LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS: LATINA/o IRAQ VETERANS’ ARTICULATIONS OF identity AND CITIZENSHIP IN THE CONTEXTS OF service AND WAR

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

San Diego State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in

Sociology

by

Stacey Livingstone

Summer 2013

**SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY**

The Undersigned Faculty Committee Approves the

Thesis of Stacey Livingstone:

Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness: Latina/o Iraq Veterans’ Articulations of Identity and Citizenship in the Contexts of Service and War

Jill Esbenshade, Chair

Department of Sociology

Tom Semm

Department of Sociology

Thierry Devos

Department of Psychology

Approval Date

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dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my husband Hugh who I love more than anything and who supported me through my initial graduate studies and has the heart and patience to support me through more. I could not have done this without him.

What better field to claim our rights than the field of battle?

- Robert Hamilton

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness: Latina/o Iraq Veterans’ Articulations of Identity and Citizenship in the Contexts of Service and War

by

Stacey Livingstone

Master of Arts in Sociology

San Diego State University, 2013

Latina/o accessions grew by 25 percent from 2001 to 2005. Additionally, during those years Latinas/os had the highest propensity levels of any racial group. These trends are surprising for two reasons. First, many argue that Latinas/os have historically been underrepresented in the military. Second, this growth in both military participation and interest occurred at the beginnings of the Global War on Terror in general and the Iraq War specifically. What would make Latinas/os not only enlist during a time of war, but desire to enlist?

There has been a history of tiered citizenship in the United States with respect to race. This initial hierarchy was a product of the racial state and can specifically be witnessed within the realm of military engagement, as service was initially linked to citizenship. As such, subjugated minority groups experienced histories of exclusion from service, at times completely barred from service and later demeaned by segregation and relegation to menial labor and combat positions. Yet despite these debasements, minorities have continuously utilized service in times of war – a strategy that may be thought of as minority military utilization - in an attempt to prove their right to first the rights of citizenship and later the rights of first-class citizenship.

However, there now exists the idea that racial equality has been achieved in the United States due to the rights gained during the civil rights movement. If this were true, it would mean the obsolescence of minority military utilization, but the ideology of a “colorblind America” does not negate the fact that the racial state was not dismantled but only transformed – from dictatorship to hegemony – and furthermore has been targeting the Latina/o community since the 1990s. As the drastic growth in Latina/o accessions occurred during the Iraq War as did the concomitant soaring Latina/o propensity levels, perhaps their growing military participation during a recent American war can be conceptualized as a permutation of minority military utilization.

This thesis was devised within the framework of citizen-soldierhood, tiered citizenship and the racial state and constructed to answer the following question: can the increase in Latina/o military involvement during the Iraq War be understood as a permutation of minority military utilization? This question was answered by interviewing Latina/o veterans of the Iraq War for their narratives and perspectives.

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acknowledgements

This thesis could not have been completed without the assistance of Jill Esbenshade, Tom Semm, Thierry Devos and the Latina/o veterans who volunteered their narratives and perspectives.

chapter 1

service and citizenship

Latina/o military accessions, or new Latina/o military recruits, increased by 25 percent between 2001 and 2005 resulting in the highest Latina/o enlistment rate to date at that time: a rate of 14.4 percent of total accessions (Amador 2010; Armor & Gilroy 2010). This trend is surprising for two reasons. First, it is widely reputed that Latinas/os have historically been underrepresented in the military. Second, this growth occurred during the beginnings of the Global War on Terror and the Iraq War. Latinas/os also had the highest propensity, or willingness to serve in the military, by far of all racial groups from 2001 to 2005 (Armor & Gilroy 2010). Thus it would appear that Latinas/os not only enlisted in greater numbers during the early years of the Global War on Terror and the Iraq War, but that they furthermore had the greatest desire to do so among all racial groups. This thesis seeks to understand why Latinas/os had a drastic growth in accessions and the highest propensity levels of any racial group at the beginning of the Global War on Terror in general and the Iraq War specifically.

# A Growing Latina/o Population and Purported Underrepresentation

Although the 2001 to 2005 growth in Latina/o accessions was drastic, Latina/o accessions had been increasing in the decade before the Iraq War (Dempsey & Shapiro 2009). This is understandable as the Latina/o population in the United States had itself been growing in the 1990s. According to the United States Census, the Hispanic population grew from being 9 percent of the total U.S. population in 1990 to being 12.5 percent of the total U.S. population in 2000 (Guzman 2000). This population boom was caused by an influx of Latina/o immigrants - many of whom were from Mexico - that was fueled by various trends. These included the passing of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) that naturalized many undocumented immigrants who in turn sponsored their families, as well as the economic and social disjuncture caused by the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Sanchez 1997; Fitzgerald 2011). As a result of this growth, the Latina/o population exceeded the black population in 2001 making Latinas/os the new American majority minority (De Vries 2009).

Additionally, the second-generation Latina/o population - those born in the United States to foreign-born parents - had been growing in tandem with the total Latina/o population. As this subpopulation recently came of age, it formed a large recruitment pool during the Global War on Terror in general and the Iraq War specifically due to the fact that second-generation Latinas/os can, for the most part, meet the citizenship status, language and educational requirements for enlistment (Dempsey & Shapiro 2009; Lutz 2008). Finally, the recent growth in Latina/o accessions - both prior to and during the Iraq War – is also due to the fact that lawful permanent residents (LPRs), who are not yet citizens, can join the military. Today, LPRs comprise 5 percent of all military personnel and are mostly Latina/o (Lutz 2008).

In this context, the extreme growth in Latina/o accessions between 2001 and 2005 might now be understood as the result of the culmination of the Latina/o population boom of the 1990s, Latinas/os surpassing blacks as the majority minority in 2001, the coming of age of second-generation Latinas/os and the contributions of Latina/o LPRs. Furthermore, perhaps this 25 percent accessions increase during the Global War on Terror and Iraq War will pave the way for Latinas/os to become the majority minority within the military as well. Yet today the issue of Latina/o military representation remains contentious. Some argue that Latinas/o have historically been underrepresented and continue in this trend while others argue that Latinas/os have been overrepresented in many ways since World War II (Asch et al. 2009; Gifford 2005; Riggins & Garcia 2007; Chavez 1994; Guzman 1970).

Unfortunately, assessing current Latina/o military representation is tricky since the Department of Defense (DoD) changed the way that race and ethnicity are recorded the year the Iraq War began. The Racial/Ethnic Designation Categories (REDCAT) Survey that was implemented in 2003 first poses a Hispanicity question followed by a race question (Dempsey & Shapiro 2009; Lutz 2008; Armor & Gilroy 2010). As a result of this configuration, over 80 percent of Latinas/os choose both Hispanic and white on the REDCAT, leading to complications in recording Latina/o representation (Dempsey & Shapiro 2009). When adjusted, Latina/o enlistment is higher than suggested perhaps by as high as 5 percent (Armor & Gilroy 2010; Gifford 2005; Dempsey & Shapiro 2009).

Furthermore, when citizenship status, language and educational requirements are considered, the Latina/o population eligible for enlistment is a much smaller percentage than the general Latina/o population. For example, only one-half of the enlistment-age population of Latinas/os qualified for service based on language and educational requirements in 2003: deflating the potential enlistment population from 16.2 percent to 8.1 percent (Gifford 2005). Furthermore, the Pew Hispanic Center used the Current Population Survey from the Census to estimate that 9.7 million undocumented immigrants were living in the United States in 2003 and that over 57 percent of them were Latina/o (Passel & Cohn 2011). When this is taken into consideration, the Latina/o subpopulation that was eligible for enlistment in 2003 might be even lower than Gifford’s (2005) estimates.

Even without this additional numeric deduction to account for the undocumented, Gifford’s (2005) 8.1 percent estimate of the qualified enlistment-age Latina/o population for 2003 tells a story of overrepresentation. In that same year, 8.6 percent of all active duty military personnel were Latina/o, 10.7 percent of all combat personnel were Latina/o, 11.1 percent of the total casualties of the Iraq War were Latina/o and 15.9 percent of casualties for the high-intensity invasion period of the war – years 2003 to 2004 - were Latina/o (Gifford 2005; Pew Hispanic Center 2003). In fact, the Latina/o casualty rate during the high-intensity invasion period of the Iraq War was 49 percent higher than their representation in the combat forces (Monforti & McGlynn 2010). Latina/o casualty overrepresentation is a logical result of the fact that Latinas/os disproportionately serve in combat positions (Amador 2010). In 2001, Latinas/os comprised 17.7 percent of all military combat positions, 19.7 percent of all Marines combat positions and 24.7 percent of all Army combat positions (Mariscal 2005).

Although it is up for debate as to whether or not Latinas/os are over or underrepresented in the military, one thing is for certain: Latina/o accessions increased dramatically from 2001 to 2005 and Latinas/os are clearly overrepresented in both combat positions and casualties. While this spike in accessions and overrepresentation might be due to the fact that the Latina/o population increased significantly by 2001 around the time the second-generation subpopulation came of age, it still raises a question: why would Latinas/os want to enlist during a time of war?

# Citizen-Soldierhood, Tiered Citizenship and the Racial State

Military service in the United States has historically been linked to citizenship (Burk1995). The concept of the citizen-soldier implied that the rights of full citizenship came with the responsibility of defending those rights. For centuries white men alone enjoyed full civil, political and social rights in the new nation, as the patriarchy of Europe traversed the Atlantic and a desire for land appropriation and cheap labor led the white settlers to form a hierarchy of racial groups that would justify their actions. Such racial formation in turn sired the racial state: institutionalized racial ranking propagated through policies, cultural norms and ideology and social relations (Nakano Glenn 2002; Omi & Winant 1994). Through such efforts, whiteness and masculinity became associated with rationality and independence, traits inextricably associated with citizenship (Nakano Glenn 2002; Herbes-Sommers 2003). Thus, despite the Enlightenment principles embedded within the burgeoning nation including egalitarianism, freedom and inalienable rights, only white men were granted citizenship and its rewards (Devos and Banaji 2005; Nakano Glenn 2002).

Such a gargantuan contradiction between principles of equality and a reality of domination could only be ignored via legitimizations that denoted noncitizens as biologically inferior (Herbes-Sommers 2003). Thus, while men were seen to be genetically predisposed for leadership and autonomy, women came to be seen as innately irrational and dependent and while whites were seen as human beings, all nonwhites were viewed as either subordinate races of man or entirely separate and inferior species (Nakano Glenn 2002; Gould 1996). Mexicans were perceived to be sneaky, irresponsible, indolent, criminal and foreign, Natives Americans were naïve savages, Asians were servile and black dispositions were placed on a paradoxical aggressivity-spectrum ranging from tractable to ferocious (Gould 1996; Nakano Glenn 2002). Such infantilization and animalization justified periods of minority disenfranchisement and disarmament. Thus, the citizen-soldier was oftentimes charged not only with the defense of his full rights, but also with the paternalistic purpose of securing the lesser rights of the dark and defenseless.

Biology as destiny justified the initial confinement of minorities to the lower echelons of American society. The mythical portraits of subjugated racial groups, relying heavily upon phenotypic differences, created a spectrum of light/superior to dark/inferior that justified crescendoing debasement from land appropriation to enslavement. Once such racial groups and race relations were formed, racial ranking and shadeism became embedded within American institutions forming the racial state that functioned at the beginning as a dictatorship: literally barring minorities from the rights of citizenship (Memmi 1965; Gould 1996; Omi & Winant 1994). A disseminator of ideology, the racial state in turn came to reproduce the fallacious ideas that initially validated the subjugation of certain groups. Although both the mythical portraits of minorities and the racial state have evolved over the course of time, such ideology has been used generation after generation to rationalize tiered citizenship (Nakano Glenn 2002).

The contradictory nature of the original ideas - their waffling from childlike callowness to animalistic savagery - unveils their purpose, the justification of exploitation and the omission of minorities from full structural assimilation into the institutions of the United States (Nakano Glenn 2002; Gordon 1964). Such racialized barring from structural assimilation came to include an on again off again barring from participation in the United States military (Lutz 2008). Yet these histories of dictatorship and exclusion, from the military as well as from other American institutions, led to histories of minority military utilization: a tendency amongst minority groups to strategically attempt to use service in a time of war to prove their entitlement to the rights of citizenship. A strategy of assimilation, minority military utilization embraced the concept of citizen-soldierhood, believing the adoption of the ultimate responsibility of citizenship was the pathway to full rights.

The multiple histories of exclusion and minority military utilization reflect the unstable equilibrium of the racial state, where tiered citizenship and blocked structural assimilation have historically served as the impetus for group organizing, consciousness raising, ideology rearticulation and movement mounting (Memmi 1964; Omi & Winant 1994). Minorities first attempted to challenge the racial state by embracing citizen-soldierhood. When that was found to be ineffective, minority veterans and their communities turned to more radical strategies to achieve equal rights. Yet a critical mass was not available to exact widespread change until anti-military, antiwar and civil rights sentiments coalesced about issues of race and class at the height of the Vietnam War.

This heightened collective consciousness was the culmination of the histories of exclusion suffered by minorities, the awareness of the disproportionate number of minorities being drafted for Vietnam, the tales that came from the double front where minorities not only fought the Vietcong but also the racism of their peers and the parallels drawn between the plight of the Vietnamese and the plight of minorities at home. With this new consciousness, people began to challenge the racial state at home and abroad and activists began to denounce minority military utilization and instead relied upon tactics of protest and demonstration including boycotts, marches and acts of civil disobedience.

This shift led to landmark national victories for racial equity including the passing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Additionally, the military created a Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) - now the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) - and implemented an All-Volunteer Force (AVF) so as to prevent future racist conscriptions. The amalgamation of these changes led many to speculate that the racial state had been dismantled and the United States made colorblind (Butler 1992; Segal 1989; Bonilla-Silva & Dietrich 2011; Omi & Winant 1994). If this is true, then minority military utilization would have been rendered obsolete decades ago and the 25 percent increase in Latina/o accessions and the concomitant high levels of Latina/o propensity witnessed between 2001 and 2005 at the beginning of the Iraq War could not be attributed to this strategy.

# Statement of the Problem

The civil rights movement did not dismantle the racial state. Instead, the acquisition of equal rights for minorities transformed the racial state from dictatorship to hegemony. Hegemony is the creation of “common sense” from a “combination of coercion and consent” (Omi & Winant 1994: 67). Although both coercion and consent were present in the racial state when it was a dictatorship – regarding the latter, biology as destiny was utilized as common sense to garner consent to the racial state -, as the civil rights movement rendered the restriction of rights taboo, consent became paramount to the hegemony of the new racial state. Consent is achieved through the construction of a common sense, passed off as universal truth and disseminated by institutions. As a trend of neoconservativism began in the 1970s as a rightwing backlash to the victories of the previous era, the common sense constructed after the civil rights movement suggested that the United States had been made colorblind and that the racial state has been successfully dismantled. As such, minority rights came to be seen as anathema to democracy as there was an equality of individuals (Omi & Winant 1994).

Unfortunately, as the structure and culture of the racial state were never eradicated and as its legacy was never fully rectified, this common sense continues to bar minorities from structural assimilation. As the racial state not only literally tiered citizenship by barring access to rights but also symbolically tiered citizenship by barring access to economic and educational opportunities, today those minority groups who have suffered histories of exclusion and subordination still endure symbolic second-class citizenship through higher poverty rates, lower incomes and more deficient schools than their white counterparts although they now enjoy literal first-class citizenship through equal rights (Newman 2011). Furthermore, as the new hegemony now states that the United States has been made a colorblind country of equal individuals, minority groups are now blamed for their lack of opportunities (Omi & Winant 1994). Thus, although Latinas/os at the beginning of the Iraq War had fewer economic and educational opportunities than their white counterparts, the new common sense placed the onus upon their community and not upon the legacy of the racial state (Mariscal 2005).

