

US MILITARY PLACES AND SPACES AS GEOGRAPHIES OF CARE
AND THE BATTLE AGAINST MILITARY SEXUAL VIOLENCE

by

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work with respect, love, and gratitude to:

My grandmother, Mary Ellen Barrett Wead,

My mother, Kathleen Marie Wead Pecha,

My daughter, Alexandra Lynn Larimore Rubenak,

and

My granddaughter, Charley Elizabeth Rubenak.

They represent generations of women gifting themselves and caring fearlessly.

May the tradition continue.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Description
ACG	Access Control Guard
AFB	Air Force Base
AIT	Advanced Initial Training
AVF	All-Volunteer Force
BAF	Bagram Airfield, Afghanistan
CGT	Classical Grounded Theory
CONUS	Continental United States
D & C	Dilation and Curettage Abortion
DFAC	Dining Facility
DoD	Department of Defense
DMDC	Defense Manpower Data Center
DUI	Driving under the Influence
EO	Equal Opportunity
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GI	Government Issued
GIS	Geographic Information System
ICU	Intensive Care Unit
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
IG	Inspector General

IRB	Institutional Review Board
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
JROTC	Junior Reserve Officer's Training Corps
LT	Lieutenant
MCAS	Marine Corps Air Station
MCI	Marine Corps Institute
MOS	Military Occupational Specialty
MSV	Military Sexual Violence
NAS	Naval Air Station
NCO	Noncommissioned Officer
NIMBY	Not in My Backyard
OIC	Officer in Charge
PCS	Permanent Change of Station
PFC	Private First Class, E3 in the US Army and E2 in the US Marine Corps
POW	Prisoner of War
PT	Physical Training
PTSD	Post-traumatic Stress Disorder
RAINN	Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network
SARC	Sexual Assault Response Coordinators

SAPR	Sexual Assault Prevention and Response
SAPRO	Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Office
SEALS	Sea, Air, and Land Commandos
SHARP	Sexual Harassment/Assault Response and Prevention
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
SWAN	Service Women's Action Network
TCN	Third Country National
TDY	Temporary Duty Assignment
TMC	Troop Medical Center
USA	United States Army
USAF	United States Air Force
USMC	United States Marine Corps
UCMJ	Uniform Code of Military Justice
USN	United States Navy
UTI	Urinary Tract Infection
VA	[Department of] Veterans Affairs
WAC	Women's Army Corps
WTI	Weapons and Tactics Instructor Course

ABSTRACT

This study asserts that, historically, the geographies of the US military have been landscapes of care, moral geographies of loyalty, trust, and sacrifice. They are now disrupted by neoliberal individualism largely through the creation of sexual arenas. The mandate for and expectation of care exist structurally, codified in institutional laws, credos, oaths, and mores. Since the advent of the All-Volunteer Force, however, military women, as “others,” are often marginalized and excluded from masculinized kinship and care networks leaving them vulnerable to military sexual violence (MSV).

Qualitative data were collected as transcribed interviews (n=20) and these analyzed using classical grounded theory (CGT). These data suggest that sexual scripts currently enacted in military landscapes like hooking up, violating UCMJ Article 134, Article 62 (Adultery), and engaging in ‘power sex’ degrade military order and discipline and compromise the safety of military women. Coupled with ambivalent leadership, copious alcohol consumption, and inherent transiency results in geographies that do not inhibit, but perhaps even facilitate, violence against military women. To mitigate this, ensuring leadership behaviors that foster altruism and care for fellow service members regardless of gender and rank, elimination of alcohol abuse, and the elimination of operational cross-leveling are recommended.

1. INTRODUCTION

Labeled in *The Guardian* by journalist Lucy Broadbent (2011) as “America’s dirty little secret,” sexual assault in the US military allegedly is “institutional misogyny.” According to a 2020 report (www.sapr.mil) from the Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Office (SAPRO), a division of the Department of Defense (DoD), an estimated 20,500 military service members experienced sexual crimes in FY 2019, of which 6.2% of women reported assaults to DoD. In a 2019 report, it is stated that 389 (13%) of the sexual crimes reported and in which the military could act reached a court room, and only 124 (4%) convictions of a sex crime were made (Department of Defense 2019). Sexual assaults are notoriously under-reported as reflected in these data. Broadbent quotes executive director Anu Bhagwati of the Service Women's Action Network (SWAN), an organization spearheading a campaign to reform this aspect of military life: “It's like rape in the family (Broadbent 2011).”

