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AND THE CAMPAIGN
TO DEMILITARIZE
PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Scott Harding &
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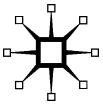

COUNTER-RECRUITMENT AND THE CAMPAIGN TO DEMILITARIZE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2015 978-1-137-51525-4

First published in 2015 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®
in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978-1-349-55742-4 ISBN 978-1-137-49327-9 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137493279

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Harding, Scott.
Counter-recruitment and the campaign to demilitarize public schools / by Scott Harding and Seth Kershner.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Public schools—Political aspects—United States. 2. Civil-military relations—United States. 3. Militarization—United States. 4. United States—Armed Forces—Recruiting, enlistment, etc. 5. United States. Army. Reserve Officers' Training Corps. I. Kershner, Seth. II. Title.
LC111.H325 2015
371.010973—dc23 2015009620

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Integra Software Services

First edition: September 2015

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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Foreword

In the 1920s, John Nevin Sayre, Oswald Garrison Villard, and a number of US peace leaders created the Committee on militarism in Education. A response to government attempts to institutionalize military preparedness in the wake of World War I, the Committee worked throughout the interwar years to prevent compulsory military training in schools and to counter the spread of war propaganda. Among the many prominent supporters of the Committee was John Dewey, who believed that education should be a vehicle "for the encouragement of independent thinking and not for patriotic chauvinism."[1] The spirit of the Committee on Militarization in Education is alive today in the efforts of local groups throughout the country working to counter military recruitment in schools and encourage education for peace. The present efforts began in the wake of the Vietnam War to oppose militarization in our nation's schools and in the media. This "new American militarism," as Andrew Bacevich terms it, is driven in part by the creation of an all-volunteer military. It is a response to the challenge of annually recruiting more than 240,000 new volunteers into the military.[2] The result has been the pervasive penetration of the nation's schools by military recruiters and a massive propaganda effort to shape public consciousness and culture.

The military recruitment apparatus is an enormous, highly sophisticated system that is designed to coax impressionable young minds toward a favorable view of military service. The annual budget for military recruitment is more than $1.4 billion.[3] This enables military recruiters to visit thousands of public schools, administer the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) to nearly a million high school students,[4] and enroll half a million students in Junior Reserve Officers Training (JROTC) courses.[5] These programs are especially prevalent in under-resourced schools and low-income communities, where opportunities are limited and young people are susceptible to the military's promises of career advancement and college benefits. The armed forces saturate media airwaves and social media platforms with advertising efforts that portray military service as an attractive and desirable option,

presenting images of technical equipment and humanitarian service rather than the gritty realities of combat. Military recruiters have produced a multiplayer interactive shooter game, *America's Army*, which can be downloaded for free and is very popular among military-age youth.[6] These elaborate recruitment and advertising efforts enable the armed forces to influence the perceptions and preferences of millions of young people. They help boost recruitment rates and increase the appeal of the military within society.

The system being advanced by this promotional effort is fundamentally fraudulent, a "recruitment racket" as I have described it.[7] The video game experience of combat is far removed from the harsh realities American troops faced in Afghanistan and Iraq. The image of heroic Americans battling terrorist "bad guys" does not match the experience of modern counterinsurgency warfare. Recruits are not told about high rates of PTSD and the record number of military suicides in recent years. The many recruits who are married or have children are not prepared for the hardships of frequent overseas deployment and the resulting difficulties for family life. They are not told about the disturbing number of veterans who end up unemployed or homeless.[8]

Recruiters and military advertisers present a glorified, unrealistic picture of military life and offer promises about the employment benefits of military service that cannot be realized. The shiny images of high-tech equipment and public service depict only a tiny slice of what the military actually does and the duties for which soldiers are trained. Combat and artillery are still the most prevalent military occupational specialties in the Army and Marine Corps. These and many military jobs have no counterpart in the civilian economy. The more desirable military positions that exist in fields such as information technology and vehicle or aircraft maintenance are in occupational categories where civilian openings are few and hard to obtain. A mismatch exists between the military occupational structure and the jobs that are available to young people in the civilian economy. Those who serve in the military rarely gain the technical skills and advanced employment opportunities that are promised by recruiters or portrayed in advertising.

The success of military recruitment depends upon limited economic and social opportunity and high rates of youth unemployment. Recruitment surveys indicate that a lack of decent jobs is often an important factor motivating the decision to enlist. Although econometric studies show mixed results in the relationship between joblessness and recruitment rates, a strong connection has existed historically between the lack of economic opportunity at home and the success of military recruitment.[9] Iraq war resister Joshua Key reports that he joined the military because the job options in his hometown were minimal. It was either Uncle Sam or Ronald McDonald, as he put it.[10] When the recruiter promised "non-deployable" duty, he accepted, although

he discovered after entering the military that no such status exists and was quickly deployed to Iraq.

Social science studies confirm a direct link between military enlistment and socioeconomic status. A 2008 analysis in the *Journal of Military and Political Sociology* finds that family income is an important predictor of military service, noting that "those with lower family income are more likely to join the military than those with higher family income."[11] A 2010 study in *Social Science Quarterly* confirms that "household income represents a significant antecedent of military enlistment." The evidence shows that entry into the military is associated with lower family income, less educated parents, and larger family size.[12] The authors conclude that military service is likely to "appeal to young people who are relatively disadvantaged," which "raises questions about which segments of the population the military attracts and why."[13]

The armed forces consciously exploit the economic and social needs of those in the lower middle classes. The most marginalized youth who lack a high school diploma or basic literacy and numeracy skills are not eligible for the military and do not serve. The target audiences for military recruitment are those in the next rung up in the social ladder: young people who have abilities and aspirations for achievement but lack the financial means to reach their goals, and those who are from families of limited means and communities with few job prospects.

Especially effective in reaching this audience is the offer of college tuition benefits. Recent research studies indicate that the strongest motivator for enlistment is the prospect of money for education and the opportunity to gain a college degree. A recent RAND Corporation survey of military recruits found 80 percent citing "money for education" and 78 percent citing "benefits" as reasons for their enlistment.[14] The new GI Bill enacted in 2008 offers greatly improved college educational benefits for veterans who complete their service. This is a significant factor in encouraging enlistment and is especially important in working families where young people otherwise have little chance of paying for a college education.

Despite the new GI Bill, some veterans find the educational benefits they receive inadequate to meet actual costs and complain of being misled by recruiters. The Army has acknowledged at least 91 recent cases of "blatantly misleading" recruitment agreements in which enlistees were deceived about the benefits they would receive from the Army College Fund.[15] When Eric Hickam joined the Army in 2003, he was led to believe that the promised $50,000 College Fund would be in addition to the GI Bill. When he enrolled six years later at Columbia University and started receiving the hefty bills, he was told by the military that the Fund amount was the total for all

benefits—not enough to cover even one year of study. Other veterans have similar problems of being short-changed on the educational benefits they were promised.

The recruitment system takes advantage of the vulnerabilities and uncertainties of civilian life to attract recruits into the military. Technically, this is called volunteering. While the overt compulsion of the military draft is absent, it is hardly "voluntary" for young men and women with no money for college and limited job prospects to succumb to the enticements of military recruitment. Many soldiers cite "change of life" as the reason for enlisting.[16] For many working-class and lower-income people, military service becomes the vehicle for escaping difficult economic and social circumstances at home.

This is a system that I have described as economic conscription.[17] It is a modern form of "channeling," the widely criticized system of social engineering during the Vietnam War in which lower-income youth were targeted for military conscription, while middle-class and more privileged students received exemptions to pursue higher education and professional careers.[18] In the all-volunteer force, market forces substitute for direct government control to channel young people into military service. The privileged are able to pursue college and advanced education, while the less affluent are left to compete for a dwindling number of civilian jobs—and often find military service the only available option.

Such a system is not just. When military service becomes a principal path to economic security and educational opportunity, society has become dangerously militarized. Many people are opposed to this system and are working in their communities to keep recruiters out of the schools. They are counseling young people on alternatives to military service and encouraging education for peace. Like the supporters of the Committee on Militarism in Education during the 1930s, these advocates for peace today are working for the advancement of education in its purest form, as Dewey envisioned—a means for learning the principles of critical thinking and the value of cooperation and understanding. The misuse of the educational system for military recruitment and war propaganda is fundamentally antithetical to that vision and to the conditions of a healthy society. The people who carry on this necessary work deserve our gratitude and support. This book is the story of their struggle to create a more just and peaceful society.

David Cortright
Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies
University of Notre Dame

Acknowledgments

All books are a collective effort and, in consequence, we have many people to thank. Above all, we want to acknowledge those involved in counter-recruitment, who have done so much to resist the rising tide of school militarism. Many remarkably kind, competent, and engaged people came to our attention as subjects for this book. Some of them opened up their homes to us, and went the extra mile to make sure we got the complete picture of the organizing they and their colleagues have been doing. They include Sam Smith and John Judge, dedicated activists who sadly did not live to see the completion of this book. Thanks especially to Rick Jahnkow, Amy Hagopian, Kathy Barker, Pat Elder, Susan Van Haitsma, Diane Wood, Carol Van Houten, Libby Frank, Darlene Gramigna, and Arlene Inouye, as well as those who have shared news clippings, meeting minutes, and other archival materials. For access to other primary source materials, we are indebted to Melissa Watterworth Batt and her colleagues at the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center, University of Connecticut; Jodi Boyle at the M.E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives, University at Albany, SUNY; and to Wendy Chmielewski of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

Our sincere thanks to Brian O'Connor, who took a chance on us, and to Elaine Fan and the other editorial staff at Palgrave Macmillan.

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This labor of love would not have been possible without the care and patience of many people—especially family and friends—too numerous to name. Thank you for supporting this project in ways large and small.

The University of Connecticut provided financial support through the Large Faculty Grant program that made it possible to travel and meet the activists profiled in this book. Dean Salome Raheim also offered financial assistance and—importantly—the opportunity to pursue my research.

Deep gratitude goes to my best friend Tom Dresslar—and his awesome wife, Kathryn Rae—for your generous spirit. Thanks to you both for believing in me and for always opening up your home.

For renewing my faith in young people, and for being a nonstop source of entertainment, thanks to my daughter Ayjan.

My mother passed away in 2003 before I could thank her properly for being such a courageous and beautiful woman. Any accomplishments I have achieved are a result of her love and wisdom. Thank you, Alice.

Kathryn, my life partner, deserves special praise. For always putting up with my shenanigans; for your patience; for your innovative ideas; and for embracing life in a way that moves others . . . thank you. I could not have done this without you, nor would I want to. You are my inspiration.

Scott Harding

Getting *Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public Schools* into print provides me with the opportunity to thank all those who have helped me along the way. Many thanks to Don and Marion Lathrop, two tireless peace and justice activists who first introduced me to the world of counter-recruitment and have nurtured my interests ever since.

As an undergraduate at Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, Matt Silliman, Paul Nnodim, Graziana Ramsden, and David Johnson opened up intellectual life to me in ways that I could not have anticipated. To them, I offer my deepest appreciation.

I close by acknowledging the love and support of my family and friends. Great thanks are due to my parents, to whom I owe so much. At a critical juncture, my brother, Jason, and his wife, Karlee, gave me a much needed respite from research and writing at their home in Hawaii. Susan and Steve also supported this project in a number of ways, both big and small. And I am most grateful to my partner, Sylvie, who has been deeply supportive during the years that this book has been in the making. Her love and encouragement have sustained me and this project.

Seth Kershner

The original version of this book was revised.
An erratum to this book can be found at [DOI 10.1057/9781137493279_8].

Commonly Used Abbreviations

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
ASVAB	Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery
BAY-Peace	Better Alternatives for Youth
CAMS	Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism in Schools
CCCO	Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors
DEP	Delayed Entry/Enlistment Program
JAMRS	Joint Advertising, Market Research & Studies
JROTC	Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps
MEChA	Movimiento Estudiantil Chican@ de Aztlán
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NCDOS	National Campaign to Demilitarize Our Schools
NCLB	No Child Left Behind Act
NNOMY	National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth
Project YANO	Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities
SOY	Sustainable Options for Youth
TFORM	Task Force on Recruitment and Militarism
USAREC	United States Army Recruiting Command
UTLA	United Teachers Los Angeles
VVAW	Vietnam Veterans Against the War
YA-YA Network	Youth Activists-Youth Allies Network

Introduction

We met Yvette in the modest home of Diane Wood, founder and coordinator of a small activist organization, Peaceful Vocations. Members of the Ft. Worth, Texas, group engage in military "counter-recruitment" through their organizing and activism to confront the growing presence of military recruiters in American schools. They visit high schools to challenge recruiters' messages with information on non-military career options; work to make it harder for the military to operate in local schools; conduct lobbying campaigns for policies that protect students' private information from military recruiters; and nurture youth to become involved in these activities. Their reasons for engaging in this work vary, but almost all the activists in our study shared concerns about how a military presence in schools corrupts traditional educational values and often runs roughshod over students' privacy rights. Counter-recruiters also object to the way military recruiters disproportionately target youth with the least advantage: English-language learners, low-income students, and students of color. They are not anti-military—in fact, many counter-recruiters are themselves military veterans—but rather oppose the military's increasingly bold intrusions into a place where they do not belong: public schools. Counter-recruiters form a relatively small, but vital, movement; Peaceful Vocations is the only counter-recruitment group in conservative Fort Worth, and one of only three in the nation's second largest state.

At the time, Yvette had been active with Peaceful Vocations for six years. She regularly joins group members on visits to area high schools, where they often have a table set-up across from military recruiters. A Hispanic single mother in her thirties, Yvette defies the stereotype of peace activists as aging hippies trying to relive the 1960s. She is also the only military veteran in Peaceful Vocations, which she believes gives her insight into the reasons why youth enlist in the armed forces. "When I was in high school," she recalled, "if you asked me I would have said, 'I'll never join the military.'" But like so many Americans, her family's financial situation made it difficult to consider any alternative. "My parents didn't have money for college. I wanted to travel . . . and that's what the recruiter got me on. He said, 'You'll travel the

world, and you won't go to combat.'" Yvette's experience was hardly unique. According to one survey, 86 percent of Texas high school students who reported having contact with a military recruiter said they were never told about the risks of military service.[1] "It was kind of a running joke once I was in the military," Yvette noted. "Everyone knows your recruiter lied to you." Although it should not have been a surprise, Yvette was still shocked when—on her first visit to a high school as a member of Peaceful Vocations—she spoke with a student who told her how recruiters described military life.

> One of them was that, "We're not even in a war anymore." You think, "How can these kids not know we're in a war?" But when you're 16- or 17-year-olds, and if you're not watching the news and somebody in that position of authority tells you we're not in a war anymore—especially if it's a military person—you're going to believe it.

The transition from soldier to activist was not easy for Yvette.

> It took me so many years to get back to the person that I was. I was this whole different person in the military: doing what I was supposed to do, and doing what I was told to do, and following what's going on around me instead of pushing up against things.

Her work with Peaceful Vocations offers ample opportunity for resistance. Yvette relishes the chance to talk with the military recruiters she meets in schools and to challenge the stories they tell students. She always introduces herself as a veteran when approaching a recruiter and takes care to be cordial, not confrontational. She shares the pamphlets Peaceful Vocations distributes to students, photocopied flyers with titles like *Know Before You Go* and *What Every Girl Should Know about the U.S. Military.* The response from recruiters varies wildly. "I've had lots of recruiters say, 'Yeah, they need to know that information.' But then a lot of recruiters look at me like I'm the scum of the earth."

Yvette was a relative newcomer to the world of activism. In contrast, Diane Wood, who raised a family in Fort Worth and has lived in the community for more than 40 years, has long been involved with peace- and justice-related initiatives. During the 1980s, she traveled the state speaking to church groups about US policies in Central America. When the Iraq War started in 2003, she began attending a weekly protest vigil and kept up the practice for three years. But counter-recruitment was different. As she fought with school officials who wanted to keep her group out of the local schools, she had to adopt a long-term view of activism. She also had to learn how to be an organizer.

> It's a whole lot different than making a sign and going to a protest. It's establishing those relationships with the school board. It's spending days preparing what you want to present to the school administration officials. It's spending a long time writing your presentation that you're going to do. And it's stamping all this literature, keeping up with it, getting more printed, picking up the printing, calling the schools, making the appointments with the principals because you've got to present yourself. You've got to know what you're talking about. And you have to do it in a way that's diplomatic.

Diplomacy is of utmost importance when organizing in a conservative area like Fort Worth. Until recently, Diane's neighborhood was segregated, with no African American or Hispanic homeowners. School administrators are often unwilling to contest the region's pro-military culture, and initially, many found Peaceful Vocations too controversial to enter the school grounds. Access came only after a protracted struggle with the school board, city council, and through legal challenge. Getting in wasn't the hardest part. Now, when Diane, Yvette, and other Peaceful Vocations activists speak to students in schools, they are more likely to meet with indifference than with hostility. To better engage with Fort Worth youth, Peaceful Vocations activists supplement their tabling events at schools with annual poetry slams. These events are attended by students, teachers, and parents and preceded by a free poetry workshop taught by a professional poet. Not only do these activities help Peaceful Vocations maintain visibility in the Fort Worth educational community, but they have also facilitated new contacts with parents and teachers. "At the poetry slams," Diane said, "the parents come up and say, you know, this is so wonderful that you're doing this." Yvette, for her part, stands by the opinion of her teenage daughter, who says that counter-recruiters have to find ways to "make it fun" for youth, and the poetry slams are a winner in that category.

When Diane first met Yvette at an Iraq War protest in 2006, Peaceful Vocations was just starting counter-recruitment in area schools. "She found out I was a veteran and so she really started pursuing me to come help her out and come to the schools," Yvette said. But as a single mother who was then completing work on her bachelor's degree, Yvette initially felt she did not have time to be involved. "I'm extremely busy and there are lots of times that I want to walk away." But Yvette, like many military veterans in the counter-recruitment movement, feels a sense of duty to reach out to youth with a message of peace. "I have to do this," she said. "I can't just walk away from it."

Despite the difficulties of this work and the lack of consistent measures of success, both Yvette and Diane view counter-recruitment as a critical form of activism that deserves greater support from the larger peace and anti-war

movement. "I think the reason peace activists for the most part don't get involved is because it's longer range," Diane said. "People tend to go to a protest and it's over, and then they can go to the next protest and so forth. And it does something but they don't see the long goal." As articulated by Diane and other organizers, counter-recruiters seek to prevent the next US war by "stopping it where it begins": in public schools where the military has a deeply rooted presence.[2] "The reason we have the war," Diane said, "is because we have militarism in our schools and because of the military's power to induce kids to go into the military . . . I personally believe that counter-military recruitment is the very best anti-war movement that you can ever have."

For the past three years we traveled across the United States to talk with activists, Yvette and Diane among them, about their motivations and experiences as counter-recruiters. We interviewed more than 70 individuals from 25 different communities in 15 states, and often accompanied them on their visits to schools and other venues. We also explored university archives in an effort to understand the broader history of this 40-year-old movement. Many individuals we interviewed had some professional connection to education, with experience working as teachers or social workers. Others were military veterans with a desire to share their story with young people. We also spoke with high school guidance counselors. Since the latter often determine when military recruiters can see students, counselors offer a unique perspective on the presence of the military in public schools.

Utilizing community organizing methods, counter-recruitment activists—students, teachers, veterans, and others—seek to challenge the socialization of youth to a culture of militarism, confront US foreign policy, and contest misinformation spread by military recruiters. During our research, it was encouraging to learn that so many committed activists were trying to rid schools of undue military influence. Despite a lack of financial resources or consistent levels of support from national foundations and mainstream peace organizations, counter-recruiters are determined to resist the military's goal of being the "dominant force" in schools. The odds are long, but those involved in counter-recruitment have achieved important victories.

Before we begin our story, a few caveats about this book. First, we limited our focus to counter-recruitment efforts in high school settings. There are a number of organizers actively involved in combating militarism in colleges and universities, along with a literature on the topic.[3] In contrast, little is known about efforts to address the military presence in American high schools, which is actually more extensive than on college campuses. We also acknowledge limitations of our study design. While we originally intended to balance the voices of adult activists with youth perspectives (especially

those currently enrolled in high school), in the end this proved difficult. One obstacle was the requirement that we obtain parental consent before we could interview student activists. Another challenge was the transience of this population; it ultimately proved too time-consuming to track down many youth who had been involved in counter-recruiting campaigns but had since graduated. Also, our study does not include interviews with military recruiters. However, we compensate for this by drawing on primary and secondary sources, such as reports and periodicals produced by the military recruiting community and other publicly available government documents. Through a careful reading of such material, we provide a candid picture of military recruiters' thoughts and opinions on issues such as school recruiting programs and youth marketing initiatives.

Organizing Where It's Needed Most

Many of the most active counter-recruitment organizations are located in conservative parts of the country. Fort Worth, Texas, for example, is arguably one of the most militarized cities in the Southwest. Its local economy is dependent on the military–industrial complex: one of the area's primary employers, Lockheed Martin, led the world with $36 billion in arms sales in 2012.[4] Moreover, the city lies in close proximity to Fort Hood, which at one time had more of its soldiers killed in Afghanistan and Iraq than from any other US Army base. While reverence for the armed forces goes unquestioned in most parts of the country, it is especially strong in this part of the Longhorn State. Not surprisingly, the military influence is keenly felt in the Fort Worth schools. Before Peaceful Vocations became active, military recruiters enjoyed *carte blanche* access at local high schools. Army recruiters driving customized Humvees would make unannounced visits; and since some of these vehicles came equipped with $9,000 stereo systems, attracting male students was as easy as opening the doors and pumping up the jams. This situation has improved in recent years as schools, challenged by groups like Peaceful Vocations, have implemented stricter access policies for military recruiters. Nonetheless, some Fort Worth public high school students are still told they won't be able to attend homecoming unless they take a military test that measures vocational skills and interests (the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery, ASVAB). The military also works hard to reach children who are years away from being eligible to enlist: recruiters have a tradition of bringing their sales pitch to middle school career fairs, and Fort Hood soldiers log hundreds of hours volunteering as tutors, test proctors, and "lunch buddies" in local elementary schools. In a newsletter distributed to participating schools, Fort Hood officials claim their "Adopt-a-School" program

is all about "giving back" to the community and "nurturing" the growth of local children.[5] However, internal documents and trade publications like the Army's *Recruiter Journal* refer to these practices as a way of "planting the seed" of "military awareness" in young children.[6]

Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public Schools provides a window into the various ways in which the US military recruits youth, while exploring the diversity of responses by local activists. To gain insights into what Matthew Friesen calls the "competition" between counter-recruiters and military personnel for "symbolic dominance in public high schools," we employ a sociological frame analysis.[7] Building on social movement theory, Loretta Pyles and Scott Harding describe frames as "socially constructed conceptual structures that influence behavior and lead to collective action."[8] When used by social change organizations, frames help mobilize activists while spreading awareness of their beliefs into the public arena. This is made necessary since these groups have to contend with the dominant frames about the way the world works served up by political elites, mass media, and other social institutions.

What exactly is the mainstream frame being contested by counter-recruiters? Based on our interviews, analysis of recruiting materials, and media coverage, the following portrayal emerges: military recruiters offer youth amazing opportunities; but since youth aren't sufficiently aware of these benefits, military personnel need to be in schools to make sure students have a clear understanding of the military. Thus, the military claims to offer a route to personal transformation. Current advertising slogans declare that youth can "do something amazing" in the Air Force, "gain strength" in the Army, or "live the extreme" in the Air Force Reserve. Along with the possibility of such adventures, the military also promises to strengthen the moral fiber of today's youth. According to Lance Izumi, president of the California Community Colleges and co-leader of the Southern California Community Advisory board for Army recruiting, "We have raised a generation of children who are used to being taken care of, who are easily distracted" and have a "fairly easy life." In response, the Army claims to provide the "singularly best system" of turning out "disciplined, focused" adults who have "strong personal values."[9]

Then there are the financial benefits of serving. Military service, according to mainstream framing, offers a way of paying for one's college education, the costs of which remain out of reach for an increasing number of American families. The military also claims to offer a steady paycheck, a particularly strong inducement in times of economic crisis. In 2009, with the Great Recession in full swing, Army recruiters who talked to the media suggested, "The Army provides opportunities for people looking for stability in this unstable

economy."[10] During the massive layoffs of the early 1990s, the operative slogan for Army recruiting had a similarly explicit appeal to the unemployed: "U.S. Army: We're Still Hiring."[11]

But military recruiters face a problem that leads to another aspect of the mainstream frame: today's youth remain ignorant of the benefits of military service. As a high-ranking Army recruiting officer explained, given the abundance of options facing students, "sometimes we have to focus them a little bit and make sure that they know all the options available to them."[12] Thus, a Marine recruiter told one reporter that his purpose in visiting high schools is to "demystify" life in the Marine Corps and to correct the "many misconceptions" students may have about military service.[13] One particularly stubborn belief, according to the top recruiter for the Army's mid-Atlantic Recruiting Battalion, is that military service involves combat. Rather than address the possible loss of life or psychological trauma that comes with combat, the Army has reframed its mission. "We're trying to teach taking care of our nation's needs; some of those [needs] could be in combat in Iraq and Afghanistan but many of them are here at home in Hurricane Katrina and other natural disasters."[14] To dispel these misconceptions and make sure youth know about careers in the military, recruiters need unimpeded access to students, especially in America's high schools. Such a presence, for example, allows the Army to achieve its goal: "to motivate, educate, train and develop today's youth to be leaders, decision makers and citizen-contributors to achieve life-long success."[15]

Counter-recruitment campaigns reframe the conventional wisdom about the purpose and value of military service, and question the propriety of a military presence in schools. As we discuss in Chapter 1, activists cite the need for a "counter-presence"[16] in schools to provide the "other side" of the recruitment pitch. Another (counter) frame, explored in Chapter 2, casts counter-recruitment as a means of helping students critically examine the role of militarism in American society. Through sustained work in local schools, often involving arts-based and other interactive programming, counter-recruiters help youth come to the state that Paulo Freire described as *critical consciousness*. Counter-recruitment campaigns also maintain high schools should not be actively supporting military recruiting on campus. Thus, as noted in Chapter 3, these activities take issue with military training programs like Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC), and call for a halt to the practice of handing over private student information (and, in some cases, testing data) to military recruiters. Those involved in counter-recruitment also suggest that a military presence in schools conflicts with traditional educational values like critical thinking and diversity. In Chapter 4, we note how some activists frame their activities as a way of

bringing wars to a premature end. According to this narrative, the job of counter-recruiters is to throw sand in the war machine by dissuading youth from ever enlisting in the military.

Counter-recruitment is also marked by its multidimensional nature—the tendency among activists to employ more than one frame (and form of activism) at a time. In this study, we identify the frames of activists who have worked in a variety of settings, for different lengths of time, and with different measures of success. Some counter-recruitment efforts focus on outreach to communities routinely targeted by recruiters (e.g., minority groups), while others involve campaigns in largely rural or suburban areas with less racial and ethnic diversity. And a growing number of groups employ youth-empowerment strategies so that students themselves can challenge the military presence in their schools. However, most activists are simply involved in the day-to-day spadework of combating school militarism: they distribute pamphlets to students, engage in political education campaigns to inform the public, and get into schools to supply students with information on *alternatives* to the military. This notion of choices is significant, and illustrates the educational role that organizers assume in schools and local communities. Thus, most counter-recruitment activists do not tell young people what they should do with their lives. Nor, generally, do they offer an explicitly anti-military message. Instead, they provide information that military recruiters often leave out of their sales pitch. As Jim Schmidt, a Vietnam veteran from Oregon, told us: "We never approach the kids as being anti-military. We approach them as advocates for them who want to make certain that they are completely informed."

Having a multiplicity of frames at their disposal may have contributed to the steady growth of counter-recruitment. Between 2000 and 2009, the number of activists attending national-level counter-recruitment conferences grew from a few dozen to nearly 300. A directory of organizations available on the website of the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY) reflects the breadth of this movement: from the youth-led Better Alternatives for Youth (BAY-Peace) in Oakland, California, to the Albuquerque Raging Grannies; from Berkshire Citizens for Peace and Justice in Western Massachusetts, to the Guahan Coalition for Peace and Justice in the Western Pacific territory of Guam; from Peaceful Vocations in Fort Worth to the Truth Project in Boca Raton. Many of these disparate organizations are organized under the umbrella of NNOMY, which serves as a clearinghouse for information related to military recruiting, school militarism, and counter-recruitment activism. An associated Yahoo! e-mail list keeps activists informed of developments in the field, and often features commentary and analysis from movement leaders such as Rick Jahnkow and Pat Elder.

Jahnkow, organizing in San Diego since the late 1970s, has been involved in several important campaigns opposing the military in schools. As coordinator of the nonprofit Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities, he is also one of the few remaining full-time paid organizers in counter-recruitment. Jahnkow's commitment to this activism has produced a number of victories: from waging a legal battle over the rights of counter-recruiters to have access to schools in the mid-1980s, to a landmark victory against JROTC in the late 2000s. All along, he has been driven by the desire to help youth who are often not aware of non-military options in life because these tend to be "overshadowed by the presence of military recruiters at their schools on a weekly basis." Not surprisingly, Jahnkow is recognized as a key strategist and mentor to other counter-recruitment activists. One of those is Pat Elder, a Maryland educator whose special focus is lobbying against the unregulated use of military testing in high schools. Over the past ten years, Elder's advocacy has led to state laws protecting the privacy of students who take military-related tests in their high schools. Along the way, he built a coalition that includes state chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and others.

The Long Struggle Against Militarism

The end of the Iraq War and the election of President Barack Obama drained anti-war activist energy and led to the dissolution of many local, counter-recruitment groups. Most organizations continuing to pursue this work do so without emphasizing opposition to a particular war. In this sense, rather than being an explicitly anti-war movement, counter-recruitment is best seen as being *anti-militarist*. Militarism, the cultural trend that normalizes war and a constant state of military mobilization, is both pervasive and hidden in plain sight. Catherine Lutz, an anthropologist who has made her career studying American militarism, suggests that "war readiness is a way of life" in the United States, a phenomenon that permeates public life yet escapes critical scrutiny.[17] Militarism appears at sporting events, where Air Force pilots zoom overhead in carefully choreographed "flyovers," and in video games and other forms of popular entertainment.[18] Candidates for political office often dress up in "military drag" to show proper respect for the armed forces, while a military "color guard" is common at many public events.[19] Moreover, popular culture is increasingly infused with pro-military messages intended to demonstrate support for "the troops." "Despite the ubiquity of militarism," Laura Finley notes, "we are carefully taught not to notice it, acknowledge it, or call it what it is."[20] The result, Lutz notes, is a permanent war economy shielded from critique and seemingly recession-proof: "there is no institution

that is more revered than the military and whose financial and moral support is thought more unquestionable in the halls of Congress. . ."[21]

As an anti-militarist movement, counter-recruitment tries to pierce the veil that keeps Americans blind to militarism, and yet does so in a manner markedly different from the methods of traditional anti-war efforts. While the latter often gauge success on public visibility and the number of participants in periodic street protests, counter-recruitment campaigns typically unfold behind the scenes, in school board meetings and in conversations with students outside school cafeterias. In this sense, counter-recruitment may constitute a "movement without protests," to use a term coined by Italian sociologists Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani.[22] While this may seem fitting today, our analysis of the history of counter-recruitment (Chapter 4) shows that recruitment-related protests have occurred since the 1970s, mainly in response to US involvement in foreign wars.

In fact, counter-recruitment can trace its ancestry to the 1920s, a time when policy-makers and the military advocated more military training programs in secondary and post-secondary institutions. The Committee on Militarism in Education, whose letterhead included such notable figures as educator John Dewey and Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, led the opposition to these plans. Although US entry into World War II spelled the demise of the committee's work, the postwar years produced a surge of anti-militarism organizing when President Truman proposed a system of universal military training for youth. One of the organizations that took part in that successful campaign would eventually lay the foundation for counter-recruitment. Formed in 1948, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, later known as CCCO, was for the first 25 years of its existence an organization devoted to ending conscription and counseling active-duty service members who wished to avoid combat duty by filing for conscientious objector status. In the early 1970s, as conscription was ending in the United States, CCCO began preparing for a transition to the all-volunteer military by working against the militarization of US schools. In later years, the organization focused on fund raising; field organizing; and counseling youth, soldiers, and the general public about the realities of military service and the dangers of militarism in American society. A major part of this advocacy work was to publish a newsletter, *Counter Pentagon*. One of the only periodicals to devote itself entirely to counter-recruitment, *Counter Pentagon* informed readers about changes to military recruiting guidelines, and described new developments concerning the military's presence in schools. The newspaper also solicited information from readers, publishing a regular section where activists shared news of local organizing struggles. *Counter Pentagon* was later replaced by another CCCO publication, the monthly *Objector*. While the

Objector covered other issues, it still emphasized counter-recruitment until the magazine, along with CCCO, began to dissolve in the mid-2000s.[23]

The US counter-recruitment movement has a long history, one that we explore more fully as our story proceeds. While equivalent forms of organizing exist elsewhere in the world, they are not nearly as developed. This is due, in part, to the fact that an all-volunteer military is a relatively recent development in other countries. During the 1990s and 2000s, when some Western European nations started to replace conscription with volunteer-based armed forces, a clear pattern emerged. Similar to what occurred in the United States following the end of the draft in 1973, these countries witnessed a steady increase in their degree of school militarization. As if to compensate for the loss of state power to coerce its citizens (usually young men) to serve in the military, states with volunteer armies found they had to resort to propaganda to meet military manpower needs. This has required a regular military presence in schools in order to reach youth, along with marketing initiatives in the media, direct mail advertising, and the establishment of school-based systems of military training.[24]

In response, European activist groups began organizing to demilitarize schools. It is happening in Spain, for example, where a lively anti-conscription movement has existed since the 1980s. Following that country's conversion to an all-volunteer military in 2001, anti-conscription activists shifted their focus to fighting against militarism in Spanish society; this includes outreach to schools and public protests against the sale of "war toys."[25] In the United Kingdom, ForcesWatch—a nonprofit organization that advocates for a ban on military representatives in schools—produces headline-grabbing research, including one report that revealed how military recruiters target the most economically disadvantaged students.[26] In Germany, a 2008 agreement that formalized ties between the armed forces and the Ministry of Education in eight of the country's 16 states sparked an immediate backlash. There are currently groups organizing against the military presence in schools in five of those German states, and subsequent attempts to secure similar military-cooperation agreements in other parts of Germany have met with defeat.[27]

In this book, we focus on contemporary stories of counter-recruitment success—and setbacks—in organizing US communities against the militarization of schools. We sometimes enrich our analysis of the current situation by drawing on the rich history of counter-recruitment organizing, which has never received the attention it deserves. But to adequately tell this story, we begin by addressing the dimensions of militarism in US education and the broader society. It is a tale not often told, perhaps because Americans like to think their country is different from authoritarian states where children are conditioned into a warrior culture from a tender age.

"Total Market Penetration": Military Recruiting in High Schools

By the late nineteenth century, US military personnel began visiting schools. According to Amy Beegle, veterans of the US Civil War (1861–1865) "met monthly with school children to tell 'thrilling stories of heroic deeds, brave encounters, desperate battles . . . and wondrous suffering.'"[28] These practices became a key priority following the end of the draft in 1973, a transition that led to historic levels of Pentagon spending on recruiting and marketing. The Army alone increased its marketing and advertising budget from $3 million in 1969 to nearly $40 million by 1974 (equal to roughly $190 million today).[29] Across all branches of the armed forces, the number of recruiters more than doubled from 13,000 in 1970 to 32,000 in 1975.[30] Since the early 1980s, recruiters lobbied for greater school access for the military and—until 2001—had to settle for a patchwork of local- and state-level initiatives. Now, a little-known provision of the 2001 federal No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) allows military recruiters access to students both directly on high school campuses and via telephone and other communication tools. Diane, Yvette, and other counter-recruiters attempt to make students and their parents aware that they can "opt-out" of this arrangement by signing a form at the beginning of every school year. Even with the "opt-out" provision, the NCLB law was a gift to American military recruiters, who, since the 1970s, experimented with various methods of obtaining entry to schools and procuring access to student information. In the years leading up to the new education law, the Pentagon gained several legislative victories at the state level that made it easier for recruiters to contact students and visit high schools. Much of this success was due to years of grassroots lobbying campaigns by the military to win the hearts and minds of local educators. Now, according to long-time organizers, the overwhelming majority of US public high schools have no policy in place regarding military recruiters. In such "free range" school environments, recruiters wander the halls in search of potential recruits. It is not uncommon for recruiters to make scores of visits to the same school during the academic year, stroll the sidelines during school sporting events, and give presentations to the marching band about the musical opportunities of military service.

From the Pentagon's perspective, access to high schools is important because youth represent their "target market." That, at least, is how students are typically described in the pages of the Army's *Recruiter Journal*.[31] "The future of the all-volunteer armed forces are seventeen-year-old male high school seniors," as a top Marine recruiter noted; and the Pentagon found that if a person has not considered enlisting by the age of 17 they are far less likely to do so as they grow older.[32] Once they enter high schools, military

recruiters prefer to have specific interactions with youth. To quote from a recent Army War College report, their goal is to "provide an unobstructed conduit into the decision making cycles" of American youth.[33] Recruiters, therefore, seek unfettered contact—and hence, influence—as high school students make vital career choices. School access is essential to military recruiters because that's where youth can be found five days a week. Thus, the Army's *Recruiter Handbook* notes that while it is important for recruiters to cultivate churches, civic organizations, and the business community, "No other segment of the community network has as much impact on recruiting as schools."[34] Counter-recruiters' power, therefore, lies in their ability to also gain access to students, and create space for a dialogue by asking uncomfortable questions about military service and pointing out inconsistencies in the military sales pitch.

One of the more interesting discoveries of our research has been that few people realize the military is actively—and widely—recruiting in schools. Unless you are a student, chances are you have little awareness about the extent of the military presence in US public schools. Recruiters are the invisible salesmen given a nearly impossible mission: *keep the all-volunteer military force going*. They must meet their monthly enlistment quota or else face stiff penalties. For the Army, that means individual recruiters must sign up two new recruits per month, and an average of two and one-half enlistees for the Marines. Tremendous pressure to "make mission" and "fill boots" leads a majority of recruiters to work upward of 60 hours per week,[35] and has at times fostered a culture of fraud and recruiting malpractice. Fraud in the world of recruitment simply refers to the practice of *knowingly* enlisting someone who does not meet the rigorous standards laid out by the different military branches. When recruitment scandals arise, military officials usually dismiss it as a case of a few "bad apples." Except that occasionally some disturbing facts slip through the cracks, as in 2005 when a retired Army recruiting station commander told a reporter

> There's white, there's black, and there's gray. Any recruiter who's successful lives in the gray and goes into the black pretty often . . . There's no way to recruit within the rules and be successful.[36]

What does the military presence in schools look like, in practice? The mainstay of the Pentagon's high school recruiting efforts used to be tabling (or what recruiters refer to as "static displays"): on certain days during the academic year, recruiters would arrive at a school and recruit from behind a table filled with brochures, displays, and free merchandise. Not anymore. After surveying the field in his first six months on the job as Deputy Commanding

General for Army recruiting, Brig. Gen. Bryan Roberts advised recruiters under his command that, "The best high school programs don't include table set-ups; they are passé." Instead, the top recruiters are actually teaching in the classroom, giving presentations at school Career Days, liaising with their school's JROTC units, and volunteering to coach sports.[37] All of which echoes the Army's call for "total market penetration" and—in a chilling formulation—"school ownership."[38] Of course, this level of access would not be possible without synergy between educators and the military recruiting apparatus. Military recruiters have long cultivated the support of educators, who are seen as "Centers of Influence" in a position to encourage Johnny or Sally to enlist. Recruiters therefore invest heavily in outreach to teachers, guidance counselors, school board members, and other school stakeholders. One notable example is the practice of inviting large groups of educators to military bases for several days of interactive, all-expenses-paid "educator workshops."

While military recruitment is common in US high schools, not every community has accepted the growing militarization of public education. Take the case of the Los Angeles Unified School District. Military recruiters used to say they "owned" area schools. All it took to challenge this situation was one motivated teacher with an idea: Arlene Inouye, formerly a speech and language therapist in the District. Her story demonstrates how counter-recruitment activists can make significant change at the local level. During the Iraq War, Inouye, founder and chief coordinator of the Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism in Schools (CAMS), and volunteers with CAMS pushed the Los Angeles school board to pass a policy limiting on-campus military recruiter access. She also helped create a committee responsible for overseeing the school district's relationship with the military. "We went to the [school] board and they actually formed a committee around us," Inouye told us, "where I drive the agenda and we're able to keep a watch over policies, practices and everything having to do with military recruiting." While Inouye has had to dial down her activism after taking on a new job as treasurer of United Teachers Los Angeles (UTLA, one of the largest teachers' unions in the country), her innovative approach to counter-recruitment has inspired others in the movement.

Military Testing in High Schools: The ASVAB as Threat to Student Privacy

In addition to the wide-open access to schools and students afforded military recruiters, the Pentagon also obtains a wealth of student information from the results of the ASVAB. First introduced in 1968, the test is provided free

to schools to promote "career exploration," and many cash-strapped districts require their students to take it in lieu of more expensive career counseling programs. The military publicly plays down the recruitment potential of the test, claiming the ASVAB is just a way of "giving back" to communities by providing a public service to schools.[39] For example, the website for the ASVAB Career Exploration Program (the name used to market the test to schools) minimizes the military connection to the exam. In a fact sheet explaining the ASVAB, parents are told their son or daughter will not be under any obligation to the Pentagon after completing the test. However, left unmentioned is the fact that military recruiters are instructed to call the home telephone numbers of any student taking the ASVAB and offer to "interpret" their test results in a one-on-one session at a local recruiting station. Similarly, a website for educators interested in the ASVAB claims civilian Educational Services Specialists administer the tests, not recruiters.[40] While technically true, military regulations do not prohibit recruiters from serving as proctors for the tests, and the Army's *Recruiter Handbook* advises recruiters to "volunteer as a test proctor whenever possible."[41]

Many agree that the ASVAB program benefits recruiters by augmenting their presence in schools and helping the military to develop relationships with students, teachers, and administrators.[42] The program is also prized by the Pentagon because once the test results are made available to recruiters, they can then use the data to build—in the words of the top military recruiter for the state of Maryland—a "meaningful dialogue" with students about career opportunities in the military.[43] One Army analyst concluded that administering the ASVAB in high schools is ultimately responsible for 10 to 15 percent of new military enlistees—a remarkable figure, given that only a small portion of US high school students (650,000) take the test every year.[44] While the Pentagon has the power to pry student information loose from a variety of sources, including shady private sector "data brokers," the ASVAB is a unique tool in the military recruiting arsenal and one the Pentagon is loath to abandon. According to Pat Elder, the Maryland activist who has advised counter-recruitment groups across the country, "The military really counts on the ASVAB because they get career information, demographics. They get four hours of getting into a kid's head!"

