is necessary to further these findings and produce helpful recommendations and solutions to this sometimes deadly and divisive position.

Future research is needed to study the implications of this thesis' findings. For now, the total impact of Army Recruiting both within the framing of gender in military advertising and on-the-ground recruitment demands further investigation.

Appendix A – Intercoder Reliability

ICR Coefficients	Intercoder (Kappa's Coefficient)
# of Females	1
# of Males	1
Focus of Verbal	.97
Focus of Visual	.89
Coder	1
Video Number	1
Air Date	1
Length of Commercial	1
Campaign	1
Presence of Army Logo	1
Presence of Phrase (Visual)	1
Presence of Phrase (Verbal)	1
Clip #	1
Camera Movement	1
Field of View	.94
Presence of Children	1
Location	.93
Narrator/Speaker	.84
Tone	1
Background Sound	.95
Theme Song	1
Gender	.98
Depicted As	.96
Ethnicity	1
Clothing	1
Gender Text	.88

Appendix B – Content Analysis Codebook

***For Q2-Q9 These questions refer to at ANY part in the COMMERCIAL are these things referenced. Not just the clip.**

Q1-Q6. General Characteristics

Code	Definition/Description
Q1. Coder	Label who is coding this video. (1) Holly (2) Reghan
Q2. Video Identification Number	The unique code for the video using consecutive video number. Code will be as follows: Coder 1: 1 Coder 2: 1
Q3. Published Air Date	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mark (1) if the commercial air date is before January 24, 2013 • Mark (2) if the commercial air date is after January 24, 2013
Q4. Length of Commercial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mark (1) for a commercial between 0-59 seconds • Mark (2) for a commercial between 1 minute and 2 minutes • Mark (3) for a commercial greater than 2 minutes.
Q5. Campaign	<p>This study focuses on two types of Army advertising campaigns.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mark (0) for Unknown/Unstated • Mark (1) for Army Strong • Mark (2) for Warriors Wanted. <p>This will be referenced somewhere in the video and/or the description of the video.</p>

VISUAL

Branding:

Q6. Presence of Army Official Logo

- MARK (1) Yes
- MARK (2) No



Army's Logo

Q7. Presence of Phrase

Textual display of

- MARK (1) Army Strong
- MARK (2) Warriors Wanted
- MARK (3) Both – if both are used or
- MARK (4) None – if neither are shown.

VERBAL

Branding:

Q8. Presence of Phrase

Verbal use of phrases

- MARK (1) Army Strong,
- MARK (2) Warriors Wanted,
- MARK (3) Both – if both are said
- MARK (4) None – if neither are said.

VISUAL

Clip Counts:

Q9. Commercial Clip # (Number):

A clip is defined as a single complete picture in a series which forms the overall commercial. For example, the opening clip of a commercial could include a series of soldiers jumping out of a helicopter on a mission. The second clip would be these same soldiers transitioning into a classroom setting. **Q12-Q21** will be answered per commercial clip. Clip # will go in consecutive order (Clip 1, Clip 2, etc.)

NOTE: Coders will code the first four clips of the commercial and last two. i.e There will be Clip 1, Clip 2, Clip 3, Clip 4 (1, 2, 3, and 4 being the first four clips) Clip 5, Clip 6. (5 and 6 being the last two clips of the commercial). If there is less than 6 clips code the entire video in consecutive order. ****DO NOT** include contact information clips as Clip 5, and 6. Instead code for two prior clips that display people and/or activity.

Q10. Camera Movement

- Mark (1) Still Shot (Photo)
- Mark (2) Moving (Video)

Q11. Field of View

- Mark (1) Close-Up
- Mark (2) Medium Shot
- Mark (3) Long Shot
- Mark (4) If the shot changes throughout the clip

Q12 and Q13. Total Number of Females and Males

In this section you will be counting how many adult females and males are depicted in each clip of the commercial. If there are more than 10 males or females code with the number 11. **0 will indicate no presence. 12 indicates if it is unknown how many females and males are present** (i.e a picture of raised hands with no faces) ***Put 12 for both categories if group's gender is unknown.***

Q14. Presence of Children

In this section you will note if there is a child present in the clip. Their gender does not matter. Children are anyone visibly under 14. Mark (1) for yes, a child or children is/are present. Mark (2) for no, a child or children is/are not present.

