Commentary

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How Afghanistan Influenced the Content of *Armed Forces & Society*: An Editor's Reflection

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Abstract

This commentary examines the influence of the Afghanistan war on the content of *Armed Forces & Society*. My 20-year tenure as editor of *Armed Forces & Society* overlaps completely with the war. Using the lenses of the postmodern or post-Cold War military, I reflect on how the articles of this journal were influenced by the war. The postmodern military relies more heavily on volunteers, is more likely to engage in unconventional missions, and more likely to use multinational forces. I found an increase in articles devoted to reserve forces and contractors. In addition, many articles investigated the unique management challenges of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The multiple deployments and brutal nature of the war led to a large increase in health/mental health articles and also contributed to changes in the scope of the military family and veterans' literature. The limited civil–military relations literature was affected indirectly.

Keywords

Afghanistan War, military families, veterans, ISAD, civil–military relations, postmodern military

In 2000, three icons of the field, Charles Moskos, John Allen Williams, and David R. Segal, edited *The Postmodern Military: Armed Forces after the Cold War*.[1] They

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argued that the basic character of Western military organizations had changed. These new post-Cold War, postmodern militaries relied on volunteers, engaged in new missions (not traditional wars), and experienced less combat. Their multinational forces were often led by international organizations. In 2001, the terrorist attack on the twin towers and the Pentagon resulted in the Afghanistan War—a war designed to root out Al-Qaeda from Afghanistan. This war was led by the mature, volunteer force of the United States and supported by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). An international array of militaries participated. In late 2001, the postmodern militaries of the West initiated their longest war.

I began my tenure as editor of *Armed Forces & Society* (*AF&S*) in February 2001. The September 2001 terrorist attack was a triggering incident that had a profound influence on the character of the military, its leadership, and the academic literature. Clearly, the Afghanistan War was a climate-changing event for the "military and society" field of study. My tenure as editor incorporates the entire war and gives me a unique vantage point and opportunity to reflect and comment on how the articles in *AF&S* changed over the course of the war.

I often use the metaphor of a forest or garden to capture the stewardship responsibility editors' have toward their journal. As stewards[2] editors monitor and grow the forest. They have a responsibility for the health of the journal, to keep out content that does not fit the climate or mission, and to recognize and admit new content in response to changing circumstances. This commentary on the changes to the content of *AF&S* due to the influence of the Afghanistan war includes personal reflection and a careful review of the articles published during the period.[3]

My reflection begins by setting a historical context, which includes events before the war such as how the transition to the All-Volunteer Force reduced the size of the force[4] while the demands of two wars stressed the resources of the institution. These trends resulted in innovations like multiple deployments and more reliance on the reserves. Events during the war such as the involvement of NATO members and partners in the effort also shaped the stresses and strains on the institution and the service member who fought and worked to build a new Afghanistan. Hence, there was significant international diversity in the literature.

To do this, first, the timeline of the war is review. Second, content involving veterans, military families, and mental and physical health issues is presented. Third, I shift gears and explore the institutional response to the challenges of fighting an irregular, small war using volunteers. Thus, the journal responded with articles on two key organizational change agents –reserve forces and contractors. Fourth, the multilateral nature of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was also a defining feature as was the task of nation-building. The content of *AF&S* reflected this reality by discussing the challenges of international cooperation, cultural clashes, and working with host nationals. Fifth, I transition to the home front and examine the literature of public opinion. Sixth, the civil–military relations literature is examined. Finally, I look at a few important articles with topics that do not fit neatly into the above categories and conclude with a summary reflection.

Table 1. A Short Timetable of Key Events During the Afghanistan War.

Important dates	Influential events
September 2001	Attack on United States by terrorists
October 2001	United States and British Air campaign in Afghanistan to root out al-Qaida Operation Enduring Freedom begins.
December 2001	International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) begun (Multinational force) mandated by United Nations.
March 2003	Iraq war begins.
August 2003	NATO takes over ISAF—with the aim to create the conditions whereby the Afghan government could exercise its authority and build the capacity of the Afghan national security forces. An international effort to rebuild Afghanistan begins. At its peak, the force was 130,00 strong with 51 NATO and partner nations.
2006	ISAF expanded to cover the whole country. Their mission included nation-building and fighting a growing insurgency.
2007–2008	The insurgency grows.
2009	New counterinsurgency launched—40,000 new troops.
December 2011	Iraq war ends.
December 2014	ISAF ended as did NATO's responsibility. The Afghan National Defense and Security Forces assumed responsibility.
January 2015	NATO launched Resolute Support Mission (RSM) training the Afghan security forces
February 2020	The United States and the Taliban signed an agreement to withdraw international forces by May 2021.
August 2021	Withdrawal of forces. Evacuation of 120,000 people airlifted from the Afghanistan airport.