What few school officials know is that military regulations provide eight choices or "options" governing release of student data to the military. Only Option 8 protects student privacy and prevents test results and students' demographic information from being automatically sent to recruiters. Thus, many counter-recruiters have been lobbying school districts and, in some cases, state-level policy makers to require schools to select Option 8 when they administer the test. In 2013, Diane Wood traveled to the state capital

to lobby the Texas Board of Education for a statewide Option 8 mandate. In this effort, she's been joined by a counter-recruitment group in Austin, and has received guidance from Pat Elder. The newly formed Texas Coalition for Student Privacy is a way for activists from across the Lone Star State to join Diane in advocating for regulation of the ASVAB test.

Elder has become an advocate of the "legislative approach" to counter-recruitment. However, he started out with more traditional activism, helping to organize one of the first anti-war demonstrations in Washington, DC, after the terrorist attacks of September 11. In 2004, he made what he calls a "pragmatic shift" and decided his efforts would be more effective by focusing on military recruitment. Elder justifies this change by noting the results-based strategy of counter-recruitment. "I just think we need to concentrate on something that is proven to work." And in that he agrees with those who appreciate counter-recruitment's ability to produce concrete change: school policies limiting recruiter access, for example. In Elder's case, results came in the form of the first state law in the country mandating Option 8 for all students taking the ASVAB. Lobbying by his Maryland coalition earned the endorsements of the state NAACP and ACLU, and a liberal member of the Maryland Senate, Paul Pinsky, whose support proved critical to the law's passage in 2010. Just as important, Elder believes, was the way the issue was framed: "We never allowed anybody to suggest that we were anti-war people." Elder is excited by the progress made by Peaceful Vocations in Fort Worth, and is hopeful other states will pass similar ASVAB legislation. "There have to be a dozen states that are probably even more liberal than Maryland that should be able to do this."

Military Training in High Schools: The Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps

The cozy relationship between schools and the military is most apparent in a high school-based military training program called the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC). Students enrolled in JROTC ("cadets") learn from uniformed military instructors, and study from "military science" textbooks developed by the military and which are exempt from the scrutiny given to other student texts. While supporters of JROTC claim the program is more concerned with inculcating citizenship skills than with recruiting, about half of the program consists of military drill. Students wear uniforms purchased by the military branch sponsoring their unit, and the Pentagon covers some of the instructor's salary. JROTC units currently operate in more than 3,500 US high schools. Each branch of the military runs a separate JROTC program; the Army manages nearly half of these. Geographically concentrated

in the South and Southwest United States, there is a JROTC presence in every state and more than 500,000 students are enrolled nationwide.

The connection between JROTC and recruiting is clear, although this is not marketed as such to schools. If it were, the educational community would likely not embrace the program. As part of their public relations effort, military officials and instructors claim JROTC is a leadership and citizenship-training initiative, not a recruiting tool. The Pentagon has also promoted JROTC both as a source of enrichment for economically disadvantaged youth and as a way of boosting academic achievement and preventing dropouts among "at-risk students." However, most research demonstrates few, if any, significant differences in terms of academic achievement, high school graduation, or transition to college between JROTC and non-JROTC students.[45] Interestingly, while other studies—including one by researchers at the Naval Postgraduate School—found little support for the notion that JROTC leads to improved academic performance, JROTC cadets do in fact have higher rates of military enlistment.[46] Why do students enroll in JROTC? Sometimes they sign up out of a genuine interest in the program. Youth may have family members who served in the military and wish to experience military life themselves. There are undoubtedly many students who benefit from exposure to the discipline and authority structures of JROTC, as well as the social capital and social networks that can accrue to young people participating in the program. At the same time, an unknown (but probably large) number of youth are simply automatically enrolled in JROTC every year. This was the experience of one San Diego high school student, who told a researcher, "I heard about [JROTC] in my freshman year; I was just placed in there the first day of school."[47] In other US school districts, all ninth-graders are automatically enrolled in JROTC even though the program is not mandatory. Others may be encouraged to take JROTC by their guidance counselors, who remind students that they can get "gym class" credit by participating in the program. In Fort Worth, Yvette learned of these techniques for bolstering JROTC enrollment, but could not personally confirm it until she went to register her teenage daughter for classes. When the guidance counselor offered JROTC as an alternative to "gym class," Yvette and her daughter reacted as only two seasoned counter-recruiters could: "We both just looked at each other and laughed. This is really what happens!"

Nationwide, a surprising number of educators support JROTC. Decades of research have revealed that teachers view the program favorably.[48] In fact, some studies suggest educators' views of the program are even more positive than those of JROTC instructors themselves.[49] The popularity of JROTC among educators would alone complicate anti-JROTC organizing. But the hierarchical structure of the program makes it nearly impossible to oppose

by traditional lobbying methods. For example, JROTC instructors can order their cadets to appear in uniform in front of a school board to testify in support of the program; the ensuing spectacle typically ensures defeat for anti-JROTC proposals. Still, some groups have had measured success by aiming at the issue of enrollment, one of the perceived vulnerabilities of the JROTC program. In 2009, for example, San Diego students involved in the Education Not Arms Coalition were able to convince their school superintendent to issue a directive preventing students from being placed in JROTC without their informed consent. Two organizers of this campaign, Nancy Cruz and Davíd Morales, were high school students at the time. A key part of their strategy was helping other students and parents see the disparity between the school funds spent on JROTC and recent cuts to their high school's popular college preparatory program and Advanced Placement Spanish. In 2010, this same student-led coalition launched a grassroots lobbying campaign that eventually shut down the Marine Corps JROTC program at Mission Bay High School.

As suggested, the scale of military involvement in public education is vast and expanding every year. But as successful activism in Los Angeles, Maryland, and San Diego demonstrates, the military faces significant challenges by activists in local schools across the United States. Given the resources the Pentagon has to influence public education, and the enormous impact of the military on civilian life, even these small victories are exceptional. Indeed, many activists speak of counter-recruitment in terms of a David versus Goliath conflict. In spite of these long odds, counter-recruiters have made impressive gains in more than 40 years of organizing. Our book, which foregrounds the voices of these individuals waging an epic struggle, tells the hidden story of the campaign against militarism in American schools.

CHAPTER 1

Countering the Recruitment Pitch

Richard Balderas didn't plan on joining the Marine Corps. Formerly a top student in the Austin, Texas, school system, who was placed on the "gifted and talented" track, he dropped out of high school before his senior year. One year later, Richard re-enrolled at Travis High School, on the city's south side. Although his grades were average, Richard's teachers recognized his potential. With their encouragement, Richard entered a city-wide essay contest where he eventually won second prize.[1] While school was improving, life at home was tense. Richard's younger sister, Naomi, showed great promise as an artist. But the financial strain of a single-parent household meant that it was likely beyond the family's ability to support her dream of attending art school. Around this time, the Marines' recruiting pitch began to sound attractive to Richard.

In 2005, Travis High, where most of the student body is Latina/o, stood out in the heavily militarized Austin Independent School District. The school had the district's largest Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC) program; and a display case in the main corridor housed trophies won over the years by its Navy JROTC marksmanship team. The Marines also had a heavy presence at Travis High: a Marine Corps flag hung proudly in the school's cafeteria, and during his senior year Richard talked frequently with a Marine recruiter at his school. He soon joined the Marines on the Delayed Entry Program (DEP), which meant he had up to a year before having to report to active-duty training.[2]

In a feature story on Hispanics in the military, Richard told the *Austin American-Statesman* that he wanted to emulate the Marines he had seen on television growing up. "I like seeing the suits and the sword. I felt that's something I'd like to see on me." But the clincher was the Marines' promise to find a college loan for his sister if Richard enlisted. "The Marines told me I'd be able to help her out, to take care of her financially."[3] But shortly after the

article appeared, doubts emerged. Though he chose mechanical training over the infantry, Richard's family remained deeply concerned about the possibility of his being sent to Iraq. Hispanic Texans were dying in combat in Iraq at a rate more than 60 percent higher than for the nation's military-age population as a whole.[4] Meanwhile, one of Richard's teachers sought out Thomas Heikkala, a Vietnam veteran engaged in counter-recruitment in Austin schools with the group Sustainable Options for Youth (SOY). As Heikkala later told us, Richard's teacher "got a hold of me and said, 'I'd like to see if I can arrange a meeting with you and him . . . because he's got so much talent in writing; I'd just hate to see him get distracted in the military.'"

Growing up, Heikkala was fascinated by weapons and military history. Counter-recruiting with his fellow activists in Austin was gratifying because it allowed him to mentor "young men and young women about what to do if they're considering [military service]." This form of outreach to high school students was important, he told us, because "a lot of them grew up like I grew up: pretty oblivious to the negative sides of militarism." Heikkala met Richard and told him he could withdraw from the DEP with no consequences. He also gave Richard a copy of an informational pamphlet, titled *If You Change Your Mind, You May Not Have to Go*, explaining how the DEP worked. Yet, by the end of the meeting, Heikkala did not believe he had persuaded the young man. As he recalled, Richard told him, "Yeah, I'll be going in [to the Marines]—I've gotta do that." In fact, Heikkala did not realize his influence until he saw the *Austin American-Statesman* the following week and found an article on Richard. "Balderas changed his mind" about enlisting, the story read, "after much soul-searching and with advice from groups that counsel students about nonmilitary options."[5]

Enlistees like Richard are often unaware they can withdraw from the DEP simply by contacting their recruiter before their assigned "ship date" and requesting to "de-enlist." Understandably, recruiters are loath to advertise this option. Some have been known to tell early enlistees—falsely—they will run afoul of military law if they do not report for duty. In an effort to prevent "DEP loss," recruiters have also used "tough love." In an article in the Army-sponsored *Recruiter Journal*, one recruiter from the Oklahoma City Battalion related his methods for dealing with a "Future Soldier" (the Army's term for early enlistees) who was having doubts. "You want to be sympathetic, but you have to remind them that they made a commitment and it's not okay not to ship."[6] Sometimes, tough love crosses over into coercion. In 2004, *Draft NOtices*, the counter-recruitment newsletter published by San Diego organizer Rick Jahnkow, printed a series of anecdotes from people who had counseled enlistees through the DEP program. One activist related the story of a young man whose request for release from DEP resulted in a visit to his

workplace by angry Marines; the recruiters pressured him to reconsider his decision, and only left after his supervisor ordered them out of the building.[7]

At the time Richard Balderas signed up, pressure on military recruiters to fulfill their quotas, and thus to "sustain" early enlistment, was at an all-time high. In January 2005, when Richard enlisted, the Marines missed their monthly recruiting goal for the first time in ten years.[8] The impact on Richard was tangible. Shortly after mailing his letter requesting release from the DEP, he was approached at school by his recruiter who told him he would have to report to a "commanding officer in San Antonio" to discuss his situation. But on the advice of the GI Rights Hotline, an advocacy group with a history of collaborating with the counter-recruitment movement, Richard refused and was eventually released from the Marines.

Knowledge to Empower

This example illustrates what we label the *consumer advocacy* method of counter-recruitment. While some use the term "truth-in-recruiting" or "pre-enlistment counseling" to describe this approach, we prefer *consumer advocacy* out of a desire to connect counter-recruitment with a longer tradition of activism. Consumer advocates are those groups and organizations that seek to protect consumers from corporate abuses, deceptive marketing practices, and unsafe products. Campaigns for seat belts and other safety features in automobiles during the 1960s changed the culture of car manufacturing, prevented countless driver injuries, and brought a consumer advocate named Ralph Nader into the national spotlight. Similarly, counter-recruiters engage in a type of advocacy to protect students from abusive military recruiting practices, to help them understand the military enlistment contract, and to make youth aware of non-military alternatives of getting financial assistance for college or job training. In short, this approach seeks to "empower" youth with the knowledge to make decisions about whether to enlist in the military or to pursue other career paths.

Many people we interviewed emphasized that rather than discourage students from joining the military, they supply youth vulnerable to recruitment with information that allows them to make an informed choice. For example, if a student reveals they are considering enlistment, activists may share information on the "realities of military service"; their methods vary depending on each student. In their outreach to young women, counter-recruiters often share information that explains the risks of sexual assault in the military. One military veteran from Oregon told us that instead of discussing abstract topics with female students—how military culture is patriarchal, for example—she relates the personal and more powerful story of how she was repeatedly raped

while serving in the Army. For those who have already enlisted through the DEP, activists explain their legal options (including release from the DEP, or filing a claim as a conscientious objector). Of course, many students become interested in military service out of a sincere desire to serve their country; with these youth, counter-recruiters may promote AmeriCorps and City Year as examples of non-military ways to earn money for college while serving one's country.

Organizers engaged in consumer advocacy thus seek to highlight the diverse array of *non*-military paths to obtaining job skills and college funding. Tami Minnich, a former social worker who volunteers with SOY in Austin, spoke of her goal "to at least plant some seeds in the minds of students that there are . . . alternatives to the military." This information is vital, as many youth—especially from low-income communities—may view the military as their only viable career option. Amy Wagner, the coordinator of YA-YA Network (Youth Activists-Youth Allies) in New York City, frames her work as an attempt to help students "have real information and real options so that they can make informed decisions" about whether they should enlist. The approach laid out by the late Washington, DC-area counter-recruiter, John Judge, is representative of many we interviewed.

> [we] talk to the young people before they enlist to explain to them the realities of military life, the statistics about how likely it is they'll go to war and special problems women and people of color face in the military . . . We also then tell them that they have other options to find job training, job placement and skills in the community, trade schools, apprenticeships, internships, [and] other ways that they can break in [to the job market].

Consumer advocacy has existed in some form since the advent of counter-recruitment. This type of activism was an easy transition for many who participated in Vietnam-era draft counseling programs, such as David Cortright, a prominent peace researcher and professor at the University of Notre Dame. In 1974, deeply involved with GI rights and military counseling issues, Cortright traveled to Baltimore to attend the first national counter-recruitment symposium. Conference proceedings record him saying that one of the most important goals of counter-recruitment was "empowering people . . . so that they cannot be manipulated, so that whether they enlist or not they will understand the impact of the military on themselves and the society around them, and how to work toward change."[9] At that time, the use of consumer advocacy was so pronounced there was disagreement about the proper name for counter-recruitment. Some chose to describe their work as "pre-military counseling." Regardless of the name, there was an urgent

need for this work, as widespread reports emerged of military recruiters using deception and fraud to sign up new recruits. In 1973, the House Armed Services Committee acknowledged that some recruiters "present an unrealistic picture" to potential recruits.[10] Under pressure to make their enlistment quota, recruiters created fake high school diplomas and covered up the police records of potential recruits. In 1978, Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia held congressional hearings on military recruitment fraud; a year later, the outgoing chief of the Army's recruiting command revealed that more than 12,000 soldiers had been illegally enlisted since 1977.[11]

The military had an easier time in the 1980s finding recruits due to the state of the economy. Army recruiting manuals from that time suggested recruiters search newspaper articles about plant closings for the names of newly unemployed men.[12] This strategy may have been used in the Detroit metropolitan area, where Army enlistment doubled from 1979 to 1980, a period marked by the decline of the auto industry.[13] Despite these advantages, in 1981, the Government Accountability Office found recruiting malpractice was still a problem "in every [service] component except the Air National Guard."[14] Given the need to address "recruiters' lies," activists used the most advanced technology of the time. "Choice or Chance," a slide show about the realities of military service, was widely shown in high school classrooms in the 1980s.

Aside from helping youth make informed decisions, consumer advocacy holds the potential of strengthening alliances across racial and class boundaries. Deborah Piatelli's study of racial dynamics in a network of US peace activists suggested counter-recruiters fell into two groups: those who saw their goal as cutting the supply of US troops for the Iraq War (the "anti-war" approach discussed in Chapter 4), and those who focused instead on "educating youth about their choices" (consumer advocacy). The latter, she noted, is more attuned to the socioeconomic factors that encourage enlistment. Piatelli found consumer advocacy promoted building multiracial coalitions, in part because activists saw counter-recruitment as a broader social justice issue and not merely a tool to end a specific war. As one participant told her, educating youth about their choices was part of a "bigger agenda . . . of supporting communities of color in [community] and their needs and working against the exploitation of youth of color."[15] As one example of this practice from our study, Diane Wood's group, Peaceful Vocations, is regularly invited to set up a literature table at an African American community center's annual "Back to School" night and discuss alternatives to military service.

This approach to counter-recruitment also contests what Matthew Friesen has called the "vocational visions" offered by military recruiters.[16] Since the end of conscription in 1973, the military has emphasized prospects for career

advancement found in the armed forces.[17] Not surprisingly, given the current economic climate, military recruitment continues to promote vocational and educational opportunities, along with financial incentives, to potential enlistees. An activist who works in rural Maine told us that youth who grow up in poorer communities find this narrative especially appealing: "military recruiters' presentations and aesthetic make the alternatives (working in a mill, working as a fisherman with dad) look bland by comparison." Organizers contest these claims through reframing: they note few military occupations have counterparts in the civilian sphere, making it hard to find employment after leaving the military; or that despite their promises, military recruiters cannot guarantee an enlistee will receive the occupation or training of their choice.

In addition, consumer advocacy challenges the "heroic military narrative."[18] Military recruitment often suggests serving in the military can be an exciting adventure, such as the Air Force Reserve "Live the Extreme" ad campaign that plays on young men's fascination with extreme sports. This framing of military life also combines jingoism with appeals to male pride: only the toughest join the Marines, or by implying that heroism is the exclusive domain of the military. In response, counter-recruitment activists provide youth with information that recruiters and the military are likely to leave out of their marketing: the often tedious reality of long deployments and the everyday cruelty of combat missions. Patrick Coy and his colleagues found that a major contribution of social movements is their production of "oppositional knowledge" that challenges "familiar, authoritative conceptions of how the world does and should work." Consumer advocacy appears to belong to the most common type of oppositional knowledge, "*counter-informative*, which aims to present the 'untold story' and what is missing from the picture—what is not told."[19]

Our research finds that the consumer advocacy approach to counter-recruitment is achieved in various ways. Its primary form involves setting up literature tables ("tabling") at high schools. Other means include attending career fairs, or compiling and distributing information on alternatives to the military. School access is an important element in these efforts, as it provides activists the most reliable means of bringing their message directly to youth. Not surprisingly, organizers across the country have used different methods to gain access. Citing legal precedent is often a useful tool. Several federal court rulings have found that schools must give "equal access" to counter-recruitment groups, meaning activists must have the same opportunities for school access as that enjoyed by military recruiters on campus. "I very much feel that we are standing on the shoulders of some of the earlier

counter recruiters," one Oregon counter-recruiter told us. "I have had to use [the district court decisions] several times to get into various school districts." School policies vary widely, but typically the military, other employers, and colleges are allowed to come into schools and set up an information table. However, according to one anthropologist who has studied how schools interact with military recruiters, school officials are often coerced into ceding "extra" levels of access to military personnel.[20] As we discuss in Chapter 3, organizers in some of the largest US school districts have helped enact key restrictions on the military, including policies that confine military representatives to a career counseling office and only allow them to see students by appointment.

Most counter-recruitment groups engage in some form of tabling during the school year; the frequency of visits to individual schools often depends on how many volunteers are available during the school day, but typically range from once a semester to as often as once a month. Activists are expected to contact schools and set up appointments beforehand, which for many can be a frustrating and time-consuming task. As Thomas Heikkala from Austin noted, "The staff and the administration are so busy [that] it's really hard to connect with them over the phone. You leave messages; they don't call you back." Once they arrive at a school, group members must sign in, accept an escort (if required), and stay only for the allotted period of time (usually during lunch). Most US high schools offer their student body several lunch periods of a half-hour each. Even with such limited time, and under close scrutiny by school officials, many organizations successfully reach students with their message of alternatives to military service.

SOY, the group that counseled Richard Balderas, sets up tables in Austin high schools every month. For their part, military recruiters maintain an aggressive posture in Austin's 12 high schools; weekly recruiter visits to a particular school are not uncommon.[21] Austin is also unique in being one of the few school districts in the country to permit military training programs in its *middle schools*.[22] Indeed, the Bedichek Middle School Junior Marines have won the National Middle School Drill Competition in 2012, 2013, and 2014. During the 2005–2006 school year, SOY worked with an independent student anti-war group, Youth Activists of Austin, to raise public awareness and challenge the presence of military recruiters in schools. One significant outcome of that effort was the school board's passage of a recruiter access policy that ensured "those advocating alternatives to the military" would have as much access to students as representatives of the military. Although getting the policy passed was an important step, the coordinator of SOY, Susan van Haitsma, admitted to us,

> obviously our efforts as volunteers are much less in the schools than the recruiters who are paid to be there, so it's never going to be equal access even if it's on the books as equal access. We do what we can, but it's a small bit in comparison to the resources that are behind the recruiters.

In the course of our research, we had the opportunity to travel with members of SOY to Crockett High School to see how their "small bit" could compete with the Pentagon's $1 billion annual budget for recruitment and advertising.[23]

Tabling with SOY

Crockett High School is named after David "Davy" Crockett, the American soldier and frontiersman who died in 1836 at the Battle of the Alamo. As a school brochure explains, Davy Crockett's "influence and standing are profound in the State of Texas," and he is regarded as a folk hero for his role in helping "the Texans in their fight for freedom." Despite this legacy, Crockett High is largely free of the martial spirit that infects other Austin high schools. There is no JROTC program, and the school appears to offer excellent opportunities for its mostly working-class student body. This includes Career and Technology courses that allow students to graduate with technical certifications along with their diplomas. During our visit, we were joined by three SOY stalwarts: Susan van Haitsma, an Austin native who's been with the group the longest; Tami Minnich, a social worker who became concerned about school militarism after her teenage son was aggressively courted by a recruiter; and Hart Viges, an Iraq War veteran who wants national groups like War Resisters League and Iraq Veterans Against the War to provide more support to local counter-recruitment efforts.

Group members had their own table at the entrance to the school cafeteria. They also had their own unique roles—a division of labor that was an effective way of handling the "lunch crush" that descended shortly before noon. At Susan's table, youth could find "military realities" brochures, as well as pamphlets on "non-military alternatives" such as the career training and "early college" programs at nearby Austin Community College.[24] A copy of the school district's policy regarding recruiters was also kept handy, Susan explained, as a way to handle those occasions when faculty or staff approached to ask why her group was distributing "anti-military" information. Hart's role was to promote "social change careers," and to dispel myths about military service. Among his handouts were colorful brochures (produced by the War Resisters League) describing the history of nonviolent campaigns for peace and justice, AmeriCorps flyers, and bilingual (Spanish-English) pamphlets

explaining how to seek release from the DEP. Whenever possible, Hart also brings along his mobile pull-up station. Marine recruiters in the Austin high schools often attract male students to their tables with a similar device, and Hart's reasoning is, "If they are doing it, why not us?" Tami's table held the "Peace Wheel of Fortune," which offers students a creative opportunity to learn about famous figures in the history of nonviolence.[25]

Many activists we interviewed across the United States had a common complaint: when they set up a table in high schools, hungry students heading to the cafeteria often pass by without stopping or even noticing them. SOY did not seem to have this problem. Indeed, their time with students is organized to maximize both the quality of student engagement and the length of time youth spend at their tables. In addition to the Peace Wheel, other activities lure students. These include the "Penny Poll," where students place pennies into jars to represent how they would allocate funding for different parts of the federal budget (health care, education, defense). And any student who votes in the "Penny Poll," names the five First Amendment Freedoms, locates Afghanistan on a map, spins the Peace Wheel, or does pull-ups, wins a free "peace t-shirt."

High school students are typically loath to separate from their peer groups and hang around strangers wielding brochures; thus, it is essential counter-recruitment groups make their tables attractive, interactive, and welcoming to youth. SOY's winning formula seems to be to get a diverse, outgoing group of people working their tables and then give students something fun to do. SOY activists also employ "self-reflection": writing about their experiences immediately after tabling. This might include assessment about which activities worked (and which did not), observations on the quality of interactions with students, or analysis of how youth responded to certain materials. In their reflections on a January 2012 visit to Akins High School, SOY group members described a "slow day" and considered what might be done to improve outreach to the school's largely Latina/o student body. We believe this form of self-reflection helps foster the personal growth of activists and could be replicated by other counter-recruitment groups. As one scholar suggests, "there is much personal work that an organizer needs to do to be able to be authentic and successful in her or his work."[26] Thus, if done well, self-reflection can make local organizations more effective in their interaction with youth.

Counter-recruitment groups also utilize social media to attract students to their tables. For their part, Army recruiters have been using social media for years: to advertise upcoming school visits and special events, and to recognize young soldiers who have recently enlisted or shipped to basic training. Peaceful Vocations in Fort Worth uses their 2,000-strong network of "friends" on Facebook to publicize upcoming school visits. In the past, group members

Diane Wood and Yvette Richardson have used this social media tool to reach out to students who contributed to the group's poetry slams. Their online messages tell such students, "We're going to play your poem, your performance at the table tomorrow." As Yvette explained, this works because "kids want to see their friends on the laptop" at the Peaceful Vocations table.

Sizing Them Up

Once they have students at their tables, activists must carefully calibrate their message to have the maximum impact in the shortest amount of time. Learning how to assess a student is a key skill: What are their post-graduation goals? What are they interested in? "For a lot of kids, that [two to five minutes] is all we've got," an Oregon activist told us. "And if you can size them up and ask them the questions, then . . . maybe you can get a little one-on-one time with them and go deeper in." Opportunities to "go deeper" with students are highly prized, and we heard examples from those who engaged individual students for the entire lunch period. Often this happens with youth who express an interest in the military, or who have already enlisted through the DEP.

Among those we interviewed, there is no agreed-upon way of talking with students interested in joining the military. Taking the "lesser evil" approach, one Texas counter-recruiter advises students to consider the Coast Guard instead of the Army. Activists in the suburbs of Chicago noted that with students considering enlistment, they "raise questions about why and what it is about going into the military that will make you feel excited . . . " This is, one group member explained, a "different thing than telling them, 'Well, you know, the military's going to do this, that, and the other thing to you'." A counter-recruitment group in Oregon emphasizes asking students the "right" questions. John Henry, a Vietnam veteran who volunteers with Truth in Recruiting in Eugene,[27] recalled one memorable exchange.

> I talked to this one kid and I said, "Has anybody in your family been in the military?" And he said, "My grandfather."
>
> And he talked about him, about how he was short and he was a tunnel rat in Vietnam and I said, "Oh, what does he tell you about war?"
>
> "That he still has nightmares."
>
> And I said, "And you are going in what branch of the service?"
>
> "Army."
>
> "And you're going to pick what skill?"
>
> "Oh, I'm just going to go infantry."

> "You know . . . your grandfather is telling you he's still got nightmares and that was 40 years ago. He's had nightmares for 40 years. Do you want to have nightmares for 40 years?"

This conversation highlights the power of engaging youth based on their family histories or personal interests. According to a 2011 Pew Research study,[28] 33 percent of young adults (aged 18–29 years) have family members who served in the military. Other research finds the majority of new military recruits have fathers who served.[29] Counter-recruiters who work in areas surrounding military bases are much more likely to encounter youth with family members in the military. Effective engagement therefore requires creativity (as exemplified in John's response), sensitivity on the part of organizers, and less emphasis on the moral discourse of military service. One activist, who does student outreach in an area where the US Navy is a major employer, told us while he does "raise questions about war and conscience," he and his fellow activists "try to do so in a way that does not imply condemnation of people in the military who are the fathers, mothers and other relatives of the students we are speaking to." This means, he suggested, "acknowledging that there is more to the issue than black-or-white beliefs about war," that a variety of factors—including a family tradition of service—may influence a youth's interest in the military. To take another example from Austin's team of counter-recruiters, when Hart talks with a student who has expressed interest in joining the military, one of his favorite questions to ask is, "Do you like fireworks?" Most 17-year-old boys would say, "Yes!" To which Hart replies: "Well, you won't when you get back from war." Coming from an Iraq War veteran, such statements make an impact on youth, and can then be used as an entrée to a deeper conversation about the physical and mental health risks of military service.

Those tabling in local schools must balance between asking and informing, while trying not to appear like just another authoritative adult. Jim Schmidt, a veteran from Eugene, Oregon, explained how he listens and responds when students talk about their interest in the military. "I think if we were to approach them and say, 'No, no, no, that's not what you want to do—you want to do something else,' we'd turn them off immediately . . . You can't tell a 17-year-old what to do or what not to do." Amy, the coordinator of the YA-YA Network, echoes this view.

> I think that there's a tendency among counter-recruiters to kind of bludgeon young people with . . . facts and figures . . . And my sense is that if you're able to convince someone that way, someone else is going to be just as able to re-convince them the other way.

Amy's professional background informs her approach. "One of the few useful things I learned in social work school was *don't just do something, sit there*." She explained how she applied this principle to her counter-recruitment work.

> To be somebody who really listens and helps people figure out for themselves what do they really want. What are their real motivations? And what are their real hopes and dreams? And then to make sure that they are aware of the options that are open to them.

A number of the activists we interviewed were military veterans. Indeed, many counter-recruitment groups prioritize getting veterans involved at tables and other outreach activities. Susan, the coordinator of SOY in Austin, suggested veterans are important because "they have the strength of their experience," and "you just can't argue with experience." As Jim, the veteran from Oregon, told us: "I think part of what we bring to the table as veterans [is] having that background, understanding how the system works on the inside." Other scholars have observed how audiences appear to view military veterans as more credible representatives of the counter-recruitment message.[30] Apparently, the military agrees. According to a 2010 US Army War College report, the most powerful weapon counter-recruiters have at their disposal is the military veteran. The word of the veteran "carries considerable weight," the author of the report states, and "veteran organizations who deliver a counter-recruiting message" will enjoy "automatic credibility" with their audience.[31]

Students are also being asked to work with counter-recruitment groups and spread awareness of non-military alternatives or debunk the myths promoted by military recruiters. Some groups have offered youth paid stipends (the YA-YA Network and BAY-Peace in Oakland) and internships for college credit (American Friends Service Committee, AFSC, of Western Massachusetts). In these cases, after youth receive training they can start organizing independently. Youth-assisted counter-recruitment is one answer to a problem voiced by some interviewees: many believe their age impedes their ability to connect with high school students. As one Chicago-based mentor to youth activists suggested, "Kids always hear stuff from adults, but I think their ability to share the information with other students or for them to do a literature table . . . [is] just invaluable." The most successful efforts to involve youth in counter-recruitment typically come from groups that have consistent funding. Sufficient levels of staffing and financial resources are thus essential for those who want to offer stipends or college credit to budding student activists, which may prevent smaller organizations from pursuing this opportunity.

A number of organizations also make it a priority to set up booths or make presentations at high school career fairs, where students learn about different careers by talking to representatives from civilian employers and the armed forces. Counter-recruiters' presence can be particularly important at these events, which are sometimes saturated with military recruiters. At some career fairs in the Los Angeles Unified School District, for example, one out of every four "career representatives" are from the armed forces. Catherine Kennedy, coordinator of Truth 2 Youth in Hilo, Hawaii, attends all five inter-school career fairs held annually on the "Big Island." She finds these activities are the best use of her group's resources because it is where activists can have contact with the most diverse cross section of students. Other groups have even helped develop "themed" career fairs. For example, activists with Northwest Suburban Peace Education Project, outside of Chicago, have been building a list of potential speakers and employers to invite to a future "green careers" fair. In 2010, the AFSC worked closely with church groups and other nonprofit organizations to organize a "social justice careers" fair for the youth of New Orleans.

Those involved in counter-recruitment emphasize a critical element in their consumer advocacy efforts: sharing information and resources on nonmilitary paths to job training and college financial aid. Local chapters of the AFSC have identified community resources that would be of interest to recent high school graduates. The Pittsburgh chapter of AFSC, for example, has developed a booklet called *What's Next? Jobs, Careers and Education Possibilities in Allegheny County*, which provides information on community college and youth training programs in Pittsburgh and the surrounding area. Because of the research and printing costs involved, however, it may be difficult for small, local counter-recruitment groups to replicate these efforts without significant financial support. While providing these resources is a valuable contribution, counter-recruiters will ultimately have a limited impact so long as a lack of viable alternatives leads many youth to join the military. As Marc Pilisuk and Mitch Hall suggest, "The transformation of people into warriors has less to do with human motives to fight than with the absence of other opportunities for education, job training, socially respected employment, and participation in the larger society."[32] We address this potential limitation of the consumer advocacy approach later.

The Continuing Relevance of Consumer Advocacy

The value of the consumer advocacy approach to counter-recruitment derives from several features. Importantly, it has the potential to confront the existence of a "poverty draft." While an all-volunteer military has existed in the

United States since 1973, many claim the choice to serve in the armed forces is often heavily influenced by social class. The phrase "poverty draft" refers to what some see as a system of forced military service for those unable to afford college or trade school, perceive few viable career options to enlistment, and/or who desperately need the benefits offered by the military. Not surprisingly, the idea that a poverty draft exists in the United States is contested. For example, the Heritage Foundation relied on US Census Bureau data to show persons recruited to the military in 1999 and 2003 were roughly equal to the general population in terms of education and income. They found those that were disproportionately represented in the military were not from lower- but rather middle-income neighborhoods.[33] More support for the existence of a poverty draft comes from interviews with enlistees and occasional news reports. In a 2013 study, Stacey Bryley Livingstone suggested Latina/os "turn to the military as their most viable avenue for structural assimilation and upward mobility."[34]

Other research has demonstrated that military recruiters are more likely to target high schools with a preponderance of economically disadvantaged students. In 2010, political scientists Adam McGlynn and Jessica Lavariega-Monforti found a connection between a student's socioeconomic status and the likelihood they would have contact with a military recruiter at their school.[35] A 2005 study of high schools in the US Virgin Islands found economically disadvantaged male students often viewed military service as their only viable option after finishing high school. Of note, the author encountered military recruiters on almost all of her visits to a particular high school and was "struck by the voluminous pamphlets and recruitment materials from the military at the high school." Indeed, she "never once saw any college recruiters."[36]

When Douglas Kriner and Francis Shen examined US Census Bureau data, they found that since the Korean War (1950–1953) US casualties of war have been poorer and less educated than the population at large.[37] Other research suggests the military draws its members disproportionately from rural regions (where economic opportunities for youth tend to be less plentiful). Even the Heritage Foundation study, which claimed no correlation between poverty and enlistment, confirmed, "the South is overrepresented among military recruits."[38] Demographers who have studied US military recruiting trends claim the large numbers of Southerners in the US military is simply a reflection of the South's greater abundance of youth (aged 18–24 years) relative to other parts of the country.[39] However, some scholars maintain that these data reflect the existence of strong cultural traditions in the rural South, as well as the Western United States, which encourage military service.[40] Support for this claim can be found in the schools of the South,

which contain a dizzying array of military-related programming. To take one example, schools in just five states of the Deep South (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina) accounted for nearly 20 percent of *all* student testing of the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) during the 2012–2013 school year.[41] Counter-recruitment groups, with limited success organizing in rural communities, cannot afford to ignore this phenomenon.

Many involved in counter-recruitment concentrate their activities in low-income communities, as they perceive they are most needed in these neighborhoods to help direct youth into rewarding career paths. Indeed, counter-recruitment may represent the sector of the peace movement most attuned to issues of class and social justice: it can address the economic conditions that leave many young people little choice but to enlist in the military. Consequently, many organizers view their work as a struggle for equal educational opportunity for low-income and minority youth. Amy Wagner, of the YA-YA Network in New York City, said her group operates on the premise "that every young person is entitled to have access to the same types of options for their future that middle-class white kids have." Wagner's view is shared by many in our study, who portray their activism as a response not just to militarism, but also to racism, patriarchy, and poverty. Thus, some frame their counter-recruitment efforts by emphasizing *intersectionality*, an acknowledgment of the ways in which different forms of oppression reinforce each other. The use of intersectionality among peace activists is increasing, according to Woehrle, Coy, and Maney. They suggest that activists who embrace this framework can more effectively reach a broader constituency with their messages.[42]

Consumer advocacy is also important for providing students the type of career information once routinely offered by school guidance counselors. As school districts eliminate counselor positions across the country, increasing numbers of youth are losing a valuable resource. As one education scholar recently noted, "counselors have been vulnerable to budget cuts, and guidance offices in many public high schools have shrunk."[43] The situation is so dire, the American School Counselor Association, which recommends a staffing ratio of one counselor for every 250 students, reported that in the 2010–2011 school year (the most recent year for which data are available) the ratio was nearly twice as high.[44] As one example, at the start of the 2012–2013 school year, there was a single counselor for every 3,000 students in the financially distressed School District of Philadelphia.[45] In 2014, the federal Education Department's Office for Civil Rights found one in five high schools in the country had no school counselor at all.[46] Given this situation, it is not surprising to learn about students who never heard of community colleges. One

Massachusetts-based organizer told us, "I get the sense that clearly we are the first people to talk to them about these type of things." Another activist in Oregon shared his experience as someone who was recruited to the military while still in high school: "I never knew there was financial aid [to go to college]. I never knew that the government loaned you money to go to school. But you know what there was? A military recruiter in my lunch room, like all the time."

The guidance counselors who keep their jobs are overworked, and many seem to focus their attention on the college-bound. Left without the support of their school's guidance staff, other students (often in low-income schools) rely on military recruiters—trained sales professionals who increasingly see their role as one of counselor and mentor. According to Captain August T. Murray, author of the guidebook *Military Recruiting* and regional commander for the Texas Army National Guard Recruiting and Retention Battalion, the number one question prospective recruits have is, "How can you help me get to college?" In response, the military, Capt. Murray told the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, "has turned the entire recruiting force into essentially [college] admissions counselors."[47]

With growing frequency, state and local government austerity measures that eliminate school counselor positions are effectively deputizing military recruiters as *de facto* counselors. By training, guidance counselors are professionally obligated to support students in identifying their most appropriate post-graduation path. Military recruiters, conversely, have a quota to fill, and thus few reasons to share information that might dissuade a student from considering enlistment. As education scholars Michael Apple and Brian Lagotte find, armed services representatives in schools "are in essence high-powered sales personnel, functioning as if they have to move used cars off the lot."[48]

This highlights another critical element of the consumer advocacy approach: military recruiters often fail to convey to students the "full story" about military service. Thanks to media exposés of military recruiting fraud, the general public is aware that recruiters bend the rules. For example, when pressure to "fill boots" is greatest (as it was during the Iraq War), some recruiters may attempt to enlist men and women who are unqualified for service by covering up evidence of drug abuse, prior felony convictions, or other aspects of their personal history. But few realize just how widespread the problem is. For example, according to the Pentagon's own survey data, nearly half of recruiters across all service branches believe recruiting improprieties (i.e., bending rules to meet an annual goal) occur "frequently" or "occasionally" in their recruiting command.[49] Our research also suggests that in their zeal to sign up new soldiers, recruiters often engage in several types of deception: they misrepresent the risks of military service, distort the nature or

length of time commitment required after enlisting, and they exaggerate the availability of training or vocational opportunities in the military. Activists have developed distinct tactics to prepare youth to sniff out these forms of deceit and become savvier consumers of military recruiting information.

Recruiters misrepresent the risks of service when they neglect to mention that military service may entail significant risk of injury or death. This practice can be divided into sins of omission, where recruiters simply don't mention the risks; and sins of commission, where recruiters' narratives address but attempt to downplay those risks. The former may be common. In McGlynn and Lavariega-Monforti's study of Texas high schools, 86 percent of students who reported contact with recruiters in their schools said they were not informed of the risks of military service.[50] Sins of commission may include gross fabrications bordering on fraud. For example, in 2006, as US casualties in Iraq mounted, an ABC News investigation showed Army recruiters "telling students that the war in Iraq was over, in an effort to get them to enlist."[51] Through their production of literature and outreach efforts, activists can tell the "Full Story" (to borrow the name of the Berkeley-based counter-recruitment group), critique the "heroic military narrative," and correct misperceptions about military service. As one former organizer described to us, when talking to students his "job was to fill in the gaps left out by the recruiter's story. I was filling them in on what the real mission of the military was: to kill people."

Distorting the length of military deployment occurs when a recruiter tells a student that they can choose how long they wish to stay in the service, or suggest that an enlistee can "leave at any time" if they ever decide they don't like the military lifestyle. According to a March 2005 article in *Harpers*, of the hundreds of stories involving recruiters' lies heard by volunteers manning the GI Rights Hotline, by far the most common was "that it's easy to get out of the military if you change your mind."[52] The experience of one veteran, quoted in a study of Native Americans in the military, is typical: "they trick everybody. They [say], 'Okay how much [time] do you want to sign this contract for?' And whatever contract you sign to get into the military, they got your butt for eight years . . . [But] I thought I was getting in three years."[53] Activists often address this particular falsehood by distributing flyers that remind students *It's Not Just a Job: It's Eight Years of Your Life*. Those engaged in counter-recruitment must also confront the policy of "stop-loss," whereby military personnel can be forced to stay on active duty for a period of time beyond their contractually obligated term of service. In the Army alone, nearly 58,000 soldiers were affected by stop-loss orders between 2002 and 2008, and were often forced to serve multiple combat "tours" in Iraq and Afghanistan.[54]

Finally, recruiters exaggerate opportunities for training and career advancement in the military when they promise potential recruits a position in a coveted occupational category. For example, several activists told us that recruiters often try to "hook" youth by telling them they could be paid to play an instrument in the Army band. One Oregon Marine recruiter emphasizes "band talks" in his high school outreach. "Band talks," he told a reporter, "allow students to see opportunities they may have to be a part of the oldest band in America, the Marine Corps Band, and continue to play music professionally while being paid."[55] But just as there are limited openings for Marine Corps musicians, there are also relatively few military occupations that have counterparts in the civilian world. In fact, for several years the unemployment rate for male veterans has been higher than among those who never served in the military.[56]

Military advertisements often portray military service as a path to financial security not only for the newly enlisted soldier, but for their family as well. One Army recruiting brochure now in circulation makes this appeal: "Meeting your goals as a Soldier could be a source of pride for your family . . . While on active duty you'll earn a paycheck and enjoy other benefits . . . "[57] As a corrective to this rosy narrative, activists remind students that military personnel often cannot protect themselves or their families from poverty and hunger. In 2011, a year when thousands of veterans were returning from deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan, one in four New York City households with military veterans reported having "trouble putting food on the table."[58] By 2014, the situation had not improved: 25 percent of military families nationwide—620,000 households—were relying on food pantries to fill gaps in their budgets.[59]

Gauging Progress and Gaining Access

Our assessment of counter-recruitment as consumer advocacy is mixed. Importantly, it has the potential to provide organizations a reliable way to gauge progress. A weakness of the counter-recruitment movement is the lack of agreed-upon means of measuring the success of their efforts. Activists' self-assessments are often impressionistic and subjective. During our interviews, many people told us they "just know" when they've "reached" a student, or that they see a "light bulb going off" in the mind of a young person during one-on-one contact. While these interactions are useful, assessing what happens to a student years later—Did they join the military? Did talking with a counter-recruiter impact their career plans?—is difficult.