Background Location:

Q15. Location

Where is this clip primarily set?

Code	Description/Definition
1. Battlefield	Any clip that is primarily set on a battlefield or within a war context (surrounded by yelling, bullets flying)
2. Training Facility	Any clip that is primarily set in a shooting range, a gym, on an obstacle course.
3. Home	Any clip that is primarily set at a soldier's house or barracks.
4. Civilian Job	Any clip that is primarily set depicting work at a civilian job – at an office.
5. Foreign Country	Any clip that is primarily set in a different country demonstrated by foreign people or geographic (e.g. desert) terrain.
6. A Vehicle	Any clip that is primarily set within a vehicle such as a helicopter, tank, transport car, etc.
7. School	Any clip that is primarily set in a classroom or at a graduation.
8. Hospital	Any clip that is primarily set in a hospital building or room, during surgery, etc.
9. Other	Any clip that is set somewhere besides the previous options 1-8.

Q16. Focus of Clip (Visual)

Based on solely the **visuals** of the clip (background setting) the coder will choose the most prevalent message theme.

**** A screen with just text will be coded as 9 for no visuals and will be coded in verbal category later.**

Code	Description/Definition
1. Incentives	Any clip that focuses on the financial/educational value of joining the army. A soldier or civilian could be depicted in a classroom. The visual could display financial incentives (bonuses, free housing, etc.). Lastly, the visual could display the incentive of travel as a benefit.
2. Job Skill	Any clip that focuses on a soldier learning job skills, whether this be transitioning from a battle scene into a laboratory, or a civilian with a band-aid into medic in a war. In addition, soldiers or civilians could be learning or applying technical or specialized skills.
3. Combat	Any clip that focuses on a soldier running into battle, jumping out of a helicopter, shooting large missiles from a tank, etc. Usually very video game-esque.
4. Duty/Patriotism	Any clip that focuses on patriotic appeals depicting sacrifice or duty to one's country. This could be a waving American flag throughout the clip, a soldier hugging his spouse goodbye, etc.
5. Family	Any clip that focuses on family values or benefits, family difficulty with joining the military, or abundant time with family.

6. Humanitarian	Any clip that focuses on the giving of aid (supplies, financial support, a hug or handshake to a foreign nation's citizen or child).
7. Other	Any clip that focuses on appeals outside 1-6.
8. Undiscernible	The visual focus is not certain.
9. None	There are no visuals only verbal cues. (A blank screen or A screen with just text)

VERBAL

Background Voice:

Q17. Narrator or Speaker's Voice

Coder will

- MARK (0) If there is no omniscient narrator or person speaking present
- MARK (1) for a narrator with a female voice
- MARK (2) for a narrator with a male voice
- Mark (3) for a personal narrative with a female voice
- Mark (4) for a personal narrative with a male voice

Q18. Narrator or Speaker's Tone

Note the tone of the narrator within the clip.

- Mark (0) if there is no narrator or person speaking in the clip
- MARK (1) if the voice is dramatically high pitched
- MARK (2) if the tone is 'normal'
- MARK (3) if the pitch is especially deep or masculine
- Mark (4) If the pitch is something besides 0-3

Q19. Focus of Clip (Verbal)

Based on solely the **verbal** of the clip (text on the screen, background setting) the coder will choose the most prevalent message theme.

Code	Description/Definition
1. Incentives	Any clip that focuses on the financial/educational/travel value of joining the army. A text or narrator could explain educational opportunities. The text or narrator could explain financial incentives (bonuses, free housing, etc.). Lastly, the text or narrator could discuss the incentive of travel as a benefit.
2. Job Skill	Any clip that focuses on a soldier learning job skills, whether this be learning skills for future jobs or a soldier discussing what they've learned in the Army. In addition, the verbal could discuss learning or applying technical or specialized skills. This clip could also discuss 'only some being up for the task/job'
3. Combat	Any clip that focuses on the discussion of battle, jumping out of a helicopter, shooting large missiles from a tank, etc. Usually very video game-esque.
4. Duty/Patriotism	Any clip that focuses on the discussion of patriotic appeals such as sacrifice or duty to one's country. This could be a waving American flag throughout the clip, a soldier hugging his spouse goodbye, etc.
5. Family	Any clip that focuses on the discussion of family values or benefits, family difficulty with joining the military, or abundant time with family.