In addition to suffering from tiered economic and educational opportunities, Latinas/os have also been a major target of the racial state since the 1990s as mythical portraits of Latina/o immigrants as freeloading, lazy foreign invaders once again became part of the common sense of hegemony and were utilized to explain economic downturns and rising criminal rates. These ideas have instigated a new wave of racial nativism: the “traditional hostility towards new immigrants [that takes] on a new meaning when those immigrants are racially identifiable and fit established racial categories in the American psyche” (Sanchez 1997; 1013). Thus, rising Latina/o accessions and soaring propensity during the Global War on Terror might in fact be a permutation of minority military utilization: where service is once again being utilized as a structural assimilation strategy only now to perhaps obtain economic and educational opportunities, combat racial nativism and prove the Latina/o community’s right to symbolic first-class citizenship.

# Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate whether or not the drastic growth in Latina/o accessions and the soaring Latina/o propensity levels during the beginning of the Iraq War may be attributed to a permutation of minority military utilization. To answer this research question, Latina/o veterans of the Iraq War were interviewed for their narratives and perspectives. The rest of the thesis is laid out in the following manner. Chapter 2 explores the histories of exclusion and initial minority military utilization that might help to illuminate the reasons behind growing Latina/o military involvement during the Iraq War. Chapter 3 reviews the relevant literature on the transitioning racial state, racial nativism, the AVF and the Latina/o community. Chapter 4 reviews the methodology for the study including the design, population and sample, instrumentation, data analysis and limitations. Chapter 5 lays out the results of the interviews as conceptualized by the themes from the literature. Finally, Chapter 6 couches the results within the concept of minority military utilization.

chapter 2

histories of exclusion and Minority military utilization

As there have been histories of exclusion as well as histories of minority military utilization among all subjugated racial groups within the United States up through the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement and the transformation of the racial state from dictatorship to hegemony, it calls into question whether or not the growth in Latina/o accessions during the beginning of the Iraq War and the concomitant high levels of Latina/o propensity for those years can be explained as a permutation of that strategy, where Latinas/os, as symbolic second-class citizens, were attempting to utilize the military to achieve the full economic and educational opportunities otherwise denied to them in the greater society. These initial histories of exclusion and minority military utilization in the face of dictatorship are addressed below to give insight into the more recent phenomenon of heightened Latina/o service during the Iraq War and to help decipher whether or not this phenomenon may be attributed to a permutation of minority military utilization.

# Decisions on Racial Groups

To demonstrate the parallels between different racial minorities’ attempts at utilizing military service in times of war as a pathway to first-class citizenship, abridged histories are provided for the following groups based on United States Bureau of the Census racial and ethnic concepts: blacks, Native Americans, Asian Americans and Latinas/os (2010). These chronologies end with the invention of the AVF in 1973, which was supposed to indicate the successful transition to a colorblind America. It is to be noted that the 2010 Census categories “American Indian or Alaska Native” and “Native Hawaiian” have here been collapsed into Native American and that the Census categories “Chinese,” “Japanese” and “Filipino” have here been collapsed into Asian American, although the three national origins identities are separated when discussed in that section. All other Census racial categories were omitted from this study, as there was insufficient literature on their military participation.

It must also be noted that the concept “Hispanic or Latino Origin” is formally utilized by the Census to aggregate data on Latinas/os. Here, Hispanic and Latina/o are interchangeable and they represent ethnicity (2010). According to the Census, Hispanic and/or Latina/o refer to people of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South American and Central American descent or of another Spanish culture or origin regardless of their race (2010). Although Hispanic and Latina/o are considered ethnic identities by the Census, many scholars have well documented the racialization of Latinas/os. For example, although some Latinas/os view themselves and are seen by others as white, more than 97% of Latinas/os checked “Some Other Race” when taking both the 1990 and 2000 Census (Lee and Bean 2004: 224).

Furthermore, not only do many Latinas/os see themselves as a separate race – due to their “mestizo” or mixed Spanish and native racial background -, but despite the omission in the Census race question the United States government legally treats Latinas/os as a racial/ethnic minority: one that qualifies for federal programs such as affirmative action (Lee and Bean 2004). Finally, Latinas/os also presently find themselves to be the targets of racial nativism as well as the members of a new panethnicity: the calling card of racialization as many diverse ethnicities are lumped together based on physical characteristics and region of origin (Sanchez 1997; Roth 2009; Espiritu 1992). Thus, for this study, Latinas/os are considered a racial group.

# Black Service and Citizenship

The chronology of black military service is particularly interesting due to the fact that black Americans were historically the majority minority both within the United States in general and the military specifically. Prior to the Revolutionary War, free and enslaved blacks were allowed to serve in local militias implemented to defend villages from Native Americans. Additionally, many free blacks in the North including Crispus Attucks were behind the foreseeable revolution and had enlisted as Minutemen. Free blacks like Attucks were behind American independence as the revolutionaries embraced appealing Enlightenment ideals including the concepts of freedom, equality and inalienable human rights. Several saw their military service as a vehicle to obtain those that eluded Northern blacks despite their sovereignty (Lanning 2000; Foner 1976). Free blacks also connected the impending war to Southern slavery, seeing the war as an opportunity not just to prove their deserved citizenship through service, but to cast a harsh and critical light upon the fettering of men, women and children in a land with a lust for liberty (Garrison 1861). Yet despite these initial occurrences and sentiments, blacks were soon excluded from military service.

In 1775, the Massachusetts Committee of Safety banned the enlistment of slaves, a decision that was later adopted by the Continental Congress (Lanning 2000). Two months later, General George Washington instructed recruiters to ban free blacks from enlisting as well (Foner 1976). The fear guiding both decisions was that blacks might turn their weapons upon their masters and superiors (Butler 1992). It can be gleaned from such trepidation that the ideas of black ferocity and irrationality justified the notion that blacks could not be trusted if armed in great numbers; it might additionally be discerned that, whether consciously or not, many acknowledged that blacks perhaps did not enjoy their current social allocations and might rebel if given the opportunity.

Yet all of the aforementioned suspicions soon had to be stifled out of numeric necessity. As the British began filling their ranks with blacks, Washington had no choice but to order the reenlistment of those free blacks that had previously enrolled in the military. To further boost enlistment, certain regiments and slave owners even began offering freedom to slaves in exchange for military service (Butler 1992; Foner 1976). In an attempt to form two black regiments, Rhode Island even made a pledge that free blacks would be paid equal wages for their service and enslaved blacks would be set free. Although some enslaved blacks did receive their freedom, many were returned to slavery after the war and all blacks were again legally barred from service in the ensuing peace (Garrison 1861; Lanning 2000). Furthermore, while celebrations were thrown for white veterans, none were thrown for black and while the white fallen were given proper burials, oftentimes the bones of black soldiers were left onsite to be later shoveled up by laborers during urban excavations (Garrison 1861).

From the Civil War through World War II, military segregation replaced black exclusion and temporary induction. During the Civil War, the confluence of a shortage of manpower and black propensity the Union lifted the 70-year ban on black enlistment in 1862. Unsurprisingly, many whites voiced their opposition to the formation of black regiments, rightfully fearing a sense of entitlement within the black community after the termination of the war (Ural 2010). Blacks too were again making the connection between service and citizenship as Frederick Douglass and other prominent black leaders began encouraging black male enlistment as undeniable proof of patriotism and a pathway to first-class citizenship, as the Dred Scott decision had recently been overturned (Freeman et al. 1992; Reidy 2010). Unfortunately, black regiments were paid less, charged for their uniforms, commanded by white officers and relegated to menial labor positions (Foner 2004). Additionally, black soldiers captured by the Confederacy were severely mistreated and oftentimes executed or enslaved, a fact that the Union government did nothing to rectify (Reidy 2010).

Interestingly, as black enlistment increased in the Union, the Confederacy was forced to follow suit, and in 1865 the Confederate Congress passed legislation allowing the formation of black units for the Confederate Army. Surprisingly, the Confederate Army allowed emancipation through service. Unsurprisingly, this covenant was contingent upon the approval of a slave’s master (United States War Department 1900). Additional prejudice and discrimination befell blacks during the Civil War following the first federal draft. The Enrollment Act of 1863 was extremely unpopular as many immigrants, especially working-class Irish, were drafted to serve a country full of nativists that despised them. Furthermore, working-class men could not evade conscription while wealthy draftees could pay their way out of service (Ural 2010). This unrest culminated in the New York City Draft Riots of 1863 where at least 100 blacks were killed as second-class white citizens took their frustrations out upon the black population.

Fortunately, altercations with the racial state often foment consciousness (Omi & Winant 1994). Blacks soon began to realize that their service would not lead to first-class citizenship and they began to retaliate. In Illinois, black men successfully pushed for the repeal of the black codes that forced new blacks in the area to post a bond and disqualified them from suffrage and schools. In California, blacks overturned a law prohibiting blacks from testifying in court cases involving whites (Reidy 2010). From these few actions and the myriad of others that occurred after the Civil War, it would appear that the concept of the citizen-soldier was alive and well within the black community. Yet despite these impressive victories, Jim Crow legislation took over much of the South and de facto segregation existed everywhere else. Thus when the United States entered World War I in 1917, W.E.B. Du Bois and other black leaders were once again pushing black men to enlist and prove their right to first-class citizenship. Du Bois further believed that black involvement in the First World War would expedite its conclusion, and as it was a war for democracy, the new postwar democratic world could not include racism in America (Mjagkij 2011).

The black military experience during World War I was one of both debasement and triumph. When the war began, blacks could not attend officer schools, were banned from combat and were relegated to menial labor occupations (Mjagkij 2011). Fear of black armament in the South even culminated in the introduction of a bill to the House of Representatives that once again called for complete black omission from enlistment. Suggesting that blacks were mentally and morally unfit for combat, their argument conjures up the biological determinism of the Revolutionary War era, the fear of tarnished white supremacy and the trepidation over arming the perhaps resentfully subjugated (Mjagkij 2011).

Despite this attempt to ban black enlistment, blacks successfully pushed for entry into officer schools and combat units, albeit with segregation still intact. Yet despite these victories, there were still many injuries to face in addition to segregation. Black facilities and food supplies at training camps were consistently inferior to the point where black soldiers froze to death in Virginia during the winter of 1917-1918 and held the highest pneumonia mortality rates of all troops due to subpar living conditions and white officer neglect as they were quick to see black men as feigning illness to avoid work (Mjagkij 2011). White officers would also refuse black soldiers leave passes to be with sick or dying loved ones, overlook black soldiers for promotion and dole out more and harsher punishments to black soldiers for code infractions. Furthermore, white soldiers would oftentimes refuse to salute the new black officers (Mjagkij 2011).

During World War II, all of the hard won gains of black soldiers seemed for naught. Blacks were still segregated into separate units within the military, disregarded for promotions, called derogatory names such as “boy” or “nigger” and were mostly engaged in menial labor and service positions despite the not so long ago push for black combat and officer positions. The only positions open to blacks in the Navy were those of mess men, while the Marine Corps and the Army Air Corps excluded them entirely (Wynn 2010). Blacks were also largely omitted from the draft boards, draft deferments and the war effort at home. Perhaps the case of the Douglass Aircraft Company best sums up this final trend where, out of a workforce of 33,000, only 10 employees were black (Wynn 2010). Worse still, many black servicemen stationed in the South for training had to suffer the nefarious mentality of Jim Crow. One private was shot and killed by a white bus driver for not moving to the back of the bus quickly enough (Wynn 2010). Unfortunately, this was not an isolated event as many black soldiers incurred the wrath of white civilians and military personnel while in training (Wynn 2010).

Many black organizations began challenging both segregation in the South and segregation in the military. Both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Committee for the Participation of Negroes in National Defense (CPNND) fought military discrimination (Wynn 2010). The parallels between Hitler and Jim Crow were not lost on these organizations, other black organizations, black leaders or the black press. While many blacks saw the parallels between oppression abroad and oppression at home, they were split as to the solution. Some questioned why they should fight a war for a country that treated them as second-class citizens while others held onto the longstanding hope that their war contributions would open the doors to equality (Wynn 2010). Unfortunately, the termination of the war did not bring first-class citizenship to black veterans. High post-war unemployment rates particularly affected blacks prompting many to reenlist out of economic necessity. Additionally, many black veterans became the victims of police brutality, suggesting that whites understood full well the connection between service and citizenship (Wynn 2010).

Fortunately, World War II brought human rights violations to the forefront as the atrocities of Nazism and Fascism were cast into the spotlight. Global movements towards decolonization began to emerge, including within the United States as black veterans led the way in fighting for military desegregation and civil rights efforts such as voter registration drives that challenged the racial state (Butler 1992; Omi & Winant 1994). Responding to the uproar, President Truman officially integrated the military in 1948, an early desegregation attempt that led Charles Moskos (1973) to exclaim “…it may be that the military will most likely set the pace towards the alleviation of America’s perennial dilemma – race” (94).

Yet the “unstable equilibrium” of the racial state was soon reestablished with the onset of the Vietnam War (Omi & Winant 1994: 84). During the draft, a disproportionate number of blacks were conscripted for service (Westheider 2008). Although proponents of the draft initially advocated for its impartiality, it soon came to light that recent historical events and longstanding economic realities were responsible for the sizeable involvement of blacks in the Vietnam War. After the Korean War ended in 1953, the military found itself with a surplus of potential recruits. In order to thin out the ranks, officials began distributing occupational and educational deferments. Blacks, by virtue of a history of segregation and exploitation, lacked the resources that would have opened the doors for such deferments (Westheider 2008).

Another factor increasing the number of blacks in service during Vietnam was the racial composition of local draft boards. As the draft boards were mainly white, they tended to be more willing to grant whites a status of conscientious objector (CO) (Westheider 2008). Therefore, although many blacks applied for CO status, many had a difficult time due to institutionalized racism and the lingering effects of biological determinism. For example, one draft board member expressed skepticism regarding black aptitude for pacifism, “They say they object to going because of religious reasons… they pretend to believe in God and say I don’t want to kill anybody, then right afterwards they go out in the streets and cut some person’s throat” (Westheider 2008: 29).

Unfortunately, military discrimination did not end with enlistment as blacks once again found themselves overrepresented in menial labor occupations although they now found themselves overrepresented in dangerous combat occupations as well. During the Vietnam War, one’s occupation depended upon one’s score on the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) (Westheider 2008). As blacks underperformed on the AFQT, they were overrepresented in menial labor and combat positions. Unfortunately, this meant that a disproportionate number of blacks were among the casualty reports of Vietnam. By 1966, blacks comprised 22 percent of all Vietnam casualties despite constituting 11 percent of the nation’s population” (Westheider 2008). Some surmised that inferior intellect was the reason for low black scores while others assumed that it was the culture of poverty blacks purportedly inhabited (Krenn 2006). Yet the true culprits were later discovered to be a racialized education gap and a culturally biased exam, both of which were products of internal colonialism (Westheider 2008).

Low black scores on the AFQT were just one more example of how institutional racism embedded within society impacted institutional racism within the military. Indeed, the all-encompassing racism of the era – in schools, in the economy, in the military, in Vietnam - caused many black servicemen and organizations to make connections between domestic and global colonialism. As such, prominent leaders of the Civil Rights Movement were some of the first to voice anti-war sentiments, connecting the war in Vietnam to the state of blacks in America (Zinn 1980).

# Native American Service and Citizenship

Akin to the deterministic reasoning for black omission from the Revolutionary War was the notion of the innate savagery of the Native Americans, an idea that prompted their initial exclusion from service during the struggle for independence because of their supposedly barbaric tactics (Viola 2008). Yet out of numeric need, Washington pushed the Continental Congress successfully for Native American enlistment and although many tribes sided with the colonists and fought the British, when the war ended many newly minted citizens of the United States charged all Native Americans with treason to punish the select tribes that sided with the British (Viola 2008). Yet despite this slight, certain tribes once again sided with the United States during the War of 1812 including the Choctaw whose chief, Pushmataha, was killed in battle and given a state funeral for his service, achieving citizenship posthumously (Viola 2008).