It is easier for organizations to measure the amount of literature they distribute annually at schools and other community events. Many groups

utilizing consumer advocacy also track the number of school visits and presentations they make each year. Truth in Recruitment in Eugene, Oregon, has gone a step further by recording the number of individual student contacts made during each school visit. Such metrics hold the promise of giving organizers a more tangible means of charting their effect. However, according to one person critical of some strategies used in counter-recruitment, while it may be simple to count how much literature is handed out, "there's no way of measuring the impact it has on students." In fact, if activists fail to present their message (and themselves) in a way that connects with youth, they risk making counter-recruitment just another form of youth-oriented marketing. Young people, in this person's view, typically won't listen to another group of adults trying to "scare them straight." While organizers should use caution in the way they present their messages, a "scared straight" approach may still be useful. For example, activists in San Diego have reported good results from an approach that combines focus on the realities of military service with more nuanced information on non-military career opportunities.

Consumer advocacy is also a strategic asset because it allows counter-recruitment groups to be visible and available to young people. Organizers in Texas and California said having a regular presence in schools is an intrinsic part of their organization's purpose. For Hart, the Iraq War veteran in Austin, Texas, "the goal is the process" of visiting schools, acting as an alternative to the military-advertising-marketing complex, and engaging youth in a dialogue around their career goals. John Judge, the Washington, DC organizer, described the bottom line of school outreach. "It's not that you win that many victories, but you know how bad it would have been if you *weren't* there." Indeed, interviewees suggested even for students who decided to enlist in the military, receiving alternative information was an important experience. Being "on the front lines" in schools on a regular basis also allows counter-recruitment groups to act as watchdogs. In Fort Worth, Texas, and Eugene, Oregon, activists told us by tabling and talking with students they learned about the ways the military violated policies on recruiter access to schools and students. Sometimes, activists work with existing organizations to establish a watchdog role for themselves. Since 2007, Kathy Barker, an activist affiliated with Washington Area Truth in Recruiting, has been the "military recruiter monitor" for Seattle's Garfield High School. Her position was officially part of the school's Parent-Teacher-Student Association, which gave Barker more clout as she made sure military recruiters signed in when visiting campuses, and stayed in their assigned locations at a school.[60]

Finally, consumer advocacy—with its emphasis on career alternatives, options, and access to information—may be a more effective, long-range

approach for some organizations, particularly those working in rural or conservative areas. In some parts of the country, cultural norms strongly discourage critique of the military. Activists in Austin, for example, reported intimidation from a recruiting sergeant who resented the group's activities. An organizer working in Houston told us that literature racks filled by his group routinely disappeared from guidance counselor offices. In their study of the ways US peace groups frame their public messages, Lynne Woehrle and her colleagues discovered "negative feedback" may lead to "abandonment, or modifications" of the symbols peace activists use to communicate alternative understandings of war and conflict.[61] Indeed, we find public backlash has led some groups to rethink their messaging, avoiding the label of "counter recruitment" and instead describing their work as "truth in recruitment." In Austin, activists adopted the name Sustainable Options for Youth (SOY) in the mid-2000s, a shift away from the more negative-sounding Non-military Options for Youth. A Los Angeles group chose the positive-sounding Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism in Our Schools after finding their original name (the Coalition *Against* Militarism in our Schools) created too much "resistance" with school officials. Such a change in framing can facilitate organizers' access to high schools, since not only their activities but also the very names of their organizations emphasize their ability to help students make "informed choices" about military service.

A Question of Emphasis

While there may be good reasons to portray consumer advocacy as "truth-in-recruiting," this framing of counter-recruitment has limits. Indeed, a focus on unmasking the myths of military service may preclude a more thoroughgoing critique of war and militarism. Thus, activists who emphasize rebutting the *message* of military recruiters may limit opportunities to critique the *purpose* of the military itself.[62] Rick Jahnkow, involved in counter-recruitment for decades, suggests that framing consumer advocacy as "truth-in-recruiting" shifts an organization's focus away from JROTC, military testing, and other aspects of school militarism. "The term [truth-in-recruiting] is really confining. It may mislead [activists] into thinking that they don't have to do anything about these other levels of militarism, when in fact they all have to be addressed."

While organizers in rural and conservative areas may worry about community backlash, a federal district court has upheld their right to criticize the military. In ruling that Atlanta Public Schools could not bar counter-recruiters from campus, the judge in *Searcy v. Crim* (1988) also affirmed plaintiffs' rights to question the value of military service and even to discourage youth from

enlisting.[63] Those who pursue "truth-in-recruiting" and eschew outspoken critique of the military may be ignoring this hard-fought legal precedent. Yet, in their defense, the political context has shifted since the 1980s (when anti-militarism had more appeal). And, as suggested earlier, the *context* of the local community in which counter-recruitment groups operate influences how this activism occurs. Lacking a broad base of support and/or diverse allies, those organizing in conservative and highly militarized locales may adopt a more moderate framing of their work out of political necessity. Still, we suggest *all* those involved in counter-recruitment reflect on the self-imposed limitations of this work, and evaluate the reluctance among some to engage in a stronger anti-militarist critique.

Limited time and resources may also impede groups from realizing the full potential of the consumer advocacy goal. Those who work 9-to-5 jobs may not be able to participate in tabling when most schools are in session. This may account for the overrepresentation of older, often retired, activists at literature tables. In this context, counter-recruitment groups should consider using high school or college interns to circumvent this problem while at the same time cultivating the next generation of activists. Jeff Napolitano, an organizer with the AFSC in Western Massachusetts, had 10 interns (mostly students from nearby colleges) working on different projects in 2014. Another time limitation facing activists is related to the structures of schools. Napolitano sums up this challenge as "just trying to catch somebody's attention for three minutes during lunch period." "There have been many times," he observed, "when students have come up to us and [then] the bell rings and . . . they get harassed by the teacher to leave." This issue is not limited to counter-recruitment: the school setting makes it difficult for any outsider to attract students' attention. Still, the special challenge for counter-recruitment activists is they often have only a few minutes to listen to a student, make a connection, and share stories or information; opportunities to "go deeper" and address students' perceptions of patriotism may only occur through an invitation to give a classroom presentation. As those working in Austin have shown us, when borrowing the tactics used by military recruiters—interactive table displays, free t-shirts, pull-up contests—engaging students becomes easier.

The production and distribution of literature constitutes a large part of the consumer advocacy approach to counter-recruitment. As military regulations are constantly changing, it is essential that activists provide current information when counseling youth. Yet, attractive, compelling, and up-to-date literature is becoming a rare commodity. The AFSC, which for years sold its counter-recruitment material to local groups, has phased out that part of its operation as part of organizational restructuring in 2009. While

other national groups like War Resisters League use glossy brochures, they have been criticized for showing less interest in doing the research required to update these materials. There is also the question of cost. Much literature is produced at the local level and can be downloaded for free through the website of the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth. Yet the expense of reproducing large quantities of pamphlets can add up. For small organizations largely dependent on volunteers, annual printing costs may quickly exceed $1,000, a significant portion of their budget. Groups like Peaceful Vocations in Fort Worth have relied on foundation support for their literature-related expenses, and progressive-leaning funders could do more to sustain this form of outreach.

Consumer advocacy is based in part on providing youth with civilian options to the job training, health care, and college funding available through military service. However, these alternatives are often limited, especially in certain communities. Most counter-recruitment organizers, attuned to the racial and class dimensions of military recruitment, recognize the shortage of viable career alternatives for some students. But activists also understand they have an obligation to make youth aware of those options that do exist. In the long term, Pablo Paredes, an Iraq War resister and current organizer with the AFSC in San Francisco, suggested his colleagues must get serious about building community. That means doing something about the "hellish conditions" that characterize life in some American cities and which make military opportunities an appealing escape route for many youth.

Paredes provided us an example of one way to address this problem. By redirecting some of their resources, he suggested, activists could offer internships to economically disadvantaged students who would then be paid to receive training and carry out counter-recruitment in their high schools. Not only would such a program offer a needed financial benefit to a student and their family, but high school internship programs would represent an investment in the future of local communities. As Paredes notes, when you have students doing this work on their own, "Now you've created something that has legs independent of you and . . . is inside the [school] space." With such a system in place, adults would have less need to gain access to schools, since trained student activists would be "in every classroom all day. And if you get something going and you build on that," Paredes concluded, "that's beautiful."

CHAPTER 2

Training Tomorrow's Activists

Before joining the faculty of San Diego's Mission Bay High School in 2002, Luis Villanueva taught Spanish for ten years at a local private school. Although the two institutions were located in the same vicinity, the martial atmosphere that prevailed at Mission Bay was striking. "One of the first things that impacted me a lot," Luis recalled, "was to see the military come in to recruit the kids all the time. That was one of the first things that got to me and I said, 'This is not right'." In contrast, during his decade of teaching at the private school, which charges nearly $30,000 in annual tuition, Luis was aware of only one occasion when military personnel visited the campus. Meanwhile, at Mission Bay High—a public school where the student body at the time was 60 percent Hispanic and 80 percent low income—recruiters were present on a weekly basis. "They were in the classrooms all the time," Luis told us. "They were doing lunch [in the school cafeteria]. They were making appointments with the kids to see them on weekends, going to their houses on a daily basis."

But the military presence went beyond regular campus visits by recruiters. In the summer of 2007, Mission Bay's principal received permission from the San Diego school board to create a Marine Corps Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC) unit. Although the Marines vowed to give the district start-up funds to support the initiative, it became apparent that to sustain the JROTC program, budget cuts would have to be made elsewhere. Opposition to JROTC developed when a popular college preparatory curriculum known as AVID was first to be put on the chopping block. In fact, the JROTC's in-school shooting range was installed in a spot formerly occupied by two AVID classrooms. Luis's department soon lost two Spanish teachers, who were laid off. As his concerns about JROTC grew, Luis discovered Project YANO (Youth and Non-Military Opportunities), the San Diego-based organization run by Rick Jahnkow. The group would come to play a pivotal role,

Luis said, by providing "support to understand the things we didn't know about the JROTC."

Efforts to slow or halt the creation of a JROTC unit faced long odds, given San Diego's heavy concentration of military personnel, economic reliance on the defense industry, and broad public support for the military. Indeed, the ensuing campaign at Mission Bay High would not have succeeded without the work of student activists like Davíd Morales and Nancy Cruz. Davíd first learned about the JROTC issue in his AP Spanish class, which Luis—who got his start teaching history in his home country of Mexico—taught by discussing social issues and Chicano history. As a junior, Davíd attended after-school meetings of Mission Bay's chapter of Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán). Better known by its acronym, MEChA, the Mission Bay group was one of hundreds across the United States. Most are located at university and college campuses, and provide members (or *mechistas*) an outlet to advocate for Chicano Studies in the curriculum, participate in cultural activities, and promote social and political change. With Luis serving as adviser, MEChA served as an incubator for student activism at Mission Bay High School. Meetings were often forums for students to apply what they discussed in Spanish classes earlier in the day—racism and discrimination, for example—to problems that affected them in their daily lives (like the "tracking" of Hispanic students into JROTC and the military in general). Through MEChA, Davíd talked with students who had been *involuntarily* placed in JROTC. This was an apparent attempt, organizers later discovered, to keep JROTC enrollment above the federally required minimum of 100 students, or 10 percent of the total student body at a school. All of which solidified Davíd's resolve to oppose militarism in his school and to contribute to the national conversation about JROTC. "The military message," he told us, "is now so slick that we need a movement to combat all that . . . Because of the economic time in which we live, it is easier for our youth to be manipulated and to enlist without having the full picture."

Another *mechista*, Nancy, would also play a key role in the anti-JROTC campaign. Growing up in San Diego, Nancy's mother worked as a hotel housekeeper. At age six Nancy was on the picket line banging a drum and supporting her mother's right to organize a union. It was, Nancy told us over coffee in San Diego, the first time she witnessed "the power of people organizing." Like Davíd, however, she was not politically active until midway through her high school years. Inspired by an older sister who gained political consciousness at a youth leadership camp, Nancy launched herself into campus activism. If 2006 found her "having a good time" traveling to Los Angeles with fellow *mechistas* to march for immigrant rights, Nancy's true calling came as a junior and senior in high school through the struggle against JROTC.

Student objections to JROTC were two-fold. They were concerned about the corrupting influence military programs could have on the school climate. "Conversations, dialogue are good, but JROTC was instilling bad values in youth," Nancy recounted. Moreover, the on-campus JROTC shooting range and its emphasis on military drill and ceremony promoted the notion that violence is okay. Davíd was similarly motivated, and took issue with the way JROTC "discourages critical thinking." "Without that," he told us later, "you can't have democracy." Community activists from Project YANO, Luis, and *mechistas* like Davíd and Nancy were soon organizing through a Project YANO affinity group, the Education Not Arms Coalition (ENAC). Their campaign against JROTC turned into a multi-year struggle that racked up numerous victories. In 2009, ENAC convinced the San Diego school board to eliminate JROTC firing ranges not only at Mission Bay High, but also at ten other schools in the district. And in November 2010, after more than two years of steady organizing, the school board adopted a policy, drafted with the help of student activists, which limited military recruiter visits to twice a year on high school campuses.[1]

Activists were aware that JROTC could not be attacked head-on; if they wanted the program removed they could not simply lobby the school board. "The reason," as Rick Jahknow explained in *Draft NOtices*, "is that once JROTC is present, the cadets—who are organized in military ranks—can be used as a lobbying force that will intimidate even the most anti-militarist school board."[2] ENAC devised an innovative strategy: students conducted intensive peer-to-peer outreach in an effort to "uncool" JROTC and decrease its enrollment below the federally mandated minimum. In the first two weeks of the 2011–2012 school year, student activists handed out hundreds of "Yo No Soy El Army" buttons and bilingual flyers; they also talked to their peers and explained they were not required to enroll in JROTC. This organizing provoked an immediate backlash from school officials intent on suppressing student activism. Harassment took various forms: pressuring students not to talk to the press about JROTC; school administrators' use of a technicality to prevent Davíd from graduating with his class; and even the use of drug-sniffing dogs to interrupt Luis's classes on the pretense of an anonymous tip.[3] Despite these efforts, by the end of September 2012, with the number of students officially enrolled in JROTC at an all-time low, the Mission Bay High School principal announced that the program would be disbanded at the end of the year. As Jahnkow concluded, "Through peer education, the students were able to reverse the 'coolness' equation so that rejecting the lure of JROTC became more legitimate than joining it. Once that happened, a *de facto* boycott of the program ensued that made it impossible to sustain JROTC."[4]

While the student-led organizing effort produced tangible results, it also served a secondary function. A number of studies have shown that youth involved in school activism are better able to overcome the feeling of alienation endemic to adolescence, set more ambitious goals for themselves in school, and record improved academic achievement.[5] Davíd, by his own account, was not a serious student until he became involved in social action. "I'm at UC San Diego because of my organizing work," he told us in 2013, shortly before graduating with a bachelor's degree. Activism helped clarify his academic interests, he added, since "counter-recruitment is an avenue of self-discovery, a way to get from theory to practice." Davíd is currently in Ecuador on a Fulbright scholarship, traveling and teaching, and plans to return to the United States to get a doctorate in education. Similarly, the JROTC campaign set Nancy on a path toward a career of social justice activism. Having graduated from UC San Diego, she is currently working as an organizer with the Service Employees International Union and hopes to get a graduate degree in social work. For Nancy, a firm believer in the power of education, counter-recruitment at high school campuses is important because it promotes college as an option to youth in marginalized communities. Luis, the teacher-mentor who played a critical role in the success of the campaign, now teaches in Los Angeles public schools. To see JROTC shut down, he told us, was "the single most important, most fulfilling event that happened to me in my 10 years at Mission Bay." When asked what made the historic campaign a success he replied, "My *mechistas*. That's what did it."

Working *with* vs. Working *for* Youth

While Luis and other adult activists worked directly with students in the San Diego campaign, the most important factor, according to one organizer, "was the students themselves, who persevered even when their principal and others tried to silence and intimidate them."[6] Within counter-recruitment, a long-standing tension exists over the nature of activists' relationship with students. Do counter-recruiters work *with* or *for* students? If their primary constituency is youth, do organizers objectify them as a vulnerable population needing protection from recruiters? Or, rather, do activists work alongside youth, promoting their political engagement and viewing them as equals to achieve common goals? This issue can be seen as a debate over different organizing styles, with some preferring a vertical model where more expert activists (adults) hand down information (and edicts) to passive, disempowered students. According to Jahnkow, involved in counter-recruitment for more than three decades, this often reflects generational differences. Older activists, he noted, sometimes "take almost an authoritarian view when it

comes to organizing—they think that young people don't have enough experience or knowledge to make a contribution, that they should basically learn and not lead. That can be a problem."

This strain between older and younger activists is common in community organizing. Such tension has been identified by scholars as an expression of *adultism*, a form of oppression in which youth are disempowered, disrespected, and denied agency at the hands of adults.[7] In a social movement context, adultism may lead to youth not being given opportunities to play leadership roles, or being told by adults they "don't know what they're talking about." As one young activist complained to researchers Jennifer O'Donoghue and Karen Strobel, some adults fail to see youth as "actual people" who can act to create positive social and political change.[8] Not surprisingly, varying degrees of intergenerational conflict have been reported across the social movement spectrum.

Perhaps the best-known example of this tension is from the US civil rights movement, where younger activists affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) often clashed with their elders in the clergy-led Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). While the two organizations worked closely together throughout the 1960s, SNCC ideology eventually took on a radical tone as more members began to view SCLC's nonviolent strategy as an ineffective means of achieving "black power." According to historian David Garrow, egalitarian-minded SNCC activists also wanted to focus more on developing indigenous leadership in the communities where they were organizing; while SCLC activists, accustomed to the hierarchies of the Protestant church, preferred to draw on their own charismatic leaders to attract public attention to the question of black equality.[9] More recently, Lesley Gill has identified intergenerational conflict among peace activists in her analysis of the annual protests against a controversial Pentagon training school for Latin American military personnel. Gill observed that starting in the early 2000s, the "old guard" of activists experienced difficulties assimilating younger protesters. In particular, older activists were put off by the "sarcastic commentary" of the young, and their tendency to get "verbally violent" in confrontations with military personnel.[10]

These examples of tension in youth–adult partnerships illustrate the difficulty of establishing good relations between students and adults within counter-recruitment. Forms of youth–adult interaction vary greatly, and range from youth-driven organizations to more traditional adult-led groups.[11] In a review of the literature on youth work, one group of scholars noted that when youth interact with adults on community projects, "it becomes possible for a transition to occur" from "hierarchical and paternalistic relationships" toward those "characterized by close bonds and collective purpose."[12] Like

Rick Jahnkow and Luis Villanueva, many adult organizers favor a horizontal structure as a way to promote student leadership in local organizing efforts. This form of youth–adult partnership usually entails some supervision from adults who describe their roles as mentors and teachers to budding activists, but prioritizes youth empowerment. In practice, this may resemble what Brazilian educator Paulo Freire called problem-posing education. Instead of the traditional, hierarchical view of learning in which students passively receive information "deposits" from adults, Freire suggested students should become "critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher."[13] Though uncommon, prominent examples within counter-recruitment suggest that a similar organizing model exists that could help cultivate the next generation of organizers and activists. For example, over the course of one counter-recruitment campaign in Oakland, California (described later), an adult mentor, former social worker Susan Quinlan, provided backing to students, while youth made key decisions "every step of the way." Though youth activists showed potential as leaders and organizers during this effort, support from adults was crucial. After all, Quinlan noted, these students were "new to the intricacies of a drawn-out organizing campaign" and had to learn the value of persistence in organizing. Moreover, Quinlan was able to help students navigate "everyday life issues" like work, family, and school.

A horizontal, youth-driven organizing model may be more likely to assign secondary status to specific issues, and instead stress counter-recruitment as a means to an end: promoting political education and developing youth empowerment and leadership skills. This process is best captured by those who seek to develop critical consciousness in youth—to introduce the broad concept of militarism to students and help them think critically about the role the military plays in their lives. In the following, we explore how activists pursue the goal of stimulating critical consciousness in youth, which often leads to greater levels of student involvement in counter-recruitment campaigns. After describing the concept of critical consciousness, we discuss the two methods that counter-recruiters typically use to help develop this understanding in youth: classroom presentations based on a Socratic dialogue, and mentoring student activists to conduct counter-recruitment campaigns in their own schools and communities.

Critical Thinking

Militarism has been defined as an ideology, "a set of ideas and structures" that glorifies the military and promotes military solutions to problems.[14] Vietnam veteran and historian Andrew J. Bacevich describes the "new American militarism" as a dangerous belief in military force that is embedded in US culture.

> Today as never before in their history Americans are enthralled with military power. The global military supremacy that the United States presently enjoys—and is bent on perpetuating—has become central to our national identity. More than America's matchless material abundance or even the diffusions of its pop culture, the nation's arsenal of high-tech weaponry and the soldiers who employ that arsenal have come to signify who we are and what we stand for.[15]

In the words of one activist in this study, militarism "teaches conformity. It teaches people that dissent is something to be afraid of and something to either oppose or at least dismiss." Not surprisingly, the pervasive influence of militarism in US society has produced a backlash. For some involved in counter-recruitment, developing *critical consciousness* is necessary, given the cultural veneration of the military that typically shields it from critique. For Paulo Freire, critical consciousness (*conscientização*) is achieved through an interrogation of the world around us and serves subversively as a "test of reality." "The more one becomes critically conscious, the more one unveils reality"[16]. In a classroom setting, critical consciousness allows students and teachers to see that they themselves are co-creators of knowledge. Critical consciousness also allows people to see that ideas about what is "real" are not static, but changeable. Thus, Freire finds critical consciousness may also lead to concerted action in support of social change.[17] This suggests a "virtuous circle," one where the applications to counter-recruitment activism are clear: foster the ability in youth to think critically about the military and its presence in their schools. In turn, they will then possess the critical consciousness needed to question other dominant ideologies that influence their lives. Critically conscious youth, as Nancy and Davíd demonstrate, are also more inclined toward activism, and can thus become advocates for broader social change in their communities.

In our research, we identified two distinct paths to developing critical consciousness within counter-recruitment organizing. One, the less resource-intensive and more common approach, emphasizes classroom presentations by activists that promote critical thinking. This effort seeks to challenge the "heroic military narrative"—popular portrayals of soldiers endorsed by the military and reinforced by the mass media.[18] In response to such depictions, a counter-recruitment group in Portland, Oregon, has organized classroom dialogues where members talk with students about war and militarism. Each member of the panel—a peace activist, a military veteran, and a former middle school English teacher—has a different emphasis, reflecting their unique perspective. For example, the former English teacher engages in a Socratic dialogue with students. As he explained:

> While [the other members of the group] focus more on the military aspects of life as a soldier, I've been working to try to draw out from the students their

> own ideas of violence, what violence means, what war is and what acceptable force—if there is such a thing—means.

Those who engage in this form of outreach seek to avoid simply lecturing students. "We don't want to be like the other people who are giving them orders," says one activist. "We want to stand out from that." One way he does this is to begin a classroom presentation by challenging students.

> Okay, we're going to give you one side of an issue but we want you to question what we say. We want you to question what the people say that we disagree with, and we want you to question us as well and then make up your own mind.

According to this long-time organizer, inviting students to challenge a speaker sends a powerful message about the importance of critical thinking: question the military, question me, question everything.

Veterans and other adult activists have been integral to local counter-recruitment efforts. Yet, many organizers believe youth often respond best to other youth. Integrating students into counter-recruitment efforts thus allows young adults to serve as peers and mentors to other youth. After launching a counter-recruitment program in 2005, Darlene Gramigna of the Chicago chapter of AFSC realized that with limited resources her group could not staff information tables at each of the city's more than 40 high schools. So she began offering Social Justice Spring Breaks, interactive leadership camps that empower students to educate their peers on social justice topics, including militarism and military recruitment. Gramigna (and her assistant, Jesus Palafox) also worked with a student social justice club at Chicago's Kelly High School, showing them how to lead counter-recruitment and "opt-out" campaigns among their classmates. "Now," she notes, "they have an annual campaign . . . educating themselves about opt-out and sending out the forms to their classmates around their school." This effort to build internal capacity among youth appears to have succeeded precisely as Gramigna and Palafox intended. According to Gramigna:

> [youth organizing] has been invaluable to getting the word out to other students because we don't have access to the schools that they're in. Their ability to educate their fellow students is much bigger and broader than ours.

Youth mentoring represents the second path of building critical consciousness, which serves as our focus for much of this chapter. We believe that by avoiding traditional, top-down organizing models, in its affirmation of youth as equal partners in the struggle for social justice, and in its potential to build

a more sustainable counter-recruitment movement, the youth mentoring approach offers great promise.

Youth Reaching Youth

The examples from San Diego and Chicago illustrate how high school students have organized against militarism in their schools for different reasons. A growing number of activist groups recognize the importance of student involvement in counter-recruitment, both as a way of tapping into youthful idealism and as a means of promoting youth empowerment. But it was not always so. During the first decade of counter-recruitment activity, actual contact by organizers with students was limited. Throughout the 1970s, activists worked in different venues, but school-based organizing was not a priority. That changed in 1979 with President Jimmy Carter's proposal to reinstate draft registration for young men and the Selective Service Administration's ensuing outreach efforts in US high schools.[19]

Interest in high school organizing was evident at a 1981 conference in Baltimore held by the Taskforce on Recruitment and Militarism.[20] Later that year, the national magazine of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO), *The Objector*, devoted a special issue to counter-recruitment in high schools.[21] Yet, most activists were adults who entered schools and made presentations to students about the draft or non-military alternatives after high school. Few organizers sought to promote the idea of youth organizing. By the late 1980s, only a handful of the more than 60 local counter-recruitment groups that were engaged in outreach in high schools allowed youth an active role in their campaigns.[22] During the early 1990s, a time when counter-recruitment flourished in response to the Gulf War, activists began to commit more attention to youth organizing. After a decline in counter-recruitment activity in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Iraq War and the launching of the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY) sparked a renewed commitment to youth mentoring. According to one key organizer, by the 2009 national counter-recruitment conference in Chicago, approximately half of the nearly 300 participants were under the age of 26.

Still, most local organizations remain overrepresented by older activists. Many organizers told us they struggle to connect with youth, a population often alienated from politics and activism. Some involved in counter-recruitment attribute this lack of youth engagement to being visibly older than high school students. One college intern working in Western Massachusetts said she could "totally relate" to teenagers' distrust of older adults distributing leaflets. Activists in Austin, Texas, suggested younger male

veterans are more effective at attracting the hard-to-reach 17-year-old male. "We're really trying to reach young men mostly," according to Susan van Haitsma, coordinator of Sustainable Options for Youth. This is more likely to occur "if they see a youngish man standing there at a table . . . than if they see two middle aged women."

In a sense, counter-recruiters are only trying to play catch-up with the military, which has long recognized the persuasive power of youth, and understands getting young soldiers involved in recruiting can pay dividends. For example, the military recruiting services utilize 17-year-olds who enlist while still in high school (through the Delayed Entry Program). These "Future Soldiers" and "Future Sailors" act as "recruiting force multipliers" that help get more recruits. The Army has described its "Future Soldiers" as the "eyes and ears" of the Army recruiter in schools; they often "spread the gospel" of military service among their peers, assist in gaining access to schools that restrict recruiting, and at times have even staffed recruiting tables.[23]

Different branches of the military have also leveraged the power of youth through the Hometown Recruiter Assistance Program (HRAP), which allows a young soldier two weeks' leave to go back to their community and recruit students. Service members are encouraged to participate in the HRAP early in their careers, when they are likely to still have contacts at their old high schools and feel positively about their military service. The HRAP has been a mainstay of Army recruiting since the early 1980s, and other branches of the military have similar programs. For example, Pablo Paredes, the Iraq War resister discussed in Chapter 1, told journalist Israel Jason Stockman how two friends from high school convinced him to sign up for the Navy. Paredes was by that time in college and thought he was immune to military recruiting pitches he heard in high school. But the Navy message "was a lot more believable now," he said, "because it was [coming from] two people that I grew up with and did a lot of dumb stuff with. And it looked like they were having the time of their life." Tired of working multiple jobs to pay for school, Paredes joined the Navy within a week. He later learned that one of these friends had actually been working for the Navy through its HRAP.[24]

Military recruiters have also tried to engage youth by appealing to their enthusiasm for music and the arts, including Army-themed poster and mural contests for 8th- to 12th-grade students in Kentucky and Texas, and an Army of One Art Competition Award for middle and high school students nationally.[25] Other examples of how music and dance are used as recruitment tools are the US Army Field Band's volunteer efforts in Baltimore schools that recently lost their music programs; the musically talented Maryland recruiter who circumvented restrictions on recruiter access by volunteering as a band director; and the Delaware recruiter who was able to "penetrate" a high school

by volunteering to teach weekly salsa lessons.[26] The military's use of arts-based activities also extends nationally through The Volunteers, a musical group comprising soldiers from the US Army Field Band, that perform popular songs for young audiences at over 100 venues annually across the United States. Although primarily a cover band, the singer-soldiers are apparently not averse to trying out some original tunes. Most of the latter promote Army brand awareness. As the band's leader once explained:

> For sure we will try to entertain you, and if we educate you with a couple of tunes that you have not heard before or open your eyes on the broader perspective of the military and the Army, well then great, we've hit a home run, knocked it out of the park.[27]

Similarly, many of those involved in counter-recruitment view creative events as an ideal way to get youth involved in efforts to address the militarism of local schools. Arts-based, participatory activities appear more effective at engaging students than simply talking to them about the dangers of military life. The coordinator of the Oakland-based group BAY-Peace suggests young audiences typically respond better to poetry and the arts, especially when their peers are involved. Such anecdotes parallel the findings of Andreana Clay, who studied the use of hip-hop and poetry slams as political organizing tools. "For the current generation of youth," Clay observed, "the written and spoken word is intimately connected to youth leadership, positive social dialogue, and community organizing."[28] And as two educational researchers recently found, "arts-based learning can serve to help people see the world and themselves in a different way, which can, in turn, help with the questioning of uncritically absorbed perspectives."[29] Thus, arts-based activities can be a way to shift from a discourse about war and militarism and promote creative, socially responsible pursuits, a tactic more likely to produce a positive reaction from youth.

Progressive movements for social and political change have also favored the use of the arts. Popular musicians, for example, allowed many Americans to understand the connection between labor history and song. Creative actions by unionists go beyond singing to promote solidarity on the picket lines. Starting in the mid-1960s, *El Teatro Campesino* (farmworkers' theater) helped organize grape-pickers in the Central Valley of California and created linkages between rural farm workers and their urban Chicano counterparts.[30] As Guy and Candie Carawan note, the 10-month-long strike against Pittston Coal Group (1989–1990) by mineworkers in southwestern Virginia

> had a strong cultural underpinning: not only music, but camouflage fashion, whittling and dancing at the picket sites, large puppets, a theater piece

> on Mother Jones, and the establishment of Camp Solidarity, where supporters gathered every night for food, humor, string music, and singing as well as strategizing for the next day's events.[31]

Decades later, Retail Action Project (RAP), a community labor partnership devoted to improving conditions for low-wage workers in New York, used "mock fashion shows" and singing to attract media attention to their campaigns. Since 2011, the organization's Art and Media Committee has tried to stay in the headlines through such projects as a "RAP rap," with lyrics "set to the tune of Jay-Z's 'Hard Knock Life'."[32] Also in New York, Occupy Wall Street activists made full use of the arts to promote their message of economic justice, debt relief, and the need for corporate social responsibility. Using Manhattan's Zuccotti Park as their base of operations in 2011, Occupy activists formed an Arts and Culture working group that included many professional artists and designers. The group energized street protests with dancers depicting corporate vampires, poetry readings, 40-foot-high puppets designed to resemble the Brooklyn Bridge or the Statue of Liberty, along with what one commentator called "a museum's worth of posters."[33] Other "Occupy" collectives across the United States commonly used such activities to galvanize local activists and as a means to engage the public.

Arts-Based Youth Organizing

While a key element of current strategies to engage and empower youth, it was not until the 1980s that activists began to see arts-based organizing as a viable tactic for counter-recruitment. One cutting-edge local organization—both by having youth directly involved in organizing and in terms of using the arts—was Youth Against Militarism. Formed in 1985 in Cincinnati, the group of local religious leaders, educators, and activists was affiliated with Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC).[34] Adult leaders were actively involved in two earlier efforts to prevent failing Cincinnati high schools from being turned into publicly funded military academies. Through strategic partnerships with the local teachers union, parents, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Cincinnati CALC, these proposals were defeated.[35] Building on this momentum to oppose other attempts to militarize local schools meant motivating youth to reach other youth. To educate their peers about militarism, young activists produced videos and a weekly program on community radio. They also used rap music. As 15-year-old activist Maisha Pesante told the 1988 Youth and Militarism Conference in Chicago, "You gotta work with the kids . . . And one of the ways to get to our audience is to try to make them feel what we are saying . . . through rap." She then proceeded to demonstrate

her hip-hop skills in a performance that "compelled" the audience "to take youth leadership seriously."[36]

In the 1980s, larger peace organizations had the resources to test innovative forms of arts-based outreach to youth. The CCCO's role in creating the *Real War Stories* comic book in 1987 is instructive. The organization worked with Joyce Brabner to raise funds and recruit artists for the project. Brabner was in a unique position to assist: she was an activist for 18 years and had significant media skills. Her husband was famed comic artist Harvey Pekar, and she used her experience promoting his *American Splendor* comic books for the *Real War Stories* project. Brabner recruited more than 25 artists, "many of them among the best in the field," including Mark Farmer, a British artist who worked on the *Incredible Hulk*.[37] Based on the testimony of those fleeing conflicts in Central America, as well as the autobiographies of American conscientious objectors, *Real War Stories* was a powerful visual tool to help youth think critically about the decision to enlist in the military. The comic book's design and celebrity backing helped give it an auspicious start at the annual Comic Con event. However, the original plan to distribute the comic to students backfired when school administrators balked at a panel graphically depicting the sexual assault of a sailor.

Long-time activists view *Real War Stories* as one of the significant counter-recruitment accomplishments of the 1980s and among the most influential in terms of arts-based outreach. If today's anti-war comics lack the polish and celebrity artist endorsements of previous efforts, it may be due to the drastic changes taking place within the counter-recruitment movement. Without the support of the CCCO, which closed its central office in 2008, financial backing for such projects has diminished. Even the AFSC dropped its national Youth and Militarism Program in 2009. Yet, current counter-recruitment organizing, consisting mostly of small-scale, local operations that often rely on unpaid staff, continues to pursue innovative, arts-based activities to engage youth. As the following cases demonstrate, these methods have succeeded in promoting critical consciousness and stimulating youth activism.

A Manifesto for Peace

In a city where more than a third of public high school students drop out before graduation, officials in Oakland, California, would ideally have the resources to provide proper counseling to students and help youth stay in school.[38] The reality, however, is that California has the worst school counselor-to-student ratio in the nation (1,016 students for every counselor). Some Oakland high schools that have no guidance counselors still find the

money to fund units of JROTC, a program that steers 40–50 percent of its graduates into military service.[39] As Rachel Hava Gordon notes in her study of West Coast high school student activists, "in Oakland's more impoverished schools," the JROTC usually ranked as "the school club with the most resources." While some student clubs in the district "struggled to obtain resources and gain the sponsorship of a teacher to help them organize a school dance," she found, "the JROTC had the resources to put on these events for students."[40] As discussed in Chapter 1, when schools have fewer guidance counselors and more military recruiters on campus, it ultimately means more students will hear about a narrower range of career options. And, as Gordon observed, "flashy JROTC-sponsored dances" at impoverished Oakland schools can make "joining the military even more attractive to youth with few other opportunities."[41]

Proving that you can do a lot with very little, Oakland's Better Alternatives for Youth (BAY-Peace) won a major victory in a 2008–2010 campaign against school militarism. Operating out of rented rooms in a downtown office building, BAY-Peace consists of one unpaid adult staff member who recruits and mentors local high school and college students. Coordinator Susan Quinlan also provides a small stipend or academic credit to members of her "Youth Action Team." These young activists-in-training spend a year organizing on social justice issues in public schools and in their neighborhoods. Of note, BAY-Peace activists often use arts-based activities—theatrical skits, videos, and poetry—in their community outreach work. In a scenario familiar to other urban school districts, the group faced a major challenge in addressing militarism in local schools. Military recruiters were allowed to visit Oakland high schools as often as they liked, as long as they first gained permission from a school principal.[42] This dynamic gave rise to a successful model of youth-driven organizing.

In 2008, BAY-Peace began a campaign for a change in school district policy regarding military recruiters' access to schools and private student information. This initiative was led by members of the Youth Action Team, who collaborated in writing one of the campaign's key documents: the BAY-Peace Youth Manifesto. Described by the youth as a "poetic petition," the Manifesto condemned the way military recruiters target economically disadvantaged students of color, called for limits on the number of visits recruiters could make to school campuses, and said the military should not be allowed to collect private student information without the consent of parents and students. Of note, the students also requested the Oakland Unified School District make it easier for students to opt out of the Pentagon's Joint Advertising, Market Research and Studies (JAMRS) database, an archive that took the military years to assemble and "includes names, birth dates, ASVAB test

data, email addresses, grade-point averages, ethnicity, and the subjects that students are studying."[43]

The students' year-long petition drive resulted in more than 1,000 signatures supporting these demands. BAY-Peace Youth Action Team members also created a video to publicize the Manifesto and succeeded in winning the endorsement of several local community organizations. The group then sought to turn their poetic petition into a formal resolution to the Oakland School Board. Alongside more traditional lobbying tactics (e.g., meeting with local school board members to express their concerns), youth activists also employed the arts. Students created origami cranes out of signed petitions, and then wove them into a banner that was brought to the School Board offices. In May 2010, the Oakland School Board approved the resolution, a landmark in counter-recruitment organizing. Since then, activists in Honolulu, San Francisco, Berkeley, and the Chicago suburbs have replicated the BAY-Peace campaign by pressuring local school boards to adopt similar JAMRS database opt-out policies.

In recent years, BAY-Peace has shifted its emphasis toward other issues affecting Oakland: mass incarceration, immigration rights, and police brutality. In part, this change resulted from the group's success in demilitarizing the Oakland schools. According to Pablo Paredes, an Iraq War veteran who contributed to the campaign, BAY-Peace's advocacy around the issue of school militarism "shifted the culture" in the Oakland Unified School District. But, the turn away from confronting militarism also underlines the horizontal structure of BAY-Peace organizing, and the fact its activities mirror the lived experiences of local youth. "If you ask a young person about the problems they're facing in their lives or in their community," Quinlan told us, "militarism will appear pretty low on the list." If BAY-Peace activists are now focused on violence prevention and the school-to-prison pipeline, it reflects the growing number of Youth Action Team Members who have been personally affected by the criminal justice system or who have lost friends to violence. However, the arts still play an important role in their work, including youth workshops inspired by Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed.[44] The success of the BAY-Peace model is reflected in its steady growth: between 2012 and 2013, the number of Theatre of the Oppressed workshops and student interns doubled.[45]

Saying "Aloha" to Militarism

By many measures, Hawaii is one of the most militarized regions in the United States. The Department of Defense controls 236,000 acres, including 25 percent of the landmass of Oahu (the most populous Hawaiian island),

while the state's 11 military bases have contributed to enormous ecological problems. As journalist Joan Conrow notes, the environmental impact of the testing, dumping, and storage of munitions—along with other military practices—has converted what was once the "food basket for Oahu" into "a giant Superfund complex comprising at least 749 contaminated sites." Despite its atrocious environmental track record, the military enjoys ideological hegemony on the islands. According to a local activist, "Whenever people raise these issues about the military impacts, they're very quickly tainted as anti-military or anti-American."[46] This privileged status is reinforced by the military's presence in Hawaiian public schools, which encourages students to accept the military as a way of life.

High school recruiter visits are common in the Aloha State, and JROTC cadets often spend summers attending "leadership seminars" at one of Hawaii's numerous military installations. But the military is also heavily involved in education at the lower-grade levels. School partnership programs, sometimes known as Adopt-A-School, essentially give the military a permanent presence in K-8 education. During the first three months of 2014, the Army alone contributed over 2,000 volunteer hours at more than half of Hawaii's nearly 300 public schools.[47] Other military branches also vie for the trust of local schoolchildren. At Kainalu Elementary School, "Marines and sailors tutor the children and work on the school's building projects."[48] Meanwhile, fifth-graders at Pu'oha School receive weekly "mentoring" from Marines, who talk with them "about a variety of topics from sports to their future as adults."[49]

Most activists would struggle to organize amidst this militaristic climate. But Catherine Kennedy, leader of the group Truth 2 Youth, has embraced the challenge. Truth 2 Youth comprises a rotating cast of activists: parents, veterans, and concerned citizens like Kennedy. Since the group began school outreach in 2006, building support among teachers has been a primary goal. From 2006 to 2009, Truth 2 Youth used grant money to bring Iraq War veterans from "the mainland"; teacher support ensured the veterans could speak about militarism in classrooms and at school assemblies. Kennedy cites school librarians as important partners for Truth 2 Youth, advocating for her group's access to local schools. "Librarians are often stealth activists at heart; they really believe in free speech, non-censorship," she told an audience at a counter-recruitment workshop in 2009.[50] When a conservative backlash led one high school to cancel a talk by an anti-war veteran in 2009, a librarian at another school agreed to host the talk on short notice.[51]

Given the cost of housing visiting Iraq War veterans, Kennedy began to focus on less-expensive activities that would encourage greater youth participation. Thus, starting in 2010, poetry slams became a major focus of Truth

2 Youth's outreach. Kennedy told us these events typically involve a performance by professional poets, followed by three days of writing workshops. Following the classes, which can reach up to 400 students per school, those who are most enthusiastic about poetry have the opportunity to work closely with Kennedy and an English teacher; their collaboration culminates in a student-only poetry slam at the school.