Note. Adapted from North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO, 2021a, 2021b). NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Brief Timeline of the Afghanistan War

It is impossible to discuss how the literature responded to the war without including a timeline of important events. Table 1 captures some of the key events and trends of this 20-year war. It begins with the attack on September 11, 2001 and ends with the evacuation of the Kabul airport in 2021. In between, the postmodern militaries of the West established ISAF and fought the Iraq War (2003–2011). Iraq overshadowed the Afghanistan conflict and further strained scarce resources.[5] All of these events influenced the timing of topics that entered the literature. For example, from 2003 till 2014 the NATO forces of ISAF were deployed to Afghanistan. During this period, scholars from many nations examined the challenges of managing a multilateral force.

Sorting Out the Changes

If we return to the forest metaphor, like a forest has dominant tree species, *AF&S* has well established, core topics such as veterans, civil–military relations, military families, gender issues, and so on.[6] The war affected a few core areas more than others. Veterans and military families were a particular focus. The health/mental health literature was almost dormant prior to the war. Articles on mental and physical health are now a significant part of the journal's inventory.

It should be noted that the literature also lagged significantly behind events. Scholars who were in grade school during 9/11 are now working for research centers, devoted to veterans, which were established well after the war began. It took a while for institutional resources to gear up. Finally, there is considerable overlap or something like intersectionality in the literature. Articles that examine veteran mental health issues are a good example.

Veterans and Their Transition

Although there were articles on veterans in the early war years, these articles referred to veterans that served prior to the postmodern era. For example, a 2007 special issue on veterans alluded to Afghanistan only once by noting how ill-prepared society was for the "new generation" of veterans (Camacho, 2007, p. 313). There were signs, however, that literature on veterans would soon take center stage. In 2006, British scholars wrote an important article examining the variety of "veteran" definitions used by western developed countries.[7]

For the most part,[8] the veterans' literature of the Afghanistan era focused on traditional themes such as the transition to civilian life (labor market, education, and family) identity, status, transition programs, and veteran political participation.[9] The veterans of Afghanistan/Iraq were unique in that many had served multiple deployments and were more likely to experience posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), physical disabilities, and suicide.[10]

For many reasons, women have traditionally served at considerably lower numbers than their male counterparts. Currently, women make up only 17% of the U.S. military (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020). Thus, the literature on women veterans is relatively new. I found three articles on women veterans. These articles discussed the problems women combat veterans face negotiating their femininity in a culture of masculinity, the importance of considering gender in the transition from soldier to civilian, and women veterans' higher level of disability compared with their male counterparts.[11]

Military Families Under Strain

According to Sondra Albano (1994, p. 283) from 1775 to 1993, the military shifted its perspective on the military family from neglect to concern. The shift was spurred

by a volunteer armed force where service members were more likely to be married and parents.[12] During the Afghanistan war, the articles on military families demonstrated how the mental and physical challenges of multiple deployments increased the stress on the children and spouses among active duty and reserve forces in the United States and ISAF countries. The highly cited military family literature was the most likely to directly deal with consequences of deployment—even including deployment in the title.[13] In addition, the articles examined challenging topics such as PTSD, domestic violence, and depression among spouses[14] as well as the many factors that could mitigate these stresses (child care, effective leadership, relationship quality, community/social support, maternal and child well-being; positive emotions).[15]

Physical and Mental Health

Prior to the 2010s, *AF&S* rarely published health-related articles.[16] The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq with their multiple deployments, Improvised Explosive Devices (IED), heavy packs, and so on took lives, and left many returning from the war zone with PTSD, missing limbs, head/brain injuries, and stressed muscular-skeletal systems. These often-tragic results provided significant content for the study of the military and society. Health articles entered our inventory over the course of the 20-year war and were concentrated in the later years (2015–2021). These articles generally linked with another topic frequently found in the journal (family, veteran experience, race, gender, and reserves).[17] For example, Mustillo and Kysar-Moon (2017) examined how combat exposure influenced the risk of PTSD among women. Landes et al. (2021) found a connection between service-related disability and veterans' shorter life expectancy compared to nonveterans.