Yet despite such a gesture, Native Americans were never granted legal citizenship and were in fact excluded from service during the Civil War on those grounds. Yet many did serve on both sides of their own accord despite formal omission. Those who joined the Union did so in an attempt to disrupt the genocide of their people, believing that their service to the Union in a time of war would prove their rights to peace and autonomy (Viola 2008). Interestingly enough, the tribes who sided with the Confederacy did so as many of their leaders held slaves and as they had been promised equal status within the Confederacy. Surprisingly, the Union not only made no such promise, but did not want Native Americans within their ranks thinking them lazy and undisciplined, eventually only incorporating them into segregated regiments out of numeric necessity (Viola 2008).

After the Union won the war, the United States government began to see military service as a tool of assimilation whereby Native Americans could be taught discipline and civil conduct. What is more, this incorporation of Native Americans into the army pitted tribe against tribe as these regiments were used to tame the West for white settlers. While some thought the assimilation strategy specious, as it would only encourage the warrior tradition which many believed to be the base of Indian savagery, in 1890, Native Americans were formally allowed within the military to serve as soldiers in segregated units. Yet a rising racialized nativism led many to decry this decision with the argument that natives were not and could not be patriotic (Viola 2008).

During World War I, Native Americans enlisted in great numbers to fight for the United States despite their status as noncitizens. Unfortunately, biological determinism followed these servicemen into battle despite their recent integration into white units as many white officers made the assumption that Native Americans made the best scouts and messengers due to their “natural” sense of direction (Viola 2008). The result of such prejudice was that many Native Americans were assigned the most dangerous assignments, resulting in disproportionately higher casualty rates. Yet despite such deadly discrimination, high Native American enlistment was witnessed again during World War II, as 99 percent of all eligible Native American males registered for the draft only to incur further prejudice. White servicemen continued the tradition of referring to Native Americans as “chief” and “Geronimo” and white officers held fast to their assumption of innate Native American fighting abilities. Additionally, Native Americans in the South fought in segregated units throughout both World War I and II (Viola 2008).

Perhaps Native American participation in both Great Wars can be seen as a display of citizenship. Indeed, throughout the chronology of Native American military participation, there exists a connection between service and citizenship. One veteran captured this connection when he lamented the continuing tragedies of reservation segregation, limited resources and religious intolerance despite Native American participation in World War II, “We Indians fought a war. We come back and we still got this suppression of Indian people” (Viola 2008: 133). Deterministic ideology also flows seamlessly throughout the history of Native American service as the savagery trope of the Revolutionary War was exchanged for the super soldier trope in Korea and Vietnam. For example there was an idea in these latter wars that if one stuck with a Native American soldier, one would be kept alive but perhaps most startling of all is the Shadow Wolves. The Shadow Wolves were a special unit who were brought in to help track al Qaeda during the Global War on Terror and whose members were required to be at least one-quarter Native American (Viola 2008).

# Asian American Service and Citizenship

Although much less has been written on Asian American United States military service, some sources were retrieved for the purposes of this study. Furthermore, as Asian American, like Native American, is a panethnicity – one that incorporates a great variety of ethnicities into a single racial category –, the Asian American ethnicities with the most accessible literature are discussed below. They are as follows: Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans and Filipinos and Filipino Americans.

## Chinese Americans

During World War II, Chinese Americans desired to assist in the war effort both abroad and at home in an effort to achieve a higher status in the United States (Wong 2005). Yet despite their hopes and their efforts, they were met with resistance. Chinese Americans working the shipyards of Oakland, California were placed into segregated crews. Those Chinese Americans who entered the Navy were subjected to both prejudice and discrimination as they were called “boys” and were assigned to mess or cabin boy duty (Wong 2005). Yet despite these realities, many Chinese Americans reported receiving better treatment in the military than they had in civil society, since in the military they could serve in integrated units resulting in genial relationships with and respect from their white counterparts while conversely many had to attend segregated schools in their hometowns.

Emboldened by their fair treatment within the military as well as by their service to their country, Chinese Americans stopped fighting Nazism and Fascism only to fight discrimination. This fight included overturning the Chinese exclusion statutes of the 1924 Immigration Act that barred Chinese immigrants from naturalizing. Unsurprisingly, the call for repeal was met with resistance. Remarks such as the one from the president of the American Federation of Labor sum up the racialized sentiments of a Chinese American’s place among the nation’s system of tiered citizenship, “People from other countries are absorbed in a few years and you can’t tell where they came from. A Chinaman is a Chinaman” (Wong 2005: 116).

## Japanese Americans

While the Chinese Americans were getting slightly better treatment during World War II, the opposite was true for Japanese Americans. In 1941, *Time* magazine ran an article entitled “How to Tell Your Friends from the Japs” (Wong 2005). The blatant biological determinism of the article, rife with physical stereotypes as criteria for distinguishing between the Chinese and Japanese, concluded by offering the caveat that “there is no infallible way of telling them apart, because the same racial strains are mixed in both. Even an anthropologist with calipers and plenty of time to measure heads, noses, shoulders, hips, is sometimes stumped” (Wong 2005: 74). *Life* magazine put out a similar article on the same day and stated that the ability to discern those of Chinese origin from those of Japanese origin was important “for both ‘U.S. citizens’ and ‘U.S. Chinese,’” (Wong 2005: 75).

Although Chinese Americans were blatantly referred to as noncitizens in this example of war propaganda, Japanese Americans incurred a far more wrathful version of racism as they were stripped entirely of their rights. Anti-Japanese sentiments culminated in the internment of almost all Japanese Americans on the West Coast in 1942 (Wong 2005; Densho & The Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University 2003). The coerced relocation of Japanese Americans could only have occurred if the Japanese Americans were portrayed as noncitizens and thus not privy to the rights of citizenship.

In fact, the same year Japanese Americans were interned, the War Department commissioned seven propaganda films. The final film, *War Comes to America*, emphasized the idea that “we the people, all the people” were part of the war effort including the “English… Italians, French… Negroes… Mexicans…Germans…and Chinese” (Wong 2005: 87). Strategically, Japanese Americans were omitted from the list of U.S. citizen heritage. Interestingly enough, both German and Italian Americans were on that list and were not subjected to internment, a testament to the legacy of racial construction, determinism and minority demonization.

Yet despite this denial of citizenship rights, many Nisei or second-generation Japanese Americans fought for their country during World War II. One such display of stalwart patriotism was found in Hawaii among the Varsity Victory Volunteers (VVV), an all Nisei and mostly college student group of Japanese Americans (Odo 2004). The VVV initially joined the Hawaiian Territorial Guard after Pearl Harbor but were soon removed due to racial distrust. However, in spite of such racism and omission, the VVV began volunteering as manual labors in an effort to continue to support the war effort. The VVV so impressed the Army that they soon created an all Nisei volunteer combat unit (Odo 2004).

Some Japanese Americans even volunteered from the internment camps when the federal government announced that Japanese Americans, including those interned, could volunteer for a segregated Army unit in 1943; however while some Japanese Americans wanted to serve and prove their loyalty, others felt pressured into doing so based on a mandatory loyalty questionnaire that all interned Japanese Americans had to fill out (Densho & The Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University 2003). Question number 27 on the questionnaire asked the following, “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, whenever ordered?” (Densho & The Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University 2003: 1).

## Filipinos and Filipino Americans

The United States took possession of the Philippines after the Spanish American War. Soon afterwards, the United States Navy built a base there and began recruiting Filipinos for service in 1901. Since these initial recruitment efforts, United States Navy participation has been seen as a principle route to upward mobility and United States citizenship for Filipinos looking to escape poverty and dictatorship. During World War II, when the Philippines was still a commonwealth of the United States, Filipinos were not only promised American citizenship for their service under the Nationality Act of 1940, but also full veterans benefits if they volunteered to fight for the United States. However, this promise of full veterans benefits was reneged by President Truman in 1946 and Filipino veterans of World War II did not receive their service pay until President Obama’s first term (Levs 2009).

After the Philippines achieved independence, an agreement with the United States was signed in 1947 that would continue to allow the United States military to recruit in the sovereign nation. Thus, the enticement of United States citizenship, through the Nationality Act of 1940, continued to pull many Filipinos into service even after the insults of World War II (Oades 2005). However, when the Nationality Act of 1940 was repealed by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, many Filipino veterans of the United States military lost out on their chance at American citizenship as the initial promise of three years of service in exchange for naturalization was replaced by the need to be lawfully admitted into the United States as a permanent resident, a pathway that relies on a quota system (Bureau of Naval Personnel 1976).

For those Filipinos that did get their citizenship through service, there was a significant tradeoff. Filipinos in the United States Navy had to endure great degradations. For one thing, they were only allowed to serve the Navy as stewards. In this profession, Filipinos prepared and served food, washed dishes, made beds and became servants for naval officers. Many officers in fact came to perceive Filipinos as innately tractable and sycophantic (Oades 2005). This version of biological determinism reinforced Filipino relegation to the feminine sphere of naval work and serves as an instance of race and gender intersectionality where the smaller stature of Filipinos combined with their history of colonization, led to their emasculation within the Navy (Nakano Glenn 2002; Espiritu 2003).

Relegation to stewardship was not the only humiliation suffered by Filipino servicemen. While American citizens finished boot camp as Seamen, Filipino sailors finished boot camp a rank below as Seamen Apprentices. Additionally, Filipinos became the victims of discursive debasement as white officers and enlisted men would call them “Flips,” snap at them to come, yell at them in front of other sailors and tell them that they belonged solely in the kitchen (Oades 2005: 68). And although the Navy made it possible for Filipinos to take on job classifications other than steward in 1971, by 1973 over 40 percent of Filipino servicemen remained stewards while the majority of the rest were clustered into similarly servile occupations in the clerical, technical and mechanical fields (Oades 2005).

Although the United States agreement with the Philippines ended in 1992, many Filipino Americans today are turning to the Navy as their predecessors had done as a way to access economic and educational opportunities not typically available to the Filipino American community. Many in fact have heard their veteran parents refer to the Navy as the “best equal opportunity employer in the world” (Oades 2005: 173). Thus, while the generations preceding them served in the United States Navy for literal citizenship, today Filipino Americans are serving to achieve symbolic citizenship, using service as their pathway to achieve the economic and educational components of the American Dream that seem to elude them within the greater society.

# Latina/o Service and Citizenship

Although the Latina/o identity is a socially constructed panethnicity, the bulk of the literature written on Latina/o United States military service focuses on Mexican American servicemen. Although disappointing with respect to the ambitions of the current project, this is unsurprising for two reasons. First, over half of Mexico was appropriated by the United States after the Mexican American War. Thus, many Mexicans found themselves living on American soil. Second, Mexico borders the United States, facilitating United States-Mexican migration. Thus, although other ethnic groups including Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Salvadorans and Nicaraguans have all fought for the United States military, and although the experiences of Mexican American servicemen are unique and cannot be generalized to incorporate the experiences of other Latinas/os, the bulk of the literature involves the experiences of Mexican American servicemen. As a result, the history of Mexican American military service will here be utilized to represent the chronology of Latina/o military service as it relates to the fight for first-class citizenship.

During the Civil War, approximately 27,500 Mexican-Americans were living on American soil. As a result, almost 10,000 Mexican-Americans fought during the Civil War on both sides, and although some Mexican-Americans fought in separate units, others were allowed to serve in integrated regular army units (Rochin & Fernandez 2005). Furthermore, the divergent participation of Tejanos - Texans of Mexican descent – points to the intersectionality of race and class within the nation at the time of war. Upper echelon Tejanos, due to Spanish ancestry, shadeism and wealth, were seen as the equals of their white Confederate counterparts and thus held slaves and sided with the South in the war effort. In contrast, the lower echelon Tejanos turned to the Union to avenge both the racism of the white settlers and the classism of the wealthy Tejanos (Thompson 1986). Unfortunately, Tejano participation in the Union army was met with resistance. Many white officers believed Tejano soldiers to be “dishonest, cowardly, vicious and treacherous” and treated them with contempt and suspicion (Thompson 1986: 25). Oftentimes, new Tejano recruits were not paid or given proper clothing. Such prejudice and discrimination prompted many Tejanos to desert. Additionally, with the termination of the war, most Tejano veterans experienced no great change in their social standing (Thompson 1986).

Anti-Mexican sentiment was once again high at the beginning of the twentieth century. The construction of the railroads after the Civil War facilitated westward expansion and more and more whites began to settle on lands previously occupied by Mexican Americans. The result was the establishment of both du jure and de facto segregation that remained in place up through United States entry into the First World War (Ramirez 2009). There was also a growing fear that Mexico would align itself with Germany in the war. This trepidation led to the government surveillance of Mexican Americans, a renewal of the Mexican subversive stereotype and an increase in anti-Mexican sentiment (Ramirez 2009). As a result, the Mexican American community was decidedly split regarding sentiments towards their country and military service on the eve of World War I.

Yet despite this split, patriotic propaganda and peer pressure soon had the entire country behind the war. Mexican Americans felt the pressure to prove national fidelity and prestigious Mexican American leaders implored their men to enlist (Ramirez 2009). Many Mexican Americans saw their participation in World War I as a pathway to first-class citizenship. Others however fled to Mexico, as they did not wish to fight the war of a racist country that treated them as foreigners. Indeed, those that did stay were subjected to proclamations that exposed their sub-citizenship such as the one in the *Laredo Weekly Times* declaring that all of the “genuine Americans” had been out displaying their patriotism on Loyalty Day, “but the Mexican-Americans as well showed loyalty to their adopted country” (Ramirez 2009: 58). Additionally, many Mexicans living in the United States looking to achieve citizenship enlisted for service during World War I. Unfortunately, those immigrants that did not wish to enlist increased the total population of states like Texas thus increasing the state’s quota for the draft as well as anti-immigrant/anti-Mexican sentiment (Ramirez 2009).

During the war, Mexican Americans were assigned to mostly menial occupations. They were also subjected to prejudice and were often stereotyped as childish, mendacious, emotional and inferior (Ramirez 2009). Mexican American servicemen were further subjected to the assimilation mandates of the military, with the norms and values of middle-class white America pushed upon them. Yet unlike blacks, Mexican Americans served mostly in integrated units although some served in black units due to skin color, attesting to the legacy of shadeism, the recent switch from biology to ethnicity for most group categorization and the unique exclusion of blacks from this paradigm (Department of Defense 1989; Rochin & Fernandez 2005; Gould 1996; Omi & Winant 1994). Unfortunately, when Mexican American veterans returned home, they still faced prejudice, discrimination and segregation. Embittered and disgruntled, many veterans led the fight for Mexican American civil rights. Two of their earlier victories included the incorporation of Mexican Americans on Texas juries and the end of segregated schools for children in the Texas public school system (Ramirez 2009).

Yet despite such advances, when the United States entered World War II Mexican Americans still endured segregation. In California, Mexican Americans had to attend segregated schools and were not allowed to go to swimming pools except on one segregated day each week, which was the day before the pool was cleaned. They were also relegated to menial labor and farming occupations and lived in segregated neighborhoods. As a result, many saw military participation during World War II as their path to full structural assimilation and their ticket to first-class citizenship (Riggins & Garcia 2007). Unfortunately, the price of citizenship was at times far too dear as Mexican Americans accounted for 20 percent of the casualties from Los Angeles despite constituting only 10 percent of the total population of this city, which was home to one of the largest concentrations of Mexican Americans. In fact, Mexican Americans incurred the most casualties and received the most medals for their service in World War II over all other groups (Riggins & Garcia 2007).

Mexican Americans once again found themselves overrepresented in the casualty reports of the Korean War as state by state, Mexican American casualty rates exceeded those of their total population. For example, Mexican Americans made up 10 percent of the population of Colorado but comprised 28 percent of the casualties for the state. The same can be said for Arizona, New Mexico and Texas where Mexican Americans comprised 20 percent, 49 percent and 17 percent of the states’ populations respectively but were 44 percent, 56 percent and 30 percent of the states’ casualties respectively (Chavez 1994).