While it may have been easier to organize presentations by veterans, the level of student engagement is noticeably higher at poetry slams. "What I've heard consistently from school staff is they're surprised how attentive these kids are at the slams," Kennedy told a local magazine in 2010. "At assemblies they're normally restless, but at these slams, they pay attention to each other . . . this is peer influencing at its zenith." Student engagement is also evident in the themes addressed by their poetry: abusive relationships, family trouble, school bullies. And, of course, militarism. As one student at Pahoa High School rhymed: "So tell me, who do we believe? Who else is around?/when all the President wants is a few more boots on the ground?"[52] Another benefit to students, according to Kennedy: poetry slams expose youth to ideas that challenge the Army's version of the American dream. As she told us,

> I feel like if you start showing kids an alternative value system and life style that isn't based on materialism, you're [succeeding]. You're getting kids away from that trajectory of, oh no, I've got to go into the military because it's the only way I'm going to make money or be able to buy a house or succeed.

This shift in values can only occur if youth begin to challenge the military's role in their lives. The case of Truth 2 Youth shows how youth can come to critical consciousness through arts-based, adult-facilitated activism to achieve this goal.

The Power and Limits of Youth Organizing

Our research suggests that in some situations activists have been effective at teaching youth to think critically about the military. Yet measuring the "success" of this work is challenging, both for groups who concentrate on classroom presentations and for those that focus on mentoring youth activists. As Pablo Paredes noted, it is difficult to assess the impact of classroom presentations to students. While activists might feel they are making a difference when they talk with youth, he continued, "at the end of the day, that's [only] 45 minutes out of the students' school year." Although we admire that some organizers pay close attention to student responses,

more tangible means of assessing youth outreach efforts are needed. A more systematic, albeit more resource-intensive, approach can be found in the written student evaluations used in Hawaii, San Diego, and some other counter-recruitment groups. These are typically administered after a classroom talk and seek to measure any shift in students' attitudes toward war or military service based on a specific presentation. In Hawaii, for example, students have consistently reported how their own attitudes about military service changed based on a guest presentation. In 2009, after Truth 2 Youth sponsored a series of talks by Aidan Delgado, an enlisted soldier who became a conscientious objector during the Iraq War, 52 percent of students reported they "changed their mind to some degree about enlisting in the military."[53]

It is also difficult to ascertain the (long-term) impact of mentoring youth activists. While it is possible to gauge success in terms of the number of students taking a leadership role in organizing campaigns, student activists have few means of knowing whether they've made a lasting impact on their peers. To answer our questions about the impact of youth mentoring, organizers often relied on anecdotes. In Chicago, the AFSC's Darlene Gramigna uses student evaluations to measure what students learn from their Social Justice Spring Breaks. But the long-term influence is harder to determine. Here, Gramigna is reliant on accounts from teachers who report that some Spring Break participants came back to school eager to implement new ideas for class projects. In San Diego, the success of Project YANO in funneling its student activists into college and careers in organizing must count as a success. Although anecdotal, these reports are nevertheless compelling suggestions of the power of youth mentoring and illustrate the utility of evaluating youth outreach efforts.

Notably, almost all the cases of mentoring youth activism we encountered were examples of *cross-difference organizing* (organizing across racial and class difference). In Hawaii, Chicago, and Oakland, white, middle-class activists have been mentoring low-income youth activists who are overwhelmingly Latina/o, African American, or Asian American, and Pacific Islander. In other cases, counter-recruiters tried to stimulate youth activism by highlighting the links between militarism and issues such as immigrants' rights. In Oregon, a foundation grant enabled Carol Van Houten and her organization, Truth in Recruiting, to work with Latina/o students on advocacy surrounding the long-debated DREAM (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) Act, which would allow certain categories of undocumented immigrants two paths to permanent residency status: higher education or military service. These youth were mostly undocumented immigrants, and were concerned enough about the DREAM Act's vision of a militarized path to

permanent residency that they produced a short video about the issue, based primarily on their own interviews with military veterans.

A key challenge facing activists who make classroom presentations is that extensive outreach to teachers and students is needed to maintain school access and ensure these activities occur in the future. Maintaining youth involvement is likewise complicated by the problem of both student and faculty turnover. The case of San Diego illustrates this dilemma. As mentioned earlier, both Nancy Cruz and Davíd Morales were actively involved in the struggle to remove the JROTC program from Mission Bay High School. When Nancy graduated one year earlier, Davíd was encouraged by his teacher-mentor Luis Villanueva to assume a leadership role. But when Luis left to take a teaching job in Los Angeles shortly after the campaign ended, the ENAC lost its primary connection to students at Mission Bay High. A sharp drop in the group's activity ensued.

The varied success of counter-recruitment with youth also suggests several reasons to use the arts in this work. First, creative activities offer a positive way to frame such organizing. Many activists already find that school officials who are afraid of controversy may balk at the words "counter-recruitment." Besides referring to "truth-in-recruiting" and stressing "alternatives to the military" (rather than being *against* the military), the arts offer something positive. An example from the northwest corner of Connecticut is instructive. Activists affiliated with Winsted Area Peace Action have at times faced skepticism about their work from school officials, who were reluctant to provide the organization access to local schools. But the group's sponsorship of an annual Peace Poster Contest has allowed them to contribute to the community by providing a platform for young artists. According to one group member, the event demonstrates how their group has a positive influence on youth by encouraging students to "celebrate a peaceful world by putting their visions on paper."[54] Mirroring research on youth organizing, we also find students learn more when they are being creative; and, conversely, it is pedagogically unsound to treat youth as passive vessels waiting to receive information.[55] When members of Sustainable Options for Youth (SOY) in Austin, Texas, asked one young man what their organization could do to better engage students, the response was profound: "Be sure to ask us what we're thinking and not just tell us what you're thinking."

For a movement that often works in the shadows and has difficulty recruiting new allies, arts-based activities—especially events like poetry slams—may help counter-recruiters more effectively market themselves to school and community stakeholders. "The poetry slams," one Fort Worth activist told us, "are how we've found our biggest supporters in the schools." Not only did parents, teachers, and students embrace the activity. They also introduced

Diane Wood and her group to guidance counselors from local schools, which in turn led to further invitations to have a regular presence at college fairs.

Despite the clear advantages of using the arts in a counter-recruitment campaign, there are serious obstacles to address. These are also present for any counter-recruitment group trying to mentor youth, regardless of whether the organizing is arts-based. These include a problem intrinsic to organizing teenagers. High school students are developmentally at a stage when it can be uncomfortable to stand out from their peers. Rachel Hava Gordon, in her study of youth activism, found "structures of schooling" foster "widespread political apathy" among students, making "mobilization around social justice issues a challenge."[56] Political activism in schools is often channeled through club activities, and school administrators will support these initiatives to some extent. But the lines are clearly drawn. As was the case with Davíd Morales from San Diego, school officials will not hesitate to control student activism. As Henry Giroux notes, as soon as youth activists "start talking about power, militarization, inequality, racism—all those things that point to deep structural problems—student resistance and dissent is viewed as exceeding its possibilities and limits."[57] Thus, without a culture to encourage dissent in schools or local communities, it will remain challenging to bring youth into counter-recruitment efforts. Nevertheless, as we demonstrate next, when such activism is successfully sustained, schools can be effectively de-militarized.

CHAPTER 3

Using Legislation to Confront School Militarism

Kurt and Anne Katay thought they knew what went on in their local school. Self-described liberals and active in their community, Kurt grew up in Edmonds, Washington, 11 miles north of Seattle. While still a high school student in the 1970s, he was recruited into the military. Raising a family and running a business in the same area decades later, the Katays watched in disbelief as their 14-year-old son came home during his first week at Meadowdale High School and unloaded his backpack. In it were Army- and Navy-branded pencils, erasers, and other paraphernalia military recruiters had been handing out to students on campus. Even freshmen. "So we went to the school," Kurt recalled, "and asked them: 'Why is the military in the school?'" School officials reminded them a federal law gave recruiters the right to come to campus to talk with students about military careers. "And we said, 'Well, why are they talking to our son? He's only a freshman.' And you know, they explained basics to us but it didn't go very far." Kurt and Anne left the meeting unsatisfied and saddled with "a lot of unanswered questions."

This was the start of the Katays' four-year-long campaign to rein in military recruiting practices in the 20,000-student Edmonds School District. When we asked what motivated them, Kurt cited the moral imperative to protect youth from the predations of recruiters.

> You're dealing with minors and they should have better rights. And we know that they're not good decision makers on such matters of life and death. And so I think ethically as adults, let alone as parents, we have a responsibility to protect our children.

Given the potential implications of joining the military, Ann said, it is critical someone educate youth on the risks involved.

> Teenagers never think anything is going to happen to them and we educate them about so many other things: sex, drugs. But we don't educate them about this? You know? It's just as serious as getting a sexually transmitted disease that they could die from or getting behind the wheel when you're drunk. You can die [being a soldier] . . .

Their first year of activism was an educational process. After connecting with a local affiliate of the national Peace Action network, Kurt and Anne learned about the recruiter access mandate embedded in the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act. Armed with more knowledge, they went back to their son's campus to better understand the extent of the military presence. It was then they learned military recruiters had practically unfettered access to the district's four high schools, were present on a weekly basis at their son's school, regularly visited campuses in Humvees and other military hardware, and seemed to target students sitting alone in the lunch room.[1] As Anne recalled in an interview: "It's just outrageous that they were allowed to do this on school grounds. We were completely shocked that this was going on." Their fledgling group recruited new members, including a young Iraq War veteran. Kurt started working closely with Washington Area Truth in Recruiting, a coalition of Seattle area activists. He also reached out to others across the country involved in counter-recruitment and sought information about the legal dimensions of military recruitment in schools. According to Kurt, this support network helped reduce the feeling of isolation that often arises while organizing, especially when challenging school officials.[2]

All these activities were preparation for a coming confrontation with the school district. "We realized," Kurt recounted, "that we needed to gain some strength with the school board, the district office and with the principals." The Katays wanted to counter the military presence with a table of their own in local high schools. But when they approached the school district to request access, they were denied. Their school's parent–teacher organization was also unenthused about their plan, and according to Kurt, "pretty much shut us down." Stymied by the normal channels of policy change, and wishing to educate parents and the public about the presence of military recruiters, they resorted to leafleting on the sidewalk outside of district high schools. While they may have annoyed some school officials (at one campus, sprinklers were turned on and aimed in their direction), this direct action generated local media coverage.

In the end, four years after their initial talk with school officials, Kurt and Anne saw their efforts succeed as they "filled a school board meeting with organized testimony in opposition" to military recruiting practices. The result: "we got a set of administrative rules and guidelines as to where the

recruiters could be and how they approached students," Kurt said. Of note, contact between recruiters and students would have to take place in the presence of other school personnel. Kurt admits these rules were largely "superficial and unsupervised." In response, student activists in some local high schools followed recruiters and reported any deviation from the guidelines to school authorities. After their son graduated from high school, Kurt and Anne stepped back from organizing to focus more on their ecotourism business. However, they are once again feeling pulled down the path of counter-recruitment activism. At the time of our interview, in late 2013, their grandson was just entering a local high school. Like the rest of their family, he was well aware of his grandparents' activism. "In fact," Anne said, "it just came up in conversation last weekend. We asked him if he had seen any military recruiters [in his school], and to let us know if he had."

Kurt and Anne's activism is an example of the *legislative approach* to counter-recruitment. We use this term to mean any organizing strategy that aims to regulate and/or remove militarizing structures in public schools through policy change. Our use of the term encompasses several types of struggles within counter-recruitment: campaigns to restrict military recruiter access to students; protect the privacy of students taking military aptitude tests (namely, the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery; ASVAB); increase the number of students at a school who "opt out" of the federally mandated rendition of student information to the military; and regulate existing units of the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC) or prevent the establishment of new JROTC programs. These activities most commonly occur at the local (single school) or school district level; but importantly, activists have also been able to effect statewide policy changes. In what follows, we describe various efforts to pursue such policy goals, and discuss legislative campaigns from the first three decades of counter-recruitment. We compare organizing strategies, past and present, and offer an assessment of the strengths and challenges of this practice.

Resisting Junior ROTC

In the previous chapter we discussed how activists, many of them students, successfully organized to uproot an established Marine JROTC program at San Diego's Mission Bay High School. While this was a significant victory, such cases are rare. As another example from California shows, campaigns to oust JROTC based on ideology have had more limited success. In 2006, the San Francisco school board voted to phase out all JROTC units at district schools by 2009. One board member at the time, Dan Kelly, was a conscientious objector during the Vietnam War, and described his opposition to

JROTC in anti-militarist terms. "It's fundamentally and basically a recruiting arm of the military," Kelly told a reporter, "and I don't think that is an appropriate thing to be happening in our high schools." According to an article in *Education Week*, Kelly also claimed the school board's decision respected "the will of San Francisco voters," who in 2005 approved Proposition I, "a symbolic measure that said residents oppose military recruiters in public schools."[3] The JROTC vote in San Francisco was in large part framed as a response to American involvement in the unpopular war in Iraq. While this occurred in a city billed by one observer as the "peacenik capital of the West Coast," the anti-militarist action created a stir at the highest levels of the Pentagon.[4] The national spokesman for JROTC later claimed it was the "first time anywhere in the country that JROTC has been kicked out of a school district solely on ideological grounds."[5] The controversy generated by this vote sparked public debate over the role of the military in San Francisco schools. Led by the *San Francisco Chronicle* and local officials, efforts to reintroduce military training culminated in a citywide referendum in 2008. Backed by military brass, the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, this successful initiative signaled public support for maintaining JROTC programs. By 2009, all those who had opposed JROTC were no longer on the school board. In May 2009, supporters persuaded board members to restore JROTC programs to city schools. Those supporting JROTC framed their arguments in ways that made opposition nearly impossible to sustain. As the then mayor of San Francisco, Gavin Newsom, a long-time champion of military training for children, put it: "It's important for the city not to be identified with disrespecting the sacrifice of men and women in uniform."[6]

In recent years, more promising paths have emerged for anti-JROTC activists, including opposition to the growing trend of military training at the *middle school* level (grades six to eight). In Louisville, Kentucky, Chris Harmer and his colleagues with the local chapter of Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) have campaigned against JROTC since the 1980s. But it was not until 2013 that they participated in what Harmer described as their "most promising" organizing effort.[7] When the Louisville school board expressed interest in establishing a "middle school cadet academy," some board members suggested the curriculum would prepare students to enroll in JROTC once they reached high school. School officials also presented a report that purportedly showed how academics, student discipline, and attendance rates all improved slightly among high school JROTC students compared to their peers. But that argument fell apart when Harmer and his colleagues brought a University of Louisville professor to make a presentation to the school board

that challenge the data. This organizing paid off: at the time of writing, the proposal for a middle school cadet academy was no longer active. Anticipating the issue will be raised again, Harmer works closely with an antiracist alliance, and recently made "break-through" contacts with the local Hispanic community. While the Louisville chapter of FOR is larger than most, Harmer noted the group is "predominantly white. We absolutely need broad-based African-American and Hispanic support to reach the parents in this school effectively."

The concentrated presence of JROTC in schools with mostly minority students makes it necessary for activists who oppose the program to engage in this type of *cross-difference organizing* (across class and racial boundaries). Such efforts, however, often require years of painstaking relationship building to develop trust and overcome the social and psychological barriers between disparate communities. At times, this work is made more difficult by white organizers' own racial biases. Research by Matthew Friesen, who interviewed representatives of 12 organizations throughout the United States, suggests that "tensions" exist within the counter-recruitment movement "around questions of racial justice and movement framing." While nearly all of his subjects recognized the racial and economic dimensions of military recruitment, not a single white activist "named the racial injustice of military recruiting as a significant component of their work." In contrast, 71 percent of the non-white activists saw this as "central to their activism."[8] While not an exhaustive study, this finding illustrates a key barrier that limits the potential impact of counter-recruitment.

Jorge Mariscal, a professor at UC San Diego and an organizer with significant experience working with Hispanic youth, told us that most counter-recruiters have difficulty building alliances with diverse groups for two reasons: they don't know these communities well, and they often lack the cultural knowledge necessary to create an effective outreach strategy. A change in activists' strategic outlook may address these limitations. For example, it may prove useful to adopt the views of two high-profile organizers. They told us counter-recruitment should not be seen as simply a form of anti-war activism, but as a larger movement for racial justice and equal educational opportunities for African American and Latina/o children. According to Janine Schwab, who worked in the AFSC's Youth and Militarism unit from 2006 to 2008: "I always saw counter-recruitment as being really not a part of the peace movement at all . . . It has a lot more to do with economic justice and education justice than it ever did with the peace movement." Greater emphasis on this broader (class and racial) analysis within counter-recruitment, then, has the potential to facilitate more effective long-term organizing with diverse constituencies.

Campaigning for Student Privacy

Many counter-recruitment activists find that policy change is more easily won by opposing the ASVAB exam. The passage of a 2010 Maryland state law protecting the privacy of students taking this military test was the culmination of a years-long effort by a coalition of parents, teachers, and civil liberties groups. Their victory opened up an appealing vein of activism that others have mined. Concerned citizens across the country have since created state chapters of the National Coalition to Protect Student Privacy, led by ASVAB expert and Maryland middle school teacher, Pat Elder. In Texas, New York, Oregon, and elsewhere, organizers are engaged in campaigns to pass legislation preventing military recruiters from automatically obtaining student data through the ASVAB. National testing data released under the Freedom of Information Act allows them to measure the effectiveness of these efforts. In Texas, for example, organizing by Diane Wood of Peaceful Vocations led to nearly 7,000 fewer students who took the ASVAB in 2012–2013 than the year before. The rate of Texas schools selecting Option 8 to protect student privacy increased from 14.7 percent to 15.5 percent over the same period, a small but significant change; while the number of Texas schools requiring students to take the ASVAB decreased from 181 to 70.[9] Nationally, more than 2,000 of the 12,000 schools that administer the ASVAB have moved within the past few years to select Option 8—prohibiting the release of student test information to the military without parental consent. This includes all schools in three states (New Hampshire, Hawaii, and Maryland), as well as school districts in New York City, Los Angeles, and other major cities. The national Option 8 rate has also risen dramatically, from about one percent of total students tested in 2005 to 15.5 percent during the 2012–2013 school year.

While the JROTC and ASVAB campaigns have a long history within counter-recruitment, post-9/11 America gave rise to a new form of advocacy. Section 9528 of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 mandates that high schools hand over their students' contact information to the Pentagon. However, it also allows parents and students to "opt-out" of this procedure by submitting a request form to school officials. Using this opportunity, activists have led numerous campaigns to force school districts to make it easier to opt-out. These efforts peaked in the early years of the Iraq War, and some claim they were an effective "organizing handle" and helped enlist new people into counter-recruitment. For example, activists affiliated with the Northwest Suburban Peace Education Project in the Chicago area moved from opt-out campaigning to more ambitious terrain. In 2010, they followed the example of Oakland's BAY-Peace campaign (discussed in Chapter 2) and

won an agreement with their school district giving students an easy way to remove their names from the Pentagon's Joint Advertising, Market Research & Studies (JAMRS) database.

Closely linked to opt-out activities are those that seek to limit or monitor the kinds of contact military recruiters can have with youth. In 2009, the New York Department of Education passed Chancellor's Regulation A825, which made it easier for parents to opt out of releasing their child's information to the military, placed restrictions on recruiters' access to school property, and encouraged schools to designate someone from their staff to serve as a "point person" on issues related to military recruiting. This regulation, affecting one million students in all five boroughs of New York, was a milestone for the counter-recruitment movement. In a remarkable display of youth empowerment, the Youth Activists-Youth Allies (YA-YA) Network in New York City was instrumental in getting this regulation passed. Student activists organized community forums and gained valuable public speaking experience as they gave presentations about the proposal to groups of teachers, guidance counselors, and fellow students across the city. These efforts often introduced audiences to the issue of military recruiting in schools through videos, discussion, and hands-on activities. The mostly African American and Latina/o youth also lobbied powerful city school officials in their bid to pass the Chancellor's Regulation. Along the way, they organized across class boundaries by securing crucial support from well-heeled officials at the Department of Education. But getting the regulation passed was the easy part. In an effort to monitor compliance with Regulation A825, in 2011, the YA-YA Network mailed surveys to every New York City public high school. Not only did the YA-YA Network's successful campaign end up protecting one million students in all five boroughs of New York from aggressive military recruiting practices, but it also gave activists across the country a valuable model to replicate in their own communities.

Fighting to "Balance the Picture": Activism in the 1970s and 1980s

Counter-recruitment had the advantage of being born in the progressive, movement-oriented era of the early 1970s. According to historian Robert Surbrug, "The Vietnam War made it possible for many mainstream Americans to question and consider alternatives to the dominant institutions and premises of US society."[10] Activists pursuing demilitarization work in the 1970s, for example, had support from political organizations like the National Organization for Women and the Congressional Black Caucus, whose members spoke out against JROTC; Republican Congressman

Charles Mosher of Ohio, who commissioned a report from the Government Accountability Office on ASVAB testing in high schools; the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which worked with Mosher to pressure military officials into stopping the automatic acquisition of student data;[11] and Parren B. Mitchell, the first African American elected to Congress from Maryland, who vocally opposed the expansion of JROTC during the 1970s. In an eloquent statement, Rep. Mitchell recognized that many urban youth needed help, but rejected the idea that JROTC was the proper way of addressing their problems.

> There are those who believe that by having military training for students, it will dissipate underlying currents of unrest, anger or frustration. This is a poor solution to a serious problem . . . You do not solve problems of our young people by teaching them to march and shout, "Yes sir!"[12]

Congressional support for anti-militarism in the 1970s illustrates how debate on the topic of school–military relations previously included more diverse voices, reaching higher levels of society, than today. While cultural currents in the 1970s supported counter-recruitment and other forms of peace activism, organizers also faced considerable hurdles. The United States was in the midst of a recession with high unemployment, and many enlisted in the military out of economic desperation. However, starting in 1975, "Enlistments fell as an improving economy gave enlistment prospects civilian jobs."[13] It was in this context that some began blaming recruiting difficulties on inadequate recruiter access to high schools. In 1978, US Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia told a congressional hearing that high schools should be *required* to cooperate with military recruiters.[14] A year later, recruiters in suburban Maryland complained about school board policies that prevented the names and addresses of high school seniors from being divulged and prohibited military aptitude testing (ASVAB) during school hours.[15] Still, key counter-recruitment victories multiplied as diverse coalitions sought to demilitarize public schools.

In the fall of 1979, Fran Donelan and her colleagues at Baltimore AFSC spearheaded a campaign against the presence of JROTC at Baltimore's majority-black Northwestern High School. Earlier that summer, the Northwestern school board voted, without public discussion, to allow the Air Force JROTC program—Baltimore's first—into the school. Opposition to this program only arose once students were enrolled. Despite the late start, Donelan and her fellow organizers at AFSC sought to overturn the school board decision and remove JROTC.[16] In her media outreach, Donelan questioned the premise of the familiar pro-JROTC arguments: that it instills

discipline in youth and builds citizenship skills, all at comparatively low cost to schools, while also pointing out the racial dimensions of the issue. "Here in Baltimore," she noted in one news article, "the [JROTC] program is in predominantly black schools," and African American youth were being misled into believing that the military promised a way out of poverty.[17] A whiff of racial animosity could be detected among some proponents of JROTC, who framed their support in terms of discipline and the need to control unruly youth whose "vitiating lifestyles" were "permeating society."[18] While this campaign ultimately failed to prevent the establishment of JROTC at Northwestern High, the school board decided to cap the number of JROTC units in Baltimore, a move that Donelan considered a key concession.[19]

During the 1980s, Donelan and her colleagues faced a more conservative climate in which to organize against school militarism. Counter-recruitment activists, while spared the harsh treatment meted out to opponents of President Reagan's policies in Central America, still had to deal with intense scrutiny of their demilitarization campaigns.[20] They also confronted a rising tide of state laws mandating military access to schools. By 1984, 18 states had passed "recruiter access" laws, contributing to what one person described as a situation where "the presence of the armed forces . . . is becoming as common as classes in social studies and English."[21] The same year, five national education associations signed an agreement with the heads of military recruiting for the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard. This pact, copies of which were mailed to every school in the United States, encouraged administrators to permit military recruiter visits to school grounds, facilitate the rendition of student records (names, addresses, and phone numbers) to the military, and administer the ASVAB test. In turn, recruiters agreed to encourage students to finish school and to provide only the most accurate portrayal of life in the military to prospective enlistees. Though this sweeping plan was not without controversy, it strengthened ties between the military and public schools. As one example, in August 1984, just months after the national agreement was signed, the New York state legislature enacted Education Law Section 2-a. The new policy, apparently modeled on the provisions of the national pact, "guaranteed access for all branches of the military to educational institutions for the purposes of distributing information about military employment opportunities."[22]

Critics of the new nationwide compact complained that it would not, in fact, prevent recruiters from using deceptive methods to enlist youth.[23] As one activist wrote, "As the military gains access, we must *demand* access in a total way."[24] Campaigns to "demand access" to schools on an equal basis with military recruiters would constitute one of the biggest organizing success stories of the decade. Demanding equal access at a single school was straightforward:

activists simply needed to schedule an appointment with education officials and make their case to have a school presence. But experienced organizers knew that to gain in-roads in the largest urban settings, they would have to rely on the courts. In Chicago, in April 1983, organizers affiliated with the national network Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) filed suit in federal district court over the refusal by that city's school board to provide a "balanced picture" of life in the military to high school students. The following January, a federal district court judge ruled in favor of CALC, finding that by "picking and choosing which views may or may not be expressed to its students," the Chicago school board was imposing a "form of censorship" that "cannot be tolerated in the absence of a constitutionally valid reason." The ruling effectively initiated a citywide counter-recruitment campaign the following school year, and improved activists' access to schools in other parts of the country.[25]

The ruling in *Clergy and Laity Concerned v. Chicago Board of Education*, while significant, did not permit "total access" to schools by counter-recruitment activists. A subsequent, more wide-reaching equal access case was *San Diego Committee Against Registration and the Draft v. Grossmont Union High School* (1986). In this action, organizers filed suit after a high school rejected their request to place paid advertising in the student paper (which regularly accepted ads from the military). In its final decision on *Grossmont*, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals established that military service was a controversial political topic. As such, when school officials opened up any school-sponsored forum (including student newspapers and career fairs) to military recruiters, they were legally obligated to give the same access to individuals or groups representing opposing views. A third major equal access victory came in *Searcy v. Crim* (1989), in which a federal appeals court ruled in favor of Atlanta activists who sought to have as much access to schools and students as the military. The case was notable for finding that community members have a legal right to present information critical of the military;[26] and it also empowered peace activists in a city school system so heavily militarized that by 1984 it was sending 20 percent of its graduates to the military and had the third-largest JROTC enrollment in the United States.[27] But what really made *Searcy* significant was the decision by the Department of Justice to intervene and claim military recruiters needed to have "preferred access" to high schools as a matter of "national security."[28] Along with its importance for counter-recruitment, then, the ruling revealed the Pentagon's dependence on public schools as *de facto* military recruiting stations.

These equal access cases all garnered national media attention and had a far-reaching impact. The widely publicized court rulings lowered the costs and dangers of counter-recruitment organizing and mobilized activists to

seek access to schools in communities across the United States. In some lesser-known local campaigns, at issue was not necessarily whether counter-recruiters could have access to schools, but whether schools should exercise greater restraint on the military's presence. In one example, beginning in the fall of 1984, the Madison, Wisconsin chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) collected stories about aggressive recruitment practices in local schools to raise public awareness of the military presence. By filing Freedom of Information Act requests, the group learned that military recruiters visited some high schools more than 100 days during a 180-day school year. Their organizing occurred during a school board election year, and activists seized the opportunity to hold a candidate forum where the issue of military recruiting took center stage. Two candidates who vocally supported the group were elected, and in August 1985, the Madison school board voted unanimously to approve new guidelines that included a strict two-visit-per-year limit on military recruiters' access to high schools. According to local activists, the key to building school board support lay in using "conservative arguments" and steering clear of anti-militarist rhetoric. Thus, organizers' public messages stressed parents' rights to have a say in their child's career path and students' rights to hear about multiple options for careers and college funding.[29] The veterans group later encountered problems getting schools to actually implement the new policy (made more difficult by military recruiters' threats to sue the district). Still, for the local VVAW chapter, this was a "great victory" that would keep Madison's high school students "safe from abuse and misinformation from the military."[30] Of note, their campaign illustrates how counter-recruiters can have greater impact when they cultivate ties with teachers and education officials. As was the case in San Francisco, gaining the support of school board officials was critical to the success of this effort. For contemporary counter-recruitment activists focused on impacting policy, this suggests success is more likely to occur when participants (like teachers) play a central role in the institutions they wish to reform.[31]

Building a National Movement: Organizing in the 1990s

By 1986, Madison VVAW was one of more than 60 community groups involved in counter-recruitment in the United States.[32] With laws regarding equal access well established, the stage was set for building a national movement. However, few local activists sought to coordinate their activities at the national level. A sense of isolation was common, particularly for those working in rural or conservative areas. To address and better promote the strategies of newer groups, Lou Ann Merkle of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors recommended closer ties among those working on

counter-recruitment.[33] Progress took place in the summer of 1988, when the CCCO sponsored a conference in Chicago on "Youth, Militarism, and Alternatives." Attracting more than 200 participants, at the time it was the largest counter-recruitment gathering ever held. Rick Jahnkow, widely recognized as a movement leader, delivered an address in which he chided activists for their reluctance to view themselves as part of a bigger, *national* effort. In recognizing the structural impediments to achieving movement consciousness, Jahnkow asked: "How can all of us become more aware of the many different groups and efforts which exist all over the country? Is there a communications tool which could be created to do this, possibly by a national group?"[34] The answer came in the form of the National Campaign to Demilitarize Our Schools (NCDOS), a nation-wide organizing network that during the 1990s was critical to the development of policy-driven counter-recruitment campaigns.

A year after the Chicago conference, the Berlin Wall fell, heralding the end of the Cold War and the beginning of a new era in US foreign policy. But hopes for a more peaceful world order were shattered first by the U.S invasion of Panama in December 1989, and—little more than 12 months later—the US invasion of Iraq. The NCDOS was born in the year straddling these two events. In February 1990, representatives of the War Resisters League, the National Lawyers Guild's Military Law Task Force, the CCCO, and the AFSC met to discuss a national strategy for counter-recruitment. Participants decided that a joint campaign to address school militarism was sorely needed, an approach that could improve the fund-raising climate for counter-recruitment and create a coordinated means to harness organizing activity across the United States.[35]

One of the goals of NCDOS was to focus attention on the impact of military recruiting on low-income communities and people of color. While activists hoped their campaign would generate more diversity in the peace movement, in reality, most of those on the NCDOS steering committee represented organizations that were overwhelmingly white. According to Harold Jordan, an African American who at the time was on the steering committee while serving as head of the AFSC's Youth and Militarism program, the central plank of the NCDOS strategy might even *preclude* effective outreach to communities of color. As Jordan noted at a July 1990 meeting, if the campaign *emphasized* demilitarization, it would have trouble becoming a truly "multicultural effort." Better, in his view, to *encourage* demilitarization but to allow flexibility in the way campaigns were framed so that culturally diverse communities could respond to local needs. Organizers would thus need to be sensitive in their outreach to low-income neighborhoods, where JROTC might be seen not as an unwanted military intrusion in schools but as a

vehicle for youth self-improvement; and where military enlistment might offer career opportunities unavailable to many urban youth.[36] The expansion of JROTC into local schools starting in the early 1990s gave NCDOS an issue that could be used to effectively mobilize these communities.

In 1992, Congress voted to lift the cap on the number of JROTC units allowed nation-wide under federal law from 1,600 to 3,500. But this was not school militarization by fiat; the Pentagon would have to convince hundreds of local school boards that JROTC would be a good fit for their communities. While this created openings for opponents, educators' generally positive appraisal of school–military relations would ensure the JROTC debate would be challenging. According to an earlier survey, 63 percent of high school guidance counselors had nothing negative to say about their dealings with military personnel; indeed, many were "lavish in their praise" for these men and women in uniform.[37] Another study found that high school principals held favorable opinions of Army JROTC and viewed the program as an effective means of instilling patriotism in students.[38]

News of the JROTC expansion was a primary topic among the activists who gathered in Philadelphia for an October 1992 NCDOS meeting. Of 16 people whose field reports were recorded, six mentioned devoting time to organizing against JROTC. Participants decided to lend support to local groups working to oppose JROTC by sharing information in the quarterly *NCDOS Newsletter* and by the distribution of a "Campaign Organizing Packet." Affiliates of NCDOS would also coordinate fund-raising campaigns while regular meetings would connect local groups. The AFSC's Harold Jordan noted the salutary effects of a national campaign. "Without NCDOS," he said at the October meeting, "the 6 or 7 groups who worked together on the JROTC legislation might never have contacted each other around this issue."[39] Jordan's own work on JROTC would soon have a major impact on the movement.

In the fall of 1994, Jordan traveled to Seattle, where the military was targeting Rainier Beach High School as the site of a new "JROTC academy." The Pentagon, in partnership with the US Department of Education, had identified schools in high-poverty, urban areas as ideal sites for their new military academies, which were essentially expanded versions of the regular JROTC curriculum.[40] The majority of students at Rainier Beach were African American, and when Jordan met with school officials he argued that military discipline was not the only educational program appropriate for these students. At one Parent Teachers Student Association meeting, Jordan listened as a military representative made the following race-based pitch: "Especially for the black kids here, it's either JROTC or the undertaker. Where do you want your kids to go?" When he presented the AFSC's view on JROTC, Jordan

made a strategic decision to stress his family's history of military service (both parents and a sister served in the military and are now buried at Arlington National Cemetery). Local organizing culminated with the high school principal's last-minute decision to cancel a community forum on the issue, citing the intense controversy JROTC had aroused. By that time the Seattle superintendent of schools had stopped supporting the program.[41] That Seattle still does not have a JROTC unit in any of its high schools illustrates the legacy of this campaign.

The Rainier Beach struggle ended in victory largely because of the diverse coalition that community members organized. While Harold Jordan could draw on his years of experience with cross-difference organizing, the mostly white organizers with Washington Veterans for Peace tried to bridge the divide by making racial disparities in JROTC a key theme in their campaign to win over public opinion. For example, Vietnam veteran Mike Dedrick, who was then the school outreach coordinator for the Seattle Draft and Counseling Center, wrote critically of the proposed JROTC academy, calling attention to the overrepresentation of minority students enrolled in Army JROTC.[42] Along with these traditional peace groups, the campaign had participation from faith-based organizations, local activists affiliated with the National Organization for Women and—most notably—teachers and students at the majority-black Rainier Beach High School.

Youth organizing made a key difference in another anti-JROTC campaign of the 1990s: in Bethlehem, a small city in conservative eastern Pennsylvania. Starting in April 1993, the Lehigh-Pocono Committee of Concern (LEPOCO) mobilized to force school board members to revisit an earlier vote approving Navy JROTC at Liberty High School. The group's phone calls and outreach might have swayed some board members, and opposition from the teachers' union also helped. But it was the outspokenness of two young Quaker students at the high school that was central to the success of this effort. Mike and James Vargo spoke to their classmates and were instrumental in organizing a petition drive that collected the signatures of nearly 200 Liberty High students opposed to JROTC. "I think the students taking the lead in that was really key," Nancy Tate, long-time LEPOCO coordinator, told us. When the school board took up the issue the next month, they voted 5–4 to cancel JROTC.[43] Assessing the campaign's long-term impact, Tate concluded: "They didn't get the JROTC there and they haven't really tried since."

The busiest years for NCDOS (1991–1996) coincided with unprecedented levels of counter-recruitment organizing in the West, Midwest, and rural South.[44] By 1994, those endorsing the national organization included groups in North and South Carolina, Virginia, Texas, and at least two cities in Florida.[45] Among the dozens of local struggles against JROTC that occurred

during the 1990s were those in South Dakota, Colorado, and Montana. In a conservative area like working-class Bethlehem, activists overcame isolation by drawing on the expertise of NCDOS-affiliated organizers. In an interview for *The Objector*, Nancy Tate "stressed the importance of knowing about other struggles against JROTC and gathering various resources from national and local groups."[46]

Similar to anti-JROTC organizing, campaigns of the 1990s to curb military recruiter access to schools were led and sustained by nationally connected activists. In January 1991, school boards in Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco voted to stop supplying student information to military recruiters; San Francisco officials also banned military representatives from recruiting on school campuses.[47] Later that year, Rochester, New York, garnered national headlines by banning military recruiting in local schools.[48] Coming in the midst of widespread public displays of support for the US war against Iraq, these efforts were notable. Before the Rochester policy was enacted, recruiters in that city were routinely given "free reign for 45 minutes in study halls" to show Army-produced videos.[49] Inspired by these victories, activists working with the Northwest Military and Draft Counseling Center in Portland, Oregon, tried for years to get a military recruiter ban approved by their school board. They finally succeeded in 1995 after newly elected board members backed the new rule based on opposition to the military's policy of discriminating against gays and lesbians. With a shift in rhetoric away from anti-militarism, Portland activists not only followed the lead of organizers in Rochester (whose years-long campaign paid off after adopting an anti-discrimination message), they were also embracing a more holistic view of militarism.[50] Yet, when the No Child Left Behind Act went into effect in 2002, its provision mandating recruiter access to schools, while little-noticed at the time, led to the abolition of recruiter bans in Rochester, Portland, and other cities.

Assessing the Impact of Legislative Campaigns

The history of organizing against militarism in schools is marked by measurable progress tempered by stories of disappointment and loss. What tangible changes have these campaigns accomplished? Overall, while the results were often modest, they demonstrate the promise of the legislative approach to counter-recruitment. Activism challenging military testing in schools has produced notable local victories. In some of the largest US urban school districts, like New York and San Diego, grassroots activists educated officials on the ASVAB and helped craft policies that neutralized one of the military's most reliable recruiting tools. In the 1970s, by securing the support of members of

Congress and civil liberties groups, organizers gained credibility while attracting increased backing for the issue of school militarism. Progress can also be quantified. The number of students annually taking the ASVAB test nationwide has dropped by more than half since 1975 (from 1.6 million to around 650,000). In 2014, organizers in New Hampshire—once a state that imposed a regime of mandatory ASVAB testing in all of its high schools—helped enact legislation that protected the privacy of all students taking the military test.[51]

When it comes to resisting military training in schools, change is harder to measure. Ultimately, activists failed to halt or even significantly slow the expansion of JROTC programs in public schools. The number of military training programs at US high schools has more than tripled since the early 1970s, to nearly 3,500 today. New JROTC units in the northeast and coastal urban areas, normally considered liberal strongholds, account for much of that growth.[52] Counter-recruitment groups did prevent dozens of new JROTC units from being created, and organizers can take some credit for the reduced use of mandatory JROTC participation. In 1972–1973, nearly a quarter of all schools with Army JROTC units made participation mandatory for some students.[53] Now, the compulsory aspect of JROTC has all but disappeared in public schools, thanks in part to education campaigns that questioned the value of what was actually being taught in those programs. A sign of positive change can also be seen in Atlanta: the AFSC mounted a successful 2009 campaign against a planned military academy, where participation in Marine JROTC would have been mandatory for grades 9–12. In assessing this effort, it is worth noting that compulsory JROTC programs were in place in *twenty-six* Atlanta-area high schools in the early 1970s.[54] Over time, mandatory JROTC was phased out, and the AFSC's organizing effort ensured it would not return.

Given the challenges of organizing for the expulsion of JROTC from a single school or an entire school district, counter-recruiters have pursued innovative methods. Activists in Chicago used public records requests to identify JROTC instructors who lacked the credentials required by that city's school system to teach. This has disrupted JROTC and led to some instructors being reassigned or dropped from the payroll. San Diego organizers had success targeting under-enrolled JROTC programs, and their efforts led to the closure of the Marine Corps JROTC unit at Mission Bay High School.[55] Others have sought the elimination of the most odious aspects of JROTC, like the marksmanship training that involves setting up an on-campus firing range using air rifles.

Federal legislation now prevents local schools from imposing a ban on military recruiting. Nonetheless, since the 2003 US invasion of Iraq, organizers in many communities have successfully lobbied for more restrictive recruiter access policies. For many activists who fought hard to gain equal

access, simply being able to have a presence in local schools often counts as success. Indeed, even a small counter to the military in schools, one Army report suggests, is enough to disrupt the Pentagon's goal of having an "unobstructed conduit" to youth.[56] Activists have also used the school recruiting issue to generate creative collaborations with organizations outside of the traditional peace movement. In the past decade alone, Rutgers Law School, the New York Civil Liberties Union, and the American Public Health Association (APHA) have produced reports that have been used by local organizers pursuing policy change. In 2012, after years of lobbying by two Seattle-area scholar-activists, Amy Hagopian and Kathy Barker, the APHA passed a resolution at its national conference. The statement urged Congress to repeal the section of the No Child Left Behind Act that mandates military recruiter access to schools and student contact information, and to stand by its commitment to abide by the Optional Protocol of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child by restricting the military presence in schools.[57] Of note, the resolution backed up these claims with solid science, observing that 17- and 18-year-olds are not yet cognitively equipped to make the life-and-death decision of joining the armed services.[58]

Those pursuing policy change, 40 years of counter-recruitment organizing history suggests, can increase their political power if they partner with community allies and form strategic partnerships with national groups. Organizers opposing the militarization of schools should therefore work more collaboratively with parents, teachers, and other concerned citizens if they hope to publicize the extent of school militarism and influence public officials. As one Maryland organizer told a 2009 national conference: "You can't build a movement out of just the radicals in this country. There just aren't enough of them." Amy Hagopian, the Seattle activist who was the leading force in getting the Parent-Teacher-Student Association (PTSA) of Garfield High to pass a 2005 resolution opposing the presence of military recruiters in schools, agrees. She suggests outreach to "regular old organizations" like the PTSA is more important than "working in strictly left-wing peace organizations." While the latter may be aware of this issue, they lack the impact that organized parent-teacher groups can wield. Indeed, considering the revered status of the military in American culture, networking with parents and teachers should be a critical component of any form of counter-recruitment. The legislative approach thus holds the promise of reaching beyond the "usual suspects" of progressives to engaging more diverse constituencies and making a larger impact.