Broadbent (2011) and Bhagwati succinctly identify the character of the myriad nonphysical and physical manifestations of sexual violence in the contemporary United States military. First, military sexual violence (MSV) belongs to the United States, its society, and its citizens. Second, it is largely a secret maintained through both aggressive and passive means by the Department of Defense (DoD). Third, it is a family issue (Segal 1986; Grassiani 2003). The military family sometimes treats its members benevolently, at other times incestuously, and almost always acts with impunity.

Incidents of sexual assault and rape on and around military installations – like those on college campuses (Klodawsky and Lundy 1994; Day 1994; Menning 2009; Dowler, Cuomo, and Laliberte 2014) – are more newsworthy than similar crimes in surrounding communities. Because the military is a highly structured organization charged with protecting the nation and its citizens, sexual violence against colleagues in this occupational space egregiously violates the public’s sensibilities and trust (Christian, Dowler, and Cuomo 2016). Disgraceful scandals like those occurring at the 1991 Tailhook convention (Winerip 2013), Aberdeen Proving Grounds in 1996 (Titunik 2000), Abu Ghraib (atrocities) in 2003 (Meštrović 2006), and Ft. Hood (prostitution ring) in 2013, are tarnishing examples of reckless and criminal sexual behavior enacted by military personnel. Few are likely to remember the names of perpetrators, but these incidents are remembered by their places.

External to the military, the news media shape public opinion and affect policy making and the legal system (O’Hara 2012). The military has been associated with rape for a long time (Morris 1996; Crawford 2017). Mass-media reports that imply that the clustering of incidents of sexual misconduct, including forcible rape, occur more often on and near military installations have profound effects on the public’s perception of and attitude toward the military. Military spaces become associated with rape culture, as communities that cultivate immoral, improper, and illegal behaviors and where rape is an accepted norm (Littlewood 1997; Rosen 2007). In contrast, however, the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN) (2014) asserts that rape is an individual, not a collective or cultural, act or trait that is enacted approximately 70% of the time by perpetrators known to the victim. If this is true, rape cases should *not* skew toward

military installations. These events should be distributed randomly throughout communities across national and international landscapes. The Department of Defense *Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military FY 2018* (www.sapr.mil) states that the majority of interorganizational sexual assault offenses involved one offender, typically a friend or acquaintance of the victim. Therefore, sexual violence in military places and spaces and an associated fear within those spaces are examined here as location-specific phenomena.

Geographical scholarship can expose the ways in which these military geographies are occupied by and expressed through the interactions between their residents. Militarism and military activities have and will continue to shape Earth and its people (Woodward 2005). Ultimately, military geographies as microcosms of American society matter greatly because they reflect the people and their relationships to it. If human existence is a process of emergence (Chang 2004), hostile geographies may exist in the US military. I argue that military geographies historically have been landscapes of care that have been disrupted by neoliberal individualism through the creation of sexual arenas via the All-Volunteer Force (AVF). As such, they are sites of the contemporary battle against sexual violence. MSV defies all moral tenets and expectations espoused by the US military; care now seems absent.

But at what point are geographies of care compromised by neoliberal individualism and how is this tension resolved? Landscapes of care are multilayered and shaped by ethics and morals, responsibility, and social, physical, material, and symbolic aspects of caring (Milligan and Wiles 2010). The purpose of this research is to investigate landscapes of care (or the absence of care) relative to the US military. It

examines female military veterans' beliefs, behaviors, and experiences in their military spaces. The data, analyses, and conclusions provide a nuanced interpretation of US military places and spaces as landscapes of care and women's experiences of MSV while engaged in their military service. This discussion and interpretation identify beliefs and behaviors that encourage or inhibit MSV in place and space. Socio-geographic narratives are their very lives and enable greater awareness and comprehension of MSV. With this knowledge, mitigation is possible.