When the Vietnam War began, Mexican Americans were once again split regarding military service. Some noted that a disproportionate number of ethnic minorities and poor were fighting the war and that the real battle was thus at home fighting racism and poverty while others once again believed that service would prove their rightful claim to first-class citizenship. Quite telling are the narratives of Latino veterans of the Vietnam War collected by Lea Ybarra (2004). While most Mexican American veterans of this time lacked economic resources, those who still believed in the power of their service to achieve citizenship did not have access to such social and political resources as Chicano groups before deployment and thus were mostly apolitical regarding Mexican Americans and the war effort. Conversely, those Mexican American veterans who were leery of service did have access to social and political resources before deployment, had had their consciousness raised and had anticipated that both the military and the war would be as racist as their hometown (Ybarra 2004).

Unfortunately for the more hopeful, Mexican Americans encountered both prejudice and discrimination within the military. They were called “long-haired niggers” and “greasers,” were considered unintelligent and incapable, could not obtain educational or occupational deferments and were placed exclusively in menial labor and combat positions (Ybarra 2004: 220). Disproportionate placement once again led to Mexican American overrepresentation in casualty reports. In fact, Mexican Americans had the highest death rates in Vietnam of all racial/ethnic groups (Guzman 1970). While comprising about 10 percent of the population of the Southwest between the years 1961 and 1967, Mexican Americans were 19.4 percent of the casualties of the war from that region and for that time span and only 1 percent of those enrolled in the University of California school system (Chavez 1994). Expanding these statistics out to the greater Hispanic/Latino population at the time, all those considered Hispanic were in fact overrepresented in the casualties of Vietnam.

For example, the population of California was 7 percent Hispanic yet 15 percent of the state’s casualties were Hispanic (Monforti & McGlynn 2010). This is due to overrepresentation in conscription as well as in combat allocation, in New Mexico for example 27 percent of the state’s population was Hispanic but this subpopulation comprised 69 percent of those drafted from the state and one in every two Hispanics/Latinos were in combat (Tracy 2006). The connection between Mexican American absence from higher education and disproportionate Mexican American presence on Vietnam casualty reports fueled both the Chicano and antiwar movements (Ybarra 2004). Although precursors to the organizations of the Chicano Movement had previously acknowledged that a strong civil rights movement and collective consciousness would deter Mexican Americans from joining the military, such objectives were not achieved until the Vietnam War and the concomitant apex of the social movement era.

The Brown Berets were one of the organizations that embodied the spirit of the Chicano Movement and its participation in the antiwar effort. In 1969, the Berets began offering draft counseling as Mexican Americans were disproportionately dying abroad when compared with their white counterparts at a ratio of 3:1 (Chavez 1994). To increase their efforts, the Berets united with Chicano university students to create the Chicano Moratorium Committee. Declaring the Vietnam War to be “the ultimate weapon of genocide of non-white peoples by a sick decadent puto western culture,” the Chicano Moratorium Committee noted the parallels between the Vietnamese struggle and the Chicano struggle and began to stage protests against the racism at home and abroad (Chavez 1994: 92-93).

One of the biggest protests against domestic racism, disproportionate Mexican American involvement in Vietnam and the war in general occurred on August 29, 1970. Unfortunately, during the demonstration several of the protestors went to a store to purchase drinks. When fifty or so had entered, the proprietor locked the door and refused to open it until all transactions had been completed. When people began to grow restless, the owner called the police who immediately inquired about “looting” upon arrival (Chavez 1994: 114). While the officers were inside, someone in the crowd threw an empty beverage can at the sheriff’s car. Soon officers with riot guns were stationed around the demonstration. Things escalated from there and soon the police were shooting tear gas at the crowd and beating protestors. In retaliation, the demonstrators began breaking windows of white businesses. After the fracas, law officials attempted to use the tragedy to demonize the Chicano Movement. The entire scenario was but one more example of the push and pull between minority resistance and the unstable equilibrium of the racial state (Omi & Winant 1994).

The Moratorium protested the connections between racism at home and racism in the Vietnam War. According to a 1980 study, Latino veterans had less education prior to conscription than their non-Latino counterparts, were more likely to be unemployed after their return home and had income levels lower than Anglo income levels (Ybarra 2004). Latino veterans also had a harder time dealing with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). This was due to the fact that the veteran centers that dealt with PTSD were located in predominantly white areas. Furthermore, there was an assumption that post-war failure for Chicano veterans was not PTSD but sloth (Ybarra 2004).

# Lackluster Double Victories and Continuity and Change in Minority Military Utilization

The histories of minority military utilization that occurred up through the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement oftentimes resulted in double victories, where the United States won the war and minority groups proved their national fealty and right to either citizenship or literal first-class citizenship. Yet oftentimes these double victories were anticlimactic as many promises were reneged. Service did not necessarily lead to citizenship or increased rights. Neither did it always lead to greater respect or opportunity. Yet these histories are important despite their lackluster results as they might shed light on the recent phenomenon of growing Latina/o military service during the beginning of the Iraq War. As both Latina/o accessions and propensity levels were incredibly high from 2001 to 2005, it is conceivable that Latinas/os might have been engaged in a permutation of minority military utilization, one that reflects the transformation of the racial state from dictatorship to hegemony, as well as the transitions from fighting for rights and literal first-class citizenship to fighting for opportunities and symbolic first-class citizenship.

Significance of the draft in relation to answering your question. Conscription is universal, a coercive policy. During WWI, WWII, Korean War, and the Vietnam War there were drafts which subjected if not all most, including minorities, to compulsory service. To what degree does this factor in with minority military utilization.

chapter 3

from citizen-soldierhood to second-class citizen-soldierhood

The dramatic increase in Latina/o accessions and the concomitant paramount Latina/o propensity witnessed during the Iraq War could be construed as a permutation of the histories of minority military utilization discussed in Chapter 2. This is a possibility as the racial state was not dismantled by the civil rights movement but was instead transformed from dictatorship to hegemony. As a result of this transformation, tiered citizenship in the United States transitioned from literal tiered citizenship based on tiered access to rights to symbolic tiered citizenship based on tiered access to opportunities. Thus it is plausible that minority military utilization also transitioned as citizen-soldierhood has been rendered obsolete by the acquisition of equal rights. Instead, perhaps a second-class citizen-soldierhood now exists, one based on tiered access to economic and educational opportunities that compels certain groups to serve as a strategy to achieve upward mobility. This second-class citizen-soldierhood as the new minority military utilization might be behind the growth in Latina/o military participation during the Iraq War. Furthermore, Latinas/os have also been targets of racial nativism since the 1990s. This is not only proof of the continuation of the racial state, but it might also contribute to the theory that a permutation of minority military utilization led Latinas/os to serve during the Iraq War as this second-class citizen-soldierhood might have also encompassed the desire to prove national fealty as well as to obtain economic and educational opportunities. To explore these possibilities, this chapter first analyzes the transformation of the racial state, then explores the current wave of racial nativism targeting Latinas/os and finally explores the relevant literature on accessions, propensity and the Latina/o community to see what theories on Latina/o military service converge with the notion of second-class citizen-soldierhood.

# Hegemony

Although the civil rights movement succeeded in securing equal rights, the racial state was not dismantled but instead transformed from dictatorship to hegemony. Despite the radical nature of 1960s activism, the movements for civil rights were, in general, revisionist. Thus the structure and culture of the racial state were never fully eradicated. Specifically, its legacy of tiered economic and educational opportunities was never rectified. Unfortunately, the continuation of tiered access to opportunities has been rendered invisible by the hegemony of the new racial state, as the common sense to follow the civil rights movement dictated that the United States had been made colorblind.

The concept of a colorblind America came out of the 1970s rightwing backlash to the civil rights movement (Omi & Winant 1994). Proclaiming that the victories of the civil rights movement had forever solidified racial equality, these neoconservatives quickly began to denigrate and even attempt to dismantle the victories of the previous era under the cloak of formal equality. Some of the biggest targets included busing, multicultural textbooks and affirmative action, all of which were labeled reverse discrimination in the new colorblind America. These attacks invariably utilized the language of individualism and stated that the achievement of racial equality now yielded special treatment unconstitutional. In fact, neoconservatives concluded that minorities were now nothing more than special interest groups. Thus, equality of opportunity came to be exalted and group rights were rendered “anathema” for democracy (Omi & Winant 1994: 128). In this new order, if an individual could not succeed, it was due to his or her merits. If an entire group could not succeed, it was due to their culture of poverty (Omi & Winant 1994).

In this new era, busing transformed from a viable integration strategy into an unjust breach of the rights of individual students and parents to choose which school to attend, and multicultural textbooks were dismissed as an instance of reverse racism (Omi & Winant 1994). More recently, affirmative action ended in California in 1996 and continues to be challenged today on the national level with blockbuster cases such as Fisher Versus the University of Texas. Additionally, the Supreme Court ruled in 2007 that public schools cannot attempt to achieve or maintain racial integration through any tactic that takes account of race and section four of the Voting Rights Act was ruled unconstitutional in the summer of 2013, allowing states with histories of racism to change state voting laws without federal approval. This dismantling of 1960s civil rights policies demonstrates the existence of a new, colorblind racism fueled by the common sense of a post-race America and its equality of opportunities (Bonilla-Silva 2008). Unfortunately, this colorblind racism is perpetuated by the now more covert racial state on the structural, cultural and personal level.

On the structural level, historically marginalized minorities like blacks and Latinas/os still experience higher levels of unemployment than their white counterparts and continue to face restricted access to the higher echelons of the economy (United States Bureau of the Census 2009; United States Bureau of Labor Statistics 2010). Additionally, educational segregation is worse today than it was 30 years ago with most high poverty schools serving predominantly minority populations (Newman 2011). Such intersections of race and class have nefarious results for minorities as poverty is linked to low educational achievement (Kozol 1991). Through these examples it is obvious that structural level colorblind racism is a story of tiered access to economic and educational opportunities and although some suggest cultural explanations for the realities minorities face, these arguments ignore the history of the racial state. Although equality of rights has been achieved, this did not occur until the 1960s and such successes are now being challenged. Additionally, the legacy of tiered opportunities based on race was never addressed.

Structural level colorblind racism is justified on the cultural level, where the original ideas of the racial state – now retooled from inferior biology to inferior ethnicity- are transmitted to legitimize tiered access to opportunities as a problem of a culture of poverty. For example, media representations of Latinos continue to stereotypically portray these men as criminals, womanizers and ne’er-do-wells, all of which are to be attributed to a culture of poverty (Reyes & Rubie 1994). When minorities like Latinos are portrayed in such a negative fashion, the result is that they are typically blamed for their positions in society (Newman 2011). Furthermore, minority groups like Latinas/os and Asian Americans are today subjected to linguistic subordination via the imposition of a panethnic identity: an identity imposed upon a minority by the majority of society that lumps together a variety of ethnicities based on similarities of geography and phenotype to create one racialized group identity (Espiritu 1992). Panethnic identities imply that their individual cultural members are unworthy of distinction.

Colorblind racism can further be witnessed on the personal level within the transition in social norms regarding race relations. Before the civil rights movement, demonstrations of open hostility towards minorities were socially acceptable. Yet as those demonstrations became taboo after the 1960s, they were replaced with discomfort and unease experienced during interactions with minorities (Newman 2011). This transition makes sense within the context of the racial state’s transformation from dictatorship to hegemony. As the racial state has become less transparent, Americans are now expected to act in accordance with the principles of racial equality and are openly socialized to do so. However, as the structure and culture of the racial state still stand, these components continue to socialize Americans as well into thinking, for example, that Latinos are criminal ne’er-do-wells who deserve their place at the bottom of the educational and economic institutions of America.

Indeed, there has been a fracturing of the socialization process. With neoconservativism touting the successes of the civil rights movement, the American populace is today overtly socialized to adhere to the values and norms prescribed by the concept of a colorblind America. However, as the structure and culture of the racial state were never dismantled, they continue to lurk within the shadows of American institutions and ideology, covertly socializing the citizenry to uphold white supremacy. This additional component of the hegemony of the new racial state concerning the supremacy of white America, as it is a form of covert common sense, has come to comprise American attitudes that are below the realm of conscious awareness (Baron & Banaji 2006; Omi & Winant 1994). Thus while Americans are overtly socialized into the explicit common sense of a colorblind America, they are also covertly socialized into the implicit common sense of white supremacy.

An attitude is “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (Albarracín et al. 2005: 4). Psychologists and sociologists agree that attitude formation is a natural process serving many functions (Newman 2011). The function most relevant to this study is the knowledge function, where attitudes facilitate information processing and organization by providing a cognitive schema to integrate new and existing information (Fabrigar et al 2005; Albarracín et al. 2005). Furthermore, the attitude model most appropriate for this study is the tripartite model, which asserts that an attitude interacts with three components: cognition, affect and behavior (Khan 2003; Fabrigar et al 2005). Although attitude formation is natural, attitude content is culturally bound, with many attitudes formed through socialization (Newman 2011; Prislin & Wood 2005; Omi & Winant 1994). Thus, with the bifurcation of race socialization in the United States comes the bifurcation of race attitudes into the explicit, conscious attitudes of colorblind America and racial equality and the implicit, less conscious attitudes of tiered citizenship and white supremacy. Again, it is plausible that these implicit attitudes are behind the recent increase in Latina/o service.

Implicit attitudes are attitudes held by an individual without an awareness of their source, content or impact (Devos 2008). Thus, implicit attitudes are attitudes that are beyond conscious control. Implicit attitudes can be measured in a variety of ways, one of which is a priming technique. In this procedure, an individual is primed with an attitude object. That prime is then followed by either a positive or negative word. The idea behind this technique is that if the attitude object activates an evaluation, whether positive or negative, then responding to either the positive or negative word with the appropriate evaluation should be either hindered or facilitated (Khan 2003). Another way to measure implicit attitudes is with the Implicit Association Test (IAT). The IAT measures the relative strength of associations between target and attribute concepts by measuring response times during various experimental pairings (Baron & Banaji 2006). Here, the idea is that the more strongly two concepts have come to be associated, the faster they can be paired. Other techniques for measuring implicit attitudes include functional magnetic resonance imaging, facial electromyography and startle eye blink response (Devos 2008).

There are three sources of implicit attitudes: experiences and socialization, self-related attitude objects and cultural evaluations (Devos 2008). Regarding the first source, implicit attitudes are formed through the repeated pairing of attitude objects with positive and negative stimuli (Devos 2008; Fabrigar et al. 2005). This obviously occurs during the socialization process, but furthermore, as experiences are the products of as well as perceived through culture and identity, it could be argued that experiences oftentimes serve to reinforce those cultural evaluations that have been learned during the socialization process. The second source of implicit attitudes posits that individuals have an unconscious preference for anything related to the self and will thus form attitudes that reflect in-group favoritism. However, this unconscious preference for in-groups is not witnessed among minority groups. Studies have found that while white participants will demonstrate both an explicit and implicit preference for whites over blacks, black participants, while stating an explicit preference for blacks over whites, lack an implicit black preference (Baron & Banaji 2006). Furthermore, it occasionally occurs that disadvantaged groups even show an implicit white preference (Devos & Banaji 2005). Therefore, it is possible that implicit attitudes might just be implicit knowledge of cultural evaluations.

Regarding implicit race attitudes, Baron & Banaji (2006) discovered that white North American children cultivate an implicit pro-white/anti-black bias by as early as age 6. At this age, explicit and implicit pro-white racial attitudes occur in the same direction. However, the explicit pro-white attitude begins to dissipate around age 10 and is completely gone by adulthood, resulting in a divergence between a continuing implicit pro-white bias and a new explicit adherence to racial equity. As mentioned above, these findings could plausibly be attributed to learned cultural evaluations that are now bifurcated due to the simultaneous occurrence of overt and covert socialization. In this context, the initial convergence of pro-white bias on the explicit and implicit level and its subsequent divergence around the age of 10 adds up, for it is around this age when children begin to possess the ability to adhere to socially acceptable ideas and behaviors (Newman 2011). Perhaps North American children, exposed to the covert socialization of the racial state since birth, absorb its evaluations only to later adopt the overt racial evaluations of society once they mature, develop the ability to internalize societal expectations and enroll in school, as education is the institution officially charged with the task of mass socialization (Newman 2011).