Many articles examined mental health of service members and veterans broadly defined (PTSD, stress, suicide, and problematic behavior changes such as soldiers returning as adrenalin junkies).[18] For example, Bryan et al. (2020) studied mental health stigma and barriers to care among the National Guard. Wolfe-Clark and Bryan (2017) developed a model to better prevent military and veteran suicides. Health-related articles also focused on physical problems (muscular-skeleton and brain injury) and health policy issues (health insurance, digital inequality).[19]

Military Organizational Responses

We now shift to an examination of the articles that focused on the organization and management issues the militaries of ISAF faced over the period. The post-modern military relied on volunteers to staff its force. To supplement the regular forces the postmodern military of Afghanistan relied more heavily on contractors and reserve forces. In addition, the expeditionary, small war nature of the conflict and the reliance on an international coalition with its mission of nation-building created the need

for organizational adaptation and new management demands such as the need for greater international collaboration.

Enhanced Reliance on Reserve Forces

In 1978, when the West was in the midst of the seemingly endless Cold War, Steven Canby (1978) asked "Can the reserves be made militarily useful (p. 227)?" The postmodern military of the Afghanistan war answered this question with a resounding, "YES!" During this period, reserve force engagement shifted from periodic to "routine full-time military service in support of national security objective (Griffith, 2011a, p. 209)." Aside from more articles throughout the period, we devoted two special issues to reserves in 2011 and 2021.[20] The careful investigation into reserve forces is one of the major contributions of *AF&S* over the period.

Issues around reserve forces incorporated an international perspective.[21] During the first part of the war, Israeli scholars made important contributions to the theory of reserve forces that informed much of the reservist literature. In a highly cited article, Lomsky-Feder et al. (2008) introduced the concept of "reservist as transmigrants" who travels between the military and civilian world. These migrating citizen-soldiers are part of the military yet outsiders also. Not surprisingly, there were challenges in making sense of their identity.[22]

Questions routinely asked about the regular force began to be the subject of inquiry for the reserve force. Studies about active duty enlistment and reenlistment motivation fill the pages of *Armed Forces & Society*. Given the reserve force's new importance to national security and their critical role throughout the force, articles about reservist enlistment and retention began to appear in *AF&S*.[23] Like their active-duty counterparts, women reservists were also being deployed in significant numbers, *AF&S* examined their experiences with sexual harassment. And, like veterans, reservists return from extended deployments to their families and struggled with mental and physical health issues.[24] Life inside the unit was spotlighted by articles that examined their challenges adapting to the relationships within the unit as well as the stress of life in a combat zone. Other studies explored cohesion and preparedness.[25]

Contractors

Another way to increase the force is to hire contractors to perform duties that support deployed service members. As the postmodern force matured, private security firms slowly took over functions previously performed by the uniformed force. Contractors generally supported the day-to-day functions of the military outside the combat theater. This changed as the West fought two wars in the middle east—a gradual increase in contracting led to significant literature that explored the effectiveness and possible threats or hidden costs of using private security firms in lieu of active duty military. Examination of effectiveness continued but shifted focus to activities of these firms

closer to the deployed force.[26] *AF&S* examined topics such as the influence of contracting on civil–military relations, perceptions of civilian and military personnel about contractors—and performance of contractors.[27] We were also able to incorporate the "missing voices" of the contractors (Krueger & Pedraza, 2012). This literature took the study of contracting in new directions.[28] We examined the motivation of contractors, contractor medical care, and contractors as the new veteran.[29] Other studies used public data on contractor deaths to begin to piece together the demographics of the contractor workforce and the nature of the private security sector's bifurcated labor force.[30]

Small, Asymmetric, Unconventional, Multilateral War

Moskos et al. (2000) maintained that postmodern militaries were characterized by new missions and multinational forces led by international organizations. The Afghanistan war met this test. With the goal of rebuilding a Taliban-free Afghanistan and keeping the insurgency under control, the multinational ISAF faced many challenges. *AF&S* responded with a special issue on Small Wars. These articles explored the nature of small wars in an era of great power interventions.[31] Small wars could demand different approaches. An article on the Dutch response to small wars ("designed to win over hearts and minds" . . . with a "smile and a wave") provided an example (Moelker, 2014, p. 97).