What follows are chapters that discuss the scholarly foundations of the conceptualization of this research, the philosophical foundations of the methodology and analysis of the data gathered, the qualitative evidence provided by the interviewed subjects, and the interpretation of these data. The final chapter reviews the study and enumerates the takeaway messages and a prognosis of MSV and the geographies of care in the military.

2. BACKGROUND

This chapter provides background on humanistic geography, its contribution to our understanding of Humankind's relationship to the world and each other as fellow travelers. It suggests our ethical responsibilities to one another and introduces geographies of care, which provide context for the argument that military geographies are historical landscapes of care. The chapter then identifies the Citizen-Warrior and remarks on women's historical exclusion from full citizenship in these spaces, which compromises women's protection from MSV. Pragmatism is introduced as an effective tool for framing and analyzing MSV in contemporary military geographies.

Humanistic Geography

Prominent cultural and humanistic geographers have promoted the discipline of geography as an interpretative perspective, a form of knowledge, rather than as a simple empirical or descriptive science. Humanistic geographers are primarily concerned with the examination and explanation of human understanding of activities and behaviors, often relative to the environments within which people live. Some regions are viewed as forbidding, repellant, deficient, and deadly, and other regions are seen as fecund, nourishing, and attractive (Giddings 1920). Coming to understand the array of humans' responses to diverse circumstances can provide powerful insight that can guide mechanisms to manage perceptions and behaviors to promote the common good. Behavioral and perception studies in geography have a common theoretical framework in the analysis of cognitive behavior.

Since the early 1980s, geographers have focused not only on the ethics of the epistemologies of the discipline but on the ethics of the human subjects being studied, particularly as they relate to environments, places, and spaces. One focus, specifically, describes some spaces and environments as socially dysfunctional, likely to breed degenerate and disorderly populations and in need of reform through ‘social policies’ (Ogborn and Philo 1994). Others, like philosopher Lisa Eckenwiler are more positive. She cites Ed Casey and Lorraine Code as stating that humans are place-lings, socially and geographically embedded, interdependent, and radically relational (Eckenwiler 2018, 562-3). Thus we are ecological actors and are morally obligated to ‘ethical place-making,’ including the evaluation, and perhaps alteration, of the built environment, and the prevention of violence, disorientation, anxiety, and isolation. We are situated socially, materially, and geographically, and are vulnerable, in need of care and who must ‘fit’ with the places in which we dwell (Eckenwiler 2018; Popke 2006).

Geographies of Care

Tuan’s (1979) “Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective” provides an excellent conceptual basis for understanding humans’ understandings of, connections to, (dis)comforts in, and behaviors in places and spaces. Tuan’s believed that people demonstrate their senses of place when they apply their *moral* and aesthetic discernment to sites and locations. Thus, while symbols can be seen and interpreted from afar, Tuan’s idea of ‘fields of care’ reflect the profound affection for places by the individuals who inhabit them or engage with them. They are often sites of pragmatic interaction (Tronto 2017, 32), reflective of one’s deep sense of place. Fields of care

reflect infinite sets of relations of people and places, and they are not subject to reductive study, rather they can only be interpreted. Geographies of care involve a complex network of actors and actions. It is necessarily relational and involves ongoing responsibilities and commitments to external objects of care (Tronto 1989; Milligan and Wiles 2010; Tronto 2017).

In 2009, Victoria Lawson (2009) asked “Instead of Radical Geography, How About Caring Geography?” She asserted that feminist ‘care ethics’ embodies the absolute centrality of care to our lives, that marginalizing the concept furthers the myth that individuals’ successes are achieved autonomously. Tronto (2017, 28) identifies this as *homines curans* (i.e., caring people) from whom ethics emerge from dependency, frailty, grief, and love. These shape the ways we reason and act in the world. Specifically, that world includes our bodies and ourselves which we seek to interweave in complex, life-sustaining webs (Fisher and Tronto 1990, 40).