These communities are more likely to be integrated into counter-recruitment efforts for another reason: policy-driven campaigns often highlight the connections between race, poverty, and the military–educational complex. Emphasizing the intersectionality of issues—such as race, class, and

gender—being raised by counter-recruitment campaigns may therefore create opportunities for activists to engage in cross-difference organizing. To take one example, support of the 2010 Maryland ASVAB bill by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was critical to the success of that campaign. The NAACP, which does not have a history of support for student privacy campaigns, only became interested after organizer Pat Elder demonstrated that ASVAB testing in the state was concentrated in high-poverty, black-majority schools in places like inner-city Baltimore. Elder told us the NAACP's powerful testimony to the Maryland legislature was essential in getting the bill passed. He also cited a "very strong racial correlation in ASVAB testing" as significant in building support for the law. As more activists use data to organize around counter-recruitment, they can make more convincing arguments to broader constituencies for the regulation of military testing (and other dimensions of militarism) in schools.

Military recruiters themselves view this approach as a potent form of activism. In several reports since 2006, the Army War College and Marines Corps University have analyzed the success of counter-recruitment and identified ways to limit its impact on military recruiting. The consensus from these reports is that legislative campaigns effectively reduce the number of schools conducting ASVAB testing, a serious problem for the military due to the importance of this exam as a recruiting tool. One report suggested schools no longer be given the privacy-protection option (Option 8) of the military test.[59] The Army marketing department also considers "Anti-recruiting groups" to be a "threat" to recruiting efforts.[60] Indeed, as long as activists emphasize picketing, marching, and other symbolic gestures, power will remain largely unchallenged. But when organizers effectively reach out to constituencies like parents, students, and communities of color; when they adopt a policy-driven approach that uses data to demonstrate the connections between militarism and the limited choices faced by economically disadvantaged students; at that point the military recruiting apparatus views activists as "adversaries" and "civilian organizational inhibitors."[61] Thus, despite their limited resources, counter-recruitment organizers hold a relatively powerful position. They can jeopardize the "fragile existence" of the all-volunteer military by simply questioning the very basis for its survival: recruiting campaigns that target youth in school settings.[62]

Potential Challenges

Those who pursue a legislative approach to counter-recruitment must overcome formidable obstacles to capitalize on their potential. Organizing against JROTC, for example, is especially challenging. As the case of San Francisco

demonstrates, even when officials vote to eliminate funding for JROTC, pro-military elements in the community can mobilize and elect a new school board. In the 1970s, organizers and their allies were accustomed to using anti-militarism to frame opposition to JROTC: military training programs had no place in schools, they argued, and thus the battle over JROTC was a struggle over how to define the nature of education. After a string of defeats in the early 1980s (when JROTC units began to populate the schools of New York City), some began to rethink their public messages.[63] Indeed, later in the decade, activists learned a powerful lesson with the victorious campaign to prevent JROTC from coming to the schools of conservative Lacey, Washington. That effort, emphasizing the impact of JROTC on school finances, was successful after organizers with the Fellowship of Reconciliation made a conscious effort to avoid anti-militarist rhetoric.[64]

Besides adopting a less contentious discourse, another factor has facilitated the success of legislative campaigns: support from teachers and their unions. The examples from Seattle and Bethlehem in the 1990s are two prominent efforts. More recently, the Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism campaign in the 2000s owes much of its success to the support it received from United Teachers Los Angeles. But with public teachers unions increasingly under attack, and with testing regimes that tie teachers' pay to their students' performance on high-stakes tests, educators may be less likely to speak out on controversial issues. Many people we interviewed said teachers often support counter-recruitment in private conversation, but are reluctant to publicly resist JROTC and military recruitment in schools. In two cases, teachers told us they faced on-the-job retribution for public activities related to opposing JROTC.[65] Broad public support for the military makes teacher activism on this issue especially challenging.

A key task for organizers, then, is to develop a clear and compelling framework to present this issue to help generate more support from educators nationwide. One useful example may come from a shift in how ASVAB campaigns have been organized. If in earlier decades some publicly characterized the test as a means "whereby a recruiter gets a foot in the high school door," activists now generally adopt more inclusive messages emphasizing student privacy and parental consent.[66] The advantage to this framing is that it promotes collaboration with civil liberties groups, parent–teacher associations, and other community actors. However, some involved in counter-recruitment claim this change in message is a missed opportunity to engage educators and the public in a dialogue around a more pertinent question: Does a military test have any place in schools?

Those pursuing policy change must also recognize that public officials or recruiters will often try to "game the system" and reverse policy gains.

An example of this occurred when activists—allied with the National Lawyers Guild and other partners—pushed the California state legislature to pass an ASVAB Option 8 law in 2008, only to see the measure vetoed by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. At the local level, a more common scenario is for recruiters to try to circumvent a school district policy on recruiter access. How a "recruiting visit" is defined is thus crucial. If a school has a policy that limits school visits to twice-a-year at a table outside the cafeteria, military recruiters can still gain more frequent access by getting invited to make classroom presentations about military career opportunities, volunteering to coach sports, and through substitute teaching. In San Diego, recruiters have in the past given presentations to faculty about military career opportunities, and school administrators have claimed this does not count as a recruiting visit. Janine Schwab, formerly of the national AFSC, placed such activities within a broader context, telling us:

> one of the big achievements of the counter-recruitment movement is to get all these recruiter access rules in place. Right? So New York, Oakland have policies stating . . . "this is what recruiters can and cannot do," but what does that really mean when this teacher has always been friends with the recruiter and they are bringing them in to do classroom presentations? So . . . all these school districts really aren't following their own rules.

Those pursuing local-level policy change must therefore ensure that recruiter access policies are free of loopholes and cover the gamut of recruiting activities, and then develop mechanisms to monitor compliance with these hard-won policies. Whether they are seeking to regulate recruiter access, ASVAB testing, or on-campus military training, activists also need to extend the *range* of their policy campaigns. For Rick Jahnkow, one way groups can "elevate their strategic thinking is to not just focus on what is happening locally but see that they are part of something broader that they can connect to." Once enough counter-recruiters do that, the potential to change institutions (and not just people) will be strengthened.

CHAPTER 4

Preventing Future Wars

For Ana Grady Flores, a third-generation activist who grew up in a radical, Catholic Worker household, the decision to become politically involved was made in her early teens. While many of her peers were still playing Pokémon, she remembers her moment of clarity: "I wasn't going to be like an ordinary teenager." Ana's political coming-of-age coincided with the run-up to the 2003 US invasion of Iraq. In an interview for Rosalie Riegle's book, *Doing Time for Peace*, Ana said in 2002 she began organizing her high school classmates against the looming war. "The young people have to be the ones to say no. We can't vote yet, so we have no voice." Finding a way to make an impact became an all-consuming passion, and led to her decision the following year to join others in "occupying" a Marine recruiting station in her hometown of Ithaca, New York. Splattered with red paint, Ana and a dozen friends from school pinned the names and pictures of dead Iraqi children on their clothes before entering the center. Some shouted, "We're here to recruit you to the peace movement!" before lying down en masse in the lobby. This symbolic "die-in" continued until police arrived to haul away the protesters.[1]

While Ana was willing to put her body on the line, few people have the courage to face arrest and deal with the consequences. For others, the symbolic picket line or demonstration offers an appealing and more accessible mode of political action. During the Iraq War, picketing in front of military recruiting stations was a popular form of protest. Beginning in 2007, Seattle activists held semi-weekly demonstrations outside several military recruiting centers. One in particular, a combined Army-Navy recruiting station at 23rd and Jackson, was located in close proximity to a historically African American high school. Some protesters aimed their anger at the way recruiters targeted the Black community. In November of that year, youth from Seattle-area high schools and colleges marched—without a permit—to the recruiting station. Faced with a police barricade, they shouted slogans like, "Hey recruiters, we're no fools! Get your lies out of our schools!"

The recruiting center was the scene of repeated protest in subsequent years. While the Seattle chapter of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) initially organized these actions, they received support from a broad cross section of the community. Kathy Barker, an activist who at the time had children in the Seattle schools, went to more than a dozen of these demonstrations during the Iraq War. Framing her reasons for protesting military recruitment in moral terms, Kathy told us she wanted to do something to counteract the "stunningly militaristic US society" that permitted "recruiters in the schools all day long." Allowing the military to recruit schoolchildren, she said, "goes to the heart of who we are as Americans, as human beings."

Kathy usually heard about upcoming actions from an e-mail sent by her neighborhood peace group. Protesters included members of Veterans for Peace, Sound Non-violent Opponents of War (a city-wide peace group), and Youth Against War and Racism (a regional network of student activists). The local contingent of the Raging Grannies also participated, and entertained fellow protesters by wearing costumes and performing anti-war skits. As Kathy told us years later, a regular presence at 23rd and Jackson inevitably led to interesting encounters with recruiters. "I once walked past and one of the Army recruiters I recognized from high schools was coming out of the recruiting station. It was summer, so I shouted, 'Must be tough with school closed, huh?' And he smiled and said, 'No, I just hang around at the playgrounds'." As the Iraq War began winding down and the Army's budget shrank, the recruiting station was one of many to shut its doors for good. Activists who attended various protests justifiably take some credit for the closure.

Such activities illustrate the approach to counter-recruitment we label an *anti-war organizing strategy.* Military recruiting stations are symbolic sites of resistance to US foreign policy, and some may reasonably choose to make those locations a forum for speaking out against war and militarism. But this aspect of counter-recruitment goes beyond mere symbolism, and can extend into activists' school outreach work. Military recruiters have annual quotas to fill. If counter-recruiters can make it harder to attract new soldiers—by convincing students not to enlist—they believe they can undermine US attempts to intervene with military force around the globe.

This type of activism carries a certain appeal, since it may appear more effective than participation in traditional anti-war tactics like rallies and marches. If done effectively and at a large enough scale, some have claimed, counter-recruitment has more potential to *end war*. In an article from 2006, San Diego organizer Rick Jahnkow suggested policy makers can easily ignore "antiwar demonstrations and other symbolic forms of protest," but they "cannot ignore the fact that without enough soldiers, it is impossible to sustain a

large, long-term occupation in a country like Iraq."[2] These sentiments were echoed in a 2007 handbook on counter-recruitment: "a hundred thousand marching one day every six months is not as effective as one thousand people talking to students every day."[3]

While it has become less compelling since the end of the Iraq War, this goal is a widely cited motivation for engaging in counter-recruitment. Between 2004 and 2009, the counter-recruitment movement experienced tremendous growth. By 2005, organizer trainings in the Midwest, hardly a breeding ground of anti-militarist sentiment, were able to attract more than 60 interested people.[4] As Janine Schwab, formerly of the AFSC, told us in an interview, this was "a time where . . . it was sexy to do counter-recruitment. Suddenly it became something that not just old Vietnam veterans did in schools." Much of the new energy consisted of young activists like Ana, who marched in 2002 and 2003 in the hopes of preventing the invasion of Iraq. Disillusioned by the perceived failure of traditional anti-war efforts, they saw in counter-recruitment a way of fighting war from their front door—at recruiting stations and in local schools where military recruitment was rampant and largely unregulated. For one parent-activist in Washington, leafleting outside of schools and lobbying the school board to restrict recruiter access to schools was a way to respond on a local level to concerns about the Iraq War. Counter-recruitment, he later told us, was simply "where the rubber meets the road . . . in terms of anti-war activism and community awareness about war." Other activists in Berkeley, California, spoke of counter-recruitment, with its emphasis on direct contact and conversations with students, as a more effective way to promote change and social justice than protesting in the streets or signing a petition. These counter-recruiters, with ample experience pressuring public officials to bring an end to the Iraq War, suggested face-to-face lobbying in schools was a better use of their time. It also promised more tangible rewards. As one group member told us, "the hope is to save lives" by convincing students not to enlist.

As discussed earlier, counter-recruitment can be seen as a *multidimensional* strategy, where different methods or orientations to activism coexist. While many of those we interviewed described themselves as philosophically anti-war, they are also careful to maintain a more neutral tone in their dealings with students and teachers. We can thus distinguish between merely holding anti-war views and embracing an anti-war approach to counter-recruitment. Community trust and support is critical for activists who wish to gain continued access to schools, especially those organizing a legislative campaign. Given the pro-military orientation of American culture, many organizers recognize the need to use anti-war or anti-military rhetoric strategically in order to preserve their community standing.

Our interviews also suggest those involved in counter-recruitment alter their goals and tactics in response to US foreign policy. They may have been motivated by anti-war sentiment when US soldiers were pouring into Iraq. But the end of that war changed the way many identified their goals. One person, organizing in a highly conservative state, told us:

> When the war was going on, success felt like if a teacher called me or a parent called me . . . and said, "I've got this kid who wants to go in [to the military] . . . Can you talk to him?" And I would be able to get somebody to talk to them and we would change their mind.

In the absence of a hot war, these benchmarks have modified. This activist now focuses on trying to lead students away from "materialistic" visions of an American Dream that may influence their decision to enlist in the first place. This shift in the "framing" of different activities is an example of how the counter-recruitment movement responds to the larger political context. It illustrates what social movement theorists describe as *political opportunity structure*, which suggests, "activists' prospects for advancing particular claims, mobilizing supporters, and affecting influence are context-dependent."[5]

Visible protest, often at military recruiting stations, is but one aspect of the anti-war approach to counter-recruitment. Another consists of incorporating anti-war analysis into traditional activities like tabling and classroom presentations. Many of those using this method became involved in counter-recruitment in response to the Iraq War. They saw counter-recruitment not as a long-term strategy, but rather as an effort to take away one of the "pillars of war": the supply of troops sent to battle.[6] One activist from Austin aptly described this to us by depicting counter-recruiters as the "rebels in the hills," launching guerrilla-style attacks on high school recruiting practices. A short historical summary demonstrates how levels of counter-recruitment activism, particularly the most visible forms of recruiting station protests, tend to rise and fall in response to US foreign policy.

From Vietnam to Iraq: Recruiting Stations as Targets

For more than 40 years, military recruiting stations have been targeted to express opposition to a particular US war. Often, activists carried out actions designed to draw maximum media exposure. At times, certain activities—pickets, marches—sought to provoke a strong response from state security forces. The best-known examples date to protests against the US War in Indochina, before the advent of "counter-recruitment." According to one estimate, during the fall of 1967 "nearly a quarter of all" colleges and universities

were the site of protests against some form of war-related recruiting.[7] By November of that year, the widening unrest spurred Selective Service Director Lewis Hershey to propose immediately drafting any college student who "physically interfered" with military recruiting on campuses.[8]

This period was followed by a sharp decline in direct action against military recruiting. Few such actions are mentioned again in the activist press until the mid-1980s. The catalyst for a new wave of protests was US foreign policy and military involvement in Central America. Tens of thousands of Americans pledged to perform civil disobedience if US forces intervened in Nicaragua against the socialist Sandinista government. Activists lay across railroad tracks to slow the shipment of munitions to US-backed authoritarian regimes south of the border, while protests also occurred at military recruiting stations. In Connecticut, to symbolize the kind of "disruption" US military actions have "in the lives of Central Americans," women members of Spinsters Opposed to Nuclear Genocide entered a New Haven recruiting station in February 1985 and engaged in civil disobedience.[9] In February 1986, a men's affinity group of the Pledge of Resistance carried out simultaneous actions in San Francisco. Protesters entered the Bush Street and Market Street military recruiting stations, leading to the arrest of more than a dozen people. Outside, supporters distributed flyers calling the centers an "important link" to "US intimidation and intervention in Central America."[10]

While the looming US invasion of Iraq in January 1991 led to mass protest in New York, Washington, and other cities, it also inspired others to focus on key sites of militarism. Activists again targeted recruiting stations, viewing them as the most visible reminders of a war machine run amok. In Iowa City, a group of 25 protesters submitted to arrest after lying on the floor of an Army recruiting station; demonstrators in Hawaii scrawled "No blood for oil" on the window of another.[11] Recruiters admitted these protests were driving away prospective enlistees. As an Army recruiter from Chicago later recalled, "things were very slow" for almost six weeks in 1991 after a congresswoman protested in front of his station.[12]

As anxiety over the war in Iraq led to concerns about an impending military draft, hundreds of people across the country (many who had little experience with activism) became involved in counter-recruitment. As one activist told us, "People were expecting the Gulf War to be long and not short—they were expecting another Vietnam." As a result, counter-recruitment organizing increased. An organizer in San Diego described the "largest business meetings, we had the most veterans involved doing presentations, we were doing more in schools than we are today because we had a larger local pool of volunteers." In Portland, Oregon, the Gulf War was responsible for doubling the number of classroom presentations made by

a local counter-recruitment group. In Camden, Maine, Veterans for Peace reported a similar increase in activity, as phone calls spiked from parents worried about a new military draft.

Many of those with a long history of counter-recruitment activity trace their involvement to the 1991 Gulf War. Following the return of US forces from Iraq, public and elite opinion—previously divided over the question of US military involvement—united in support of the armed forces. Indeed, opinion polls showed public confidence in the military was at its highest level in two decades.[13] Tens of thousands of cheering spectators fêted troops with ticker tape parades in New York and other major US cities.[14] Amidst this climate of widespread support for the military, the Pentagon had a relatively easy time asking Congress to once again double the number of JROTC units in public schools. Bob Henschen of Houston, a former conscientious objector and draft resister, was teaching high school at the time and became upset by the way "warfare had been glamorized and made to look antiseptic and high-tech" by mainstream media. In response to the regular presence of military recruiters at his school and the creation of JROTC units throughout the Houston school system, he decided to act. Decades later, Henschen and the group he founded in 1991 (the Committee for Youth & Non-Military Opportunities) still maintain a regular presence in more than a dozen Houston high schools and provide students with information about alternatives to military service.

The 2003 US invasion of Iraq triggered the most sustained and visible wave of protests at military recruiting stations since the Vietnam War. Direct actions included "die-ins," stenciling peace signs on recruiting station windows, roving pickets, as well as activities that resulted in property damage.[15] The demographics of participants also varied: from the gray-haired Raging Grannies who were arrested for protests in multiple US cities, to the youth-led Pittsburgh Organizing Group (POG).[16] Activists in the latter adopted multiple approaches to counter-recruitment, balancing outreach to schools with regular pickets at recruiting stations. Between 2006 and 2007, POG activists carried out more than 30 pickets—leading to multiple arrests—at their city's "recruiting hub station."[17] In other cities, organizers believed their actions led to the permanent closing of recruiting stations; at least one site in downtown Chicago closed shortly after being exposed to a coordinated series of pickets. Activists also take credit for the closing of the Army Experience Center (AEC), a $12-million, 14,500 square foot "educational facility" located at a shopping mall in suburban Philadelphia. Open to visitors as young as 14 years old, the AEC was a veritable arcade of militarism, consisting of a battery of *America's Army* video game stations, live-action weapons simulators, and plainclothes Army recruiters. The center was only open for

two years when it was shut down in the face of negative media reports that focused on the weekly presence of protesters in the parking lot outside the mall. Lacking systematic documentation, it is difficult to determine the exact reason for the closings of these recruiting facilities; and it should be noted they coincided with a shrinking of the Army's recruiting budget. Nonetheless, the direct action organizing by scores of activists likely contributed to their closure.

At the peak of the Iraq War, these actions were often used to energize youth and students. In November 2005, a coalition calling itself Youth Against War and Racism, with chapters in several states, organized a one-day student walkout. Thousands of high school and college students across the country responded to this call, and left their classes to "protest the war in Iraq at the nearest military recruitment center."[18] By 2006, such actions were a common, and seemingly effective, response to the war. "Recruiters have been forced to leave schools early," one report noted, "visits have been cancelled, and sit-ins have been organized, with the end goal being to shut recruitment down."[19]

Recruiting station pickets were reported widely in the mainstream press, and often drew the ire of conservatives. There were so many of these protests by 2008 that one commentator could write an article decrying "The Left's Escalating War on Military Recruiters."[20] This illuminates what one activist describes as the "balancing act" of gaining media coverage for counter-recruiters. Marco Giugni, a scholar of social movements, has noted the "fundamental role of the media for movement mobilization and outcomes."[21] Yet, many activists adopt a cautious approach to media work, fearing that if local counter-recruitment actions receive too much attention in the press, then conservatives and pro-military supporters might respond and undermine their efforts. Despite its media prominence, there are risks with the anti-war approach to counter-recruitment; and this method fails to convey the full flavor of counter-recruitment. The possibility of attracting a negative response led one Texas counter-recruiter to the conclusion that "it's really more effective to spread awareness at the grassroots level" than to cultivate press coverage.

Indeed, because the military is one of the most revered institutions in American culture, public debate on issues of war and peace is often emotional and disputed. Counter-recruitment groups must often frame their public message in non-threatening, inclusive language, in part to diminish the prospect of negative press coverage. As movement veteran Rick Jahnkow suggests, "You also have to be creative about the language you use. You have to speak a language that is understandable to the people you're addressing and not speak the language of other places, like Berkeley, when you're in Phoenix." From this perspective, some counter-recruitment activists seek to

avoid linking their campaigns to strong anti-war rhetoric that may be perceived as unpatriotic. If they fail to carefully calibrate how they present their message, their efforts may actually undermine vital community support.

It also follows that some direct action tactics (like recruiting station protests) that may be viewed as anti-military might provoke a backlash. In 2006, the activist group Code Pink went to Austin to protest military recruiting at the University of Texas. A march from campus to the nearest recruiting station drew dozens of howling *counter*-protesters who, according to a news report, held "pro-war signs containing messages such as 'Recruiters keep the military voluntary' in the demonstrators' faces."[22] Marching on a recruiting office with pickets might have been an effective way of getting publicity, but one long-time organizer suggested to us that such action "made my job harder." When this activist, an Iraq combat veteran, went to set up an information table at an Austin high school shortly after the Code Pink episode, he discovered an Army recruiter was also doing student outreach, directly next to his counter-recruitment display. A school administrator with whom he had previously enjoyed a good working relationship now appeared nervous, asking him, "You're not going to handcuff yourself to the recruiters' table, are you?" As this suggests, the threat of alienating community allies through direct action is real.

Many of those interviewed for this book cited a need to avoid taking an overtly anti-war position, especially in visible forms of counter-recruitment. Instead, they often emphasize the issue of unregulated military access to students, and the broader culture of US militarism in their activism. As a result, some have criticized the counter-recruitment movement for not adopting a more vocal stand against war.[23] These critiques, however, minimize the coalition building and community organizing that might be jeopardized by strident anti-war messages.

If media exposure may produce negative consequences, the ability to generate press coverage is also an advantage of the anti-war approach to counter-recruitment. Thus, some activists claim the most effective way to combat militarism's impact on youth may be through increasing the visibility of this issue. Indeed, for a movement accustomed to working in the shadows, publicity can be beneficial. "... We were very successful throughout the war in raising these issues and putting recruiters and the military on the defensive," recalled one organizer who supervised counter-recruitment for a national organization during the Iraq War. Especially effective were protests that sought to call attention to recruitment fraud. "There were simply things they [the recruiters] couldn't do anymore because people had brought to light all the abuses and the problems." After recruitment fraud in the Army received widespread media coverage, and through counter-recruiters'

spadework in the schools, the Army shut down recruitment for a day of ethics training in 2005. Similarly, the highly visible series of protests against the AEC in 2008–2009 may have led to its closure in 2010. While it was originally intended as a two-year pilot project, there have been no known attempts to revive the center (either in Philadelphia or in any other location). The Army may have been reluctant to repeat this experiment after having television reporters broadcast images of 14-year-olds manning simulated. 50 caliber weapons.

When the Bombs Stop Falling

The various protests and direct actions described earlier came from a deep well of anger over the Iraq War. Disillusionment with the failure to *prevent* war in 2003 led to a greater strategic awareness on the part of some traditional anti-war activists, many of whom decided to regroup and channel their energy into counter-recruitment.[24] Between 2004 and 2007, organizing proliferated nationwide. Postings to the *Yahoo!* counter-recruitment listserv tripled between 2004 and 2006, while the number of subscribers doubled to more than 500.[25] The amount of literature that was requested and distributed to local groups by the AFSC also increased. In the pre–Iraq War years, according to one former staff member, the AFSC distributed approximately 1,500 copies a year of a particular counter-recruitment brochure. In 2005, they were mailing 15,000 copies to activist groups in a single month.

This dynamic of hot wars producing a surge in activism must count as one of the strengths of the anti-war approach. Noting the connection between war and interest in the resources offered by counter-recruiters, one interviewee told us, "Every time we commit to aggression people are horrified. Parents of children start looking around for alternatives and that's when the phone calls start." This suggests the organizational strength and vitality of counter-recruitment may depend on US military involvement overseas. As noted, many scholars find the development and success of social movements often hinges on such external factors. Thus, a number of influences may determine whether organizers have sufficient political opportunities to mobilize and press for change in a given context. One of the central variables of this concept is that of "elite division,"[26] which was on full display in the January 1991 congressional resolution authorizing use of force against Iraq—one of the closest votes on military action in US history. Elites in this case (members of Congress, academics, media pundits) were divided on the question of whether to commit US forces to Iraq,[27] which emboldened activists nationwide to mobilize against US military intervention.

More than 10 years later, the 2002 congressional vote to use military force against Iraq was not nearly as close as in the first Gulf War.[28] Elite division this time, though evident, did not emerge strongly until years later. When it did, in terms of numbers—new activists and organizations, the amount of literature distributed to schools—the Iraq War had an enormous impact on counter-recruitment. The concept of political opportunity structure can also help explain this phenomenon. The number of local groups affiliated with the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY) reached a peak in 2009, while those attending local and national counter-recruitment events increased significantly from 2004 to 2009. As US casualties mounted and political division over the war spread, counter-recruitment activism intensified. While political opportunity structures may explain how counter-recruiters can benefit from US military actions, the strength and vitality of counter-recruitment does not *necessarily* depend on a hot war. As we describe, one of the movement's most vibrant periods coincided with times of relative peace.

Toward a More Peaceful Nation

Our research suggests that measuring the impact of an anti-war focus within counter-recruitment is difficult. As with much activism, establishing criteria to gauge success is elusive. To assess activities like tabling and classroom presentations, organizers often rely on student anecdotes. These typically come from youth who had an exchange with activists or who heard a veteran talk about the realities of war. "Success," in the words of one counter-recruiter in a large California school district, "in a very personal way, was to hear students say, 'Oh because of your presentation, now I'm not going to join the military.'" But these subjective reports are infrequent and often difficult to quantify. Susan Van Haitsma, active in the counter-recruitment group SOY in Austin, Texas, told us although it is hard to gauge this work, she finds it useful to emphasize the intangible impact of her group's regular presence in education settings. Since "schools tend to follow the status quo," she suggests it is beneficial for students to see there are "people who are challenging the status quo in some way." Thus, "even if they don't stop at our table but they see our banner or they talk to other kids [about us], maybe . . . a seed is planted there. I just have to hang my hopes on that." A veteran who saw combat in Iraq acknowledged that individually he could not convince many students to forego enlistment. Still, he saw himself as part of a greater whole: "Do I think we will win a 50% majority? No, but I think . . . if I personally measure success . . . I can win one, two, three, four, five people and I can have success."

Seeking more reliable methods of evaluating their effectiveness, some groups have analyzed military enlistment data. For example, one counter-recruitment organization was active in a county that once qualified as a top area for recruiters. Every year, group members tabled in dozens of high schools and sought to monitor the impact of their work. When one activist began to check military enlistment figures for this region, she discovered they had declined every year for nine years until the 2007–2009 recession. While this is notable, it also illustrates a weakness of these efforts: activists have limited influence over the larger pressures that essentially force some youth to enlist in the military. When hard economic times come, a recruiter's job is much easier. According to a 2009 Army marketing analysis, the fact that "the economy is contracting and jobs are scarce" would have a positive impact on military recruiting.[29] As discussed, other forms of counter-recruitment may be more effective in confronting the "poverty draft."

Another dilemma of trying to reduce enlistment is that when military recruiters fail to "fill enough boots," they may simply change the rules of the game. An example is found in the Army's enlistment standards, which have proved to be unusually elastic in recent years. In 2005, the Army missed its recruiting goal significantly, making it the worst year for recruitment since 1979 (a time when the all-volunteer force, then just six years-old, was still experiencing growing pains).[30] During the Iraq War, military officials occasionally confirmed the connection between their recruiting difficulties and counter-recruitment campaigns. In 2006, the Army's Austin (Texas) Recruiting Company failed to reach their enlistment objective; one year later, the company commander told the *Austin American-Statesman,* "it has become increasingly difficult to recruit in Austin schools because of a strong 'counter-recruitment' movement."[31]

With the war in Iraq raging, and counter-recruitment increasingly effective, the Army needed to increase the number of people signing up. With the stroke of a pen they expanded the pool of potential recruits. In 2006, the US Army Recruiting Command raised the maximum age of enlistment from 38 years to 42. The Army also began the controversial practice of issuing so-called "moral waivers" that could be used to enlist people with misdemeanor and felony convictions. These rule changes helped bolster the Army's ranks at a time when it was desperate for manpower. By 2007, around 30 percent of new Army recruits were entering the service with moral waivers.[32] The lesson here: a fight with the Pentagon may not be fair, nor is it one that activists are likely to win if they rely on enlistment trends to assess their impact.

Understanding the vast reach of the military's recruiting apparatus can also illustrate this imbalance. In 2007, when enlistment rates were still low, the Army began partnering with communications firm Weber Shandwick

Worldwide to improve the Army brand. They soon developed Army Community Advisory Boards in dozens of major US markets. This consisted of cultivating the support of educators, clergy, business leaders, and others; educating them on the benefits of Army service; and then asking them to help "build an environment that is more favorable to Army recruiting messages."[33] Facilitating the Army's access to high schools was seen as one of the primary responsibilities of these boards. In many cases, this meant attempting to reduce the local counter-recruitment presence in schools. For example, in 2007, Dallas/Fort Worth Community Advisory Board members were told to locate and remove counter-recruitment flyers from high school guidance counselor offices. Although they were not mentioned by name, the only organization posting these flyers in Fort Worth schools at the time was the group Diane and Yvette were involved with, Peaceful Vocations.[34]

Linking counter-recruitment to a particular war also means that organizing energy will likely wane when that conflict ends. This phenomenon occurred in the last years of the Iraq War, as groups became less active and it was harder for organizers to raise money or attract volunteers. As Michael Heaney and Fabio Rojas showed in their study of the US anti-war movement, anti-war activism has diminished since the election of President Barack Obama. Indeed, having a Democrat in the nation's highest office effectively demobilized the peace movement.[35] This trend has been evident for counter-recruitment as well. One organizer suggests only half of the 150 groups listed on the national counter-recruitment directory are still active. The administrator of the *Yahoo!* counter-recruitment listserv recently lamented that messages and subscriptions have trailed off as activists direct their energy to other political issues.

That '70s Movement

The years immediately following the end of the Vietnam War were marked by vigorous public debate over the proper role of the military in public schools. Abundant political opportunities meant counter-recruiters had an easier time raising money, organizing, and pressing policy makers to more closely regulate the military's role in schools. While this era represents a unique political context, it also demonstrates that direct US military involvement in an unpopular war is not necessary for counter-recruitment to thrive. The mid- to late 1970s were a time of significant growth for such activism, which received strong support from two key constituencies: churches (and other religious organizations) and educators. Indeed, one of the first attempts at forming a national network for counter-recruiting came largely from people of faith. In 1973, representatives of the United Church of Christ, United

Presbyterian Church-USA, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, along with Quaker groups in Philadelphia and Baltimore, came together under the banner of the Inter-Faith Committee on Draft and Military Information (IFCDMI). For two years, they worked under the aegis of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors and focused on outreach to professional educators and school guidance counselors. In an attempt to exert national influence on the education community, they staffed a counter-recruitment booth at the annual conventions of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (AGPA).[36] On the local level, IFCDMI organizers convened workshops on military issues for guidance counselors in the Philadelphia area.

By the fall of 1975, a new, free-standing counter-recruitment network was emerging that would prove to be more influential and durable. The Task Force on Recruitment and Militarism (TFORM) was similar to IFCDMI in that religiously affiliated groups were key actors, especially what are known as the historic peace churches (Quakers and Mennonites). Attending TFORM's meetings throughout the 1970s were representatives affiliated with the Mennonite Central Committee, National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, along with Quaker groups and more mainline denominations like the United Church of Christ. While TFORM continued the work of educating guidance counselors, from the 1970s through the late 1980s the group also played a major role in producing and distributing literature and audiovisual resources vital to local counter-recruitment organizing.[37]

The steady growth of JROTC into the 1970s, and the fact that local communities and parents were often not consulted before the introduction of a new JROTC unit in schools, helps account for the rise of counter-recruitment. Several groups formed with the explicit purpose of opposing the introduction of JROTC in their school. Members of the clergy and religious organizations were often at the forefront of these campaigns. In Tempe, Arizona, a rabbi and a Church of the Brethren pastor led a local coalition of concerned citizens; the most vocal critic of a planned Air Force JROTC program in Norwalk, Connecticut, was a local Methodist pastor.[38] Churches also organized to oppose the growth of JROTC. In a close 1978 vote, the Pennsylvania Council of Churches adopted an anti-JROTC resolution; and in 1977, Herman Will, an executive in one of the largest Protestant denominations, the United Methodist Church, urged a peace assembly to "be on guard" against "the spread of militarism" through JROTC.[39] Clergy support for counter-recruitment continued throughout the 1980s. Activists working with the progressive network of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) were at the forefront of counter-recruitment organizing in this period.[40]

During the 1970s, educators were also closely involved in the JROTC issue. In 1972, Betty Rademaker, a French teacher in Salem, Oregon, rallied

her teachers' union and other community members to reject a proposed JROTC unit. She later wrote a 30-page analysis of her involvement in that campaign, subsequently shortened and nationally distributed by the CCCO as a guide on building community opposition to high school military training.[41] In 1976, educator Dr. Steven Selder (then at the University of Pennsylvania)—along with five other prominent professors of education—signed a letter outlining their objections to school militarism that was sent to thousands of high school guidance counselors nationwide. The mass mailing, sponsored by the CCCO, generated 1,500 responses from US guidance counselors, "most of whom wanted more information on alternatives" to the military.[42]

In contrast, decades later, a prominent organizer could claim that finding an "actual classroom teacher" who was active in counter-recruitment was like trying to find a "needle in a haystack." There are numerous factors that discourage contemporary teachers' activism, but chief among them are the fear of reprisal from school administrators.[43] One activist employed as a school speech-language pathologist told us she was disciplined for telling students how to keep their private information from the military. In another instance, a long-time substitute teacher in the Boston school system was cut off from receiving future assignments after he spoke out against JROTC.[44] Educators also face structural constraints that impede their ability to form alliances with counter-recruitment activists. The punishing workload of the average American teacher often prevents them from taking on social change work. As many scholars have noted, the current obsession with high-stakes testing to measure teachers' performance and keep schools "accountable" has muted educators' activism.[45] For Henry Giroux, the underlying assumption is that the "behavior of teachers needs to be controlled and made consistent and predictable across different schools and student populations."[46] This suggests less tolerance for advocacy by teachers in general, let alone on issues that challenge the role of the military in US society. The high attrition rate in the profession (nearly half of all new instructors quit within five years) also makes it difficult to get teachers involved in counter-recruitment campaigns; organizers who spend years cultivating positive relationships with individual educators must start over when those allies leave the profession or move to a new school.

What Role for Anti-war Activists?

Several lessons can be gleaned from the various forms of anti-war activities described earlier. First, those involved in counter-recruitment may be more effective by addressing school militarism, rather than trying to end a particular war. As one Seattle activist succinctly told us, "Wars can come and go

but the issue of whether the military should go in and recruit kids is something that transcends the issue of a particular war altogether." To maintain movement energy, counter-recruitment groups should consider a focus on long-term strategies to demilitarize schools. As the Iraq War showed, when activists concentrate on stopping US involvement in specific military conflicts their efforts wane as those objectives are reached. "Unless the anti-war movement comes to recognize the full dynamics of US militarism," Iain Boal and his colleagues suggest, "then massive mobilizations at the approach of full-dress military campaigns must inevitably be followed by demoralization and bewilderment."[47] Instead, by focusing on counter-recruitment as part of a *long-range* strategy to address war and militarism, anti-war activists can avoid repeating past mistakes. In this regard, it may be useful for others to join one organizer in thinking of counter-recruitment as "a proactive peace movement that is capable of preventing war instead of only reacting when it becomes inevitable."[48]

Based on the success of early accomplishments, organizers must also rebuild their alliances with educators and religious leaders in order to maximize their potential impact. The professional status of teachers lends important credibility to counter-recruitment campaigns, while the moral authority of clergy makes it harder to dismiss activists as remnants of the anti-military far left. And, as shown by much contemporary organizing, the loss of these valuable allies has isolated the counter-recruitment movement, undermining its influence. Rebuilding alliances with educators could begin at the individual level by inviting teachers to share relevant literature with their students or allowing veterans to speak in their class. It could also extend to work with teachers unions, which have a history of taking political stands and have proven to be critical allies in counter-recruitment campaigns in Los Angeles (2000s), Salem, Oregon (1970s), and elsewhere.

We noted significant historical precedent for the involvement of clergy in counter-recruiting. While Quakers and other historic peace churches (e.g., Mennonites) have long been devoted to social justice campaigning, this is becoming increasingly common among mainline Protestant congregations. Activists could lead their own congregations to support counter-recruitment, though outreach to larger regional church organizations should not be ignored. For example, the United Church of Christ (UCC), which boasts a membership of nearly one million in North America, has shown itself to be particularly open to taking stands against war and militarism. In 2007, two national officers of the UCC were arrested outside the White House while trying to deliver a "Pastoral Letter on the Iraq War"; regional bodies of the UCC have also organized to express concern over the plight of Iraqi refugees.[49] However, outreach to clergy will have to take account

of the fact that wealthy donors often pressure their religious leaders to avoid overt political stands, especially on hotly debated issues of US foreign policy.[50]

Finally, activists must realize counter-recruitment is multidimensional, and incorporate a variety of methods into their efforts. There is no reason the *consumer advocacy* and *youth mentoring* approaches (described in Chapters 2 and 3) cannot work in tandem with an anti-war focus. The counter-recruitment movement has grown during times of war. A hybrid, multidimensional approach can demonstrate how to support a long-range strategy while simultaneously drawing on the energy and moral outrage of anti-war-oriented activists. As Christian Smith observed in his study of the Central America peace movement of the 1980s, social movements "are deeply rooted in the normative and moral nature of human persons." "They emerge," he suggested, "when people's sense of what is right and just are so seriously violated that they feel compelled not only to express criticism, but to mobilize for collective action to force an end to the violation."[51] Indeed, one effect of aggressive US military actions has been that morally outraged individuals join the ranks of counter-recruitment groups. Thus, organizers should find ways to incorporate the moral discourse of anti-war work and to keep morally motivated activists involved, even after the bombs stop falling.

Within counter-recruiting organizations, there is also a need to find a balance between the moral discourse embedded in the anti-war approach and other organizing approaches.[52] According to Janine Schwab, organizers who insist on a more neutral point of view may alienate some military veterans. "What the counter-recruitment movement failed to do . . . was to match people's emotions," she noted. Tension inevitably resulted when activists advised military veterans to steer clear of strong language about war.

> You can't talk to vets and say they need to give everyone their choice and [military service] is just like a career choice when they've seen torture. They've seen children die. So suddenly, you had this disconnect between the moral aspect of war . . . and the notion of counter-recruitment as simply giving information and sort of making information available.

Recognizing the multidimensional nature of counter-recruitment can address this dilemma and open up the movement to more activists with moral motivations. An added benefit of this approach is that it would allow organizers to form connections with groups and communities most directly impacted by war and militarism. As even some critics of counter-recruitment are forced to admit, a "systemic analysis" of the poverty draft is the movement's "most promising aspect," for the way it "raises fundamental questions of justice."[53]

But there is little room for this analysis when moral condemnation becomes too central a platform in activists' campaigns. Stressing a moral discourse around war and military service leaves unquestioned the dilemma facing economically disadvantaged groups that often have few alternatives to a stable income and job security through military enlistment.[54]

CHAPTER 5

Why Counter-Recruitment?

On a series of chilly evenings in November 2014, Barbara Harris, the counter-recruitment coordinator for the New York City chapters of Code Pink and Granny Peace Brigade, braved the cold to share a sidewalk with other group members, mostly women in their 50s and 60s. At one high school in Staten Island, she was also joined by what she described as "apprentice activists": students from the school's sociology class. "It was their first time doing a street action," Barbara later recalled, "and they were effective in making a difference by adding their voice to the conversation."

It was "parent-teacher conference" night at the school, and Barbara and her friends were there to provide information to parents about non-military options for their children and to pass out flyers like *Questions to Ask and Points to Consider Before You Enlist*. While the venue did not encourage much interaction with parents, many of whom were in a rush to get inside, there were some highlights. "I met with a mother," Barbara later recalled, "who was thankful for that flyer and noted that the questions posed and answers provided were very pertinent." She told Barbara, "Few kids know what enlistment really means. I want to show this to a few boys I know."

Like many activists, Barbara Harris initially came to counter-recruitment out of anger over the Iraq War. A retired New York City public school teacher currently involved with a number of organizations, Barbara has more than 50 years' experience in progressive activism. In the past she campaigned to end the war in Vietnam, stop nuclear disarmament, and to shut down Indian Point (a nuclear power plant 38 miles north of New York City). Through her involvement with nuclear energy issues, she came into the orbit of Code Pink. Recently retired and with more free time on her hands, Barbara's participation deepened as the Bush administration made moves to invade Iraq. During her anti-war activism in 2004 and 2005, she experienced a turning point.

> I just had a realization that the lies the government told us about getting into the war were the same lies that recruiters were telling kids to get them to enlist. And I stepped back and said, this is really important because the wars will continue forever as long as they keep getting these kids in.

Soon after, Barbara assumed a leadership role in counter-recruitment for Code Pink. She has since coordinated efforts against JROTC in New York City, and is currently leading a legislative campaign to regulate military-related testing in every public school in New York State.