The literature detailed a call for a different mindset and approach (Sieg, 2014).[32] Harkened back to Janowitz's constabulary military. Campbell and Campbell (2010) see the soldiers' roles evolving toward those of police officers. Hajjar (2014), who explicitly emphasizes the postmodern context, posits that the skills of the warrior are becoming less valuable while those of the peacekeeper or diplomats are employed widely.

Articles also extended to the management of the postmodern force. An international array of scholars asked new and old questions and applied them to the expeditionary, postmodern, small war context of ISAF and Iraq. For example:

- What skills are needed (Sookermany, 2011, 2012)? Norway
- What are soldiers' roles in this environment (Mannitz, 2011)? Germany
- What kind of training is needed for unconventional war (Scott et al., 2009)? United States
- What factors influence leadership acceptance (Jansen & Delajahij, 2020)? The Netherlands
- What are new ways to manage the situation? (Resteigne & Soeters, 2009; Rietjens, 2008)? The Netherlands
- How does the notion of professionalism change (Jans & Frazer-Jans, 2009)? Australia
- How is power understood (Hills, 2006)? United Kingdom[33]

- Why do soldiers fight (Kolditz, 2006; MacCoun et al., 2006; Wong, 2006)? United States
- How do we integrate Nongovernmental Organizations into the mix (Yalçınkaya, 2013)? Turkey
- How do civilians cope? (Bierman & Kelty, 2018) United States
- What are the emotional dimensions of intercultural interactions (Schut et al., 2015)? The Netherlands
- How was minority representation effected? (Armor & Gilroy, 2010)? United States
- What is the nature of victory? (Mandel, 2007)? United States

Multilateralism meant multiple and diverse cultures, which in turn brought challenges for collaboration. The role of NATO and the international nature of ISAF led to a recognition of the need for cross-cultural competencies (language proficiency, negotiation skills, and cultural skills) and ways to deal with cultural stress.[34] Giegerich and von Hlatky (2020) demonstrated how different strategic and military cultures could account for variation in outcomes in Provincial Reconstruction Teams. Remi Hajjar (2010) explored ways cross-cultural competencies complemented another initiative—internal cultural diversity.

The host national, foreign military counterparts and local population are particularly important areas for study. It was these people and their families that flooded the Kabul airport in the final days of the evacuation. Celestino Perez (2012) examined the unique ethical and political obligations toward the other—or "person who lives where troops are deployed (p. 178)."

Effective ways to communicate and work with the Afghani people constitute a uniquely important aspect of cultural and particularly linguistic competencies. Local interpreters represent a critical group, who have the potential to make or break missions that engage local populations. Dutch scholars found that cultural competencies among ISAF military personnel led to better relationships with host national interpreters (Van Dijk et al., 2010). The U.S. military employed linguists (usually local) to facilitate better communication with their military counterparts during advising missions. Remi Hajjar (2017) studied the roles of these host national linguists who often worked for contractors and showed how leaders of military advising missions use linguists in a variety of surprising roles including "peacekeeper, diplomat, warrior, subject matter expert, and innovator (p. 92)."

Public Opinion

Up until this point, I have focused on literature that dealt with the experiences of veterans and service members or ways the institution adapted to unconventional, small wars. This section shifts to the home front and public opinion. Most of this international set of articles focused on the public's attitudes toward the war or how the media and their fellow citizens viewed veterans.

Sweden, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the United States were represented in articles that traced the support for the war under different circumstances and over time.[35] While most of this literature asked about general perceptions, Bennett and Flickinger (2009) looked at the special case of military deaths and their impact on support for the war.

The plight of returning veterans also received significant media attention. Veterans' organizations expressed frustration over the shallow representation of veterans in the media. Articles in *AF&S* explored the consequences of the media's stereotyped characterization of veterans (hero, victim, charity case) including veterans' attitudes about the media and ill-informed public.[36]

Civil–Military Relations

Unlike the topics above such as veterans, military families, and reserves, I found no clear or coherent set of articles devoted to civil–military relations. Hines et al.'s (2015) article examines the nexus of public opinion and civil–military relations by focusing on a gap or social distance that arises between the military and civilians "from a lack of contact and shared experiences" (p. 692). Damon Coletta's (2007) analysis of the case of General Shinseki's congressional testimony before the Iraq war dealt directly with the central role of civilian control. Coletta described Shinseki's behavior as close to "military shirking" (p. 110) and not respectful of civilian control. In a rebuttal, Camacho and Hauser (2007) defended General Shinseki and criticized Coletta for ignoring the larger problem of how or when military professionals should speak up when "civilian leadership's plan is grossly inadequate" (p. 122).[37]