Double socialization plausibly explains pro-white attitude divergence. It is also possible that this bifurcation further accounts for a second implicit departure from explicitly held attitudes. In a study on the relative strengths of associations between three ethnic groups - white, African American and Asian American - and the American identity, Devos and Banaji (2005) discovered that despite the explicit commitment to democratic and egalitarian ideals, most of their participants held the implicit association that to be American is to be white. It is also noteworthy that in this study, Asian Americans were seen as the least American conceivably due to their later arrival. This is important as today both Asians and Latinas/os share the identity of newcomer and might thus be evaluated as less American, at least on the implicit level (Sanchez 1997).

The previous studies make it clear that the socialization process in the United States includes the internalization of covert racial evaluations that implicitly uphold tiered citizenship and white supremacy. Social theorists refer to this phenomenon as the internalization of the colonizer/oppressor, while social psychologists have developed social dominance theory and the theory of system-justification (Memmi 1965; Freire 1970; Devos & Banaji 2005; Devos 2008). These theories are important as they demonstrate that the racial state does in fact still exist only now as a hegemony, one that continues to inform the content of both explicit and implicit attitudes that in turn help to propagate the racial state, the former with the idea of a colorblind America and the latter with the idea of white supremacy.

Neoconservativism has not only created the idea of a colorblind America, it also bolsters assimilation due to the notion of equal opportunity. In fact, assimilation is currently quite strong within the Latina/o community perhaps on account of the fact that a great deal of the population is comprised of first-generation immigrants and their second-generation children and that newly arrived immigrants and earlier generations tend to be less critical of the political and economic realities of the new country (Amador 2010; Mariscal 2005). As such, Latinas/os may be less critical of the United States, believe in a colorblind America and strive to assimilate fully into the structure and culture of the United States so as to achieve the American Dream.

In fact, assimilation might explain why Latina/o propensity is currently higher than any other racial group as they might see the military as their most viable assimilation option due to tiered access to economic and educational opportunities within the greater society (Mariscal 2007). This theory seems plausible as many Latinas/os in service are the children of immigrants, children who perhaps grew up believing in the American Dream as it was believed in by their parents who further believe in equality of opportunities yet see no way for themselves to achieve upward mobility save through service (Alvarez 2006). Additionally, as a great deal of the Latina/o population is comprised of first-generation parents and second-generation children, perhaps this new trend of assimilation also encompasses a desire to prove citizenship and national fealty, as Latinas/os are currently targets of racial nativism.

# Racial Nativism

Anti-immigrant sentiment is not a new trend in the United States. Its initial emergence and subsequent resurgences can be seen throughout the history of America. Around the time of the Civil War, nativists despised the influx of white ethnics and anti-Chinese sentiment led to the barring of Chinese naturalization until Chinese Americans began challenging this stance after demonstrating their patriotism through service in World War II. It is noteworthy that the confluence of anti-immigrant sentiment and war has historically brought discussions of U.S. citizenship to the forefront for when despised immigrant groups are drafted as the Irish were during the Civil War or are the targets of both nativism and racism as Chinese immigrants were despite Chinese American loyalty during World War II, it makes it hard for such groups to accept their place as second-class citizens.

The latter trend, racial nativism, resurfaced once more in the 1990s, this time targeting Asians and Latinas/os. This new wave of racial nativism was witnessed early on in California during the Los Angeles Race Riots of 1992, which were “fundamentally an anti-immigrant spectacle” (Sanchez 1997: 1010). In fact, the first to be beaten at the intersection where Reginald Denny was infamously assaulted were Latinas/os and all other victims of that area were Asian or Latina/o with the exception of one other white victim (Sanchez 1997). These facts challenge the common assumption that the L.A. Race Riots were black against white and demonstrate that blacks as well as whites were turning to the recent influx of immigrants for scapegoats for the economic hardships they were experiencing in the wake of deindustrialization and the worst recession in California since the Great Depression.

California also witnessed an early push in 1994 to drastically obstruct undocumented immigrants from obtaining social services with the crusade to pass Proposition 187. This proposition demonstrated the newly manufactured fear that undocumented immigrants would drain public resources just as they had destroyed the economy despite the obvious fact that undocumented immigrants are less likely to utilize social services than other populations out of fear of discovery. Governor Pete Wilson, when campaigning for reelection in California, capitalized on this fear by supporting Proposition 187 and by running television ads that showed surveillance footage of Mexicans running past a border entry point while a narrator warned “They keep coming” (Fitzgerald 2011: 192). The fear of immigrant invasion was further propagated in the early 1990s on the national level through the Clinton administration’s creation of Operations “Hold the Line” and “Gatekeeper” in El Paso and San Diego respectively, two operations that built up Border Patrol agents and infrastructure (Fitzgerald 2011).

Naomi Klein (2007) has suggested that the United States government utilizes disasters to push through legislation that might have otherwise been unfavorable. This strategy can be seen in the anti-immigration legislation that was passed after both the Oklahoma City Bombing and 9/11. In 1996, the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act as well as the Illegal Immigration Reform and Alien Responsibility Act were passed, making it easier to deport noncitizen criminals by mandating detention until deportation, growing the list of what could get one detained and instigating retroactive detention. In 2002, the Department of Homeland Security was created in response to the September 11th terrorist attacks and the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services began using fear of terrorism and the conflated fear of immigration to round up Latinas/os (Mariscal 2005).

It is perhaps obvious that immigration is and has been a contentious topic. Furthermore, it should be unsurprising that those who embrace a decidedly anti-immigrant stance tend to make the claim that they are neither racist nor nativist, but are merely and pragmatically concerned with the possibility of under capacity. Although this rhetoric sounds innocent, today it tends to be a manifestation of colorblind racial nativism for if anti-immigrant proponents had a real and sole concern for capacity overload then one could plausibly hold two expectations for their behavior. First, they would rally about economic nationalism and call for government crackdowns on those employers who continue to hire undocumented workers. Second, they would not conflate immigrants with Latinas/os and immigration with Latina/o invasion, as that would smack more of scapegoating and/or a fear of demographic shift than it would of pragmatic concern (Sanchez 1997).

Yet the antitheses of these two expectations were occurring throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. With respect to employer crackdowns, although the 1986 IRCA made conscious hiring of undocumented immigrants a federal crime, employer audits, warnings and fines all significantly dropped since that time. Workplace audits alone dropped 77 percent from 1990 to 2003 (Fitzgerald 2011). Perhaps most telling was the stance that then California senator Wilson took when the 1986 IRCA was debated in Washington. Wilson, who would go on to become the staunch proponent of Proposition 187 and utilize anti-immigrant sentiments to further his political career, then pushed to secure an exemption in the 1986 IRCA for California agricultural employers that would allow them to continue using undocumented immigrants (Sanchez 1997). Apparently, Wilson’s conception of under capacity had nothing to do with jobs and instead such duplicitous waffling suggests that Latina/o immigrants – here specifically Mexican immigrants - were the perfect scapegoat that would garner him support from the everyday non-Latina/o citizen of California for his reelection without disrupting his relationship with agribusiness.

In the same vein, if there was a genuine concern regarding capacity, then American-based multinational corporations would not continue to move manufacturing positions overseas or at least people would be calling attention to this fact. The U.S. economy has lost 3 million private-sector jobs since 2001, yet instead of protestation and revolt against the economic elite, the frustration of the American people has once again been diverted by a scapegoat, a scapegoat churned out from the original mythical portraits of Latinas/os and easy to latch on to due to the staying power of the racial state, as it continues to linger in the institutions and ideology of society as well as in the minds of American citizens (Mariscal 2005). Thus, as the new scapegoat, Latinas/os have become the targets of the racial state at the structural, cultural and personal level.

The Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act or Arizona Senate Bill 1070 that passed in 2010 epitomizes the structural racial nativism currently targeting Latinas/os. SB 1070 stipulates that any immigrant in the state of Arizona of 14 years of age or older must have their registration documents on their person at all times. Violation can lead to detention or arrest. SB 1070 also provides full license to Arizona police officers to racially profile in order to locate undocumented immigrants, the idea being that Latinas/os are invariably suspect. Structural racial nativism is not solely witnessed at the state level. On the more local level, recent ordinances in various towns in Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri, New Jersey and California prohibited landlords from leasing to undocumented immigrants. Although these ordinances appear to be nonracial, they all cropped up after sudden influxes of Latina/o immigrants to the areas (Fitzgerald 2011).

Cultural racial nativism aimed at Latinas/os can be witnessed within recent media artifacts. Editor and writer Peter Brimelow’s 1995 book *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America’s Immigration Disaster* for example blamed undocumented immigrants for rising crime rates, the health care crisis, the lowering of educational standards and the current climate of alienation. Brimelow further provides an excellent example of colorblind racism and the tandem return to the ethnicity paradigm as he made the claim that he was not prejudiced, but merely concerned that ethnic immigrant groups like Latinas/os would destroy the United States (Sanchez 1997).

Harvard professor Samuel Huntington’s 2004 book *Who We Are: The Challenges to America’s National Identity* portended that Latina/o immigrants would “divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages” due to the fact that they reject the “Anglo-Protestant values that built the American Dream,” corrupt the culture, snub the national language and take jobs from real Americans (Mariscal 2005: 43). Rightwing pundit Patrick J. Buchanan called this phenomenon the creation of “a nation within a nation” in his popular book *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization*. In addition to the plethora of anti-immigrant/anti-Latina/o literature, there was also a rise in anti-immigrant/anti-Latina/o online video games. One of the more popular games, called “Border Patrol,” depicted racist, stereotypical caricatures of Mexicans crossing the border. The object of the game was to shoot them dead (Anti-Defamation League 2006).

Such media artifacts and their communicated dread regarding demographic shift belie a hidden terror. Namely, the white majority fears challenges to white supremacy including challenges to European culture and the English language (Sanchez 1997). This fear can also be witnessed within the realm of structural racial nativism. For example, California’s Proposition 227 called for the elimination of bilingual classes (Mariscal 2005). Although proponents of Proposition 227 said they were not anti-Mexican, it is hard to believe that when they were targeting Spanish speakers in a state with one of the largest Mexican American populations in the United States. California additionally bore witness to attacks on multiculturalism in 2003 when the Republican candidates for the governorship together with the rightwing media denounced Democratic candidate Cruz Bustamante for being affiliated with the Chicano group Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA), their argument being that the group was both racist and separatist (Mariscal 2005). More recently, multiculturalism was challenged in Arizona where in 2010 ethnic studies courses and literature were officially banned in all public and charter K-12 schools, a move literally intended to assimilate the Mexican American population in the Tucson school district.

Racial nativism has also emerged at the grassroots level. The best known of these efforts was the creation of the Minuteman Project in 2005. A rightwing group utilizing the imagery and rhetoric of the American Revolution to expound their theories on true American citizenship, Minutemen were an amalgamation of untrained, armed civilians dedicated to monitoring undocumented Mexican immigration. While Minutemen claim they are not racist, they have nevertheless attracted the attention of white supremacist groups who have joined forces with many of their spinoff vigilante projects. According to the Anti-Defamation League (2006), these organizations mainly target Mexicans and oftentimes do not distinguish between Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Perhaps more insulting is the fact that at least the Minutemen were treated as credible immigration experts. During their heyday, members were invited to speak at Columbia and were awarded for their efforts with accolades from political figures such as the then Governor of California Arnold Schwarzenegger.

Yet Minutemen and other vigilante patrollers have killed innocent people. Three Minutemen in Arizona, Jason Bush, Shawna Forde and Albert Gaxiola, killed Raul Junior Flores and his nine-year-old daughter in 2009, the double homicide burgeoning from the belief that Flores was a drug dealer who had money they could steal to fund the efforts of their organization (Kohn 2009). Thus, despite the fact that vigilante groups like the Minutemen tend to claim that they are not racist, like members of far right white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups they have openly targeted Mexican immigrants, conflated them with Mexican Americans and have even shot to kill (Lenz 2012).

But it is not just vigilante patrollers that are armed, dangerous and potentially racist. Border Patrol itself has been caught up in many scandals regarding unnecessary deaths. These scandals mostly stem from the ambiguous right that Border Patrol agents have to use lethal force against any behavior they deem threatening and indeed, the alleged threatening behaviors are oftentimes quite ambiguous (Marosi 2008). In 2006, twenty-year-old Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez was fatally shot in the back while fleeing Border Patrol along the San Diego-Tijuana border for allegedly throwing a rock at an agent. However, his brother who had accompanied him that night claimed that no rocks were thrown (Kahn 2006). There is also the obvious fact that a rock thrown from a distance, when up against a gun, is no real threat at all. Another fatal incident occurred at the San-Diego Tijuana border in 2010. Anastasio Rojas, a father of five, was tased and beaten to death. As over a dozen agents partook in the beating, a beating that ensued while Rojas was handcuffed and lying facedown on the ground (Epstein 2012).

All of the aforementioned evidence supports the notion that a wave of racial nativism targeting Latinas/os has been sweeping America on the structural, cultural and personal level since the 1990s. The argument that a pragmatic concern regarding under capacity currently drives anti-immigrant sentiment is understandable as such thoughts and feelings came out of a period of simultaneous economic recession and immigrant influx. Yet within the highest echelons of American society, this fear is most clearly either nonexistent or a fabrication as employers continue to hire undocumented workers and politicians and auditors continue to assist and/or capitalize upon their efforts. Furthermore, it would appear that certain exalted figures are more than willing to utilize Latinas/os as a scapegoat to explain everything from economic recession to rising crime rates (Sanchez 1997; Fitzgerald 2011).

Unfortunately, the American people have had their attention diverted from the avaricious actions of the economic elite to the proffered scapegoat. The ease with which minority groups today still become national scapegoats is a testament to the legacy of the mythical portraits of the racial state. Latinas/os, who have historically been conceptualized as sneaky, lazy, thieving aliens, are once again portrayed as foreign invaders here to take American jobs, suck the teat of the welfare state and usurp the primacy of both the English language and Euro-Anglo culture. The final pieces of this stereotypical portrayal further demonstrate that the racial nativism targeting Latinas/os encompasses not only scapegoating, but also a dread of demographic shift and the attached and hidden fear that white supremacy will soon be challenged. This fear can be witnessed in all realms and ranks of American society, from the pontifications of the rightwing media and academic elite to the rhetoric of the Minutemen to the attacks against bilingualism and multiculturalism at the state level.

Furthermore, scapegoating and white supremacist ideology and action have not only targeted undocumented Latina/o immigrants, but also the entirety of the Latina/o population regardless of citizenship or legal status. This becomes obvious when one considers the facts that include legal racial profiling in Arizona, the dismantling of bilingualism and multiculturalism in public schools, the conceptualization of Latinas/os as a nation within a nation, and the fact that vigilante anti-immigrant groups like the Minutemen are known to target all Mexicans indiscriminately.

This conflation is due to the fact that “Latina/o” is a panethnic identity, one that amalgamates, homogenizes and thus racializes a diversity of nationalities and ethnicities (Roth 2009). Thus, Cubans, Mexicans, Salvadorans and Puerto Ricans all become Latina/o. This racialization of Latinas/os is no different than any other racial category historically constructed by the racial state in that it homogenizes diversity (Herbes-Sommers 2003). Thus, when Latinas/os are conceptualized as foreign invaders, this stereotype affects the entire community, not just the undocumented. Furthermore, as current racial nativism encompasses the fears of demographic shift and challenged white supremacy, it is clear that the fear is one of nonwhites – here Latinas/os - becoming larger in numbers, even if they are citizens of the United States. As such, it is possible that Latinas/os, in addition to engaging in assimilation as a means to achieving upward mobility, are further engaged in assimilation so as to demonstrate national fealty and combat racial nativism (Sanchez 1997). Perhaps both assimilation objectives are a part of the permutation of minority military utilization that might explain the growth in Latina/o service during the Iraq War.