6. Humanitarian	Any clip that focuses on the discussion of giving of aid (supplies, financial support, a hug or handshake to a foreign nation's citizen or child).
7. Other	Any clip that focuses on appeals outside 1-6.
8. Undiscernible	The verbal focus is not certain.
9. None	There is no verbal text or speech.

Background Sound:

Q20. Background Sound

The coder will choose the most prevalent background sound of the clip:

Code	Definition/Description
1. War	The background of this clip indicates sounds of war or battle including, gun shots/firing of weapons, explosions, the sounds of helicopters, radio transmissions.
2. Personal Narrative	The background of this clip indicates a narrative consisting of various soldiers' or their family's viewpoints telling a story/painting a picture of life as a soldier or military family.
3. Music Only	The background of this clip is solely music.
4. Music and Narrator	The background of the clip features music behind an omniscient narrator's voice.
5. Narrator Only	The background of the clip features solely an omniscient narrator's voice.
6. Other	The background noise of the clip is something besides 1-5.

Q21. Presence of U.S. Army Theme Song

Listen entirely to the U.S. Army's Army Strong theme song:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uT2nkaBrgsc>

If any identifiable part of the theme song is present in the clip, mark 1 for yes. If not present, mark 2 for no.

Note: Make sure to re-record Commercial Clip # on Page 3 of the Codebook

Gendered Details:

***NOTE1:** For each clip, disregard individual descriptions of members of a large group. A large group can be defined as a scene depicting more than three people. If there are three or fewer people code individually for these characters of the clip. If there is a large group of people with only a few identifiable 'main' featured characters in the group code for them.

***NOTE2:** In this section you will code for as many females and males there are in each clip. Each female will be labeled as F# or M# (in order of appearance per gender). For example, the second female shown in the advertisement would be F2 and the second male would be M2. F1 will remain F1 no matter which clip she is present in.

Q22. Gender Code: F2 or M2

You will then answer each subsequent question referring to F2 or M2. You will repeat the Gendered Details section for every female and male shown in each clip being sure to first indicate their female or male code. **If there is no female or male present put 0.**

VISUAL

Q23. The Female or Male is Depicted As

Code	Definition/Description
1. Medical	The female or male is depicted as a nurse or doctor in or out of scrubs. The female or male could be attending to patients within a medical tent or in a civilian context.
2. Combat Soldier	The female or male is depicted as a soldier engaged in combat – shooting a gun, a tank, running into battle, jumping out of an airplane. Action role.
3. Training Soldier	The female or male is depicted as a soldier engaged in training practices – standing in formation, completing an obstacle course, standing or sitting in uniform/fatigues; in a classroom
4. Civilian Spouse	The female or male is depicted in civilian clothes and is hugging/kissing/ supporting her military spouse or shared child.
5. Military Spouse	The female or male is in military uniform and is hugging her/his child or husband.
6. Parent	The female or male is a civilian parent of any gendered soldier in the military.
7. Driver	The female or male is in military uniform and is driving a tank, transport or piloting a helicopter.
8. Artillery Aid	The female or male is in military uniform and is not shooting her/his weapon, but rather carrying it to someone else or in transport with it.
9. Other	The female or male is depicted as something other than categories 1-8.

Q24. Gender Ethnicity (For Male and Females Present in Clip)

Ethnicity is coded as:

- MARK (1) Caucasian
- MARK (2) African American
- MARK (3) Hispanic
- MARK (4) Native American
- MARK (5) Other

Q25. Gender Clothing (For Male and Females Present in Clip)



MARK (1) Military Dress



Blues MARK (2) Fatigues

MARK (3) Civilian clothes are normal wear

clothes such as jeans, t-shirts etc.

MARK (4) Job clothes are specific to one's occupation – scrubs, suit and tie, etc. (excluding Army fatigues)

Visual + Verbal

Q26. Gender Text

When a female or male is shown during a text cue, it is important to note the cue. **Only code for text that is displayed when a female or male is simultaneously on the screen.*

Note the topic, theme, or direct statement from the text as follows (**If there is no simultaneous text code as 0**): ADD A NONE OPTION FOR Q26

Code	Definition/Description
1. Skills	Any text that describes educational or occupational skills.
2. Physical Strength	Any text that describes strength in terms of exertion of force.
3. Emotional Strength	Any text that describes strength in terms of a person's ability to deal with challenges.
4. Duty/Patriotism	Any text describing the soldier's responsibility to America or their service.
5. Leadership	Any text that describes the soldier's action of leading a group, or being superior in some way to civilians.
6. Obedience	Any text that describes compliance with an order.
7. Warrior	Any text that discusses bravery, being a warrior or fighter, having 'what it takes' in a challenge

For Example: This would be coded as 7 Warrior



Q27.