Nothing could be more clearly focused on civil–military relations than Great Britain's Military Covenant. This document contains authorized doctrine of the British Army setting out mutual obligations between the Army and the nation it serves. Anthony Forster's (2012) article detailed how the new missions in Afghanistan and Iraq focused attention on the military covenant and shaped the "debate about civil-military relations in the United Kingdom"—shifting it toward the human cost of conflict, particularly the need for improved combat medical care and the number of casualties. This in turn had implications for professionalism.

In a series of articles devoted to civil-military relations, Donald Travis, examined contemporary civil–military relations in the face of an unconventional war.[38] He contrasted the absolutist view of Huntington (1957) with Janowitz's (1960) pragmatism and his notion of a constabulary force. Travis concluded that Janowitz's pragmatism was better equipped to address issues surrounding the irregular war.[39] The greater applicability of Janowitz's work, particularly the constabulary force, to unconventional contexts is perhaps a key takeaway of the civil-military literature of the period. Afghanistan also evoked indirect commentary and theorizing on civil-military relations. For example, a series of articles dealt with the military profession and ethical lapses.[40]

Conclusion

The Afghanistan War and its sister war in Iraq had a profound influence on the content of *Armed Forces & Society*. They were an inescapable shadow of my tenure as editor. My commentary attempts to make sense of a diverse set of articles influenced by this experience. Certainly, the war's influence on the *AF&S* literature will not end with the evacuation of Kabul. This symposium on Afghanistan is an example.

Finally, there were also a few articles that at first seemed like disjoint outliers with no unifying theme. Now at the end of my journey, I see these papers as presenting the very dark side of this war. They deal with green-on-blue murder, ISAF-caused civilian casualties, torture, and the plight of war-traumatized offenders caught by a military misconduct Catch-22.[41] Journal articles often sanitize the horror of war. These articles, perhaps, gave me and *AF&S* a chance to keep it real and uncover the weeds of the forest.

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Notes

1. All three were the President/Chair of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society. David R. Segal served as editor of *Armed Forces & Society* for 6 years. All three have influential students who contribute to the pages of *AF&S* and mentored me in different phases of my career.
2. This stewardship role extends to what I cite in this paper. Clarivate, the organization that publishes journal impact factors, monitors journals to ensure they do not artificially inflate their impact factor with self-citations. As a result, I have been advised by AF&S's publisher to avoid citing articles published online in 2020 and 2021. These articles are considered as I discuss trends.