# Latina/o Service During the Iraq War

Can the extreme growth in Latina/o accessions and the concomitant Latina/o propensity witnessed at the beginning of the Iraq War be explained as a permutation of minority military utilization, an assimilation strategy now used as a method for upward mobility and to prove national fealty? The relevant literature offers many theories that converge with the new hegemony of a colorblind America, the reinvigoration of assimilation, the continuation of tiered access to opportunities and the desire to prove national fealty. These include the poverty draft, targeted recruitment and assimilation. Additionally, alternative explanations – though not necessarily mutually exclusive – might include unique cultural dimensions within the Latina/o community and/or the utilization of service as a pathway to literal citizenship.

## The Poverty Draft

Can the growth in Latina/o military involvement during the Iraq War partially be explained by the poverty draft: a veritable conscription where the economically disadvantaged – a population disproportionately comprised of minorities - are funneled into service (Mariscal 2007)? The commissioned report regarding the creation of an all-volunteer force voiced its commitment to justice within the new military structure (President’s Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force 1970: 5). Yet from the beginning, there was concern that the higher pay necessary to encourage volunteers would be most appealing to those with “relatively poorer civilian opportunities,” resulting in a military comprised of the poorest and blackest members of society (President’s Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force 1970: 15). Yet despite its misgivings, the report promised that the volunteer military would never become an economic conscription due to its high enlistment standards. Ironically some today are calling for the lowering of these standards to specifically increase Latina/o accessions (Asch et al. 2009).

While some in Washington feared the injustice of black overrepresentation, others dreaded a surfeit of nonwhite recruits for far different reasons. Some worried that black overrepresentation would result in rioting and unrest within the military while others expressed anxiety regarding the tipping theory: the trepidation that too many black enlistees would morph the military into a black institution, forever hindering white enlistment and undermining the quality of the military (Rostker 2006). Yet despite this diversity of reservations, the AVF was implemented in 1973 and, unsurprisingly, more than 25 percent of its early recruits were black, effectively doubling black military representation (Segal 1989).

Just as blacks were overrepresented in the initial AVF, so too today are Latinas/os overrepresented and just as an economic conscription accounted for initial black overrepresentation within the AVF, so too was this plausibly one of the reasons behind Latina/o overrepresentation during the Iraq War as Latinas/os at that time were those with “relatively poorer civilian opportunities” (President’s Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force 1970: 15). According to Mariscal (2005), at the beginning of the Iraq War, over 11 percent of Latina/o workers were living in poverty and the Latina/o high school drop out rate hovered at 40 percent, a rate that climbed to 61 percent for first generation Mexican immigrants. Backing up this finding, the Census discovered that in 2001, the year that both the Global War on Terror and the extreme growth in Latina/o accessions began, the poverty rate for Hispanics was 21.4 percent compared to the white poverty rate that was 9.9 percent and the non-Hispanic white poverty rate that was 7.8 percent (United States Bureau of the Census 2001). Additionally, while the median household income for Hispanics was $33,565 the median household income for whites was $44,517 and the median household income for non-Hispanic whites was $46,305 (DeNavas-Walt & Cleveland 2002).

Regarding education for that year, while the high school dropout rate for whites was 7.3 percent, for Hispanics it was 27 percent and while 39.5 percent of all whites aged 18 to 24 enrolled in college in 2001, only 21.7 percent of all Hispanics aged 18 to 24 did (United States Department of Education 2012; United States Bureau of the Census 2011). Kleykamp (2006) discovered from enlistees that enlistment during the Iraq War was most often due to the fact that enlistees wanted a college education but could not afford one; the military, as one respondent stated, was “the next best thing to college” (286). This is in alignment with Lutz’s (2008) findings that the only social status to affect enlistment out of race, class, gender and nationality was class. Perhaps the AVF, with its steady pay and educational benefits, looked like the best option for Latina/o youth even in the face of war (Amador 2010; Kleykamp 2006).

Additionally, this increase in Latina/o representation via economic conscription has not led to an increase in officer corps matriculation. Today, approximately 70 percent of Lieutenants, 75 percent of Captains, 78 percent of Majors, 81 percent of Lieutenant Colonels, 85 percent of Colonels and 88 percent of Generals are white (Dempsey & Shapiro 2009). Yet despite this reality, the military has never utilized quotas, stating that such a system would be a form of preferential treatment that would result in the recruitment of unqualified candidates (Stephanopoulos & Edley 1995; Military Leadership Diversity Commission 2011). Mostly omitted from officer status, Latinas/os are instead relegated to the lower ranks of service where they occupy the most dangerous, laborious and health hazardous positions (Amador 2010). Furthermore, as Latinas/os are disproportionately assigned combat positions, they incur more health problems and higher fatalities than their white counterparts (MacLean & Edwards 2009; Gifford 2005). This was true in Iraq for Latinas/os specifically as well as for all economically disadvantaged Americans since 75 percent of the casualties from the Iraq War came from areas where the average household income was below the national average (Gifford 2005; Mariscal 2007).

Thus it appears that tiered access to economic and educational opportunities adversely affects the Latina/o community. As such, it seems that a poverty draft has been conscripting Latinas/os into service, increasing Latina/o accessions as it had increased black accessions in the past. Unfortunately, the military is all to aware of the tiered access to opportunities that exists today, and uses targeted recruitment strategies to tout the military as the perfect avenue for economic and educational uplift to those segments of society that have the fewest alternatives for upward mobility.

## Targeted Recruitment

Needless to say, military interest waned in the black community after Vietnam. In its stead came an aversion to war that can be witnessed among the recent declines in black propensity occurring in 1992, 2001 and 2006, coinciding with the first Gulf War, 9/11 and the occupation of Iraq respectively (Armor & Gilroy 2010). Furthermore, blacks more than any other racial group opposed the Iraq War; a sentiment demonstrated by a drop in black Army enlistment from 22.3 to 14.5 percent (Russell 2005; Alvarez 2006). This decline in black propensity and more importantly in accessions forced the military to turn to another disadvantaged group to take on the burden of the Iraq War. Thus, Latinas/os became the new targets of aggressive military recruitment (Segal et al. 2007; Amador 2010).

The military chose to focus their recruitment efforts on Latinas/os for a multitude of reasons. One reason was the fact that the four largest geographic targets for military recruitment, New York City, Miami, San Antonio and Los Angeles, because of their high concentrations of poverty, are areas with large Latina/o populations (Amador 2010). A more calculated reason, highlighted by the Army’s Strategic Partnership Plan for 2002-2007, was that Latinas/os were both the fastest growing population and a community with poor job opportunities (Mariscal 2005). These facts made Latinas/os 22 percent of the Army’s recruiting market specifically and instigated a $55 million increase in military marketing expenditures in general during the Global War on Terror to entice Latinas/os into service (Alvarez 2006; Amador 2010).

The Latina/o recruitment strategy as it continues today relies heavily upon both Mariscal’s (2007) poverty draft and 2001’s No Child Left Behind (NCLB). NCLB mandates that all high schools must allow recruiters the same access to students that college and employer recruiters receive. NCLB gives the military access to both school facilities and student records and unsurprisingly, the military utilizes this access asymmetrically by exclusively targeting economically strained – and thus predominantly minority - schools (Amador 2010; Kozol 1991). For example, in East Los Angeles, where it is 75 percent Latina/o, and where the high school dropout rate is 50 percent, there is a ratio of five military recruiters to every one college recruiter; in Brentwood, a wealthy and white area in Los Angeles, there are conversely no military recruiters (Rodriguez 2007).

Monforti and McGlynn (2010) found a similar trend when they surveyed predominantly Latina/o schools in Texas and found that the schools with the highest poverty rates were those targeted by military recruiters. In addition to recruiting at financially strapped schools, the military has also created programs specifically for disadvantaged students, all of which, while seemingly humanitarian, are in reality covert recruitment strategies. Take Charge!, an initiative disguised as a stay-in-school program, was designed to introduce the military lifestyle to at-risk students, while the Army’s GED Plus Enlistment Program is designed to help disadvantaged inner city youth get their GED so that they may enlist (Mariscal 2007). Furthermore, Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) programs are often established at predominantly Latina/o schools (Monforti & McGlynn 2010).

Unfortunately, the military not only targets Latina/o students, but their teachers as well (Amador 2010). Two examples of such recruitment are the Educator Workshop Program (EWP) and the Troops to Teachers Program (TTT). School personnel enrolled in the EWP are flown to either San Diego or Parris Island, where they learn about military training and benefits and are given a $225 per Diem for their effort. TTT is an initiative that seeks to place veterans into teaching positions in underserved schools but unfortunately, it also places a romanticized notion of the military lifestyle into disadvantaged classrooms (Mariscal 2005).

Other marketing efforts have been less subtle than Latina/o school infiltration. In 2003, the Army launched “Taking it to the Streets,” a campaign that openly targeted African American and Latina/o youth. On its maiden voyage, the campaign traversed across the country visiting inner city schools, BET’s “Spring Bling” and had plans to visit the Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York the following year. “Taking it to the Streets” was clearly designed to target urban black and Latina/o students as recruiters played hip-hop music, wore basketball jerseys and rode a bright yellow Humvee (Morales 2004). In addition to “Taking it to the Streets”, there was also the “Army’s Hispanic H2 Tour,” a campaign designed to bolster interest in the Army within the Hispanic community (Mariscal 2007).

Marketing the military to the Latina/o community includes the utilization of Spanish-language billboards, advertising on Telemundo, broadcasts on Latina/o radio channels, ads in Latina/o newspapers and magazines and continuous increases in the number of Latina/o recruiters. Furthermore, the military has begun to target Latino families. Aware of the respect Latinas/os have for their families and of the fact that Latina mothers particularly have a great say in what their children do, military recruiters have begun trying to convince the heads of households in general – and the matriarchs specifically – that the military is the best avenue for Latina/o upward mobility. An additional reason to target Latino families is that some are new arrivals to the United States. As such, some recruiters target their limited knowledge of both English and U.S. laws and oftentimes confuse such parents into believing that military service is mandatory in the United States (Alvarez 2006).

The military is also attracting Latina/o service through the promise of citizenship. In 2002, President Bush signed Executive Order 13269 that would, under section 329 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, expedite naturalization for aliens and noncitizen nationals who were active-duty status in the military during the Global War on Terror. A final citizenship-strategy the military utilizes is the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act. The DREAM Act would allow undocumented immigrant youth to apply for U.S. citizenship after the completion of either two years of college or two years of military service. However, many have lamented that the DREAM Act is nothing more than an idealized feeder system for the military, as it is very hard for undocumented youth to matriculate into college. Furthermore, the completion of two years of military service neither guarantees that the road to citizenship is quick nor that one’s service is terminated; military enlistment officially mandates eight years of service. Oftentimes, the promise of citizenship for LPRs in the military is dubiously reneged over the fact that honorable service must be maintained for five years (Amador 2010).

Latina/o recruitment efforts, while typically focusing on class and nationality, sometimes cross into the territories of biological determinism and ethnicity (Omi & Winant 1994). For example, former secretary of the Army Louis Caldera has been known to say that Hispanics are innately inclined for military service. Furthermore, Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez has stated that the ethics and values of the military fit with his heritage (Mariscal 2005). Obviously, such statements of natural ability and cultural connection made by prominent Latino military personnel like Caldera and Ricardo advertise the military to the Latina/o community (Monforti & McGlynn 2010).

The theory of biological determinism has been denounced (Gould 1996; Herbes-Sommers 2003). Race is not a biological phenomenon; it is a social construct (Omi & Winant 1994). This fact nullifies Caldera’s statement. Yet could there be truth in Sanchez’s claim that the military is aligned with Latina/o heritage? Can the Latina/o culture help to explain the growth in Latina/o military participation that occurred at the beginning of the Iraq War?

## Cultural Dimensions

Cultural dimensions might plausibly be the one alternative explanation for the growth in Latina/o military involvement during the Iraq War. While some might argue that a culture of poverty explains the disadvantaged position of the Latina/o community and its subsequent dependence on the military, Sanchez’s interpretation of a cultural influence behind Latina/o service is more in alignment with the observations of Lieutenant Colonel Margaret Stock. Stock states that Latinas/os are well equipped for service because their cultural heritage better suits them for the military’s hierarchical lifestyle (Amador 2010). This supposition is based on the Latina/o tendency towards parental deference (Torres et al. 2002; Alvarez 2006). Furthermore, as Latina/o communities in general and Mexican American communities specifically tend to promote military service to their youth more than other communities, this respect for hierarchy among Latina/o youth coupled with the community’s approval of service could explain the recent growth in Latina/o military participation, although whether such parental interest in service has more to do with the Latina/o culture or targeted recruitment is up for debate (Leal 2005).

Perhaps Latina/o military interest – whether parental or enlistee - can be attributed to machismo: the notion that Latino men are “strong warriors and protectors of womanhood” (Torres et al. 2002: 166). Although machismo is neither monolithic nor natural nor the product of a dysfunctional culture, it has been found that many Latinos do embrace attributes associated with the socio-historical construct including being “family oriented, hard working, brave, proud, and interested in the welfare and honor of…loved ones…” (Torres et al. 2002: 165). Machismo could plausibly be a reason behind growing Latina/o military involvement during the Iraq War firstly because a time of war would be a time to protect one’s family as well as display one’s bravery and honor and secondly because the military continues to be a sphere of hegemonic masculinity, a fact that accounts for the continuing gender gap in both accessions and propensity (Hinojosa 2010; Segal et al. 1998). Or perhaps the increase in Latina/o military participation during the Iraq War can be explained by the converse of cultural heritage: ethnic attrition and assimilation (Emeka & Va1lejo 2011; Amador 2010).

## Assimilation

As previously stated, newly arrived immigrants and their children tend to be less critical of their new country as they have not been around long enough to experience the divergence between national ideals and reality. Furthermore, assimilation has been reinvigorated in general by neoconservativism. As such, the Latina/o community might believe in colorblind America, its equality of opportunities and the American Dream despite the continuation of tiered access to economic and educational opportunities. Additionally, they might also believe in the virtue of the Iraq War, something that might compel them to serve in the military not only as a strategy for upward mobility but also because they believe in protecting their country.

Lee and Bean (2004) further support this new trend of Latina/o assimilation with their theorized redrawing of the color line, from white/black to nonblack/black. Within this new framework, assimilation is embraced by Latinas/os, as it is easier for them to structurally assimilate than it is for blacks because of the deeply embedded history of slavery. However, due to tiered access to opportunities, perhaps Latinas/os use the military as their method of structural assimilation as it is their most viable option for upward mobility.

As mentioned before, Latinas/os have a higher propensity to enlist and are more likely to report better experiences and less discrimination within the military than their black counterparts. Perhaps these findings are congruent with Mariscal, Lee and Bean. Latinas/os are engaged in assimilation as they still embrace the ideals of America and are on the more beneficial side of the new color line. Interestingly, Latinas/os are most likely to report an equal playing field and report better experiences within the military when they identify their race as white on the REDCAT (Dempsey & Shapiro 2004).

In fact, some Latinas/os today only identify as white. Emeka and Vallejo (2011) found that about 6 percent of Latinas/os currently do not identify as Hispanic, a trend that might either reflect “identificational assimilation” or panethnic refusal (Emeka & Vallejo 2011: 1550). Mariscal’s uncritical assimilation (2005) could be behind this trend, as those Latinas/os most likely to identify as non-Hispanic were those who were most assimilated. These included those Latinas/os living in predominantly white areas, involved in mixed marriages and only speaking English (Emeka and Vallejo 2011). However, Emeka and Vallejo (2011) theorized that anti-Hispanic sentiment in this country might lead Latinas/os to distance themselves from the Hispanic identity, either consciously or unconsciously. This idea aligns with the theory that Latinas/os are currently engaged in assimilation, where assimilation as a strategy to prove national fealty in the face of racial nativism.

## Fighting for Citizenship

It is also possible that the growth in Latina/o military involvement during the Iraq War was the result of the original minority military utilization, using service as a pathway to literal citizenship. This is a possibility for many reasons. First, many Latina/o immigrants consciously took up arms during the Iraq War in an effort to receive literal U.S. citizenship, proving that the link between service and citizenship is still intact. Second, as all Latinas/os – including U.S. citizens - have been the targets of racial nativism since the 1990s, many have posited that the foreign demarcation of the Latina/o community might motivate them to prove their national fealty (Sanchez 1997; Mariscal 2005). Finally, Latinas/os had the highest propensity of all racial groups during the Iraq War, potential evidence that service was once again the preferred outlet to prove national fealty and achieve first-class citizenship.