Although Barbara is not certain how or why it happened, we can speculate on the origins of her interest in counter-recruitment: given her professional background as a teacher, she sees her role as educational. As she shared with us, Barbara does counter-recruitment "because many of the teens are still in the dark about the military. You know, we talk about what they're told [by military recruiters], what the truth might be, and what they should know." Echoing many of the remarks made by other activists in our study, Barbara said she wants to protect youth, who, in her opinion, hold a number of misconceptions about military service. "Many don't still understand post-traumatic stress disorder. They think women are treated fine in the military. They think the military is like the Peace Corps and when we sit and talk a little bit, they get another picture." Hence, her work provides vital information to broaden students' understanding of the realities of life in the military.

Knowing the New York City schools as well as she does, Barbara is also motivated by a desire to interrupt the "poverty draft" and help make parents in low-income neighborhoods aware of how military recruiters prey on their children:

> We go to underserved neighborhoods, so the parents are often immigrants . . . and all they want for their kid is to finish high school and get an education . . . They don't want the military. And many of them, if the military's around the school, they are very concerned because they came from countries where the military is frightening, or they've been injured, or they suffered. So our presence is very important.

There is another factor compelling Barbara to walk the pavement on cold November nights, and it points beyond the issue of schools to the broader militarization of society. For Barbara, since the military "permeates society," counter-recruitment helps youth understand and demystify "the message of the military whether it's in movies, video games, parades, JROTC," or in various public "honoring ceremonies"[1] of newly enlisted New York City youth. Thus, Barbara's holistic vision of counter-recruitment has led her at times to organize against manifestations of militarism both in schools and within

US culture. In 2012, for example, she organized five consecutive nights of picketing outside the NBC headquarters building in Manhattan to protest the television network's plans to air a new reality TV show glorifying the military. She has also joined demonstrations against "war toys" at Target and other major retailers. With her involvement in many campaigns, we were keen to know what kept Barbara going when the military–educational–industrial complex is such a formidable foe. Quite simply, she related, it is the response from parents.

> The feedback I receive from them is just incredibly heartwarming because [when] I speak to a parent and I see how I've helped them in some way, I feel so rewarded. It's just moving and sometimes it brings you to tears because parents feel pretty helpless and hopeless when a recruiter calls their kid when they're still in high school.

Barbara's story demonstrates the variety of motivations that turn ordinary citizens into activists and sustain their involvement with counter-recruitment through good times and bad. Thus far, our discussion of the counter-recruitment movement has addressed issues of militarism, US foreign policy, and macro-level social problems such as lack of access to non-military career training or a college education. Yet, as sociologist Christian Smith points out, "social movements do not consist simply of abstract structures and contexts, of impersonal forces and events. Social movements are, at bottom, real, flesh-and-blood human beings acting together to confront and disrupt. They are the collective expressions of specific people, of concrete men and women struggling together for a cause."[2] In this chapter, we turn to the counter-recruiters themselves. Who are they? Why did they choose to focus on this form of activism? What drives them to stay involved?

To address these questions, we give a general description of the typical counter-recruiter before we assess their personal motivations. For our evidence, we rely chiefly on the data gathered during our interviews with more than 70 activists across the United States, as well as relevant secondary source material. As noted, given the underrepresentation of youth in our study, this is an area where further research is needed to better understand this portion of the movement. Nevertheless, we believe we present an accurate picture of those involved in the counter-recruitment movement.

The Individual Activists

Who are counter-recruiters? They are mostly on the left of the political spectrum and often hold a healthy skepticism of the military's role in US society.

Although few of our interviewees described themselves as "anti-military," and some held philosophical beliefs that could be described as pacifist, many were careful to suggest the military serves a legitimate purpose in society and is an honorable vocation. Indeed, around a third of the activists in one study of the counter-recruitment movement were themselves military veterans.[3] As in Barbara's case, many of those we met were experienced as political activists by the time they became counter-recruiters. For older activists, the common link was usually past involvement either in anti–Vietnam War activities, Central America solidarity struggles of the 1980s, or anti-nuclear energy/weapons work. It is worth exploring counter-recruiters' activist autobiographies because (as one social movement scholar noted), "prior experience . . . appears to have both radicalized participants and familiarized them with the 'script' used to play the 'social activist' role."[4] Moreover, given the strong interpersonal skills needed for counter-recruitment, it is not surprising that many of the most active and effective organizers of the 1980s were those with prior experience as draft counselors during the Vietnam War.

The younger activists we interviewed also had a significant amount of experience that preceded involvement with counter-recruitment. Federico Rossi, who studied the motivations of youth activists in three international advocacy organizations, suggests, "Prior participation in informal mobilization and activist networks . . . are crucial factors that promote the gradual involvement of young people in different movements."[5] Bree Bailey, a Fort Worth counter-recruiter in her early twenties, had a history of labor organizing prior to joining Peaceful Vocations. She recalls:

> I organized the Starbucks up here with my friends. We actually went public and formed an affiliate of the International Workers of the World and did a march on our boss and the whole thing . . . That was just my first taste of really understanding all of the injustice in the world. I guess I had always just been in a bubble, so that sort of was what introduced me to this scene and then through that we met [Peaceful Vocations coordinator] Diane Wood.

In Chapter 3, we noted that younger counter-recruiters like Nancy Cruz and Davíd Morales had experience agitating for immigrants' rights before involvement in the anti-JROTC campaign at their San Diego high school. While still in high school, Cruz was also involved with university student groups working on immigration issues. Both were connected to counter-recruitment organizing through an informal student activist network: their high school's chapter of MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán).

The occupational backgrounds of counter-recruiters in our study reveal that many are either currently or formerly employed in the helping

professions of education or social work. For some activists, their occupations facilitated entry into counter-recruitment. Tami Minnich, who joined Sustainable Options for Youth in Austin after retiring from her job as a school social worker, affirms, "All of my social work has been working with students in the schools. So, it did prepare me to be able to communicate with students in an open-ended way." Matthew Friesen's analysis, based on a sample of 19 counter-recruiters, found that 53 percent were educators.[6] As we examine the motivations of activists, an individual's age, occupational background, and other variables also emerge as key influences on their decision to become involved in counter-recruitment.[7]

Expecting Success

As noted, some participants framed their incentive to engage in counter-recruitment in specific terms. Since many chose to discuss why they pursue a particular form of activism, we draw provisional conclusions. For instance, those pursuing the legislative approach to counter-recruitment discussed their motivation by talking about how they viewed these campaigns as winnable. Maurice Pinard, in his review of more than four decades' worth of academic research on the motivations of social movement activists, found that in addition to the usual array of internal motives and external incentives for social action, individuals decide whether to become involved based on the perceived likelihood their actions will bear fruit. This is what psychologists who study motivation call "expectancy of success."[8]

Activists in our study were not tilting at windmills. Rather, they had in mind modest—but achievable—goals like the adoption of school district or state-level policies regulating the military presence in high schools. Kevin Haake, head of the Lincoln, Nebraska-based group, Alternatives to the Military, described his commitment to fighting for the passage of legislation regulating the use of military testing (ASVAB) in Nebraska public schools.

> I'd like to think that what we're doing is actually making a difference. It's hard to tell sometimes but we're keeping at it and will continue to keep at it. I mean, ideally what I would like to see eventually are some kind of . . . statewide results [so] that we could point to something concrete . . . to say, "Hey, we had an effect on this . . . " And that's kind of what I liked about the ASVAB issue. It seemed that if anything was doable, ASVAB should be doable.

Pat Elder, the Maryland organizer who successfully campaigned for a 2010 state law limiting ASVAB testing cited the "need to concentrate on something that is proven to work" (like ASVAB campaigns). Barbara Harris, who is also

the Director of the New York State Coalition to Protect Student Privacy, is currently lobbying for legislation to protect the privacy of all New York high school students taking the ASVAB.[9] She recently enlisted the support of a key state Senator on what she views as a winnable issue.

Campaigns to rein in JROTC are generally viewed by counter-recruitment activists as the most difficult type of legislative fight. Pat Elder, who has mostly avoided this issue while focusing on ASVAB testing, summarizes the challenges: "JROTC has fervent advocates, fervent support deep in the roots of the community. And I learned that right away: You really need to put your dukes up to fight on JROTC." Still, those who choose to challenge JROTC in schools find encouragement in the fact there are weaknesses that have been successfully exploited. Even with JROTC, then, there is some "expectancy of success" that motivates activists. As Brian Galaviz, a teacher-activist who cut his teeth organizing against the rise of JROTC in Chicago, puts it:

> I believe that the JROTC struggles are ones that can be won by [school] employees on small scales and I think if we could coordinate those type of things, we could put a ding into at least one portion of the recruiting machine . . . JROTC is a winnable fight.

According to Galaviz, as long as one avoids the more difficult path of a traditional lobbying campaign and focuses on the perceived weaknesses of JROTC (e.g., low enrollment and credentialing of JROTC instructors), such campaigns are winnable. As occurred in San Diego, JROTC activism has been successful by reducing enrollment at a given JROTC program until it falls below the federally mandated minimum. Similarly, in Chicago, activists with AFSC have used open records laws to determine that many JROTC instructors lack a four-year college degree—a credential required of all instructors in the city's public schools. The "expectancy of success" in such examples is far higher than a typical legislative campaign, since winning, according to Galaviz, depends largely on access to information, and demanding answers and accountability from school administrations. These arguments, he adds, are also "easier now since everywhere there are budget shortfalls" and school administrators are seeking to cut back on under-enrolled programs.

Appealing to Those Affected by Power

While legislative advocacy can yield tangible results, many of those engaged in consumer advocacy (Chapter 1) cite other factors as motivation for their counter-recruitment activism. In an interview, one activist—a combat veteran who served in Iraq with the Oregon National Guard—noted that working

with students gave him a sense of "personal satisfaction." Believing "there is no other voice for alternatives to military service," he feels he has an important role to play in the lives of youth. Another Iraq War veteran who has done extensive outreach in the schools of Austin, Texas, cited the qualitative distinction between counter-recruitment and other forms of advocacy (such as writing letters to Congress).

> There's a difference between talking to politicians and generals and talking to kids in high school. With the first group you end up wanting to bang your head against the wall, whereas in high schools the impact is so significant. They listen. High school kids are in a listening environment.

Will Schnack, who is active with Fort Worth's Peaceful Vocations as well as the local anarchist community, echoed this sentiment. Counter-recruitment, he suggests, is the "difference between appealing to those in power and appealing to those affected by power."

As noted by Schnack, the consumer advocacy approach illustrates how counter-recruiters must often be aware of the socioeconomic and racial dimensions of military recruitment. If activists do not grasp how poverty and un(der)employment might influence a young person's decision to enlist, they will not appeal to "those affected by power." Not surprisingly, some describe their initial attraction to counter-recruitment as a desire to interrupt the "poverty draft" that targets economically disadvantaged students and youth of color for recruitment. One of these activists is Ulis Williams, who knows first-hand about the challenges of racism and poverty. As an African American born to a family of Mississippi sharecroppers during the days of Jim Crow, Williams had to overcome tremendous odds to become a gold medalist in track and field at the 1964 Olympics. In 2005, after a long career in higher education, he became involved with counter-recruitment through the L.A.-based Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism in Schools. In an interview, he and his wife, Sandra, noted how the military presence was heaviest in those Los Angeles schools with the largest concentration of poor students of color. "Military recruiters," he told us, "are preying on the poor, on the have-nots." His decision to focus on counter-recruitment, then, was motivated by a desire to help the city's socially excluded youth: "We wanted to do something concrete that would reach communities of color."

"They're Just Selling Something"

While students from poor communities may deserve special attention because of the way they are targeted by recruiters, many counter-recruiters are

motivated by a desire to extend this protection to *all youth*. To those who might object, "Protection from what?," an answer has been provided by Seattle residents Amy Hagopian and Kathy Barker, parent-activists who led the Garfield High School parent–teacher association's campaign against military recruiting. Hagopian and Barker are also scholars who have studied the health risks of military service.[10] In their 2011 article in the *American Journal of Public Health*, they found "military service is associated with disproportionately poor health" for those aged 17 through 24 years. Because of these health risks, and the way teenagers' still-developing brains lead them to make impulsive decisions (e.g., enlisting in the armed forces), they propose that schools limit access to military recruiters.

While not all counter-recruiters are readers of the *American Journal of Public Health*, many still frame their motivation in a similar way: as an attempt to protect a vulnerable population from the clever sales techniques used by military recruiters. Jeff Napolitano, AFSC coordinator for Western Massachusetts, views military recruitment in schools as "exploitative" and a "form of child abuse." For teacher Luis Villanueva, who was active in San Diego's Project YANO before moving to Los Angeles, counter-recruitment offered an antidote to the military marketing onslaught that youth are exposed to. "The kids are being bombarded by recruiters in the inner city schools. They're too young to realize what it's all about so counter-recruitment is showing them, educating them." He added, for emphasis: "It's education. That's what it is." Troy Sanders, a counter-recruiter in the Fort Worth area, told us the reason he engages in counter-recruitment is because he objects to how recruiters are "focusing on children," enticing youth with free Army- or Navy-branded merchandise.

> You have a bunch of adults going after kids that don't really have the capacity to make those kinds of decisions. They [recruiters] have got shiny pamphlets and headbands and ball caps . . . They're just selling something and it's just not a good thing to see.

As in the case of Kurt and Ann Katay of Edmonds, Washington (described in Chapter 3), some were originally drawn to counter-recruitment after recruiters aggressively courted their own children. Similarly, for another activist in Texas, seeing their child targeted by the military "made it really clear how aggressive the recruiters were" and demonstrated the importance of counter-recruitment.

> My son medically could not serve in the military if he wanted to. He had a hemorrhage in his brain somewhere near birth so I wasn't afraid that he would

> join up but certainly the phone calls at home that he repeatedly got made me very aware of the aggressiveness of the recruiters. I guess that was the height at the Iraq War and they were needing soldiers.

For some activists who are teachers or work in schools in some capacity, the decision to become active came as a result of seeing how their students or their schools were being affected by militarization. This was, for example, the case with Luis Villanueva, who taught in San Diego high schools. Villanueva was already sensitive to the issue of militarization, having grown up in Mexico during the 1960s under authoritarian rule. But when his school was restructured to make way for a JROTC unit, some of his colleagues lost their jobs, and college preparatory programs were cut, Villanueva became radicalized. Similarly, Suzie Abajian's formative years were spent in Syria, and a portion of her high school education "took place in a highly militarized schooling system where I took part in drill and ceremony exercises on a daily basis and wore military fatigues to school." As she later recounted in an article coauthored with Maricela Guzman:

> My personal experiences as a young student in the Middle East as well as my experiences as an educator within a militarized urban school in Los Angeles shaped my interest in counter-recruitment. As a teacher, it pained me to see my students aggressively recruited into the United States military to fight and risk their lives in what I believed to be unjust wars against communities of people that I closely identified with as a Middle Easterner.[11]

Amy Wagner, the coordinator of the Youth Activists-Youth Allies (YA-YA) Network in New York, was a self-described "red diaper" baby and involved with activism since she was a child. But she traces her awareness of and involvement in counter-recruitment to the time she was working as a school social worker in the 1980s. In an interview, she shared the following story that illustrates not only how the protection of youth figures into activists' motivations, but also how chance encounters sometimes spark lasting relationships within the movement.

> One of the young men that I worked with had enlisted in the Navy, on the delayed entry program (DEP). This was a kid who I was seeing as his social worker, and it would have been a really, really bad thing for this kid to go [into the Navy]. This is a kid with some fairly serious issues; if he got called on in class, he would turn beet red and run out of the room. And he had a very domineering father, who wanted him to "man up," and he thought, "I'll go in the military, into the Navy, and that will make a man of me." And it would have been a very, very bad thing. And so he decided he wanted to withdraw from

> the DEP, and in order to help him do that, I stumbled upon Harold Jordan at AFSC, and he walked us through the process. And then, Harold roped me in. [Laughs.] And the next thing I knew I was on the Youth & Militarism committee at AFSC and served on that for, I don't know, close to 20 years.

Protecting Traditional Educational Values

Several of those in our study, especially former educators like Amy and Suzie, trace their involvement in counter-recruitment to a desire to protect traditional educational values. Setting aside critiques of contemporary public education, there is general consensus that the dominant K-12 educational philosophy in the United States supports values such as free and open discussion, critical thinking, and a learning environment that encourages nonviolent solutions to conflict and discourages forms of discrimination. Such values clash with an obedience-based military training program. Thus, Nancy Cruz, reflecting on her high school activism, opposed JROTC because it "instills bad values in youth" by promoting "the notion that violence is okay."

John Dewey, the godfather of progressive education, raised concerns about military values conflicting with educational values as early as the 1920s. According to historian Charles Howlett, "If there was one consistent policy that Dewey adhered to throughout his entire life, it was his opposition to any form of military training in an academic environment."[12] Dewey was a supporter of the Committee on Militarism in Education, a group of prominent educators, clergy, and pacifists that sought "the elimination of all compulsory military training in colleges and universities and all military training, compulsory or elective, in high schools."[13] In the introduction to one of the Committee's most popular pamphlets, Dewey condemned military training in colleges and high schools as part of a "well-organized movement to militarize the tone and temper of our national life . . . "[14] While the anti-militarist legacy of progressive education is largely forgotten by today's education policy makers, it is kept alive by counter-recruiters committed to protecting traditional educational values against the rising tide of school militarism.

Many of those who view counter-recruitment in these terms are educators and have personally seen the effect of militarism in their schools. Michelle Cohen has taught in the Los Angeles Unified School District for more than a decade. As the coordinator of Project Great Futures, the outreach arm of L.A.-based Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism in Schools (CAMS), she organizes classroom presentations and tables at career fairs. She told us she got involved with counter-recruitment after her "consciousness was raised" by seeing her students aggressively courted by military recruiters. "Some of the recruiters would take students out for burgers," and even escorted them

back to their classrooms after lunch. Or consider Brian Galaviz, a teacher in the Chicago Public Schools (CPS). "I started doing [counter-recruitment] because I was a teacher at Senn High School, when . . . CPS decided that they were going to put in Rickover Naval Academy." Since 2005, Senn High has shared space with Rickover, one of seven such "public military academies" in Chicago where students are required to participate in JROTC.

For 11 years, Gregory Sotir was a language arts teacher in a middle school serving some of the most challenged students in Los Angeles. He became active with CAMS after a branch of the California Cadet Corps was established at his school.[15] Students with disciplinary problems were encouraged to join the club, which met after school and engaged in military rituals like marching around the playground with fake guns. Although technically not a part of the JROTC program (which is legally restricted to students in grades 9–12), the Cadet Corps is organized and funded by the California National Guard, and Sotir saw the program as "basically training kids to go to the [military] but at the middle school level." But beyond its insidious effect as a military marketing tool, the potential dangers of the Cadet Corps left him so disturbed that he decided to raise questions about the program's value with his school's administration. "I said, 'This is wrong . . . This is a gang area we are teaching in. We should not have these kids [becoming] familiar with, playing with, these guns in a structured way'." With CAMS, Sotir found a way to counter this culture of school militarism, including advocating for policy change at the district level and designing curriculum that could be used by teachers to address issues of war and peace. For these educators, counter-recruitment was a fitting response to a school environment they saw being undermined by creeping militarism.

Fighting Militarism from One's Front Porch

Counter-recruitment activists often have personal motivations that guide their work. But it turns out that larger social forces are also a powerful incentive for many of those in our study. They know the military depends on enlisting teenagers for its survival. They see the military–industrial complex also has tentacles extending into education, entertainment, and assorted other areas of mainstream society. With Henry Giroux, they would affirm that a "public pedagogy" in support of violence and military solutions to conflict undergirds much of popular culture in the United States.[16] They understand the cycle of endless war begins in the socialization process, in schools where youth become so accustomed to seeing military personnel as teachers and mentors that the real purpose of the military becomes obscured.[17]

Many progressive activists thus understand the concept of the "military industrial complex." But there appears to be a gap between action and analysis, as it is perhaps assumed these phenomena are too complex, too enormous, and too resistant to change to be worth their time and energy. Luis Villanueva, formerly of Project YANO in San Diego, addressed this theme.

> In theory we can sit around the table and say, "You know, this is bad." And we can process and analyze the whole system, but it stops there. The big challenge is to go from sitting at the table to get involved in some kind of action, which is what really changes things.

While most counter-recruiters limit themselves to trying to solve part of the bigger problem of militarism (military access to schools), they are attracted to this form of activism because they see it as a local solution to national (or global) problems. Cynthia Cockburn, in her recent study of anti-militarism, described a strategy practiced by European activists that "emphasizes place and community," and identified groups that avoid mass marches at the centers of power, choosing instead "to concentrate their efforts on their own patch."[18] This same idea resonated with some of those we interviewed. Gregory Sotir, who worked with CAMS in Los Angeles for many years, concedes the need for counter-recruiters to "plug into a national system" of fellow activists in order to gain experience and develop their strategies. However, he also affirms that activists need to focus their organizing on their own communities.

> I think schools primarily are local. The kids in the neighborhood go to that school. The parents that have kids in that neighborhood send their kids to that school. So, I really think it should be approached from that kind of local grassroots way.

This local emphasis, an expression of "front porch politics," can also feel like a more comfortable form of activism for some individuals.[19] For example, one AFSC-affiliated activist in Berkeley told us of being overwhelmed by the literature for social causes that arrive daily in her mailbox. With counter-recruitment, "I have found something I feel I can *actually do*."

Some activists articulated their interest in counter-recruitment in terms of an anti-militarism based on moral or religious principles. As discussed in Chapter 4, the counter-recruitment movement has historically drawn on the energy of those motivated by a moral discourse about war. They are angry about US policies in Iraq, or Vietnam, or Central America, and see counter-recruitment as a more effective outlet for their energies than marching in the streets or sending letters to elected officials. A number of people

we interviewed revealed they are just as motivated by their moral compass. But instead of leading them to oppose a particular war, they point their indignation at the militarization of schools and society—the bigger processes that support a culture adapted to endless war. "If you're anti-war and anti-military," Barbara Harris told us, "you *have to* focus on the kids," because that's where the cycle begins and where it can be disrupted. Tim Franzen, an AFSC organizer in Atlanta, was one of many who spoke of his interest in counter-recruitment in terms of right and wrong.

> The military–industrial complex is the largest system of violence and oppression in the whole world and young people are being fooled into joining it for the wrong reasons every day. It is extremely important to do whatever we can to provide alternatives so young people aren't faced with the terrible option of joining a system of violence and oppression or feeling like they have no other options. This is totally unacceptable . . .

Of note, while a number of activists describe their opposition to school militarism in moral terms, relatively few are motivated by their religious principles. One of the most active counter-recruiters from a faith-based background was Sam Smith, a youth minister who worked until his death in late 2014, with Fellowship of Reconciliation in the Chicago area. Framing counter-recruitment work as a form of "peace evangelism" and counter-recruiters as "peace missionaries," for years his major form of outreach was weeklong sojourns at large Christian music festivals in the Midwest. At these events, Smith (often joined by undergraduate peace studies students he mentored at DePaul University) distributed information on war and military service to the largely youthful crowd of concertgoers. Asked about his impact, Sam revealed that on numerous occasions he heard responses like, "You mean I can be a good Christian but don't have to go to war?" Unfortunately, Smith told us, he felt isolated in the US religious landscape. "The faith arena is a desert" for anti-militarist organizing, he complained, partly because "Christianity has become a nationalistic religion." Despite having a "great heritage" of peace work in this particular faith, Smith claimed, "no one's working in churches now" who has an interest in counter-recruitment.

But it was not always so. The heritage Smith described goes beyond the historic peace churches (Mennonites, Brethren, Quakers), which were leaders in the early days of the counter-recruitment movement. Volumes have been written about the pacifist and anti-war traditions of both Catholic and Protestant churches. In just the twentieth century, the aforementioned Committee on Militarism in Education earned the support of some

of the era's most prominent religious leaders, including Rabbi Stephen Wise (president of the World Jewish Congress) and Pittsburgh's Episcopal Bishop Francis McConnell.[20] Moving to the 1970s, religious motivations were cited by those opposing the spread of JROTC in high schools. They saw JROTC as "incompatible" with "the teachings of Christianity"[21] and preventing the spread of military training in schools as "one of the real goals of the Christian peacemaker."[22] Though today's faith-based peace organizing does not resemble the 1970s, Sam Smith was confident he and others could spread a message through the fissures, the small openings that do exist. "Almost every church has 'peace people' in it," he told us shortly before his death. "It's a matter of encouraging them to form working groups, to be more vocal, and so on. Too many are atomized and afraid to speak out in church." Smith thus viewed his work as "planting a seed" of local activism. "Counter-recruitment is a great vehicle to get people to think through militarism and war's impact on families. It makes people stop and think."

"... Because People Just Aren't Paying Attention"

For some participants in our study, the proper and necessary response to school militarism is to engage in political education through counter-recruitment. This recalls the *critical consciousness* goal, described in Chapter 2. Arlene Inouye, founder of CAMS in Los Angeles, finds militarism is "such a part of our society that counter-recruitment is . . . breaking through, showing another reality or another way." Given the stakes involved, she is compelled to organize. "If it's not done, we're going to continue to destroy not only ourselves but our planet. That's what the culture of militarization leads to."

For some, the very rootedness of militarism in US society dares them to challenge it directly. Erica Meiners, a professor at Northeastern Illinois University, has participated in campaigns against the military presence in Chicago schools. She finds, "the militarism stuff is one of the toughest issues to unpack . . . The nexus between patriotism, masculinity, militarism and identity is just so tightly packed that it's really hard sometimes" to reach people, especially those who have family members in the armed forces. Meiners' goal is to pierce what Catherine Lutz calls the "mental armor" that prevents many Americans from posing critical questions about their military.[23] "There's so much wrapped up there that . . . I feel like my work . . . is often to make space for other people to have those conversations." Motivated by a desire to educate the public about these issues, Meiners and her fellow activists facilitate community-wide forums, such as screenings of the short documentary *Yo Soy el Army*.[24] As she told us,

> Political education is really important because people just aren't paying attention. I think there's a way in which militarism is naturalized in our everyday lives and our communities and that it happens in our schools as just sort of the course. Right? So I think trying to denaturalize that and trying to raise questions about power, policy, and war. I think it's really important.

Although we encountered a few "lone wolf" activists during our research, counter-recruitment is fundamentally about being with others. [25] One must, first, have an extroverted personality to visit schools and approach youth to discuss the military. Amy Hagopian of Seattle finds the best counter-recruitment organizing comes out of strong social bonds. "I'd have to say . . . it's really important to have a partner in this work. Being a lone ranger is just not at all sustainable and it takes the fun out of it." The desire to engage in activism with others, to find a sense of community, was articulated by numerous activists. Troy Sanders, from Fort Worth, identified the bonding that occurs in counter-recruitment organizing. "It's different. There's a warmer feeling" due to the interaction with students and the possibility real change may result. The consumer advocacy approach lends itself particularly well to a group environment, given the many tasks involved: creating flyers, staying current with the minutiae of military enlistment, making contact with school officials and arranging visits, and talking directly with students. According to one Berkeley-based activist, "This is a way I can give of myself and at the same time I'm out there with other people." This social aspect was quite pronounced within her group, the AFSC-affiliated Full Picture. During our 90-minute conversation, group members—all women, most of them retired educators—bantered and joked about their experiences in this work, illustrating the friendships forged by years of activism.

Other activists discussed interesting social interactions they have with military personnel. Hart Viges, an Iraq War veteran from Austin, makes a point of striking up conversations with military recruiters when he sees them in schools; at times, he even gives them a complimentary copy of *War Is A Racket*, the pacifist screed written in 1935 by retired Marine General Smedley Butler. For Kathy Barker, who serves as a "military monitor" for her Seattle school district, "One reason I like counter-recruiting is you're sitting side-by-side with a military recruiter for an hour. We have had some very good talks. And in conversation I find out that a lot of these guys joined [the military] to change the world." Ironically, the motivations of military recruiters and their adversaries can be seen to coincide. After all, many of those in our study are radicals. Many want to "change the world," and view counter-recruitment as one small part of that much larger effort. For Pablo Paredes, the Bay Area organizer, "real long-term counter-recruitment is

countering how our young people are pulled into war, taken out of their communities and traumatized." But this perspective must also be accompanied by a sense of humility, and by the recognition that one movement, one person cannot do it all. As another activist noted, "You pick a bit, you become an expert in it, and you don't let go."

Conclusion

Just north of Chicago, in suburbs with names like Arlington Heights, Rolling Meadows, and Mount Prospect, a half-dozen people demonstrate how all the facets of counter-recruitment interrelate. Since 2004, activists with Northwest Suburban Peace & Education Project (NWSubPEP) have been visiting schools in the 12,000-student Township High School District 214. As a group, NWSubPEP is large enough so that members can visit each of the district's six high schools at least once a month. Military recruiters also visit these schools on a monthly basis. Although schools in this district are not as heavily impacted by the military as some in Chicago, students still suffer from inadequate guidance services and a poor understanding of what military service involves. In a group interview, Libby Frank, one of the NWSubPEP volunteers, recalled a memorable exchange with a student. "I had a kid, a young woman who said she wanted to join the Army because it would enforce making her exercise every day." Linda, another group member, said their work is important because "these kids generally do not know that they're being asked by recruiters to make an eight year commitment." Almost all of the NWSubPEP activists are parents who until recently had children in District 214 high schools. They bring to their activism a sensitivity and awareness of what youth experience at this stage in their lives. Describing their work as "pre-enlistment counseling," their role (as another activist, Pat, put it) is to serve as "adults who are listening" to high school students; not to push against the idea of joining the military, but to be a sounding board for youth struggling to define their future.

With tabling occurring at six schools a month, and activists visiting the same school multiple times in a given year, it is easy for students to ignore these volunteers. As one NWSubPEP member stated, "We try to come up with stuff that's a little bit more interactive because otherwise you're just a table there that the kids are going to walk past." Similar to other counter-recruitment groups across the United States, arts-based activities are effective at keeping students engaged. For example, students help produce an antimilitarist zine called *Give Peace a Chance*. Students contribute essays, poetry, and collages that go into each issue. NWSubPEP members then add their

own content before printing copies and distributing them—free—to students and other peace organizations in the Chicago area. As Jon, the only male in the group, notes, "The reason for the zine is a lot of the existing counter-recruitment literature out there is really kind of dry and not all that interesting to students." The publications, he added, are an effort to put "that kind of [counter-recruitment] perspective into a format that's a little bit more welcoming, exciting to students."

Echoing what we heard from many other activists, Jon, Libby, and their colleagues report that success in the consumer advocacy aspect of their work is hard to measure and necessarily subjective. "It tends to be anecdotal," Linda, noted. "Which is no way to do research, as you know. But that's what we've got." The group has compensated by also campaigning for policy change in District 214. This has allowed members to record progress that is (in Libby's words) "clearer" and more "measurable." Even before they had a monthly presence in schools, in the 2003–2004 school year NWSubPEP succeeded in pressuring District 214 to include an opt-out form in the annual course registration process for all students. This made it easier for a student, or their parents, to opt out of the federal law that mandates schools send students' contact information to military recruiters. Of note, youth (including the son of a couple who are active in the group) did much of the initial research that helped get the policy passed. As a result of this regulation, fewer students in the district are now contacted directly by the military.

NWSubPEP has also used data provided by the school district to demonstrate that since 2005, the number of District 214 students that have "opted out" has more than tripled (from 1,301 students in 2005 to 5,718 in 2014). Subsequent advocacy, in the 2010–2011 school year, made District 214 one of the only school districts in the country to allow students to opt out of the database run by the Pentagon's Joint Advertising, Market Research & Studies (JAMRS) program. In both of NWSubPEP's policy-oriented campaigns, activists were surprised at how quickly school officials agreed to these changes. One group member said the initial opt-out campaign's success left her feeling "stunned," because "we had this whole strategy of what we were going to do when they said no."

That the District 214 school board understood the issues raised and responded promptly may be due to NWSubPEP's persistent focus on political education. The group's community outreach programs are usually well attended. At the time of our visit in the summer of 2012, NWSubPEP was planning to show a documentary on military sexual trauma. The group also makes a priority of seeking out other non-profit organizations in the area to co-sponsor such events. We asked members if they thought this kind of community outreach was an effective form of political education. "We're not

looking for a thousand people at a movie showing," one activist told us. "The fact that people attend in what is perceived to be a fairly conservative community shows us that first of all it might not be as conservative as people perceive it to be. And secondly, there's an audience for what we're saying." Another member agreed, noting the incremental progress necessary to effect policy change. "I think getting 40 to 50 people to come to those events is extremely successful."

The example of NWSubPEP shows how the different approaches to counter-recruitment connect at the level of an individual group. These activists have plenty to show for their multidimensional efforts over the years, and recognize the *local impact* of their advocacy. However, more than one member of the group expressed doubts about the efficacy of counter-recruitment on the *national level*. One simply said, "It's not coordinated enough to be effective." Another group member noted how this lack of national coordination may create a sense of isolation among counter-recruitment activists. "You just kind of feel like you're out there and you forget that there's other people doing the same type of thing, that our volunteers are facing the same kind of challenges." While local impacts are easier to evaluate, assessing the status of national counter-recruitment organizing is also appropriate. What has this work achieved? What challenges lie ahead?

Contemporary Counter-Recruitment Organizing

Counter-recruiters understand, as Paula Villanueva-Hoffman in Los Angeles said, that organizing levels "ebb and flow" depending on the "political situation." In Chapter 4, we suggested "hot wars" generate more counter-recruitment organizing activity (as measured by new participants and greater opportunities for funding). With the US military role in Iraq and Afghanistan greatly reduced, volunteers for counter-recruitment seem harder to find. A number of activists we interviewed cited the reality of getting older, and some expressed their desire for a change in leadership. "If only I could find someone to take over . . . ," one wistfully told us. This situation has forced cutbacks in the amount of work some local groups undertake, and has ended counter-recruitment organizing in smaller, more rural communities. As a whole, movement activity has fallen from the peak years of the Iraq War in parallel with the diminished use of US combat troops abroad. According to Rick Jahnkow, about half of the groups listed in the online organizational directory of NNOMY are currently functioning. Still, if approximately 75 groups are active today, that number far exceeds the organizations affiliated with the National Campaign to Demilitarize Our Schools (NCDOS) in the 1990s (approximately 60) and suggests a vitality within counter-recruitment.

While those are encouraging numbers, they do not tell the whole story. In our interviews, activists shared frustrations about fund-raising. The economic downturn has challenged most non-profits to raise money; yet, many people told us potential donors did not understand the issues involved in counter-recruitment or failed to see value in their work opposing militarism in schools. As noted, the AFSC's decision to dismantle national counter-recruitment fieldwork (its Youth and Militarism division) has made it more difficult to undertake this work at the community level. Local groups that often lack adequate funding and time to do research now must assemble and distribute updated literature, a task formerly done by the AFSC national office. Despite these difficulties, some AFSC chapters like the one in Western Massachusetts continue to raise money, pay staff, monitor military recruiting practices, and visit local schools to discuss alternatives to the military. As demonstrated throughout this book, local grassroots groups such as NWSubPEP and Sustainable Options for Youth show it is possible to accomplish much with a volunteer staff and on a shoestring budget. Although the last national counter-recruitment conference was in 2009, NNOMY today remains a steady presence. Carol Van Houten, in Eugene, described NNOMY as "an incredibly valuable resource." One of NNOMY's few paid staff members designs the website, ensures that it is updated with news and information, and recruits volunteers to create original content. The result is a national information clearinghouse that helps orient activists new to the movement and provides organizing updates from across the country. For many, the support from NNOMY, along with the Yahoo! e-mail list, has enabled them to connect to other activists to share information and learn about local strategies of resistance to school militarism.

Hardly unique to counter-recruitment, these struggles may in fact be reflective of the larger status of peace activism in the United States. Absent a war to oppose, the "peace movement" has struggled to recruit and retain volunteers; been challenged by lack of consistent funding; and has achieved a limited political impact. With much progressive activism diffused into numerous other issues, efforts to oppose forms of American militarism may seem impractical to some; or that the concerns involved have limited relevance in the lives of others. In this context, and given the nature of counter-recruitment activism, its varied accomplishments are, in fact, exceptional.

What Has the Movement Achieved?

Since 2010, when we began researching this topic, we have become aware of new collaborations between the military and public education. These include recently established military-style charter schools in Florida, Oregon, and

Illinois, as well as an Air Force-sponsored Lego robotics competition for Ohio middle school students. With the number of military outreach programs increasing, the achievements in the field of counter-recruitment may appear to be like putting a finger in a leaking dike. But we prefer to view counter-recruitment another way. Given the enormous power and resources the Pentagon has invested to market the military to children; and the combination of legislation, patriotism, and fear that create the conditions in which school militarism can thrive with little or no regulation; to record *any progress* against these forces is remarkable. "How do you stop militarism?" asked Noah Mrowczynski, a veteran in the Portland area. "How is a grassroots organization going to fight a $700 million recruiting budget? You know? I mean, it's just mind-boggling." Given this challenge, and the way that organizing campaigns are localized and dependent on the political context, activists caution that there can be no uniform measure of success. Thus, for some groups, it may mean handing out more literature or having more student contacts at high schools than the year before. For others, increasing the number of students whose private information is kept out of the hands of recruiters is a notable triumph. At the end of our interview, Rick Jahnkow told us what success means for him:

> It's small things. Once in a while, a group can achieve something bigger, and that is great but it doesn't define success for groups in some other small town somewhere where there's no way they can do that.

One way of measuring the impact of counter-recruitment as a national movement, then, is to assess how campaigns that have achieved "something bigger" can have a significant influence on local school districts in other communities.

Early in 2009, a colonel from the Army's 6th Recruiting Brigade expressed hope that someday an Army unit would sponsor every primary and secondary school in Los Angeles.[1] Similar sponsorship programs exist throughout the United States, where soldiers volunteer as tutors and "lunch buddies" to children in elementary and middle schools. To date, however, there is a reason the Army has failed in its goal of infiltrating every public school in Los Angeles. Thanks to campaigns initiated by Arlene Inouye and supporters within the Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism (CAMS), a series of policy changes occurred that had a transformative impact. The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) made it easier for parents and students to opt-out of federal mandates on rendering student information to the Pentagon; the school board—pressured by CAMS— passed a policy regulating the military recruiter presence in LAUSD; and more Los Angeles schools began to closely monitor the behavior of military recruiters. To educate other organizers on

how to successfully push for similar policy change, CAMS activists have shared community organizing resources on the group's website; these include downloadable materials on topics such as "Working With Union Reps at the School," and "People Skills: How to Frame the Issues."

In Oakland, as well, military recruiters previously enjoyed a permissive atmosphere in which to market their wares. But the successful campaign by BAY-Peace Youth Action Team members raised awareness around the issue of school militarism, built a coalition with other non-profit advocacy groups in the Bay Area, and eventually led to a school board resolution in 2010. Pablo Paredes, who helped organize that campaign, explained the transformative impact of this resolution.

> At the start of the year in every OUSD [high school], they have to play a video explaining what JAMRS and opt-out [are]. That's like, "We believe it's our duty to inform you about your rights around privacy in the military." That's huge. That's a culture shift. Now you have every administrator in every school listening to this 15-minute video about this issue every year. That's powerful, right?

In New York City, the largest school district in the country, militarism used to be so normalized that 13 percent of high school students reported seeing military recruiters in their schools on a weekly basis, while 35 percent said military personnel moved freely within their schools.[2] Following a year-long campaign by the Youth Activists-Youth Allies (YA-YA) Network, however, this all changed. Now, in order to be in compliance with a 2009 regulation handed down by the chancellor of the New York City public schools, military recruiters no longer enjoy unfettered access to school property. Moreover, each of the more than 400 high schools across New York's five boroughs must designate someone from the staff to serve as a "military monitor."

Measuring the impact of the national counter-recruitment movement is largely a matter of cataloging these achievements. As Barbara Harris, profiled in Chapter 5, sums up the national movement, "It's a lot of little pockets" and "a lot of little pockets make a big bag, a big bundle." Although local campaigns take place in different communities with different needs and in sharply divergent contexts, they conceivably all have a national impact. Of note, at the time these campaigns were ongoing, the principal actors in these struggles (Pablo Paredes and Susan Quinlan in Oakland, Amy Wagner in New York, Arlene Inouye in Los Angeles) were active in the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY). They wrote articles for *Draft NOtices*. They traveled to the 2009 NNOMY conference in Chicago, where they led workshops and facilitated discussions about campaign strategy. The

ability to influence other local organizing efforts is therefore a notable impact of these different counter-recruitment efforts. Thus, in 2011, one year after BAY-Peace secured an innovative policy allowing students to remove their names from the Pentagon's Joint Advertising, Market Research & Studies (JAMRS) database, NWSubPEP activists pursued a similar strategy in Illinois District 214. "We were definitely inspired by people in the counter recruitment community at large," Libby Frank recalled. "We would not have known about the JAMRS if it hadn't been for [BAY-Peace]."

The effect of counter-recruitment can also be seen on the personal level, where we noticed similar transformations. According to Loretta Pyles of the University of Albany, one of the "chief elements" of any social movement is a "change in consciousness" among movement participants. This can occur "when people come to believe that social systems are unjust and are losing legitimacy."[3] Uruguayan writer Raúl Zibechi has affirmed that participating in a social movement necessarily entails conversion, a process that involves "negating or moving beyond" one's former identity and place in the world.[4] Personal change due to involvement with counter-recruitment is perhaps most apparent among younger activists. Nancy Cruz and Davíd Morales, who as students said "no" to their principal's plan to replace a college preparatory curriculum with military training at Mission Bay High School, spoke of counter-recruitment as a process of "self-discovery" and "self-development." "Simply protesting in the streets," Nancy suggested, "doesn't do this"; while Davíd finds "counter-recruitment is an avenue of self-discovery, a way to get from theory to practice." We recall that Davíd also went from being a struggling student to college graduate (and now Fulbright scholar), a transformation he attributes to his involvement with the anti-JROTC campaign. Similarly, after participating in the AFSC-sponsored Social Justice Spring Break, Chicago high school students proceeded to weave activist interests into their academic work; others became involved with "peace clubs" at their high schools. Assessing the full impact of counter-recruitment, therefore, also means waiting to see how activists' identities solidify and take shape in the future.