In defining ‘care,’ Milligan and Wiles (2010, 737) state that “Care is the provision of practical or emotional support,” and that there is a tendency to view care as a unidirectional activity. But they also cite Fine and Glendinning (2005) who pointed out that care involves reciprocity in which providers and recipients *coproduce* care. Thus, care is interactive and interdependent. Olson (2016) asserted that emotions and affective responses are common fixtures in our efforts to explain our worlds and in our assessments of the world as either unjust or nourishing. Tronto (2017) acknowledged the highly abstract and ideological concept of care, asserting that all people are both recipients and givers of care. Milligan and Wiles (2010) argued that caring is frequently emotional and that understanding and experiencing care is shaped by individual and

collective social and political-economic contexts in both public and private spheres. Yu (2018) identified the levels of attentiveness, responsibility, competence, and responsiveness required of caregivers and the corporeal and ‘dirty’ nature of care-giving. They acknowledged the potential for care-giver exploitation as well.

To date, geographers have identified geographies of care like those in which elderly and infirmed (Milligan 2000; Andrews 2004; Skinner and Joseph 2011), children (Olson 2016; Gallagher 2018), and marginalized people (Clayton, Donovan, and Merchant 2015) are cared. They have also identified the complexity of care-giving in humanitarian activities (Lopez, Bhungalia, and Newhouse 2015), captured the challenges of embodying care in the ‘lab’ and in the ‘field’ (Valentine 2005; Caretta and Faria 2020), in mentoring (McDowell 2004; Adams-Hutcheson and Johnston 2019; Dorling 2019) and in teaching (Valentine 2005). They have also recognized spaces of friendship (Bowlby 2011). ‘Geographies of responsibility’ and caring have been discussed as actions taken from a ‘distance’ via philanthropy (Barnett and Land 2007). Profoundly evident in the geographical literature is the challenge that neoliberalism poses to the passing of care on to others disassociated from financial compensation received in performance of an economic ‘service’ of care. As Lawson (2007, 2) concludes, “We [Geography] are a caring discipline.” I agree, and endeavor to unlock the concept of care (or lack thereof) as it applies to MSV in order to imagine methods of pragmatic mitigation.

Military Places and Spaces as Geographies of Care

Communal environments embody corresponding *a priori* structures: rules,

codes of conduct, behavior expectations, etc. Military installations represent micro-landscapes of care (Milligan and Wiles 2010, 739) in that they are spaces that are intended to be embraced through a heartfelt love and dedication through a collective “sense of place.” Mandated indoctrination of their residents into a warfighting organization, a culture of cohesion and kinship presupposes this care. Military communities exist as islands, zones of tradition, governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and traditions of a ritual, symbolic, and historical nature maintained by a “familial” attitude. These communities seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior and repetition. These zones automatically imply continuity of the family of the past (Jones 2007, 58) and extension of it into the future.

A military capable of protecting society must be skilled at killing and destroying things, activities that necessarily set it apart (Shields 2006) ideologically and in practice from broader society. Warfighting demands social networking, inclusion, and group cohesion (Moskos 2000; Cohen 2013; Baggaley, Shon, and Marques 2019; Hart and Lancaster 2019). Like the landscapes it creates, the military is more than the sum of its parts. It paradoxically promulgates violence while fostering the practice of mutual support and care, with norms, values, and relationships inherent to care networks (Milligan and Wiles 2010).

The Citizen-Warrior and Military Women’s Exclusion

Symbiotically, militaries in democratic countries are staffed by citizen-warriors who reflect and represent the societies they serve (Burk 2002, 29). The hierarchy of ranks determines a functional task by itself, the maintenance of good order among

subordinates in her command being a responsibility of every superior (Harvard Law Review 2004, 1993). Diplomatic status in the contemporary era, therefore, lends itself to the prominence of the ‘strategic corporal’; the implication of which is that individuals of relatively low rank (i.e., E-4/USMC Corporal) are empowered with leadership and tactical responsibility for themselves and their subordinates. It is further acknowledged that, through this inherent responsibility, the acts of every service member have a direct impact on the hearts and minds of the local scene (Ficarrotta 1997, 71; Nix 2012, 94). This symbiosis has obvious implications for the perception of the military presence within the broader community, especially when servicepersons’ behavior comprises “bad conduct,” such as violence against women to include sexual harassment, sexual assault, and rape. Civilian communities simply do not want military-related criminal behavior in their places and spaces. Similarly, the DoD does not want bad press. American society, of course, does not want victimization of its citizens.