Second-Class Citizen-Soldierhood

Based on the relevant literature, it would appear that the permutation of minority military utilization that might explain the growth in Latina/o service during the Iraq War might be conceived as second-class citizen-soldierhood, where Latinas/os, as a population with fewer economic and educational opportunities that is further targeted by racial nativism, are now serving in the military as a strategy to obtain symbolic first-class citizenship through the upward mobility and proof of national fealty made available to them by service. However other explanations such as machismo and the obtainment of literal citizenship might also explain the growth in Latina/o military participation during the Iraq War. To discover what truly influenced Latina/o accessions and propensity during this time, Latina/o veterans of the Iraq War were interviewed for their narratives and perspectives.

chapter 4

methodology

This study sought to discover whether or not the increase in Latina/o accessions and propensity to serve during the Iraq War could be explained by a desire to symbolically prove first-class citizenship. This study also sought to discover which of the other aforementioned and potentially overlapping reasons for the increase in Latina/o military involvement during the war did in fact contribute to this growth. To answer these questions, one-on-one interviews with Latina/o veterans of the Iraq War were conducted, coded and analyzed.

# Design of the Study

Interview recruitment began in San Diego, California on the San Diego State University campus in April of 2013 after the interviewer received Institutional Review Board (IRB) and DoD and Department of the Navy (DoN) approval. Recruitment consisted of announcements and the circulation of flyers in classrooms and at the university’s veteran’s centers. The script/copy approved and mandated by the IRB that was used by the interviewer as the content for the announcements and flyers is attached in the Appendix. Interestingly, the classroom announcements worked the best with three of the initial participants picked up in that fashion. Only one initial participant was procured using flyers. Snowball sampling followed the first round of recruitment. Surprisingly, snowball sampling was not as effective as it was assumed to be and only an additional two participants secured through this method of recruitment.

Once located, potential participants were asked to choose when and where the interview would take place. Before the interview officially began, each potential participant was reminded of the possible risks attached to participation as well as of the voluntary and confidential nature of participation. The potential participants then signed an informed consent form that had been approved by the IRB, DoD and DoN. This signing of the informed consent form transitioned all potential participants into bona fide participants in the study. Two of the interviews were conducted on the phone per the request of the participants. As such, these participants were each emailed the informed consent form to read over while the interviewer went through its content point by point. Afterwards, they electronically signed the consent forms and emailed them back to the interviewer for her file. All other interviews and thus consent forms were conducted and gone over in person.

The interviews lasted between one to two and a half hours. An interview guide approved by the IRB, DoD and DoN was utilized by the interviewer to conduct each interview and is attached in the Appendix. Interview questions included “tell me about your military experience, how would you describe your identity before enlistment and how did you feel about citizenship before you enlisted?” All interviews were recorded with an audio recorder and hard notes were taken with notepaper and pen. Immediately after each interview, the audio recorder and hard notes were placed in the interviewer’s car which was immediately locked and driven to San Diego State University where the recorder and notes were then locked in a filing cabinet in the interviewer’s locked office.

# Population and Sample

The population for this study included all Latina/o veterans of the Iraq War, regardless of all other demographical information including age, sex, citizenship status, national background, branch, occupation, years in service and current location. The sample consisted of six Latina/o veterans. The entire sample was obtained through recruitment at San Diego State University.

# Instrumentation and Data Collection

The instrumentation utilized in this study for data collection included the recruitment script/copy, interview guide and audio recorder discussed above. Instrumentation also included a password-protected laptop computer as well as word-processing software both of which were used to transcribe and code the interviews. While all hard data was kept in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office at San Diego State University, all electronic data compiled from transcribing was kept on the password-protected computer.

# Data Analysis

The transcripts were first scanned to retrieve demographic information on the participants. After all demographic information was collected, the transcripts were then coded based on the themes from the relevant literature that might explain the growth in Latina/o military participation during the Iraq War. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 5.

# Limitations

The limitations of this study were twofold. First, recruitment was difficult and not as successful as the interviewer would have liked. This was due to the fact that the interviewer had to secure DoD and DoN approval before she could obtain IRB approval. As this process took an additional few months and as the interviewer was temporally limited due to the nature of the study, the six participants had to eventually be settled for. Additionally, the special circumstances of the study’s population also hindered recruitment. Understandably, not all veterans want to discuss their experiences as any recall of service might lead to psychological distress. As this is true and as this particular study was more concerned with reasons behind the growth in accessions and propensity among Latinas/os during the Iraq War than it was with the experiences of war for that specific population, it would have been best to have demonstrated this in the recruitment script/copy so as to perhaps garner more interest in participation.

Second, the interview guide was purposely created to be open-ended so as to avoid questions that could have been considered blunt and rude. For example, “Tell me about enlistment” was the enlistment question used. This was a broad question that might allow participants to gloss over more potentially embarrassing reasons behind their enlistment. While it proved to be useful, the interview guide, while maintaining its respect for participants, could have been rewritten so as to have more methodically explored the overlap in reasons behind the growth in Latina/o military participation during the Iraq War. For example, if there were an economic reason behind enlistment, this would perhaps be difficult for a participant to address if a question regarding economic necessity was posed in a blunt fashion. In fact, such a direct query might lead a participant to either gloss over the importance of that factor or entirely ignore it. Therefore, the interview guide should have been rewritten in a way so that questions would have eventually explored each theme addressed by the relevant literature without being too blunt and potentially rude.

chapter 5

towards a new minority military utilization

The transcripts were first analyzed for all relevant participant demographic information, which has been compiled in Table 1. Pseudonyms are used to identify participants so as to maintain confidentiality. Five of the six participants were male, four of whom were born in the United States and were of second-generational status. The other male participant came to the United States when he was seven. As such, he is of 1.5-generational status, as he arrived in the United States before adolescence, and received his U.S. citizenship through service. The one female participant also received her citizenship through service although she was of first-generational status. Three participants were of Mexican national background and all of the participants with the exception of the female were in their mid to late twenties. Four had joined the Army and all save the female were engaged in combat in some capacity during the Iraq War. All six had enlisted and the average time in the military to date had been 6.58 years. Three were still in the service at the time of the interview.

Table 1. Participant Demographics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Interview | Pseudonym | Sex | Nation of Birth | Generational Status | National Background | Age | Branch | Occupation during Iraq | Status | Years in Service | Still in the Military |
| 1 | Andre | Male | U.S.A. | 2 | Salvadoran/Mexican | 26 | Army | Medic | Enlisted | 5 | No |
| 2 | Bernardo | Male | U.S.A. | 2 | Mexican | 28 | Marines | Helicopter Mechanic | Enlisted | 9.5 | No |
| 3 | Carlos | Male | U.S.A. | 2 | Mexican | 29 | Navy | Corpsman | Enlisted | 5 | No |
| 4 | Daniela | Female | Nicaragua | 1 | Nicaraguan | 36 | Army | Supply Sergeant | Enlisted | 5 | Yes |
| 5 | Eduardo | Male | Ecuador | 1.5 | Ecuadorian | 27 | Army | Infantryman | Enlisted | 7 | Yes |
| 6 | Fernando | Male | U.S.A. | 2 | Mexican | 25 | Army | Infantryman | Enlisted | 8 | Yes |

Of the potential themes that might help to explain why Latina/o service grew during the Iraq War, only three were present in the narratives of the Latina/o veterans that were interviewed. These were the themes “Poverty Draft,” “Assimilation” and “Fighting for Citizenship.” During the coding process, the interviewer decided to omit “Identificational Assimilation” as a subtheme under the theme Assimilation, as the interviewer realized that while all of the participants expressed an American identity rather than a Latina/o identity, such findings might not reflect Identificational Assimilation since the interview guide might have primed the participants to think of their American identity, as the questions all concerned United States military service in a time of war. The list of coded themes is presented in Figure 1. Additional themes also emerged from the interviews that were related to service and war. Regarding service in general, these additional themes included both positive and negative aspects of service including as the camaraderie that is established in training, the skills and self-esteem one acquires and the faulty leadership sometimes encountered. Regarding war, the themes again included both positive and negative aspects of serving in a time of war including post-traumatic stress disorder, post-service drug and alcohol abuse, depressive and suicidal thoughts, the death of friends, the brotherhood that is established among soldiers, the post-service knowledge that one can do anything after fighting in a war and a newfound appreciation for life. However, as none of these themes are related to accessions and propensity, they are only to be mentioned here and not explored in the narrative below.

# The Poverty Draft

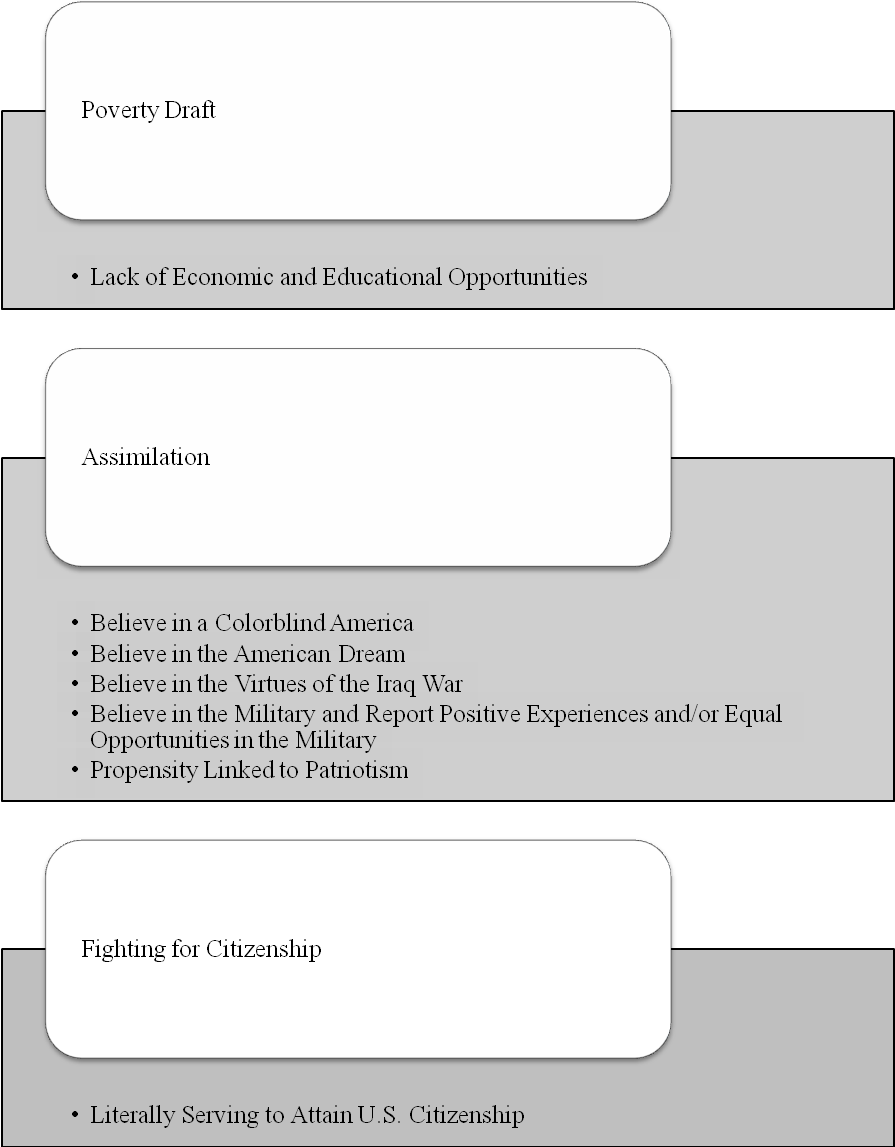
The first theme to be verified while coding that might explain the growth in Latina/o accessions and high Latina/o propensity levels during the Iraq War was the theme Poverty Draft. Five of the six participants mentioned a lack of economic and/or educational opportunities during their interviews. Interestingly, these mentions of the Poverty Draft came in two forms: personal stories and generalizations.

## Personal Stories

All five participants whose narratives were coded for the Poverty Draft had their own personal stories as to how a lack of economic and educational opportunities had impacted their decision to enlist. Andre had the following to say:

I was in high school when I decided to enlist. I come from a real small town so yeah people don’t go anywhere so it’s really hard to, not escape, but I knew that if

Figure 1. Coded themes as discovered in the interview transcripts.



I stayed there I would be just another statistic just staying in town and I didn’t want to do that… Just cause no one ever left… just married a girl who they went to school with and had kids and work in a warehouse or whatever. Just the cycle continues, more kids, and…I didn’t even know what the hell a college application was. The only reason I took the SATs was because some of my friends were like dude you’re smart you need to fucking take this test. Some people are like oh it’s so sad that but given that situation, I mean if you want to get out you join the military. Other people see that from the outside looking in [they say] it’s sad that they have to do that. For me it’s just like that’s the way it is. Those are the cards that are dealt to you.

When the interviewer then asked Andre if, in addition to escaping from his hometown, he also decided to enlist due to patriotism, he had the following reply, “No! I don’t know we kind of hear it a lot when we’re in, and a lot of people think that but I honestly met a very small percentage of people … I was a kid. I was seventeen I just wanted to get away.” From Andre’s narrative it is clear that he decided to enlist because college was not really an option for him. In fact, Andre stated that he was not going to take the SATs until a friend encouraged him to do so. Additionally, Andre admitted that he did not really know a lot about college applications and that where he comes from most people tend to stay in their hometown, marry someone they knew from high school and work a blue-collar job. All of this implies the Poverty Draft, where a lack of economic and educational opportunities encourages certain people to join the military. Carlos had a similar enlistment narrative, “I wanted to get out where I was living and I wanted to go somewhere.” Although this enlistment narrative is far more ambiguous than Andre’s enlistment narrative, as Carlos mentioned how well the military had paid him three times without being prompted to do so and as he mentioned he currently does not have a car, it seems plausible that a lack of economic and educational resources might have compelled him to join as well. Indeed, the notion of wanting to get out, go somewhere or escape was a part of both Andre’s and Carlos’s enlistment narratives. Less ambiguous than Carlos’s story is Daniela’s explanation as to why she enlisted:

So when I was going through my first divorce…I used it as a way of getting out of a bad situation. I was alone. I didn’t have enough money. Like I didn’t have enough money for food. My friends would bring me stuff they didn’t like... cans or whatever. That’s how I survived for three months. My friends would feed me. I had barely enough money to pay my bills. So I really used it as an opportunity to escape from a bad situation. I packed my life in my little car. I left with two hundred dollars in my pocket. So I made it somehow.

Here, Daniela is quite frank about the economic reasons that led her to enlist. Eduardo also expressed a lack of opportunity, “Before I enlisted I used to… work at a supermarket…I didn’t plan to go to college so I decided to join the military…I was really lost. Not knowing what to do at that time with my life before the military.” Again within Eduardo’s narrative is the notion of feeling lost as well as the idea that one is not meant for college. After Iraq, Eduardo left the military for a while, working as a security officer and using the GI Bill, but he went back into the military for the following reasons:

After that I tried school and then I was going through a rough time cause… I missed my son a lot so that’s when I was like okay… I’m gonna try two things I’ll go back to the military if I can’t I’ll go back… where my son lives… and then I was lucky enough and blessed to be stationed [four hours from his son]…I love the military. This time around I’m making it a career. I’m not getting out… the decision is cause… I’m making it a career… for my son… My son changed my life... everything I do is now for my son… He doesn’t live with me but right now I can support him financially. It’s just better than what I was doing before. Before I was going to school but… if I go to school it will take me two to four years to finish a degree and then hopefully find a good job or… I can just come back into the military. Go straight to a job and get paid.