Message Framing

The struggles and successes of the counter-recruitment movement suggest several implications. For example, the way activists frame their issues is critical to the outcome of organizing campaigns. Historian Stewart Burns finds "mainstream Americans have shown they can accept radical ideas that are articulated in ways that make sense in the context of their own lives, especially if such ideas draw upon familiar American themes."[5] Student privacy,

which taps into the strong civil libertarian tradition in American culture, has been successfully employed to frame recent opt-out and ASVAB campaigning. In the case of New York, Maryland, and at least ten other states, framing ASVAB-related advocacy as a concern for student privacy has allowed organizers to secure the endorsement of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a 500,000-member organization with deep pockets and strong ties to state and national legislators. Alliances with the ACLU transformed opposition to military testing into a mainstream concern, recasting these legislative campaigns from an issue of school militarism to one of parental consent and student rights. Stressing these more inclusive messages, counter-recruiters should continue to cultivate the support of parents and educators, as well as civil libertarians. But while activists have so far directed most outreach at left-leaning civil libertarians, they have apparently overlooked those on the right. Many counter-recruitment groups might reject the idea of working with their ideological opponents. Yet if activists fine-tune their message, they could reach many "conservatives," who with their instinctive suspicion of government overreach would likely object to an unregulated military presence in schools.[6] Tapping into a broader base of parents and community members, therefore, would likely strengthen the potential impact of local organizing efforts.

If a broader message offers more potential for success, an anti-war (or ideological) framing of counter-recruitment campaigns has been less effective. During the 1990s, multi-year campaigns to ban military recruiters from high schools in Rochester and Portland only succeeded when ideological frames were replaced by arguments in support of equal rights for gays and lesbians (who at that time were not allowed to openly serve in the armed forces). As noted in Chapter 3, in even the most liberal precincts of American society such as San Francisco, support of the military is strong enough to prevent ideologically oriented campaigns from succeeding. Conversely, educational equity framing may be effectively used to discourage enrollment in JROTC. In San Diego, for example, student activists in the Education Not Arms Coalition made an argument that resonated with working-class students and their parents: by eliminating college preparatory programs to make room in the school's budget for JROTC, the school administration was essentially denying some students a chance to go to college and move up the social ladder.

While the framing of issues matters in counter-recruitment organizing, the question of who delivers the message is just as important. Which highlights another implication of our research: counter-recruiters need to enlist more youth, parents, and veterans as volunteers. Youth seem to react more positively to their message, activists told us, when presented by someone

close to the same age as them. Jeff Napolitano, coordinator of the Western Massachusetts chapter of AFSC, said the college interns he brings into schools get far more student interactions than he does; high school students, his experience suggests, are more apt to engage with younger organizers. An equally important consideration is to recruit youth of color as activists. Many counter-recruiters recognize that this needs to be a priority, since African American and Latina/o youth are typically the population most heavily targeted by military recruiters. Pablo Paredes proposed one promising route. Groups with minimal resources can set aside funds to hire a student intern or provide a practicum that allows students to earn college credit.[7] Small steps like this could ensure participation of youth (and youth of color) in counter-recruitment campaigns while also contributing to building the next generation of social justice activists. Further, research by Federico Rossi shows youth activists are motivated most by "expectancy of success."[8] Thus, adult organizers may see more results from asking youth to help in a policy-oriented campaign if they stress that such campaigns are in fact winnable.

Counter-recruitment organizations may also appear more credible when their ranks include parents of children currently enrolled in high school. As one activist from suburban Chicago noted, having group members with children in high schools is a strategic advantage in organizing campaigns. Moreover, in Seattle, when parents used the power of mainstream organizations like their school's PTA, they were more effective generating media coverage, raising awareness, and pressing for change. As suggested, activists may be more successful attracting parents to their cause if they stress the theme of *protecting children* (and student privacy) in their public messages. The 2012 resolution on military recruiting in schools by the American Public Health Association, with its evidence-based call to protect a vulnerable population from sophisticated military salesmen, provides an effective template for reaching more parents.

In addition, military veterans need to get more involved in counter-recruitment. When talking about military service and the realities of war, veterans have the advantage of enjoying "automatic credibility" (in the words of the Army War College report on counter-recruitment)[9] with any audience. Sandra Williams, an activist with CAMS in Los Angeles, told us that she sometimes has to contend with skepticism from students: "They ask, 'Are you a vet?' And when I say 'no' they're like, 'Well, you don't know what you're talking about'." Reports of similar treatment were repeated by many of the non-veteran activists in our study. Fortunately, peace-oriented veterans' organizations like Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), Iraq Veterans Against the War, and Veterans for Peace have thousands of members and a long history of involvement in counter-recruitment. And, as in the case of

the VVAW's 1984 Madison, Wisconsin campaign, some of their efforts have had a transformative impact on local schools. However, many activists lament that their attempts to recruit veterans have been stymied by lack of follow-up on the part of veterans' organizations; and they have difficulty gaining the participation of younger veterans from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Building stronger ties to these and other community groups can widen the base of resistance to school militarism. In sum, by coalescing with other constituencies and organizations to form a broader and more unified movement, counter-recruiters will more effectively force policy makers to take a stand on these issues.

Future Challenges

"What we're working towards is becoming irrelevant. You realize that, right?" We asked NWSubPEP members what their future organizing might entail. In response, Pat told us, in a half-joking way, "we're trying to work ourselves out of a job here" by restricting recruiters to school counseling offices. But she and other activists quickly noted they will never find themselves made redundant. Even if District 214 were to pass such restrictive policies, Libby pointed out, "then maybe we could concentrate on other things like getting student peace groups going and stuff like that." Libby has a point: there will always be work for counter-recruiters. In what follows, we offer a brief summary of key challenges that will undoubtedly add to their future workload.

Most activists we interviewed understand that militarism in high schools is just one piece of a larger cultural phenomenon supporting violence, war, and unquestioning reverence for the military. While a few counter-recruiters (Barbara Harris being one example) do engage in activities to combat other manifestations of militarism (e.g., protesting the sale of "war toys"), more should be done on this front. However, given the limited resources of most grassroots counter-recruitment organizations, it will be a challenge to find the time for this broader work. An important aspect of militarism that is often overlooked is the military's extensive outreach programs targeting fifth- through eighth-grade students. According to Rick Jahnkow, "We need more people, more organization to re-focus attention on education so that we can cover the entire spectrum, K-12."

There are reasons for targeting what the Army euphemistically calls "pre-prospects," children between the ages of 10 and 14.[10] Those who study youth's "propensity to enlist" consistently find that by age 16 or 17, young people have made up their minds on the question of whether they will choose military service.[11] Thus, the Air Force's new "Recruiter After Next

Initiative" stresses the need to assist "future recruiters" by reaching out today to "a younger generation that's not yet ready to join."[12] "Pre-prospecting" by the military usually takes innocuous forms that can make it harder to critique than traditional recruiting programs in high schools. With the so-called STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and math) currently in vogue in American education, numerous military-sponsored STEM programs are facilitating military recruiters' access to young children. One example is a program called STARBASE, which receives around $20 million of Pentagon funding each year to bring children (mostly fifth-graders) onto military installations for a weeklong session of "hands-on" science instruction. Military personnel talk to youth about STEM careers in the military, while an evaluation form asks children at the end of the week if their experiences in STARBASE have helped them view the military more favorably. The program reached more than 60,000 students in 2011. The case of STARBASE highlights the need for an expanded focus within counter-recruitment on political education. In our research, we found evidence that suggests many educators and politicians remain ignorant of the military's deep involvement in schools. When Barbara Harris managed to speak directly to New York State's Commissioner of Education, she was surprised to learn he was not aware of the privacy concerns surrounding ASVAB testing. According to a recent report of the Western Massachusetts AFSC, when former Congressman John Olver once asked about the work AFSC does in Western Massachusetts, he was informed that AFSC staff regularly visited schools "to talk to students about alternatives to military service." "Why would you want to talk about that?," the 11-term congressman replied. Staff then had to explain that military personnel are allowed to visit high schools regularly. "Congressman Olver didn't realize that when he voted in favor of No Child Left Behind in 2001," the report notes, "he voted to allow nearly unfettered access by the military to the children of all of the public high schools in his district (and the country)." Because elected officials must be familiar with many policy issues, they may lack knowledge of or interest in school militarism. An expanded emphasis on political education can thus make more visible the military's hidden influence in American schools.

As many of our interviewees also noted, counter-recruitment is not effectively performed on an individual level. Tackling the challenges ahead means individual groups cannot afford to stay isolated, but must better coordinate with other activists in their regions. We were surprised to learn that in several states, counter-recruitment organizations, whose members complained of being isolated and of feeling cut off from the national movement, showed little interest in connecting to other groups active in a neighboring city or

county. Organizing regional meetings—in person or "remotely"—to share experiences and strategies would not only reduce feelings of isolation, but it could also facilitate large-scale policy campaigns targeting the presence of the military in schools at the regional or state level.[13]

From our research, it is clear that activists have had success forming community coalitions to counter the military presence in public schools. We saw this in Oakland in 2009–2010, in Seattle with the struggle to prevent the militarization of Rainier Beach High School, and in other examples. However, we also find too often there is a lack of strategic thinking among counter-recruitment groups. Overall, the effect is that the task of organizing coalition partners in the community becomes more *re*-active than *pro*-active. Instead of strategically targeting key coalition partners like the local teachers union, many counter-recruiters tend to approach only those with whom they have pre-existing relationships or natural affinities. Thus, when we asked our interviewees about coalition-building, we frequently heard about their work with progressive faith-based organizations: peace churches like the Unitarians and Quakers. While activists have had success securing endorsements from organizations like the NAACP, too often these partnerships were *ad hoc* rather than consistently maintained over time. A challenge for counter-recruiters, then, is to forge lasting bonds with these groups and others, to move beyond their comfort zones, and become more competent at cross-difference organizing. As Bernice Reagon, musician and veteran of the US civil rights movement, observed: "Coalition work is not work done in your home . . . You shouldn't look for comfort."[14]

One promising step in this direction is The Call to Save Civilian Education.[15] The brainchild of the NNOMY steering committee, The Call was launched in September 2014 with the purpose of reaching out to groups not already involved in youth and militarism work. At the time of writing, it had approximately 70 endorsements from organizations like the National Lawyers Guild and prominent scholars and educators. With such broad-based coalitions in place, employing issue frames that demonstrate how the issue of school militarism intersects with racism, social class, and poverty, counter-recruiters can build on their success. A key theme in this book is that school militarization has reached scandalous levels in the United States, and urgent action is needed to reverse this harmful trend. Those profiled in this book demonstrate a path of resistance that others can follow. They also offer a clear-eyed analysis of an issue that has gone virtually unnoticed by most school stakeholders across the country—parents, teachers, and policy makers. This critical perspective, as summarized by Tim Franzen of Atlanta AFSC, should serve as a reminder of what is at stake:

I think that child soldiering is wrong in Nigeria, and it's wrong in the United States too. When we have military recruiters that are sitting at a desk speaking with 14-year-olds in our school, that's child soldiering and it's happening in our own back yards . . . These kids are being filled with lies by folks that basically are taught the same failed techniques as used car salesmen. That's unacceptable.

Erratum to: Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public Schools

Scott Harding and Seth Kershner

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The online version of the updated book can be found under
DOI 10.1057/9781137493279

S. Harding and S. Kershner, *Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public Schools,*
DOI: 10.1057/9781137493279_8,

Appendix A: Sample Lesson Plans for Classroom Teachers

As we have pointed out at various times throughout the book, the ubiquity of militarism in American schools normalizes and at the same time shields it from critique. If it is difficult for adults to think through these issues, to unpack the ways militarism intersects with race, power, and class, it is even harder for youth. After all, they are going through a time in their lives when it can be awkward to stand out from their peers, to question the reigning shibboleths of American society. Especially for young males raised on violent video games like *America's Army* and *Halo*, war and conflict can seem as cool as the soldiers they see saving the day in blockbuster films like *Transformers*. For teachers, then, it is not so much a question of how to help students pierce their own "mental armor," but simply to get them to notice that it exists.

For teachers interested in the themes that we discuss in this book, here are two lessons that can be adapted to fit a high school level class in social studies, English, or another relevant subject. (Short descriptions and links to other helpful teaching resources appear in Appendix B.) Both lessons originally appeared in *Camouflaged*, a 185-page curriculum developed by the New York Collective of Radical Educators (NYCoRE) and published in 2011. With permission of NYCoRE, they are reprinted here with minor edits for clarity and concision.

According to its website, NYCoRE is a "group of current and former public school educators and their allies committed to fighting for social justice in our school system and society at large." There are a variety of ways to get involved, including monthly membership meetings, annual conferences, and ongoing projects concerning topics such as racial justice and curriculum development. For more information, we encourage you to visit http://www.nycore.org/.

The complete version of *Camouflaged* is available to purchase at a very affordable price from the online retailer Lulu (http://www.lulu.com).

Lesson Plan 1: Perceptions of Life in the US Military: Help Wanted

Overview

In this lesson, students begin to notice the messages the military provides about what it would be like to be a soldier. In later lessons, students will be provided with alternative voices to help them critically analyze these messages.

Objectives

- Students will identify their perception of life in the US military and critique the sources of information that have informed their perception.
- Students will develop use of descriptive language.
- Students will employ skills of critical analysis of visual images.

Materials

- Recruitment posters, magazine ads, movie posters, photocopies of toy and video game advertisements or boxes. To obtain US military recruitment materials, contact your local recruitment centers or call 1.800.USA.ARMY or 1.800.USA.NAVY and request materials.
- Worksheet 1: Describing an Image
- Worksheet 2: Describing an Image Homework Sheet

Warm Up

Write five words that come to mind when you picture a soldier in the US Army. Or write a description of what someone in the US Army does.

Activity

1. Share Warm Up responses.
    a. Teacher creates a web with "Soldier" in the middle, connecting the students' descriptions to the center word.
2. Discuss where these images come from.
    a. Prompt students by asking them what images they have seen from television, print advertisements, commercials, toys, movies, or stories from family and friends.
    b. You can add the sources of the images to the web, connecting the sources to the descriptions.

3. Break students into groups of four or five students.
4. Pass out folders with images of soldiers.
5. Students use Worksheet 1 to describe each image in their folders.
6. After completing image descriptions, have some volunteers share their work.

Homework/Assessment

Looking for military messages in your own life.

Have students look through magazines, TV, online, or other media sources they use on a regular basis. Use Worksheet 2 to describe and analyze their images. Collect these images to use in Lesson #7.

Lesson 1 Extension Activities

1. Analyzing the portrayal of the military in popular films: Watch a popular military film such as *Pearl Harbor*, *Black Hawk Down*, or *Saving Private Ryan* and ask students to examine the depiction of soldiers' jobs.

Some possible movie discussion questions are the following:

- What are the duties of the soldiers in the films?
- Make a list of adjectives of what makes a "good soldier" according to the film.
- What is life like for the military characters?
- Does this film make you want to be a soldier?

Lesson Plan 1: Worksheet 1: Describing an Image

Name_____

1. What media is being used? Circle one:
   Television Magazine/Newspaper Ad Toy/Toy Ad Movie Poster
2. Who is this picture of?
3. Is there an enemy shown? If so, who is it?
4. How old is the person in the US military?
5. Where is the person?
6. What is the person doing? What jobs or activities is the person performing?
7. What qualities does the person need in order accomplish his/her tasks? (List at least three)
8. Is there a slogan or written message? If so, what is it? If not, make one up that you think would fit the image.

Lesson Plan 1: Worksheet 2: Describing an Image Homework

Name_____

1. What media is being used? Circle one:
   Television Magazine/Newspaper Ad Toy/Toy Ad Movie Poster
2. What is the source of your image?
3. Who is this a picture of?
4. Where is the person?
5. What is the person doing? What jobs or activities is the person performing?
6. What message is the military trying to send with this image?

Lesson Plan 2: Military Recruitment Strategies: How They Get You

Overview

In this lesson, students will develop skills to critically analyze military recruitment strategies they may encounter.

Objectives

- Students will identify and analyze strategies and tactics used to recruit youth to join the military.
- Students will develop note-taking skills.

Materials

- Worksheet 3: Military Recruitment Strategies
- Recruiter Role Play Profile Sheets A–D
- *All That He Can Be*, by Bree Picower[16]

Warm Up

Students write any personal experiences they have had with recruiters and/or recruitment material.

Activity

1. Have students share their personal experiences with recruiters and recruitment materials.

2. Discuss in whole group format:

   - What do we notice about our experiences with recruiters and recruitment materials?
   - Describe the ways in which they try to convince people to join the military.

3. Pass out Worksheet 3: Military Recruitment Strategies. From student responses, write a list of recruiting strategies on the board. Students should be taking notes on Worksheet 3.

4. Military Recruiter Role Play

   a. Ask for five volunteers. Each volunteer receives a Recruiter Role Play Profile sheet to become familiar with their character.
   Characters:

   Two Recruiters—Recruiter Role Play Profile A
   Three youth—Recruiter Role Play Profiles B–D
   Youth # 1—curious, wants to know more
   Youth # 2—resistant
   Youth # 3—immigrant status

   The three volunteers who will play Youths 1–3 gather to prepare (outside room, in corner . . .)

   b. Meanwhile, the two volunteers playing recruiters read Recruiter Role Play Profile A out loud with the rest of the class. Using Worksheet 3: Military Recruitment Strategies, the class continues to add to the two lists using strategies found in the Recruiter Role Play Profile A sheet.
   c. Act out Military Recruiter Role Play. As the five volunteers act out their play, students should be looking for the use of military recruitment strategies and reasons why youth may join. They should check off those that they have already identified and add new items to their worksheets.

5. Role-Play Reflection

   - Volunteers describe playing their roles.
   - Audience members share strategies they added to *Worksheet 3: Military Recruitment Strategies.*

Homework

Have students read the fictional story *All That He Can Be*. Homework questions are at the end of the story. Distribute another copy of *Worksheet 3: Military Recruitment Strategies* so students can identify additional strategies.

Lesson Plan 2: Worksheet 3: Military Recruitment Strategies

Name_____

Use this worksheet to generate lists of "Military Recruitment Strategies" and "Reasons Youth May Join the Military." You will need these lists as you watch the role play later in class and read the homework story (Table A1).

Table A1

Military Recruitment Strategies	*Reasons Youth Join the Military*

Lesson Plan 2: Recruiter Role-Play—Profile A

Military Recruiter

You are a military recruiter for the US Army. Each month you have a quota that you must meet for signing up new recruits to join the army. Your job security and performance reviews are dependent upon your ability to meet your quotas. If you exceed your quota, you receive rewards and bonuses. Your main targets are high school students who are unsure about attending college or can be persuaded to put off college in order to join the military. Students from families that are financially burdened are especially easy to

recruit because you can often convince them to join the military in order to pay for college in the future.

In directing you on how to deal with schools and families, The Army's *School Recruiting Program Handbook* states that "you must convince them that you have their students' best interests in mind." You are told by the Army to "attend as many school activities as possible" and to look out for, inform and "know your student influencers, students who stand out as leaders among their peers" because "they can and will provide you with referrals who will enlist."

Sometimes young people will have concerns about the risks of joining the military, especially in these times of the "war on terror." You must downplay the risks of war. Encourage students to think that they can focus on "noncombat" roles in the Army. There are many noncombat roles such as computer programmer, vehicle and aircraft repair, systems engineer, systems analyst, administrative positions, chef, data entry, and communications specialist. You should lead students to believe that they will be able to be placed in these jobs.

Remember, you are a sales person; your job depends on your ability to sell the military. Think of things to tell young people that will glorify the military experience. Don't focus so much on the hard work, long hours, and relatively low pay; these aspects of the job only discourage young recruits. Instead, focus on the new experiences that soldiers have, the travel opportunities, the job skills they can develop, the respect that comes with the uniform, the paycheck that comes in every other week, and the education grants that they can receive, potentially totaling $50,000. Be sure to "encourage college-capable individuals to defer their college until they have served in the army."

Finally, be sure that you remember that anything you promise is not binding. You can tell the recruits anything you think they want to hear. The only way that what you say is binding is if you put it in writing. Verbal commitments mean nothing, but make sure you don't tell the recruits that. As soon as they sign the recruitment papers they are bound to the statements included in the form.

Use the knowledge you gained from the homework worksheet in which you analyzed military messages to persuade your recruits.

Recruitment Strategies

To recruit Youth #1: You should stress the status you gain for serving your country. Also, highlight the possibilities of noncombat rules.

To recruit Youth #2: Highlight college funding, getting a regular paycheck; taking care of yourself and your family. Convince them that the Iraq war was about freedom and democracy for Americans and Iraqis.

To recruit Youth #3: Highlight citizenship; the right to vote; the benefit of being a US citizen; and giving back to the country that has taken them in.

Lesson Plan 2: Recruiter Role-Play—Profile B

Youth #1

You are a high school senior who is unsure about your plans for next year. You've heard that the military might be a good place to go for a young person who needs to find purpose and direction in his or her life. A few graduates from last year that you know joined the Army and Marines, and as far you know they have enjoyed it. At least they've looked good when they've come back to visit in their uniforms. Everyone gives them so much attention in the uniforms, and you wouldn't mind gaining some of that status. Plus, you can always go to college after you serve and they'll help pay. That is, of course, if you don't get killed in combat somewhere by some "terrorists."

On the other hand, you don't necessarily believe in what the US military does around the world. You also don't feel like dying for your country, especially at such a young age. Sometimes you think that the United States should just mind its own business. It seems like the United States is just interested in oil and other economic things, and not really the freedom and safety of other people around the world. You aren't sure that you want to be part of that system and help the military carry out the government's selfish missions.

Furthermore, you had a cousin who joined the military and died in an operation in Iraq trying to secure peace and freedom for the Iraqis. He said that many Iraqis didn't see the US military presence as peaceful or liberating. This has made you and the rest of your family wary of joining the military. Nevertheless, you are curious about the military and you'd like to find out more from a military recruiter in order to make your decision.

Lesson Plan 2: Recruiter Role-Play—Profile C

Youth #2

You are a high school senior, and you've always been against war and violence. Whenever you see news reports about wars around the world, your stomach turns and you can't imagine why people need to resort to such measures in order to solve problems. You've noticed military recruiters in your school hallways and many of your friends have been talking to them. Some have already signed commitments and are bragging about going to the Army and being

able to kill some terrorists. You don't support international terrorism, but you don't think that US policies toward other nations are right.

One thing that has been weighing on your mind lately is your older brother who is in jail. You don't want to end up like him and fall into the wrong crowd after high school. Your brother was smart, but your family couldn't afford to pay for his college tuition. He started college, but ended up dropping out for financial reasons. He did what he could to get money by hustling, but it caught up with him. Your family is in no better economic shape, and you're worried about paying for college. You certainly don't want to end up taking the road that your brother did.

You've told your friends that they've made mistakes by signing up for the Army, but they just laugh at you and call you scared. Some have told you about all the great benefits that you get from military service. The most enticing is the paycheck and the money the government will give you for college. You must admit that these two things don't sound so bad. You've told a couple of friends that you'll talk to a recruiter just to prove to them that you can't be swayed in your resistance to the military and in your refusal to join in any type of warlike actions.

Lesson Plan 2: Recruiter Role-Play—Profile D

Youth #3

You are a high school senior who is an immigrant from the Dominican Republic who is unsure about your opportunities after high school. You legally immigrated to the United States from the Dominican Republic with your parents and younger sister when you were in middle school. You've had solid grades in school even though having to learn in English has made your educational experience in the United States difficult. Your immigrant status has made you feel unsure about whether or not you will be able to pay for college or access other opportunities after high school is over. Your family has been trying to save money and find ways to get your older brother and sister, who had to stay in the Dominican Republic, into the United States to be with the rest of the family.

While walking through the cafeteria you've noticed the military recruiters and you're interested in the opportunity the military gives you to become a citizen. Some of your friends who are also immigrant students have been talking about joining the military very seriously over the last month or so. Your friends told you that the recruiters promised that they could become citizens right after starting active duty during this time of war. The recruiters also told your friends that with citizenship a person would be able to

serve the country that has given immigrants so much. Further, by becoming a citizen, the recruiters said that you would be able to have access to more scholarships and jobs after your military service. Finally, by becoming a citizen your family members would also receive benefits and be able to apply for visas for other family members.

Still you have a number of doubts about joining the military. A teacher you respect told you that the military itself does not grant you citizenship, that they can only submit your application for evaluation through immigration services. Also, although you have benefited from living in the United States, you do not support the US military presence in the Middle East. You also had a friend in a similar immigration situation who graduated from your school last year, enlisted in the military, but was denied his application for citizenship when he declared that he did not want to participate in a war because he thought it was wrong and unjust. You also had another friend who died while fighting in Iraq and had not been able to apply for citizenship when he wanted to. His parents, who did not speak English very well, did not realize that they could apply for his citizenship after he died, so they are only recently learning that they might still be able to benefit from their son's tremendous sacrifice.

Appendix B: Additional Resources

This following provides references to several organizations, websites, and reading materials. It includes brief descriptions of key coalitions and networks currently involved with counter-recruitment. A brief list of helpful resources and recommended readings for teachers is also offered.

Organizations

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

One of the most well-known peace and justice organizations in the United States, AFSC has approximately 40 chapters in the United States: http://afsc.org.

Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW)

Founded in 2004, IVAW currently has members active in 48 states. The organization supports "truth in recruiting" efforts, and an IVAW speakers bureau helps activists organize events and speaking engagements at schools: http://ivaw.org.

National Coalition to Protect Student Privacy

Through its chapters across the United States, the Coalition has actively lobbied for state- and school district-level policy change around the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery. Specifically, the group advocates for states to impose an "Option 8 mandate" for all schools administering the ASVAB test: http://studentprivacy.org.

National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY)

As an information clearinghouse, NNOMY provides easy access to reliable reports, articles, and data on a host of issues related to school militarism.

Also available to download is a counter-recruitment "starter kit" that includes leaflets most commonly used by activists: http://nnomy.org.

Project on Youth & Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO)

On Project YANO's website, visitors can download a helpful activists' guide to gaining "equal access" to schools. There are also free downloads of select articles from the *Draft NOtices* newsletter: http://projectyano.org.

Veterans for Peace (VFP)

Counter-recruitment is one of the most popular activities undertaken by VFP, which boasts more than 100 chapters and thousands of members across the United States: http://veteransforpeace.org.

War Resisters League (WRL)

Founded in 1917, there are currently dozens of WRL chapters in the United States. Many are engaged in counter-recruitment, including groups in Texas, Washington state, New York, and Connecticut: http://wrl.org.

Teaching Resources

Teaching About the Wars (Milwaukee: Rethinking Schools, 2013)

A 140-page resource guide published by the company best known for its excellent quarterly magazine, *Rethinking Schools*. The guide contains a chapter on teaching ideas on the topic of military recruiting. Especially useful is the contribution by Bill Bigelow, a social studies teacher and curriculum editor at *Rethinking Schools*, which describes a lesson where students critically analyze the military enlistment contract. Available to purchase from: http://rethinkingschools.org.

Teaching for Social Justice? Voices from the Front Lines, by Connie E. North (Paradigm, 2009)

North, a leading scholar-practitioner in the field of social justice education, brings the reader into the classrooms of four K-12 teachers to show how education can achieve what she calls "social justice literacy."

***I'd Rather Teach Peace,* by Colman McCarthy (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008)**

In this widely read book, McCarthy—a former reporter for the *Washington Post*—describes his innovative approach to teaching peace studies in public schools.

***Choosing the Military as a Career: A Group Counseling Program that Addresses Issues Not Presented by Recruiters,* by Paul J. Ciborowski. School Counselor 41, No. 4 (March 1, 1994): 305–309**

While dated, this article remains one of the few on the topic of military recruiting ever published in professional school counselor journals. It describes how group counseling can help students make informed decisions about military enlistment.

***World Peace and Other 4th-Grade Achievements,* by John Hunter (Boston: Eamon Dolan/Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013)**

In this book, John Hunter, a public school teacher and TED speaker, explores the impact that his World Peace Game has had on students.

Notes

Foreword

1. Quoted in Charles F. Howlett, "A Dissenting Voice: John Dewey against Militarism in Education," *Peace and Change* 3, No. 4 (Spring 1976), 56.
2. The total number of people recruited into all branches of the active and reserve armed forces in fiscal year 2014 was 244,114, according to the Department of Defense, http://www.defense.gov/releases/release.aspx?releaseid=17025.
3. Figures calculated from Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), Department of Defense Budget, Fiscal Year 2014, Operation and Maintenance Programs, April 2013, http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2014/fy2014_o1.pdf (accessed December 8, 2014).
4. Rod Powers, "ABCs of the ASVAB," *U.S. Military About Careers*, http://usmilitary.about.com/od/joiningthemilitary/a/asvabtype.htm (accessed December 12, 2014).
5. Jordan Schrader, "Junior ROTC 'more than a class' to teens," *USA Today*, December 31, 2009, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/education/2009-12-31-jrotc_N.htm.
6. Laurent Michaud, "Serious Games: Advergaming, Edugaming, Training and More," *Understanding the Digital World*, IDATE Consulting & Research, M 83708, June 2008, p. 3, http://ja.games.free.fr/ludoscience/PDF/EtudeIDATE08_UK.pdf.
7. David Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt: GI Resistance During the Vietnam War* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005), 187–200.
8. Approximately one in ten homeless persons in the United States on any given night is a veteran. National Alliance to End Homelessness, *The State of Homelessness in America 2014* (Washington, DC: The Homelessness Research Institute, 2014), 11, http://b.3cdn.net/naeh/d1b106237807ab260f_qam6ydz02.pdf.
9. See the classic study by former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs Harold Wool, *The Military Specialist: Skilled Manpower for the Armed Forces* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968).
10. As recounted by Peter Laufer in *Mission Rejected: U.S. Soldiers Who Say No to Iraq* (White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing Company, 2006), 11.

11. Amy Lutz, "Who Joins the Military? A Look at Race, Class, and Immigration Status," *Journal of Military and Political Sociology* 36, No. 2 (2008), 184.
12. Glen H. Elder et al., "Pathways to the All-Volunteer Military," *Social Science Quarterly* 91, No. 2 (2010), 458, 465.
13. Ibid., 470.
14. Bernard D. Rostker, Jacob Alex Klerman, and Megan Zander-Cotugno, *Recruiting Older Youths: Insights from a New Survey of Army Recruits* (Washington, DC: RAND Corporation, 2014), 30.
15. Mary Beth Marklein and Polina Marinova, "Some vets feeling shorted by the Army College Fund," *USA Today*, July 16, 2012, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/education/story/2012-07-16/army-college-fund/56260720/1.
16. Bernard D. Rostker, Jacob Alex Klerman, and Megan Zander-Cotugno, *Recruiting Older Youths: Insights from a New Survey of Army Recruits* (Washington, D.C.: RAND Corporation, 2014), 30.
17. David Cortright, "Economic Conscription," *Society* 12, No. 4 (1975), 43–47.
18. See Peter M. Karsten, *The Military in America: From the Colonial Era to the Present* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), 376–378.

Introduction

1. Adam McGlynn and Jessica Lavariega Monforti, "The Poverty Draft? Exploring the Role of Socioeconomic Status in US Military Recruitment of Hispanic Students." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Feb. 6, 2010. Retrieved from http://ssrn.com/abstract=1643790.
2. See, for example, Rick Jahnkow, "In Need of a Proactive Peace Movement," *Draft NOtices*, 26 (Jan. 2006).
3. For historical treatment of anti-militarism at colleges and universities, see James Hawkes, "Antimilitarism at State Universities: The Campaign against Compulsory ROTC, 1920–1940," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 49, no. 1 (1965): 41–54; and Patrick Kennedy, "Reactions against the Vietnam War and Related Military-Related Targets on Campus: The University of Illinois as a Case Study, 1965–1972," *Illinois Historical Journal*, 84, no. 2 (1991): 101–118. Notable recent struggles have included campaigns against Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs at California State University, San Marcos, Northeastern Illinois University (NEIU), and the City University of New York (CUNY). For discussion of the successful San Marcos struggle, see Linda Pershing, "At CSU San Marcos, Resistance to ROTC Succeeds," *Draft Notices*, 30, no. 3 (Jul.–Sept. 2009): 1–3, www.comdsd.org/notices.htm. For an analysis of the failed NEIU effort, see Michael Armato, Laurie Fuller, Nancy A. Matthews, and Erica R. Meiners, "Pedagogical Engagements: Feminist Resistance to the Militarization of Education," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, 35, no. 2 (2013): 103–126. For an examination of the ongoing CUNY campaign, see Zoltán Glück, Manissa McCleave Maharawal, Isabelle Nastasia, and Conor Tomás Reed, "Organizing against Empire: Struggles over the Militarization

of CUNY," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 58 (2014). Retrieved from http://berkeleyjournal.org/.

4. Christopher Harress, "Lockheed Martin, Boeing Still Top Global Arms Makers but Russian Rivals Quickly Rising from Ruins of Soviet Past: Report," *International Business Times* (Mar. 20, 2014). Retrieved from http://www.ibtimes.com/.
5. "Strengthening Community Partnerships through Adopt-A-School," *Adopt-A-School* (newsletter): 1, n.d.. Retrieved from http://www.hood.army.mil/adopt.a.school/newsletters/0904.pdf.
6. While Army recruiters use the euphemism "planting a seed" to refer to military marketing and outreach directed at young children, use of the term also appears commonplace in other service branches. In research conducted while at the Air War College, Colonel Lisa Firmin encouraged the Air Force to consider boosting its presence in the lives of sixth- to eighth-grade students "since planting the seed early could be advantageous." See Firmin, *Hispanics: An Untapped Leadership Resource* (Maxwell AFB, Alabama: Air War College, 2002), 27. Retrieved from http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/awc/firmin.pdf. During a 2008 meeting of the now-defunct United States Joint Forces Command, the command's most senior enlisted leader—Marine Corps Sergeant Major Bryan Battaglia—spoke as part of a panel on "recruiting, training, and retaining the future force." According to a partial transcript, Battaglia enthused over the benefits of "directly touching the child in junior high . . . " "The objective of this," he continued, "is not to close the deal, but rather to build synergy, educate, plant the seed, raise awareness and project the positives of the service reputations."
7. Friesen, "Contesting Symbolic Violence: Counter Recruitment and Resistance to the US Military in Public Education." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. Las Vegas, NV, Aug. 12, 2011, p. 17 (Copy in possession of the authors.) See also Matthew Friesen, "Framing Symbols and Space: Counterrecruitment and Resistance to the US Military in Public Education," *Sociological Forum*, 29 (2014): 75–97.
8. Pyles, and Harding, "Discourses of Post-Katrina Reconstruction: A Frame Analysis," *Community Development Journal*, 47 (2012): 336.
9. Lance Izumi, Talking Points (two-page memo), US Army Southern California Advisory Board Meeting, Jan. 2009. Copy in possession of the authors.
10. US Army Mid-Atlantic Recruiting Battalion, "Talking Points for Philadelphia Inquirer, Jul. 17, 2009," p. 5. Copy in possession of the authors.
11. See Christopher Rollins, "A Recruiting Sergeant's Message: Peace or Not, the Army Wants You," *New York Times* (Nov. 28, 1993). Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/.
12. LTC Ronald Tuczak, Cmdr. of US Army Mid-Atlantic Recruiting Battalion, transcribed from a televised interview with Joe Bisicchia of Comcast Newsmakers. January 2009. Video file in possession of the authors.
13. George Rede, "7 Questions for Staff Sgt. Jarome Page, Marine Corps Recruiter," The Oregonian (Jul. 11, 2014). Retrieved from http://www.oregonlive.com/forest-grove/index.ssf/2014/07/7_questions_for_staff_sgt_jaro.html.
14. LTC Ronald Tuczak, op. cit.

15. US Army Mid-Atlantic Recruiting Battalion, "Talking Points for Philadelphia Inquirer," p. 4.
16. This phrase appears in Matthew Rech, "Recruitment, Counter-recruitment and Critical Military Studies," *Global Discourse*, 4 (2014): 1–19.
17. Catherine Lutz, *Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012).
18. See Roger Stahl, *Militainment, Inc.: War, Media, and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2010).
19. The term "military drag" is borrowed from Catherine Lutz, "Warmaking as the American Way of Life," in *The Insecure American: How We Got Here and What We Should Do about It*, ed. Hugh Gusterson and C. Besteman (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), pp. 45–61. Perhaps the most memorable example of this phenomenon occurred during Senator John Kerry's doomed presidential campaign in 2004. Even though Kerry served as a Lieutenant in the Navy and earned three Purple Hearts for wounds sustained during the Vietnam War, he also was a leader in the group Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Due to this anti-war legacy, his candidacy came under assault in the media from conservative and pro-military groups. In what many commentators at the time saw as a response to the attacks, Kerry punctuated his address to the 2004 Democratic National Convention with a crisp Navy salute and the words: "I am John Kerry, and I am reporting for duty!"
20. Finley, "Militaristic Privilege in Schools and Beyond," in *Educating for Peace in a Time of Permanent War*, ed. Paul R. Carr and Brad J. Porfilio (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 44.
21. Lutz, op. cit., p. 55.
22. della Porta, and Diani, *Movimenti senza protesta? L'ambientalismo in Italia* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2004).
23. Although the complete run is still available only in university archives, several issues of *Counter Pentagon* have recently been digitized and can be viewed online through the Virtual Vietnam Archive, hosted by Texas Tech University. http://vietnam.ttu.edu/virtualarchive/.
24. For a brief overview of these practices in various European countries, see "Overt and Covert Recruitment: The Militarisation of Public and Private Space," in *Sowing Seeds: The Militarisation of Youth and How to Counter It*, ed. Owen Everett (London: War Resisters International, 2013), pp. 15–20.
25. See Cynthia Cockburn, *Anti-militarism: Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), esp. Chapter 3.
26. Like other anti-militarist groups in Europe, ForcesWatch enjoys support from teachers unions in the United Kingdom. For one of their reports, see David Gee, *Informed Choice? Armed Forces Recruitment Practice in the United Kingdom* (London: ForcesWatch, 2007.) For more of their reports, visit http://www.forceswatch.net/resources/.
27. See Kai-Uwe Dosch, Sarah Roßa, and Lena Sachs, "Resisting the Militarisation of Education," in *Sowing Seeds*, ed. Owen Everett, pp. 123–126.

28. Beegle, "Conflicting Perspectives on Patriotism within Music Education in the United States During Wartime," in *Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education*, ed. Alexandra Kertz-Welzel and David Hebert (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 132–133. Beegle is quoting from an 1895 pamphlet describing the work done by that veterans' group, Grand Army of the Republic.
29. Jeremy Saucier, "Mobilizing the Imagination: Army Advertising and the Politics of Culture in Post-Vietnam America" (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2010), 15.
30. Cited in Robert Musil, "Operation High School," *The Nation* (Apr. 5, 1975): 399–403.
31. See, for example, editorials by then-US Army Recruiting Command Commanding Generals, Maj. Gen. Donald M. Campbell Jr., "Summer Transitions Ending, It's Back into the Schools," *Recruiter Journal*, 61 (Aug. 2009): 3; and Maj. Gen. Thomas P. Bostick, "New Incentives: New Tools for the Job," *Recruiter Journal*, 58 (Feb. 2006): 2. For references in Army recruiter training materials, see *Recruiting Center Operations*, USAREC Manual No. 3–06 (Fort Knox, KY: USAREC, 2012), pp. 3–1, 7–2.
32. Capt. Linda Long, *Counter-recruiters in High School*, p. 8. Also, the idea that by the age of 17 people's attitudes about deciding to enlist is fixed is supported by survey data commissioned by the DoD's Joint Advertising Market Research & Studies (JAMRS) program. See its "State of the Recruiting Market" report for 2011.
33. Lt. Col. Todd Jacobus, *Civilian Organizational Inhibitors to US Army Recruiting and the Road Ahead* (US Army War College, 2010): p. 3.
34. US Army Recruiting Command, *Recruiter Handbook*, USAREC Manual No. 3–01 (Fort Knox, KY: USAREC, 2011), pp. 5–3.
35. While dated, the most recent of the Pentagon's military recruiter surveys (from 2000) is still worth citing due to its large sample size. Out of more than 4,000 military recruiters surveyed across all service branches, nearly two-thirds (65 percent) reported working more than 60 hours per week. See *2000 Military Recruiter Survey: Overview Report* (Arlington, Virginia: Joint Advertising, Market Research & Studies, 2002), 9. http://www.dtic.mil/get-tr-doc/pdf?AD=ADA408153. More recently, a 2009 PowerPoint presentation used by the Army's Los Angeles Recruiting Battalion reveals that the typical recruiter works six-days a week for 65–70 hours. PowerPoint in possession of the authors.
36. Michael Bronner, "The Recruiters' War," *Vanity Fair* (Sept. 2005): 305.
37. Brig. Gen. Bryan Roberts, "Sharing Observations from the Field," *Recruiter Journal*, 63 (Feb. 2011): 7.
38. US Army Recruiting Command, *School Recruiting Program Handbook*, USAREC pamphlet 350–13 (Fort Knox, KY: USAREC, 2006), p. 1. Retrieved from www.usarec.army.mil/im/formpub/rec_pubs/p350_13.pdf.
39. Oskar Castro, "Maryland Opts Out of ASVAB," *WIN Magazine*, 27 (Summer 2010): 12–13.
40. Separate fact sheets for parents and educators are found at http://www.asvabprogram.com/

41. US Army Recruiting Command, *Recruiter Handbook*, pp. 6–5.
42. See, for example, Maj. Gregory Humble, *Why Schools Do Not Release ASVAB Scores to Military Recruiters* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Army Command and General Staff College, 2012), esp. Chapter 1. Retrieved from http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA563175. See also US Army Recruiting Command, *Recruiter Handbook*, pp. 6–5.
43. The quote is from Christopher Beveridge, Lieutenant Colonel, US Army, Commanding Officer, Baltimore Military Entrance Processing Station, in a letter dated April 7, 2010, protesting a proposed Maryland state senate bill that would limit the recruiting potential of the ASVAB test. Copy of letter can be found at http://www.studentprivacy.org/.
44. See Humble, *Why Schools Do Not Release ASVAB Scores to Military Recruiters*, p. 5.
45. See, for example, Carl Biggs, "Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps: A Comparison of Achievement, High School Graduation, College Enrollment, and Military Enlistment Rates of High School Students in Missouri" (PhD diss., University of Arkansas, 2010).
46. For the research from the Naval Postgraduate School, see Elda Pema and Stephen Mehay, "The Effect of High School JROTC on Student Achievement, Educational Attainment, and Enlistment," *Southern Economic Journal*, 76 (2009): 533–552. See also Phillip Angelini, "Navy Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps: The Impact of NJROTC Participation on Naval Accessions and Retentions" (PhD diss., University of San Diego, 2009.)
47. David Morales. "The Militarization of High School Students and JROTC," *Draft NOtices*, 33 (Oct–Dec 2012), p. 5.
48. See, for example, Rachelle Perusse, "Perceptions of Schools Counselors Towards Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps in Virginia Public Schools" (PhD diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1997); Debra Sue Morris, "North Carolina High School Principals' Perceptions of Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps Programs" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Charlotte, 2003); Rodney Logan, "Perceptions Held by Host Secondary School Principals Toward the Marine Corps Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps Program" (EdD dissertation, Seton Hall University, 2000).
49. Viz., Lawrence Marks, "Perceptions of High School Principals and Senior Army Instructors Concerning the Impact of JROTC on Rates of Dropout and Transition to College" (EdD diss., East Tennessee State University, 2004); and Shafeeq Ameen, "A Mixed Methods Study of the Air Force JROTC Leadership Program at an Urban High School in Southeastern Virginia" (PhD diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2009).