The idea of “politics of location” makes apparent the fact that gender always takes form within specific material and symbolic spaces (Banerjee 2012, 72). Scholars have argued that, historically, military women have not been considered equals to military men in communal cohesion and kinship and, therefore, have been and will likely continue to experience more violence and greater fear of violence than men due to their presumed exclusion from historically masculine and masculinized professional and social networks (Meyer 1996; Morris 1996; Kier 1999; Cohn and Jacobson 2013; Sjoberg 2014; Duncanson and Woodward 2015; King 2015; Eichler 2017; Harris, McDonald, and Sparks 2018). The absence of care, in turn, allows abuse of [relative]

power and the continuance, if not escalation, of sexual violence against women and other ‘others’ in US military environments (Meštrović and Lorenzo 2008; Meštrović and Romero 2011). This exemplifies the ultimate challenge to all rational, legal, and instructional/training attempts by the US military at the successful, full integration of women almost 50 years now in the making.

To take the inductive leap from military women’s descriptions of their realities of sexual safety in my findings to theoretical description and explanation, we must understand the overarching military morality, codes of ethics, laws, and conduct that govern military places and spaces that historically created geographies of care now disrupted by neoliberalism. The hidden ‘infinity of relations,’ especially those of a sexual and violent nature, remains the very reason for this project.

Theoretical Approach

Sociologist George Herbert Mead stated in 1938 that “when things get together, there then arises something that was not there before.” Thus, when a living form interacts with its environment, some new “object” emerges. The heart of Mead’s theory is conditional interactionism, the creation of a generalized other (Smith 2006). Thus, the evolution of the human species and humanity is nothing but a long and complex process of emergence (Solot 1986; Chang 2004; Lawson 2009). Mead’s conception constitutes a sharp contrast with the prevailing political realism in the world today that emphasizes the primacy of narrow interests, believes in power-based domination, and advocates the use of force or power balance [to include the judicial system] to achieve an unstable peace (Chang 2004; Valentine and Harris 2016).

Geographers know the potential of pragmatism as a philosophical basis for developing knowledge (Elwood 2015). “Modern man [and woman] is pragmatic” (Tuan 1976, 271). Classical pragmatists believe that purposeful human inquiry is both provisional and grounded in a problematic situation. Pragmatists contrast inquiry with habits. Habits are solutions-in-practice to past problematic situations. Habits may no longer work, or a new problem may arise. These new conditions contain within them the seeds of doubt and change. Existing belief systems and ways of doing things need to be altered. The recognition that things are not working accounts for the qualitative nature of human experience. Ultimately, the process of purposeful inquiry links problematic situation to an end-in-view – a flexible, practical goal with meaning in the real world that cannot be separated from a problematic situation or human experience (Shields 2008). We continue to create our own narratives and affect those of others.

I propose, therefore, that a pragmatic theoretical perspective likely serves best to frame and analyze the complexity of myriad intersecting systems – individual, organizational, societal, and, potentially, universal – described herein. Feminism and pragmatism are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, in Mead’s vein, feminist theorist Patricia Shields (2008) asserts that the practical, experiential orientation of classical pragmatism, the philosophy of common sense, incorporates the doing and making of its practitioners, unlike other philosophical approaches (Shields 1998). Specifically, she describes its theoretical and practical implementation by philosopher and psychiatrist David H. Brendel as the “four P’s” framework – practical, pluralistic, participatory, and provisional – the intellectual terrain in which all humans operate. Instead of entities acted *upon*, classical pragmatism focuses on actors’ execution of

personal agency – reflection, choice, and action. Socially, dialectical reasoning is when one approach necessarily gives way to an opposing approach and where two (or more) of the approaches end up coevolving in a dynamic equilibrium. A pragmatic intelligence is a creative intelligence, not a routine mechanic (Brendel 2006) and certainly not a reiterative penance for past societal transgressions.