Qualitative Description

Here is where the coder has the option to provide a brief description on any important revelations or patterns found within the commercial clips. *For example*, if there ARE a lot of use of 'gendered' words such as brotherhood, it would be important to note that here. These discoveries will be helpful to further differentiate commercials and provide more detail outside of coded questions.

Codebook

Date:
Coder:

General Characteristics:

- Q1. Video Identification Number: _____
 - Q2. Name of commercial: _____
 - Q3. Published Air Date: _____
1 = Before 2013; 2 = After 2013
 - Q4. Length of commercial _____
1 = 0-0:59; 2 = 1:00-2:00; 3 = > 2:00
 - Q5. Campaign _____

- 0 = Unknown/Unstated; 1 = Army Strong; 2 = Warriors Wanted

VISUAL Branding:

- Q6. Presence of Army Official Logo _____
- Q7. Presence of Phrase _____

VERBAL Branding:

- Q8. Presence of Phrase _____

Q9. Commercial Clip # _____	Commercial Clip # _____
Q10. Camera Movement _____	Gendered Details:
Q11. Field of View _____	Q22. Gender Code _____
<i>VISUAL</i>	VISUAL
Clip Counts:	Q23. Depicted As _____
Q12. Total Number of Females _____	Q24. Gender Ethnicity _____
Q13. Total Number of Males _____	Q25. Gender Clothing _____
Q14. Presence of Children _____	VISUAL + VERBAL
Background Location:	Q26. Gender Text _____
Q15. Location _____	
Q16. Focus of Clip (Visual) _____	
<i>VERBAL</i>	
Background Voice:	
Q17. Narrator's Voice _____	
Q18. Narrator's Tone _____	
Q19. Focus of Clip (Verbal) _____	
Background Sound:	
Q20. Background Sound _____	

Q21. U.S. Army Theme song _____	

Coders utilized an online version of this codebook found on Qualtrics here:
https://kstate.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_390X23CbbPV3AaI

Appendix C - Interview Questions for U.S. Army Recruiters

[Administer and sign consent form]

- How long have you been/were you a recruiter?
- How were you assigned a recruiter position? Did you request it?
- Where were you previously/are you currently a recruiter?
- Have you received recruitment training?
- What info or directions are you given in recruiting school?
- What is your current rank?
- How long have you served in the U.S. Army?
- Could you tell me a little bit about how you find recruits and bring them in?
- Do you have any targets that you need to meet? (skills, diversity, gender, specific rates, etc.)
- Do you find that it is easier/harder to recruit for certain jobs or from certain demographics?
- Are there any well-established best-practices for recruiting?
 - What sort of recruiting tools do you have at your disposal? (incentive pays, delayed entry program, etc.?)
- What is the best way to reach out to and identify new recruits? (Any “tricks of the trade”) • Do you have any resources for “best practices” that were given to you by previous recruiters or during training?
- Are there different approaches to recruiting men and women? Should there be?
- Do recruiters have incentives or disincentives for recruiting women? For Men?
- Do you try to recruit women? Why or why not?
- How do you go about recruiting women?
- How do you go about recruiting men?
- Do you find that women are more receptive to different recruiting approaches?
- What career fields/MOS do you find that women are more interested in? How about men?

- How do you feel your gender affects the ability to enlist recruits outside/inside of your gender?
- Do you find that there are outside influencers (parents, friends, teachers) that affect women's/men's decisions to enter the military?
- What are the concerns of these outside influences?
- What kind of concerns or reservations do women/men express about entering the military? About entering into combat roles?
- How do you address these concerns?
- Have recruiting policies/behaviors changed in response to combat roles being opened?
- Do you see any interest from women in pursuing combat MOSs?
- Of the women who are interested in combat roles, do they have any specific attributes?
- Do you find that recruits are concerned about sexual harassment/sexual assault in the military?
- Do you have any suggestions for changes that can be made that could improve your ability to recruit women/men into the military or to improve the recruiting environment more generally?

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