3. While I was systematic about collecting the literature, I also incorporated my experience as the one who observed the ebb and flow of articles that arrived and who ultimately made the decision about which to publish. This is not a formal scoping review of the literature but a commentary by the editor responsible for the content of *AF&S* over the course of the Afghanistan War. It is not a formal explanatory study that controls for other factors contributing to content change. Again, this commentary is my reflection!
4. During the Vietnam War, which used conscription and draft motivated enlistment to staff the force, there were roughly between 3 and 3.5 million active-duty service members. During the Afghanistan war, the active duty numbers ranged from 1.3 to 1.4 million. See Defense Manpower Data Center, Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense. https://dwp.dmdc.osd.mil/dwp/app/dod-data-reports/workforce-reports
5. Because these wars were somewhat coterminous and had similar effects on the institution, I included studies of Iraq in this review. In my mind, they were both part of a larger cloth.
6. See Shields (2020) for a discussion of topics most often included under the umbrella of military and society.
7. See Dandeker et al. (2006). This discussion was expanded in a research note by Burdett et al. (2013). Here, ex-service members were asked about their definition of veteran. More than half of the sample did not consider themselves to be veterans.
8. In the first article that explicitly examined Afghanistan veterans, Moradi and Miller (2010) explored how these vets viewed gays and lesbian service members.
9. See Humensky et al. (2013), Walker (2013), Neill-Harris et al. (2016), Cooper et al. (2018), Flores (2017), Bailey et al. (2019), Van Slyke and Armstrong (2020), and Griffith (2020).
10. These articles are identified in the health section.
11. See Crowley and Sandhoff (2017), Eichler (2017), Prokos and Cabage (2017).
12. The study of military families took off with Mady Segal's (1986) article that introduced the notion of battling greedy institutions (family and military), which placed unique challenges on its women.
13. See, for example, Dimiceli et al. (2010), Spera (2009), Wheeler and Torres Stone (2010), Andres and Moelker (2011), Faulk et al. (2012), Van Winkle and Lipari (2015), and Skomorovsky and Bullock (2017).
14. See Harrison and Laliberté (2008), and Lara-Cinisomo et al. (2020).
15. See Zellman et al. (2009), Spera (2009), Andres and Moelker (2011), Faulk et al. (2012), Van Winkle and Lipari (2015), Spera et al. (2015).
16. Examples of the treatment of health include Rothberg et al.'s (1985) examination of health outcomes of American troops deployed to the Sini as observers. In 1992 we published a special issue devoted to health concerns such as AIDS, alcohol abuse, obesity and fitness, headwounds, and PTSD. See J. Stanley and Blair (1992), Burrelli (1992), Bray et al. (1992), Vogel (1992), Hoiberg and White (1992), Linn et al. (1992), Blair et al. (1992), and Scott (1992). Concern about AIDS among militaries in sub-Saharan Africa surfaced in the early 2000s (Heinecken, 2003). Most of the contributors to the previous health literature were sociologists. Articles written by authors with home institutions in medical schools were mostly nonexistent. This changed after 2015.
17. See Brænder (2016), Hinojosa et al. (2019), Swed et al. (2020a), Kysar-Moon and Mustillo (2019), Oh and Berry (2021), Feinstein (2015), Harrison et al. (2011), Griffith and Vaitkus (2013), Bryan et al. (2020), and Wolf-Clark and Bryan (2017).

18. See Harrison et al. (2011), Griffith and Vaitkus (2013), Griffith and Bryan (2016), E. A. Stanley and Larsen (2021), Hipes et al. (2015), and Brænder (2016).
19. See Hinojosa et al. (2019), Kysar-Moon and Mustillo (2019), Oh and Berry (2021), Swed et al. (2020b).
20. See Volume 34, Issue 4, 2008 and Volume 47, Issue 4, 2021.
21. It should be noted that Israel with its persistent threat also has a robust reserve system and many active scholars examining reserve issue. See for example Perliger (2011) and Ben-Dor et al. (2008).
22. See Griffith (2009a, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c) and Vest (2013).
23. See Griffith (2005, 2008, 2009b), Bury (2017), and Dandeker et al. (2010).
24. See Firestone and Harris (2009), Bryan et al. (2020), and Griffith and Vaitkus (2013).
25. See Griffith (2009a), Bury (2019), and Griffith (2011a).
26. See Cohn (2011), Camacho (2010), and Heinecken (2014).
27. See McCoy (2010), Kelty and Bierman (2013), and Petersohn (2013).
28. Note that the research on contracting is problematic because contractors have "proprietary rights" and do not have to provide data about their internal workings such as employee demographics.
29. See Franke and Von Boemcken (2011), White (2018), Riley and Gambone (2016).
30. See Swed et al. (2020a).
31. See Weichong and Chong (2014), Chew (2014), Cochran (2014), and Lammers (2014).
32. See Shields (2011) for a review of the literature on the expeditionary mindset.
33. William Locke Hauser (2006) wrote a rejoinder to this article.
34. See Hajjar (2010, 2017), Holmes-Eber et al. (2016), Azari et al. (2010).
35. See Berndtsson et al. (2015), Hines et al. (2015), Canan-Sokullu (2012), Sirin (2012), Simon et al. (2018). Kleykamp et al. (2018) examine public support for veterans. Fogarty (2015) also looked at German soldiers feeling that the public was not particularly supportive of their efforts. The author attributed this to the "increasingly controversial and unpopular" ISAF Afghanistan mission (p. 753).
36. See Parrott et al. (2019) and Kleykamp et al. (2018).
37. This case was about the decision to invade Iraq, which is different than Afghanistan. For purposes of this essay, however, I treat the two wars as part of a larger cloth.
38. See Travis (2017, 2018, 2020).
39. See Travis (2017, 2020). Ionut Popescu (2019) offered critical commentary on this article.
40. See Crosbie and Kleykamp (2018a, 2018b), and Travis (2018).
41. See Shortland et al. (2019a, 2019b), Arsenault and Chiang (2020), and Seamone et al. (2018).

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