Chapter 1

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2. The DEP, which permits enlistment at age 17 with a parent's permission, taps into the American consumer tradition of "Buy now, pay later," and is popular

with high school students like Richard who aren't sure what they want to do after graduating. It is also known as the *delayed enlistment program*.

3. Castillo, "America's Warriors: Richard Balderas: A Chance to Take Care of His Sister," *Austin American-Statesman*, Feb. 27, 2005, A6, located in Lexis-Nexis database.
4. Juan Castillo and Bill Bishop, "War Costly for Texas Hispanics," *Austin American-Statesman*, Feb. 27, 2005, A1, located in Lexis-Nexis database.
5. Castillo, "Teen Decides."
6. Chris Wilson, "Road to Delayed Entry Program Sustainment," *Recruiter Journal*, 55 (Nov. 2003): 11.
7. Kathy Gilberd, "Recruiters Lie," *Draft NOtices* (Nov.–Dec. 2004), available at http://www.comdsd.org/pdf/Recruiters_DEP_2004.pdf.
8. Eric Schmitt, "Marines Miss January Goal for Recruits," *New York Times*, Feb. 3, 2005. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/03/politics/03marines.html?_r=0.
9. "Baltimore Conference Report," *Counter Pentagon* (unnumbered issue, Apr. 1974), 1.
10. David Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt: The American Military Today* (New York: Anchor Press, 1975), 189.
11. "Army Enlisted 12,700 with Irregular Methods," *Associated Press* (Nov. 19, 1979). Retrieved from http://goo.gl/fKSDel.
12. Katherine Temme, "The Recruiting Business," *Counter Pentagon*, 3 (Oct. 1976): 2–5.
13. *Counter Pentagon* 7 (Aug. 1980): 2.
14. *Recruiting Malpractice: Extent, Causes and Potential for Improvements* (Washington, DC: Government Accountability Office, Jul. 1981), 15. Retrieved from http://archive.gao.gov/f0102/115872.pdf).
15. Piatelli, "Stories of Inclusion? Power, Privilege, and Cross-Difference Organizing in a Contemporary Peace and Justice Network" (PhD diss., Boston College, 2008), 114–115.
16. Matthew Friesen, "Framing Symbols and Space: Counterrecruitment and Resistance to the US Military in Public Education," *Sociological Forum*, 29 (2014): 75–97.
17. See, for example, Tomas Moore, "Army Television Advertising: Recruiting and Imagebuilding in the Era of the AVF" (Unpublished master's thesis. Kansas State University, 2009). This study examined decades of Army advertising and found that recruitment messages overwhelmingly touted the educational and economic benefits of service.
18. Friesen, op. cit., pp. 86–87.
19. Patrick Coy, Lynne Woehrle, and Gregory Maney, "A Typology of Oppositional Knowledge: Democracy and the US Peace Movement," *Sociological Research Online*, 13, no. 4 (2008): 4, http://www.socresonline.org.uk/13/4/3.html. Italics in the original.
20. Brian Lagotte, "Turf Wars: School Administrators and Military Recruiting," *Educational Policy* (2012) doi:10.1177/0895904812465115.

21. Despite military regulations forbidding recruiters from being alone with potential recruits of the opposite sex, Austin recruiters have been beset by charges of inappropriate contact with female high school students. Allegations of sexual assault were brought against Marine and Army recruiters in 2009 and 2011, respectively. See, for example, Claudia Grisales, "More Claims Arise Against Recruiter," *Austin American-Statesman*, Apr. 8, 2011, A1.
22. Technically, Congress has not approved JROTC for any students younger than high school. Middle school military training programs do exist under different names and sponsorships (e.g., Young Marines, California Cadet Corps, and so on) in California, Texas, Florida, Chicago, and elsewhere. Some units are privately funded through a combination of fees paid by parents and sponsorships from the business community. For a discussion of recent efforts to challenge middle school military training programs, see Chapter 3.
23. See Todd Harrison, *Chaos and Uncertainty: The FY 2014 Defense Budget and Beyond* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2013), p. 9. Retrieved from http://csbaonline.org.
24. Austin Community College is located within walking distance of the school, and many academically advanced students take the opportunity to enroll in classes for college credit during their high school years.
25. Different groups use variants of the "peace wheel." SOY's was handmade and hand-painted by local artisans (including Thomas Heikkala, a trained carpenter), while San Diego's Project YANO uses a version purchased online and later modified. In Eugene, Oregon, Truth In Recruiting activists use an interactive "Recruitment Quiz." (Sample question: "Are military veterans more or less likely to be homeless after serving in the military?") Students who answer correctly win candy, buttons, or other types of prizes.
26. Loretta Pyles, *Progressive Community Organizing: A Critical Approach for a Globalizing World* (New York: Routledge, 2009), xi.
27. Truth in Recruiting is a program of Community Alliance of Lane County, and a joint project with two other organizations, Veterans Heart and Veterans for Peace. During the 2011–2012 school year, this group made nearly 60 school visits using different combinations of 14 activists (10 of whom were military veterans).
28. "The Military-Civilian Gap: Fewer Family Connections." *Pew Research: Social and Demographic Trends*, Nov. 23, 2011, http:// http://www.pewsocialtrends.org
29. Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen, et al. "Conceptualizing the Civil-Military Gap: A Research Note," *Armed Forces & Society*, 38, no. 4 (2012): 669–678.
30. Suzie M. Abajian, and Maricela Guzman, "Moving Beyond Slogans: Possibilities for a More Connected and Humanizing 'Counter-recruitment' Pedagogy in Highly Militarized Urban Schools." *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 29, no. 2 (2013): 196.
31. Todd Jacobus, *Civilian Organizational Inhibitors to US Army Recruiting and the Road Ahead* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, 2010), 8–9. Retrieved from http://tinyurl.com/neq8f4u.

32. Marc Pilisuk, and Mitch Hall, "Psychology and Peace," in *Peace Movements Worldwide*, ed. Marc Pilisuk and Michael N. Nagler, vol. 1 (Denver: Praeger, 2010), pp. 57–58.
33. Tim Kane, *Who Bears the Burden? Demographic Characteristics of US Military Recruits Before and After 9/11* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, 2005.) Retrieved from http://csbaonline.org.
34. Livingstone, Stacey Bryley, "Life Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness: Latina/o Iraq Veterans' Articulations of Identity and Citizenship in the Contexts of Service and War." (master's thesis. San Diego State University, 2013), 63.
35. McGlynn, and Lavariega Monforti, "The Poverty Draft? Exploring the Role of Socioeconomic Status in US Military Recruitment of Hispanic Students." Unpublished paper presented at the 2010 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Retrieved from SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1643790. Our own, unpublished analysis suggests the prevalence of military testing at a particular high school seems linked to how many economically disadvantaged students attend.
36. Joyanne P. Murphy, "Post-Secondary Education Decisions of High School Black Males in St. Thomas, US Virgin Islands (A Case Study)" (PhD diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2005), 55–56.
37. Kriner, and Shen, *The Casualty Gap: The Causes and Consequences of American Wartime Inequalities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
38. Kane, *Who Bears the Burden*, 12.
39. See David R. Segal, and Mady Wechsler Segal, "America's Military Population," Special Issue of *Population Bulletin*, 59, no. 4 (Dec. 2008): 10.
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43. Kri Burkander, "Guidance Counselors, Role of," in *Sociology of Education: An A-Z Guide*, vol. 1, ed. James Ainsworth (Washington, DC: Sage, 2013), p. 339.
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54. Tom Vanden Brook, "DOD Data: More Forced to Stay in Army," *USA Today* (Apr. 23, 2008). Retrieved from http://usatoday.com.
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57. *Be Army Strong* (US Army, 2012.) Recruiting brochure. Copy in possession of the authors.
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59. Natalie DiBlasio, "Hunger in America: 1 in 7 Rely on Food Banks," *USA Today* (Aug. 17, 2014). Retrieved from http://www.usatoday.com/.
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61. Woehrle, Coy, and Maney, *Contesting Patriotism*, 7.
62. Stuart Tannock, "Is 'Opting Out' Really an Answer? Schools, Militarism, and the Counter-recruitment Movement in Post-September 11 United States at War," *Social Justice* 32 (2005): 163–178.
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Chapter 2

1. See Stephanie Jennings, "Paradigm Shift: New Victory Over Military Recruiting in San Diego High Schools," *Draft NOtices*, 32 (Jan.–Mar. 2011): 1–2. Retrieved from http://comdsd.org.
2. Rick Jahnkow, "San Diego Students Give Pink Slip to High School Military Program," *Draft NOtices*, 33 (Apr.–Jun. 2012): 2.
3. For more on this campaign, and the repression activists had to face, see Brian W. Lagotte, "Gunning for School Space: Student Activists, the Military, and Education Policy," in *Be the Change: Teacher, Activist, Global Citizen*, ed. R. Verma (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 183–198.
4. Jahnkow, "San Diego Students," 3.
5. Taines, Cynthia. "Intervening in Alienation: The Outcomes for Urban Youth of Participating in School Activism," *American Educational Research Journal*, 49 (2012): 53–86; Kavitha Mediratta, Seema Shah, and Sara McAlister, *Community Organizing for Stronger Schools: Strategies and Successes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2009); Celina Su, *Streetwise for Book Smarts: Grassroots Organizing and Education Reform in the South Bronx* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).
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7. See John Bell, *Understanding Adultism: A Key to Developing Positive Youth-Adult Relationships* (Somerville, MA: YouthBuilds, 1995).
8. Jennifer L. O'Donoghue, and Karen R. Strobel, "Directivity and Freedom: Adult Support of Activism among Urban Youth," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51 (2007): 466.
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14. Ayse Gül Altinay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 2.
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16. Paulo Freire, and Augusto Salazar Bondy, *¿Qué es la concientización y cómo funciona?* (Lima, Peru: Editorial CASUACHUN, 1973), 33.
17. Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), esp. Chapter 4.

18. Matthew Friesen, "Framing Symbols and Space: Counter recruitment and Resistance to the US Military in Public Education," *Sociological Forum*, 29 (2014): 75–97.
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20. Fran Donelan and Larry Spears, "Counter Militarism Conference a Smashing Success," *Counter Pentagon*, 8 (May–Jun. 1981): 1.
21. "High School Organizing," Special Issue, *The Objector*, 2 (Jun. 6, 1981).
22. "Groups Working on Counter-Recruitment," *The Objector* 6 (Apr. 15, 1986): 5, 14. While few counter-recruitment organizations of the 1980s took youth activism seriously, one exception was Oakland's Peace and Justice Youth Outreach Project. Founded in 1982 by two recent high school graduates who attended an AFSC summer workshop on militarism, the AFSC provided seed money, hired an adult coordinator to oversee the project, and paid youth activists to make presentations—which included "improvisational theatre"—to an average of 50 high school classes each year. See Susan Stern, "Toeing the Military Line: The Other Side," *Oakland Tribune*, Oct. 20, 1985, B4; and *Peace and Justice Youth Outreach Project* (pamphlet), n.d., Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors Records, DG 073, Acc. 95A-036, Box 21, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA.
23. "Class of '90 Ready to Make Decisions," *Recruiter Journal*, 43 (Jan. 26, 1990): 5; Capt. Daniel Pesature, "Creative Strategies in High Schools," *Recruiter Journal*, 64 (Jul.–Aug. 2012): 9. See also: the Facebook page of the Chambersburg, Pennsylvania Army Recruiting Station, which has a picture of a Future Soldier manning a recruiting table at her high school.
24. Israel Jason Stockman, "In the Service of Conscience" (Master's thesis, University of Montana, 2010), 34.
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30. See T. V. Reed, *Art of Protest: Culture and Activism from the Civil Rights Movement to the Streets of Seattle* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
31. Guy, and Candie Carawan, "Sowing on the Mountain: Nurturing Cultural Roots and Creativity for Community Change," in *Fighting Back in Appalachia: Traditions of Resistance and Change*, ed. Stephen L. Fisher (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), p. 259.
32. Peter Ikeler, "Infusing Craft Identity into a Noncraft Industry: The Retail Action Project," in *New Labor in New York: Precarious Workers and the Future of the Labor Movement*, ed. Ruth Milkman and Ed Ott (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 130–131.
33. Richard Kim, "The Audacity of Occupy Wall Street," *The Nation.com* (Nov 2, 2011): 2. Retrieved from http://www.thenation.com/article/164348/audacity-occupy-wall-street.
34. Activists working with Clergy and Laity Concerned were at the forefront of counter-recruitment organizing during the 1980s. According to Marion Malcolm, an Oregon activist who was on the CALC national steering committee, in the early 1980s, CALC "moved from being an essentially all-white peace group to being a multi-racial peace and justice organization." One consequence of this transition was that CALC activists were increasingly "nudged toward" doing counter-recruitment work by people of color who—according to Malcolm—had a "clearer understanding" of the race and class dimensions of militarism. "Reflections on the 1984 CALC National Assembly," *CALC Report*, 10 (Sept. 1984): 9–10. See also "Following Through on CALC's Commitment to Multi-racial and Multi-class Work," *CALC Report*, 9 (Oct. 1983): 6.
35. The two campaigns were launched in 1979 and 1983. For more on the 1979 campaign, see "Public Meeting on the Cincinnati Military Academy" (meeting agenda), Jan. 28, 1979; and Gary Sullivan, "Coalition Plans to Try Blocking Military School," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (Jan. 29, 1979), copies of both in Fellowship of Reconciliation Papers, DG-13, Section II, Series J, Box 3, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA. For more on the 1983 campaign, see "Public Military High School Struck Down in Cincinnati," *The Objector*, 4 (Oct. 15, 1983): 4–5.
36. "Community Organizing and High School Outreach," *The Objector*, 9 (Jan. 1989): 8.
37. "CCCO 1986 Annual Report," copy in Knolls Action Project Records, APAP-105, Series 7, Box 2, M. E. Grenander Department of Special Collections and Archives, University at Albany, Albany, NY.
38. "Graduation Rate of Students in OUSD High Schools Improves," Apr. 12, 2013. Retrieved from http://blog.sfgate.com/inoakland/2013/04/12/.
39. "The committee understands from testimony provided by Department of Defense witnesses that 40 percent of the graduates of the JROTC program eventually join the military services." House Armed Service Committee Report on the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2000 (HR 1401), May 24, 1999. As of December 2012, the Navy JROTC was including the

following statement on its website: "Approximately 40 percent of all NJROTC Program Graduates Enter Military Service." Retrieved from https://www.njrotc.navy.mil/facts.asp. More examples from military sources have been compiled by Project for Youth and Non-military Opportunities in their report, "The Recruiting Function of JROTC." Retrieved from http://projectyano.org.

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41. Gordon, op. cit., 138.
42. Stockman, "In the Service of Conscience," 37.
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45. "Can You Make It a Double?" *BAY-Peace Update* (email newsletter), Dec. 12, 2013.
46. Joan Conrow, "Fortress Hawaii," *Honolulu Weekly* (May 23, 2012).
47. "Partnership Provides Education Support to Schools," Mar. 21, 2014. Press release retrieved from http://www.army.mil/article/122469/Partnership_provides_education_support_to_schools/.
48. Kristen Wong, "MCB Hawaii performs Marine Corps pageant at Kainalu Elementary School," *Defense Video and Imagery Distribution System.* Retrieved from http://www.dvidshub.net/news/80029/mcb-hawaii-performs-marine-corps-pageant-kainalu-elementary-school#.UqEE9tJDvTp#ixzz2me0RX6Z9.
49. Kristen Wong, "Military inspiring Hawaii's youth," *Hu'ola Hoot* (Dec. 8, 2011). Retrieved from http://puohala.k12.hi.us/Newsletters-Hoot/2011/Page%202.pdf.
50. "Truth 2 Youth School Entry Method," unpublished manuscript, n.d., in possession of authors.
51. "Aidan Delgado Visit Notes," unpublished report to foundations, Mar. 8–13, 2009, in possession of authors.
52. Alan D. McNarie, "Slammin' at the Gym," *Ke Ola Magazine* (Sept.–Oct. 2010): 49–50. Retrieved from http://http://keolamagazine.com/.
53. "Aidan Delgado Visit Notes," in possession of authors. More than 210 students returned completed surveys, 19 percent of the total distributed by Truth2Youth.
54. Winsted Area Peace Action, press release, Torrington (CT) *Register-Citizen* (Apr. 19, 2012).
55. See, for example, Suzie M. Abajian and Maricela Guzman, "Moving Beyond Slogans: Possibilities for a More Connected and Humanizing 'Counter-recruitment' Pedagogy in Highly Militarized Urban Schools," *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 29, no. 2 (2013): 191–205.

56. Gordon, *We Fight to Win: Inequality and the Politics of Youth Activism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 139.
57. Seth Kershner, "Henry Giroux on the Militarization of Public Pedagogy," *Counter Punch* (Sept. 27–29, 2013). For an extended discussion of the power and limits of youth activism, see Giroux's *Youth in Revolt: Reclaiming a Democratic Future* (Boulder: Paradigm, 2013).

Chapter 3

1. In 2003, a year before Kurt and Anne's son entered high school, an article appeared in the Army *Recruiter Journal* noting that to be the "dominant force" in their school, one of the things recruiters would have to do is eat lunch in the school cafeteria "as often as possible." "If you are visible to the students on a regular basis," the article advised, "they will come to you when they decide they need more information on the military services, not just the Army." David Berman, "Are You the Dominant Force in Your High School?" *Recruiter Journal*, 55 (Jun. 2003): 8.
2. Kurt's story illustrates how "social connections to people who are already mobilized are what draw new people into protest movements . . . " Roger Gould, "Why Do Networks Matter? Rationalist and Structuralist Interpretations," in *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*, ed. Mario Diani and Doug McAdam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 236.
3. "San Francisco Bans JROTC," *Education Week* (Nov. 29, 2006): 5.
4. The news from San Francisco earned generous coverage in periodicals read by the national military and defense community, including a cover story in the March 2007 issue of *US Naval Institute Proceedings*.
5. Lauren Smiley, "JROTC Under Fire in S.F. Schools," *San Francisco Weekly* (Apr. 8, 2009). Retrieved from http://www.sfweekly.com.
6. Jill Tucker, "School Board Votes to Dump JROTC Program," *San Francisco Chronicle* (Nov. 15, 2006). Retrieved from http://www.sfgate.com/education/article/SAN-FRANCISCO-School-board-votes-to-dump-JROTC-2484670.php.
7. Chris Harmer, message posted to the Yahoo! counter-recruitment listserv (Dec. 13, 2013).
8. Friesen, "Framing Symbols and Space: Counterrecruitment and Resistance to the US Military in Public Education," *Sociological Forum*, 29 (2014): 94.
9. Pat Elder, "Pentagon Data on Student Testing Program Rife with Errors and Contradictions," *WarisaCrime.org* (Jan. 4, 2014). Retrieved from http://warisacrime.org/content/pentagon-data-student-testing-program-rife-errors-and-contradictions.
10. Surburg, *Beyond Vietnam: The Politics of Protest in Massachusetts, 1974–1990* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 258.
11. Despite promises by top officials at the Pentagon to protect student privacy, by decade's end the practice of automatically rendering students' ASVAB data to

recruiters remained in place. See Irwin Stark, "The Pentagon Goes to School," *The Progressive* (Oct. 1979): 24. However, Mosher's advocacy led to the adoption of the eight "release options"; still in use today, the options make it easier for schools to protect student privacy.

12. Isaac Rehert, "Junior ROTC Revisited: Foes of High School Program Question Its Value, Decry Its Cost," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Oct. 13, 1979, A9.
13. Peggy Flanigan, "Volunteers for 20 Years," *Recruiter Journal*, 46 (Jul. 1993): 7.
14. Peggy Frantz, "Recruiter Malpractice Highlighted," *Counter Pentagon* (n.d. but probably 1978): 1.
15. Pamela Constable, "Arundel Military Recruiters Sell Enlistees Jobs, Not Patriotism," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Jul. 1, 1979, AL1.
16. M. William Salganik, "4 Oppose New City JROTC Unit," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Sept. 7, 1979, C2.
17. Rehert, op. cit.
18. Letter to the editor, *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Nov. 20, 1979, A18.
19. Barbara Miner, "ROTC Ranks Swelling at Campuses Nationwide," *United Press International*. Retrieved from http://newspaperarchive.com/.
20. After activists affiliated with Iowa City Draft Counseling took out an advertisement for an upcoming workshop in the *Daily Iowan*, military recruiters started calling their office; one recruiter told the local paper that the group was composed of "communists." See Kirk Brown, "Draft Counselor Seeks Apology from Marines," *Daily Iowan* (Feb. 25, 1985.) Also, San Diego activists were arrested while leafleting outside of a high school, while editors at the *Chicago Tribune* cast counter-recruiters as "political propagandists" because they wanted to have as much access to city schools as representatives of the military. See "Leafletter Arrested," *Draft NOtices* (Nov.–Dec. 1981): 1; editorial, "Propagandizing the Schools," Chicago *Tribune* (Feb. 2 1984): 18.
21. Harold Jordan, "Military Recruiters Invade High Schools," *Militarism Resource Project News*, 1 (1984–1985): 6; Rick Jahnkow, "A Military Invasion of Our High Schools," *Rough Draft* (Dec. 1983): 15.
22. Thomas Davis Jr., "First Amendment Issues in the Control and Use of Public School Facilities" (PhD diss., University of Alabama, 2010), 110.
23. For more on this agreement, see Jordan, "Military Recruiters Invade"; and Jim Garamone, "Military, School Groups Reach Pact on Recruiting," *Navy Times* (Sept. 3 1984).
24. Richard Crohn, "U.S. Armed Forces Invade High Schools," *Fellowship*, 51 (Mar. 1985): 9–10.
25. For more on the Chicago CALC campaign, see Seth Kershner, "To Balance the Picture: Peace Activists and the Struggle for Equal Access in Chicago Schools, 1980–1985," *American Educational History Journal*, 41 (2014): 393–410.
26. As discussed in Chapter 2, this gave counter-recruiters a powerful weapon in what Matthew Friesen has characterized as the "symbolic contest" between military recruiters and activists in schools.

27. B. T., "Atlanta Peace Alliance Lawsuit: The Battle Continues," *Circle A in Atlanta* (Sept. 1984); "War and Peace in Atlanta City Schools," *Southern Exposure* (May–Jun. 1984): 6.
28. Blake Rodman, "US Seeks 'Preferred' Status for Military Recruiters in Schools," *Ed Week* (Dec. 11, 1985): 1, 15.
29. Gillam Kerley, "School Board Curbs Recruitment," *The Objector*, 6 (Apr. 15, 1986): 3–4.
30. Madison VVAW, "VVAW: 9, Recruiters: 0," *The Veteran*, 16 (Feb.–Mar. 1986): 15. Retrieved from http://www.vvaw.org/veteran/.
31. For more on this view, see Frances Fox Piven, and Richard Cloward, *Poor People's Movements* (New York: Vintage, 1979).
32. While a third were located on the west coast (California, Oregon, Washington state), there was also significant representation in the Midwestern states of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, not to mention smaller coverage in Louisiana, Georgia, and Florida. See "Groups Working on Counter-Recruitment," *The Objector*, 6 (Apr. 15, 1986): 5, 14.
33. Merkle, "Regional Meetings Needed," *The Objector*, 6 (Apr. 15, 1986): 13.
34. Jahnkow, "Youth and Alternatives as Part of a Larger Anti-Militarism Movement," *The Objector*, 8 (Jul. 1988): 11.
35. "Youth and Militarism Strategy Meeting Summary Notes," Feb. 16, 1990. In possession of the authors. The authors would like to thank Rick Jahnkow for generously providing them access to NCDOS archival materials.
36. In 1983, black parents enthusiastically embraced a proposal to bring Army JROTC to Baltimore's Southern High School. When peace activists from outside the largely African American community of South Baltimore tried to campaign against the proposal, they were "shouted down" at community forums. See Patrick McGuire, "Ten Hut! Students are Doing the Left-Right-Left," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Mar. 31, 1985, SM10. More recently, the pro-JROTC forces in San Francisco argued that the program provided a lifeline to economically disadvantaged youth. The office of then-House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, a Democrat representative from San Francisco, went so far as to release a statement expressing concern "that the elimination of this program will end much-needed opportunities for low-income and disadvantaged young people." See Carl Hall, "San Francisco TORPEDOES JROTC," *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, 133, no. 3 (Mar. 2007): 56–60.
37. Kenneth Martin, "Guidance Counselors: A Nationwide Survey," *Recruiter Journal*, 38 (Dec. 1985–Jan. 1986): 9.
38. James Bryant Harrill, "Attitudes Held by Host Principals Toward Army JROTC in the Third Region" (EdD dissertation, University of Northern Colorado, 1984).
39. NCDOS meeting minutes, Oct. 24, 1992.
40. See Lawrence M. Hanser, and Abby Robyn, *Implementing High School JROTC Career Academies* (Washington, DC: Rand Corporation, 2000).

41. CCCO, "JROTC Units Stopped by Community Protest," Jul. 7, 1995, CCCO records, Swarthmore College Peace Collection (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania), Acc 02A-41, Box 10.
42. Dedrick, "The Military Doesn't Belong in Schools," *Seattle Times*, Feb. 9, 1995. Retrieved from http://community.seattletimes.nwsource.com/archive.
43. Judy Rohrer, "Bethlehem Activists Prevent JROTC Invasion," *The Objector*, 13 (Sept. 1993): 5.
44. See, for example, Stephen Zunes, "The 1991 Gulf War and Aftermath," in *Peace Movements Worldwide*, vol. 2, ed. Marc Pilisuk, and Michael N. Nagler (Denver, CO: Praeger, 2011), pp. 354–367.
45. NCDOS list of sponsoring and endorsing organizations, Mar. 16, 1994. Copy in possession of the authors.
46. Rohrer, op. cit., p. 5.
47. "California School Boards Hinder Military Recruiters," *The Objector*, 11 (Mar.–Apr. 1991): 11.
48. Millicent Lawton, "Citing Ban on Gays, Rochester Bars Military Recruiters," *Education Week* (Jan. 8, 1992.). Retrieved from http://edweek.org.
49. Diane Richardson, "Sowing Seeds," *Recruiter Journal*, 44 (Mar. 1991): 23.
50. For example, in a 1992 newsletter article, Rick Jahnkow wrote that challenging the military's presence in high schools was "not just a peace issue, since militaristic values reinforce racism sexism, *homophobia* and a variety of other attitudes that are the cause of injustice in the world." (Emphasis added.) See Jahnkow, "School Campaign Taking Shape," *NCDOS Newsletter*, 1 (1992): 2.
51. For the historical ASVAB data, we relied on Robert Musil, "Operation High School," *The Nation* (Apr. 5, 1975): 399–403.
52. "The move to expand JROTC emphasized placing units in areas where the program was most underrepresented . . . especially New England." Tyrone Walls, "Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps: A Comparison with Other Successful Youth Development Programs and an Analysis of Military Recruits Who Participate in JROTC" (Unpublished master's thesis. Naval Postgraduate School, 2003), 31. Retrieved from http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA417589. Data gathered by Walls reveal that between 1992 and 1996 New England had the highest JROTC regional growth trend in the United States, recording a 139 percent increase in the number of units.
53. See Richard Malishchak, *Military Training for 14-Year-Olds* (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1974): 9.
54. For more on the 2009 campaign, see "AFSC and ACLU Work With GA Lawmakers to Address Abusive Military Recruitment Practices," Jan. 8, 2010. Blog post retrieved from http://afscatlanta.blogspot.com/2010/01/afsc-and-aclu-work-with-ga-lawmakers-to.html. For the historical data concerning JROTC in Atlanta, we drew on "...And Witnessing," *Friends Journal*, 23 (Feb. 1, 1977): 66.
55. More recently, in 2014, an organizer in Pennsylvania has identified a school with an under-enrolled JROTC unit and is currently trying to gauge whether

enough interest exists among the community to try and replicate the success in San Diego.

56. Todd Jacobus, *Civilian Organizational Inhibitors to US Army Recruiting and the Road Ahead* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, 2010), 3. Retrieved from http://tinyurl.com/neq8f4u.
57. See Bobbi Nodell, "American Public Health Association Takes Stand Against Military Recruiting in Nation's High Schools," *University of Washington Department of Global Health* (Nov. 8, 2012). Retrieved from http://tinyurl.com/bsrr673.
58. For a review of the science on this topic, see Amy Hagopian and Kathy Barker, "Should We End Military Recruiting in High Schools as a Matter of Child Protection and Public Health?" *American Journal of Public Health*, 101 (2011): 19–23.
59. Randy Smith, *Recruiting the Future Force: A Proactive Approach* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, 2011.) Retrieved from http://tinyurl.com/npwzqvt.
60. US Army, *Enterprise Planning Guidance Army Marketing Plans FY10–16*, slide 32. Retrieved from www.usaac.army.mil/.
61. Both phrases in quotes are used throughout Jacobus, op. cit.
62. The phrase "fragile existence" appears in Smith, op. cit., p. 39.
63. For a first-hand description of the battles over JROTC in New York City, see David Surrey, "'They Get Just One Side': Coalition against Militarism in New York City Public Schools," *The Radical Teacher*, 26 (Jun. 1984): 16–18.
64. Glen Anderson, "Community Acts to Oust JROTC from Local High School," *The Objector*, 7 (Sept. 1986): 5, 12.
65. For another example, see Reber Boult, "JROTC: What It's Like and How It Got Me Fired," *Draft NOtices*, 35 (Apr.–Jun. 2014): 5–6.
66. Corinne Fleisher, "Is ASVAB Test a Smoke Screen?" *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Oct. 9, 1988, Q10.

Chapter 4

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2. Jahnkow, "In Need of a Proactive Peace Movement," *Draft NOtices* (Jan.–Feb. 2006). Retrieved from http://www.comdsd.org/article_archive/ProactivePeaceMoveJan06.htm.
3. Aimee Allison, and David Solnit, *Army of None: Strategies to Counter Military Recruitment, End War, and Build a Better World* (New York: Seven Stories, 2007), ix.
4. Michael Gillespie, "Counter-recruitment Meeting in Des Moines," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (Aug. 2005): 60.
5. David Meyer, "Protest and Political Opportunities," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30 (2004): 126.
6. The phrase "pillars of war" comes from Allison and Solnit, *Army of None*.

7. Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS* (New York: Random House, 1973), 380. This estimate includes protests against recruiters for the CIA, as well as those representing corporate war profiteers like Dow Chemical.
8. "Official Urges Drafting Recruitment Blockers," UPI report in the *Hartford Courant* (Nov. 7, 1967): 16.
9. "Spinsters Peace Maneuvers," *Jane Doe* (May 1985), n.p., AFSC of Western Massachusetts archives, University of Massachusetts.
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11. "Tell Us About It . . . ," *Recruiter Journal* (Apr. 1991): 21.
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13. The Gallup "Confidence in Institutions" survey recorded that in Feb. 1991, 85 percent of respondents had "quite a lot/ a great deal" of confidence in the military. http://gallup.com
14. "Tell Us About It . . . ," op. cit. Historian Robert Surbrug adds: "The successful war against Iraq, especially at the cost of fewer than 150 US lives, led to a tidal wave of patriotism. Yellow ribbons and U.S. flags adorned front yards across the United States, and Bush's popularity ratings exceeded 80 percent." Surbrug, *Beyond Vietnam: The Politics of Protest in Massachusetts, 1974–1990* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 257.
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20. See Michelle Malkin, "Special report: Tracing the Left's Escalating War on Military Recruiters," *MichelleMalkin.com* (Mar. 7, 2008). Retrieved from http://michellemalkin.com/2008/03/07/special-report-tracing-the-lefts-escalating-war-on-military-recruiters/.
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23. See, for example, Stuart Tannock, "Is 'Opting Out' Really an Answer? Schools, Militarism, and the Counter-Recruitment Movement in Post-September 11 United States at War," *Social Justice*, 32, no. 3 (2005): 163–178; and Emily Brissette, "Waging a War of Position on Neoliberal Terrain: Critical Reflections on the Counter-recruitment Movement," *Interface*, 5, no. 2 (2013): 377–398.
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50. See, for example, Laurie Goodstein, "Talk in Synagogue of Israel and Gaza Goes From Debate to Wrath to Rage," *New York Times*(Sept. 22, 2014). Retrieved from http://nytimes.com.
51. Smith, *Resisting Reagan: The US Central America Peace Movement*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 165. For another study that encourages the use of moral discourse in organizing, see Stephanie Luce, "Lessons from Living Wage Campaigns," *Work and Occupations*, 32 (2005): 423–440.
52. We are grateful to Marian Mollin for encouraging us to consider the role moral discourse plays in the counter-recruitment movement.
53. Brissette, op. cit., 394.
54. We are indebted to Rick Jahnkow for helping us frame this argument.

Chapter 5

1. Swearing-in ceremonies of new recruits, often held in highly visible public locations around the city, attract media attention to military recruiting. For a

description of one such event, see Kirk Semple, "One Oath Leads to Another," *New York Times* (Apr. 1, 2009). Retrieved from http://nytimes.com.

2. Smith, op. cit., 169.
3. Matthew Friesen, "Framing Symbols and Space: Counter-recruitment and Resistance to the US Military in Public Education," *Sociological Forum*, 29 (2014): 75–97.
4. Ibid., 176.
5. Rossi, "Youth Political Participation: Is this the End of Generational Cleavage?," *International Sociology*, 24, no. 4 (2009): 476.
6. Friesen, op. cit.
7. For an interesting comparison of contemporary counter-recruitment to the Vietnam-era draft resistance movement, see Emily Brissette, "State Imaginaries and the Movements against the Vietnam and Iraq Wars" (PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 2014).
8. Pinard, *Motivational Dimensions in Social Movements and Contentious Collective Action* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011).
9. This coalition is affiliated with the National Coalition to Protect Student Privacy, directed by Pat Elder.
10. Hagopian is a professor at the University of Washington School of Public Health, while Barker (an independent scholar) has a doctorate in microbiology.
11. Abajian and Guzman, "Moving Beyond Slogans: Possibilities for a More Connected and Humanizing 'Counter-recruitment' Pedagogy in Highly Militarized Urban Schools," *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 29, no. 2 (2013): 193.
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13. Daniel William Barthell, "The Committee on Militarism in Education, 1925–1940" (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1977), viii.
14. Dewey, "Introduction," in *Militarizing Our Youth*, ed. Roswell Barnes (New York: Committee on Militarism in Education, 1927), 3. Cited in James Hawkes, "Antimilitarism at State Universities: The Campaign against Compulsory ROTC, 1920–1940," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* (Autumn 1965): 45.
15. Similar to the Middle School Marine Cadets (discussed in Chapter 1) units of the Young Marines operate as nonprofit entities and rely on charitable donations. According to the organization's website, "The Young Marines is a youth education and service program for boys and girls, ages 8 through completion of high school. The Young Marines promotes the mental, moral, and physical development of its members" and "focuses on character building, leadership, and "a healthy, drug-free lifestyle." http://www.youngmarines.com/aboutus.
16. Seth Kershner, "Henry Giroux on the Militarization of Public Pedagogy," *CounterPunch* (Sept. 27–29, 2013). Retrieved from http://www.counterpunch.org/2013/09/27/teaching-and-learning-with-henry-giroux/. For an extended discussion of "public pedagogy," see Henry Giroux, and Grace Pollock, *The Mouse*

that Roared: Disney and the End of Innocence (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010).

17. Ethnographic research by Kenne Ann Dibner suggests that the JROTC can exercise a subtler influence on school culture by, for example, making non-JROTC students feel more comfortable around recruiters. Through "this exposure to the trappings of military culture (the uniform, the rituals, etc.) through the presence of JROTC in school," Dibner says, students become more familiar with "a military presence" and "less anxious or worried about interacting with recruiters." Dibner, "Something Else for the Rest of 'Em? Military Recruiting, School Mission and Postsecondary Transitions in Public High Schools" (PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 2013), 137–138.
18. Cockburn, *Antimilitarism: Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 246.
19. See Michael Stewart Foley, *Front Porch Politics: The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013.)
20. See, for example, Barthell, op. cit.
21. Roger Repohl, "Norfolk Catholic High Rejects Navy JROTC," *CCCO News Notes*, 25, no. 4 (1973): 6.
22. Bill Ofenloch, "The Growth of Junior ROTC: Militarism in the High School," *Catholic Peace Fellowship Bulletin*, Peace Education Supplement (Oct. 1973): 4.
23. The phrase is from Lutz, "Warmaking as the American Way of Life," in *The Insecure American: How We Got Here and What We Should Do About It*, ed. H. Gusterson and C. Besteman (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 45–61.
24. *Yo Soy el Army: America's New Military Caste*, co-produced by Big Noise and Producciones Cimarron, examines the militarization of Latina/o communities in the United States. Twenty-seven minutes long, the film offers powerful testimony on this issue and can be viewed through the video sharing website *Vimeo*. It is also available for download at the website of the American Friends Service Committee: http://afsc.org/video/.
25. Research suggests the importance of social connections or social networks in both engendering and maintaining activism. See, for example, Roger Gould, "Why Do Networks Matter? Rationalist and Structuralist Interpretations," in *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*, ed. Mario Diani and Doug McAdam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 236.

Conclusion

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2. New York Civil Liberties Union, *Soldiers of Misfortune: Abusive U.S. Military Recruitment and Failure to Protect Child Soldiers* (New York: NYCLU, 2008), 11.
3. Pyles, *Progressive Community Organizing* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 45. Pyles is paraphrasing Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 5.

4. Susana Nuin and Raúl Zibechi, *Dibujando fuera de los márgenes: Movimientos sociales en América Latina. Entrevista a Raúl Zibechi* (Buenos Aires: La Crujía Ediciones, 2008), 26.
5. Burns, *Social Movements of the 1960s: Searching for Democracy* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1990), 184–185.
6. For an example of conservatives' concern over school militarism, see the September 2013 discussion thread on mandatory ASVAB testing at the survivalist website, *America Preppers Network*. http://www.americanpreppersnetwork.net/viewtopic.php?f=633&t=42892
7. At the time of writing, the American Friends Service Committee was attempting to recruit a college student from a minority background to fill an intern position in Connecticut. The intern's duties would include some counter-recruitment work, including assisting on a legislative campaign around ASVAB testing in the state.
8. See Rossi, "Youth Political Participation: Is this the End of Generational Cleavage?," *International Sociology* 24, no. 4 (2009): 467–497.
9. Todd Jacobus, *Civilian Organizational Inhibitors to U.S. Army Recruiting and the Road Ahead* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, 2010), 8–9. Retrieved from http://tinyurl.com/neq8f4u.
10. One Army recruiter survey suggests that pre-prospecting activities might include volunteering to lead Boy Scouts, Cub Scouts, or by coaching youth football. See Michael J. Wilson, Kimya S. Lee, Martha G. Franklin, Cynthia V. Helba, Shelley Perry, Andrea B. Zucker, Sean M. Marsh, Barbara J. George, *2000 Military Recruiter Survey Overview Report* (Arlington, VA: Joint Advertising, Market Research and Studies, 2002), B-8. Retrieved from www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA408153.
11. The Pentagon's Joint Advertising, Market Research and Studies program warned in its November 2011 "State of the Recruiting Market" report that "if joining the military is not considered by age 17, it likely will not be in later years." Thus, according to some military sociologists whose research is funded by the Pentagon, it is important to market the military to youth before they enter high school. See David R. Segal, Jerald G. Bachman, Peter Freedman-Doan, and Patrick M. O'Malley, "Propensity to Serve in the US Military: Temporal Trends and Subgroup Differences," *Armed Forces & Society*, 25, no. 3 (1999): 407–427.
12. Jared Duhon, "Recruiting the Future," *Recruiter Online* (Air Force Recruiting Service) (Jun. 4, 2013). Retrieved from http://www.rs.af.mil/recruiteronline.
13. In the history of the counter-recruitment movement, the best-known regional coalition has to be the CCCO-sponsored Task Force on Recruitment and Militarism (discussed in Chapter 4.) Lesser-known, but no less significant efforts include the Bay Area Task Force Against Recruitment and Militarism, "a coalition of peace, anti-draft, and veteran groups and draft and military counseling centers" active around San Francisco and Berkeley in the early 1980s. Another durable coalition was Upstate Resistance, a regional network of anti-militarist, antidraft, and counter-recruitment organizations from upstate New York that was active throughout most of the 1980s. Of note, Upstate Resistance pooled resources on a major policy campaign: a years-long effort to win access for

counter-recruiters in the public schools of Syracuse, New York. See Pat Sweeney, "Counter-Recruitment at AFEES [Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Station]," *Counter Pentagon*, 8 (Jan.–Feb. 1982): 1–2; "Upstate Resistance Networking Meeting Minutes (Oct. 26, 1985)," copy in Knolls Action Project Records, APAP-105, Series 7, Box 1, Folder 37, M. E. Grenander Department of Special Collections and Archives, University at Albany, Albany, NY.

14. Quoted in Burns, op. cit., 183–184.
15. See http://savecivilianeducation.org.

Appendix A

1. Due to space limitations, this reading selection, and its accompanying homework questions, will not be reprinted here. However, they can be found on pp. 94–97 of *Camouflaged.*

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