Thus Eduardo not only seemingly enlisted initially due to a lack of economic and educational opportunities, but he also found himself reenlisting to financially support his son. Fernando also stated that a lack of opportunities propelled him into the military, “I didn’t like where I was at …I felt like if I would have stayed there I wouldn’t have gone anyplace in life. And I felt repressed. I didn’t have very many options.” Again, within Fernando’s enlistment narrative is the notion of feeling lost and the acknowledgement of having few options. Indeed, all five participants whose narratives revealed the Poverty Draft appeared to have very little opportunities before enlistment. This reality seemingly pushed them into the military where they could find economic and/or educational success.

## Generalizations

In addition to participants sharing their own personal stories regarding a lack of opportunities and how it impacted their decision to join the military, two participants also made generalizations regarding the connection between a lack of opportunities and the decision to enlist. These generalizations help to establish the fact that the Poverty Draft is a larger trend and not just something that affected five of the participants of this study. For example, when asked why people tend to join the military, Andre had the following to say:

It was to get away from trouble… to be able to pay for school… [some people said] it was either this or jail you hear those stories sometimes… a lot of people wanted their citizenship…It’s funny because I talk to people about my nephew. [He is] going to join the military and from the outside looking in it’s not a perspective that I see but other people are like it’s so sad… that it’s built that way t that a young Latino’s best bet is to join the military and not go to college. And that’s one thing one big thing that I saw and I do think that you see it a lot with race. Like some people they’re born and they’re expected to go to college. Like it’s not oh hey did you apply it’s hey you’re applying.

Here Andre acknowledges that for many people the military is a way to get to college or a way to stay out of trouble, especially for Latinas/os, although he does not personally buy into tiered opportunities by race. Andre then went on to discuss the opportunities his family members have, first his nephew then his sister:

I think for him he was in the same exact situation I was… it wasn’t there for me. I know that it’s not there for him either. And I tried… he grew up raised by his mom too I mean he’s basically me at 17 so I’ve always made sure to be [there for him]… being first generation Latino Hispanic… it’s a struggle. I think it’s a definite struggle. My little sister she’s 20 now she’s dating an Air Force recruiter I mean for them in their situation they’re young don’t have college really at their feet I think it will be good for them. And my sister told me she’s going to join the Army and all that.

Here Andre acknowledges the limited opportunities available to both his nephew and sister, and believes that the military will help both of them find direction and success. Fernando also saw the connection between a lack of economic and educational opportunities and enlistment. For example, many people joined the Army where Fernando was from in central California due to a lack of alternative opportunities available to them. According to Fernando, sometimes people, “would join the Army within a week of each other.” Fernando, who is still in the military and now serves as a recruiter, also had this observation to make regarding what he can offer less advantaged young adults by steering them towards service:

Kids coming from broken homes… they want to do something larger than themselves cause they don’t want to be in the environment that they’re in or just because and that kind of makes me feel good because I’m helping them in that process to... get out of a poisonous environment.

Again, Fernando not only saw people from his hometown enlist due to a lack of alternative opportunities, but now as a recruiter he helps other young adults facing the same situation find the military. Again these generalizations help to promote the theory that the personal stories of Andre, Carlos, Daniela, Eduardo and Fernando are in fact part of a larger trend. This trend, conscription by the Poverty Draft, is perhaps linked to the new permutation of minority military utilization that may explain the growth in Latina/o military service during the Iraq War.

## Assimilation

The second trend to emerge was Assimilation. While the Poverty Draft is inextricably linked to the concept of structural assimilation, all six participants additionally made statements that reflected cultural assimilation: assimilation into the ideology, values and norms of the culture (Gordon 1964). Some believed in the American Dream, some believed that the United States and/or its military were colorblind and some believed in the virtue of the Iraq War and expressed their propensity to serve in a manner that suggested patriotism.

When asked if patriotism had anything to do with his decision to enlist, Andre had the following to say:

I don’t think that really crossed my mind really. Like my mom, she got her citizenship I think I was already enlisted and I think maybe she saw it. I think that’s why she supported it cause she came here from El Salvador when she was like 18 or 19… and she knew that this country America [had] the American Dream and all that stuff so I think it made her proud on that level… she could raise someone who could serve and look out for her in the land of opportunity.

It is interesting that Andre’s mother believes in the American Dream and the notion of equality of opportunity as these sentiments reflect the fact that Andre’s mother has culturally assimilated, something that might have influenced Andre’s perspectives. Bernardo’s mother, who had been born in Mexico, also believes in the American Dream:

My mom is very straight she’s very direct she sees sometimes people next door who get welfare or who get money something subsidized by the government because they don’t have enough money but they’re smoking pot on the side of the street and she tells me this is so upsetting. This... is wrong this country has more to offer you than just that. So I guess her leadership and her direction…

Bernardo’s mother, like Andre’s, is a second-generation Latina who has culturally assimilated into the ideology of the United States, believing in the American Dream, equal opportunity and the rhetoric of bootstrapping. Growing up in a household of cultural assimilation undoubtedly had its impact upon both Bernardo and Andre. The pride Eduardo’s dad felt when he enlisted lends credence to the idea that many first-generation, 1.5-generation and second-generation Latinas/os believe in America and its American Dream:

I’m thinking maybe cause I was going to [join the] U.S. military I guess he kind of looked forward to that…Where we came it’s a big stepping-stone. Cause it’s a different world over there in Ecuador so I guess [he felt pride when] saying my son is U.S. military

As Andre’s mother, Bernardo’s mother and Eduardo’s father all believe in the United States and the American Dream, such cultural assimilation has probably had a tremendous impact upon their perspectives and perhaps upon their decisions to enlist. In addition to belief in America and the American Dream, belief in a colorblind America was also very common. As Andre stated above, although many people have lamented to him that Latinas/os do not have very many options and as a result join the military, he said, “...it’s not a perspective that I see.” Bernardo’s belief in a colorblind America was witnessed when he talked about race relations in the military, “I mean I was an American I didn’t feel different than anyone else... no one was racist or anything… if you worked hard and you did your job well and more importantly you had integrity…If you had integrity you would get far.” Carlos expressed a similar belief when discussing race relations in the service, “…we’re all Americans fighting for the same country.” As all of the Latina/o veterans interviewed expressed a belief in a colorblind America as well as a belief in a colorblind military, the theory of cultural assimilation is bolstered. Perhaps cultural assimilation explains the propensity and patriotism expressed by so many of the participants. Regarding his propensity to serve, Carlos had the following to say:

I love my country and I’d put my life on the line for it… I definitely had that feeling of wanting to... serve… when 9/11 [happened] that’s when I started to think about going in the military… A lot of countries hate us and I don’t like that and I think this is a good country… I’d die for the country.

Eduardo also felt very patriotic about his service, “I love the military…I really enjoy serving my country and just what the whole… military stands for.” Fernando stated that his patriotism alone made him enlist:

Less than a week before I turned 17 I wanted to enlist and so I waited a week and then I enlisted… I think that in itself is different than other soldiers whether they wanted to enlist or they didn’t want to enlist not many people go looking for a recruiter many times recruiters find them… I would have joined the Army regardless of any of the benefits… and so I have a different perspective than I think other soldiers because I didn’t join for college benefits I didn’t join for health care I didn’t join for 30 days paid vacation… I wanted to be a soldier. A lot of people they say the same thing they want to be a soldier they enlist but that’s after a recruiter finds them and tells them … not that many people go looking for a recruiter…I didn’t expect anything from the Army except a uniform… I wanted to serve my country…

Fernando is still in the military working as a recruiter where his patriotism continues to shine through. For example, when people tell him that they do not like the military, Fernando cannot understand where such sentiments come from, as he has always believed in the mission of the military and been patriotic himself. All of the narratives above suggest that Assimilation is as important a trend as the Poverty Draft. In fact, Assimilation is connected to the Poverty Draft as tiered access to opportunities leads many Latinas/os to utilize the military as their pathway to structural assimilation and economic and educational upward mobility. Furthermore, many Latinas/os are engaged in cultural assimilation and as such believe in the ideology of a colorblind America and equality of opportunities despite evidence to the contrary.

## Fighting for Citizenship

Finally, the last theme to emerge from the transcripts was Fighting for Citizenship and indeed two of the participants received their U.S. citizenship through service. While Eduardo mentioned above how his father must have felt about his service, Daniela had the following to say about how she felt about hers:

It just gives me a lot of pride because I left Nicaragua when I was twelve. I moved to Europe until I was twenty-four. Came here. I have never in my life voted. I was in Europe but I wasn’t a citizen. I couldn’t vote… So then I moved here. A year after I moved here I got my [Austrian] citizenship and so I went back to get it but I was already gone so I couldn’t vote. Then I was here [in the United States]. I couldn’t vote cause I wasn’t a citizen. And then growing up in Nicaragua, Nicaragua doesn’t let you vote in an embassy. So I couldn’t vote. I was never around in Nicaragua to vote. Which is funny because this next election will be my first election. So when I went to basic training I ended up doing all my paperwork in 2008 for my citizenship. Through the military I got it for free. So the day I got my citizenship was the best day of my life. I felt like I finally belonged somewhere. I had all this pride that I didn’t feel before. I feel like I belong somewhere now. And when I say this is my country… I mean it. And my sister laughs at me and says this is not your country. You’re Nicaraguan. I’m like, you don’t understand. It’s different. Now I get it. Being in the military I get it… I found a home.

Thus, for at least two of the participants, minority military utilization was still a strategy to achieve literal citizenship, something that they and their families were proud of.

# The New Minority Military Utilization

After coding the transcripts from the interviews with Latina/o veterans of the Iraq War, it would appear that, while some Latinas/os are utilizing traditional minority military utilization, others are utilizing a permutation of the original strategy, a permutation fueled by assimilation and lack of opportunity. As such, it might just be that the new minority military utilization is one of second-class citizen-soldierhood as discussed in Chapter 3. The Latina/o veterans interviewed expressed sentiments and opinions that reflected a belief in equality of opportunities. As such, it would appear that Latinas/os have begun to culturally assimilate, an assimilation trend that tends to predate structural assimilation. Due to this cultural or ideological assimilation, the Latina/o veterans interviewed tended to not see the tiered access to opportunities that affects their community. Thus their desire for structural assimilation – their desire to fulfill the American Dream – combined with a lack of economic and educational opportunities forced many to utilize the military to achieve upward mobility.

chapter 6

service and symbolic citizenship

From the interviews it would appear that there is a permutation of minority military utilization, one that perhaps explains the growth in Latina/o accessions and the soaring Latina/o propensity levels that were witnessed during the Iraq War. This permutation is based on the transformation of the racial state from dictatorship to hegemony and the subsequent transition from literal tiered citizenship based on rights to symbolic tiered citizenship based on opportunities. As such, citizen-soldierhood ended and a new era of second-class citizen-soldierhood began, where Latinas/os, as symbolic second-class citizens with the least economic and educational opportunities, now adopt the new minority military utilization based on upward mobility and symbolic first-class citizenship.

This transition to second-class citizen-soldierhood is witnessed within the themes that emerge from the interviews. The first theme, Poverty Draft, demonstrates that those with the least economic and educational opportunities are metaphorically conscripted for service, even in a time of war, as there are no viable alternatives available to them. Indeed, the Poverty Draft was a major trend established during the interviews with five of the six participants’ narratives touching upon that theme through both personal stories and generalizations. The poverty draft in fact ties in with the second theme that emerged from all six of the interviews: Assimilation. As both cultural and structural assimilation are strong in the Latina/o community, Latina/o veterans of the Iraq War have not only ideologically assimilated – believing in the American Dream and equal opportunities to achieve it in a colorblind America -, but as they strive to structurally assimilate and are met with roadblocks, they join the military.

The final theme to emerge from the interviews, Fighting for Citizenship, proves that the original minority military utilization is still being used by some. This is important as currently 5 percent of the United States military is comprised of immigrants. As Mexico alone has contributed approximately 20 percent of all annual immigrants to the United States from 1998-2001, it is plausible that a great deal of the immigrants currently in service in the United States military are Latina/o (United States Department of Justice 2002).

All of these findings are worrisome. If Latinas/os desire to structurally assimilate so as to achieve upward mobility, but are continuously conscripted by the poverty draft due to their lack of economic and educational opportunities, then it is plausible that a new military caste might form (Amador 2010). For if structural problems such as tiered access to economic and educational opportunities are not fixed, then Latinas/os and other historically disadvantaged groups will continue to be attracted to the military and its benefits. Indeed, many scholars have lamented that the only avenue given to Latina/o, black and working class youth for upward mobility, self-esteem and altruism is military service (Mariscal 2007; Lutz 2008; Amaya 2007). Furthermore, if Latina/o immigrants are utilizing service as their pathway to citizenship, then that means they also might suffer the burdens of war.

The hegemony of the new racial state needs to be defrauded. The United States is not colorblind and tiered citizenship continues. It must be made known that while equal rights were won during the civil rights movement, equal access to opportunities were not. If the United States is to truly be made colorblind, then structural and cultural inequities must be combatted. This would most effectively be done if education were equalized. Thus, instead of militarizing low income, high minority schools, these schools should instead be uplifted so that low income and minority students like Latinas/os can have equal access to quality primary and secondary educations as well as college. The upward mobility of the American Dream should not have to be accessed by Latinas/os solely through service. In fact some activists are resisting the poverty draft and the militarization of schools (Mariscal 2007). Counter-recruitment organizations like Project YANO and The Association of Raza Educators specifically object to the DREAM Act legislation’s either-or pathway to citizenship as the majority of undocumented students do not have an easy pathway to college (Mariscal 2007). Counter-recruitment efforts like these need to be fostered as much as schools need to be equalized.

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appendix

Interview materials

Recruitment Script/Copy

Research Participation Outreach: Latino Veterans of the Iraq War

My name is Stacey Livingstone and I am a graduate student at San Diego State University in the Department of Sociology. I am seeking participants for my research on the experiences of the Latino/a veterans of the Iraq War. This research is for my thesis and will later become part of my larger dissertation that will include the experiences of other veterans of the Iraq War. If you were active duty in the United States military during the Iraq War, self-identify as Latino/a and are interested in sharing your experiences pre, during and post service, then my study may be something you would not mind contributing to. Participation in this study is completely voluntary and will only commence after I have informed you about the project and you have given your signed consent to participate. All information gathered will remain confidential.

If you are interested, please email me, Stacey Livingstone at livingsi@gmail.com and I will send you a request for what days, times and locations would work for an interview.

interview guide

interview guide: latino veterans of the iraq war

Interview Guide Tracking # \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ Pseudonym \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Tell me about your military experience.

What were you doing before you enlisted? What was your life like before enlistment?

Most positive aspects?

Most negative?

How would you describe your identity before enlistment?

How did you feel about citizenship before you enlisted?

Tell me about enlistment.

What made you decide to enlist?

Were you recruited?

How did you feel about enlisting?

How did your family and friends feel about you enlisting?

Describe your experiences in the military during your training.

Most positive aspects?

Most negative?

Tell me about being deployed to Iraq if applicable? If not, tell me about your involvement in the Iraq War?

Most positive aspects?

Most negative?

What is your experience like now as a veteran if applicable?

Most positive aspects?

Most negative?

If you are still in the service, what is your military experience like now?

How do you think about your identity now that you have served in the military?

How do you think about citizenship now that you have served in the military?

Do you feel that you were ever treated a certain way before enlistment due to your background?

Do you feel that you were ever treated a certain way during enlistment due to your background?

Do you feel that you were ever treated a certain way during training due to your background?

Do you feel that you were ever treated a certain way during deployment or during the Iraq War due to your background?

Do you now feel that you are ever treated a certain way after service or after serving in the Iraq War due to your background?

Do you feel that you were ever treated a certain way before enlistment due to your race/ethnicity?

Do you feel that you were ever treated a certain way during enlistment due to your race/ethnicity?

Do you feel that you were ever treated a certain way during training due to your race/ethnicity?

Do you feel that you were ever treated a certain way during deployment or during the Iraq War due to your race/ethnicity?

Do you now feel that you are ever treated a certain way after service or after serving in the Iraq War due to your race/ethnicity?

Dictatorship to democracy and domination to hegemony?

U.S. as a racial dictatorship?