Systems, such as pragmatic ones, characterized by both positive and negative feedback are in a state of homeorhesis; positive feedback changes the system, while negative feedback feeds the existing integration necessary to maintain it (Ball 1978; Hart and Lancaster 2019). Theories of social systems, therefore, should be capable of revision as outcomes surpass or undercut expectations. Feminist pragmatists reject an *a priori* cookie-cutter model of knowledge and theory. Ultimately, they emphasize that everyone is significantly and valuably other, but not simply constructed as such as the subject of domination. Each inhabits spaces that foster the contradictory experience of remoteness and proximity (Seigfried 1996; Allen 2003; Bowlby 2011). Coupled with pragmatism, employing the concept of performativity (Butler 1990; Evans 2006) and acknowledging its limitations (Nelson 1999; Evans 2006) to understand the relationship between bodies and gendered identities in time and space, in no way implies determinism. Rather, the opposite is true. Individuals are constantly involved in the performance of their identities and the reading of the performances of others. Identity, therefore, is not “being,” but “doing” (Williams 1989; Evans 2006).

Power and the exercise of dominance exerted by privileged groups skew human interactions favoring some individuals and groups and marginalizing and oppressing others. Pragmatists argue that consensus does not equate to coercion, nor does

consensus avoid conflict or deny differences. Differences do not have to be eradicated to achieve a shared solidarity of interests, beliefs, and political action (Seigfried, 1996). Therefore, a pragmatic epistemology and grounded theory approach provide a solid framework for the exploration of military women's vulnerability to MSV and compromised sense of sexual safety in what have historically been almost exclusively male geographies of care.

The following chapter addresses the literature related to geographically situated violence and fear, women's specific fears related to violence, and the challenges military women in particular encounter as they negotiate environments in which work, play, and home intersect while employed in a male-dominated organization. The literature review presents a military organization structured to ensure care and prevent MSV. It further describes the effect of neoliberalism on the AVF and identifies contemporary military landscapes as 'sexual arenas.'

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Institutions and individuals navigating the experience of sexual relations, harassment, and assault within the US military, intimate, public, and secretive experiences (Tefft 1980; Milligan and Wiles 2010; Marchetti 2014), are investigated in this study. To understand the impact of neoliberalism on military credos, directives, and its facilitation of sexual violence against women, this review of the literature follows the historical roots of care within military geographies to their source. This literature review chapter strives to understand why and how American citizens place and/or find themselves located within military places and spaces. All branches of the US military espouse core values, credos, and desired traits and principles to inspire, and nurture, and sustain geographies of care. Many military women, however, experience an absence of care and ultimately MSV.

Geographically Placed Violence and Fear

Women tend to be more fearful of crime. This is sometimes related to women's feeling of physical vulnerability. Ferraro labeled this the "shadow of sexual assault" (Wesely and Gaarder 2004, 646). Public blame of female victims of crime who were in public spaces encourages women to transfer their threat of appraisal from men in general to certain public spaces. In tandem, it encourages women to adopt assumptions about their security in places falsely deemed safe for women, such as the home (Valentine 1989; Ferraro 1996; Stanko 1997; Pain 1997; Valentine, Piekut, and Harris 2014), universities (Klodawsky and Lundy 1994; Day 1994; Menning 2009; Wattis,

Green and Radford 2011; Dowler, Cuomo and Laliberte 2014), and the workplace (Valentine and Harris 2016). Troublesome are those spaces with innate power differentials (McLaughlin, Uggan, and Blackstone 2012; Berebitsky 2012), such as the military. In the context of women's fear, rape operates as a master offense; controlling for fear of rape eliminates gender differences in overall fear of crime (Ferraro 1996, 670; Buss 2005).

At a personal scale, Dichter and True (2015) found that military women experience multiple forms of oppression within and outside military service that often contributed to individual decisions to enter and leave the military including poverty, abuse, violence, addiction, racism, classism, heterosexism, and other social conditions that impact women's lives. Women are not only exposed to different types of trauma, but their greater exposure to these traumas happens in the context of less developed interpersonal and economic supports (Eichler 2017). Thus, it is critical to recognize the intersectionality of such experiences within each woman's life course, and how gender functions not independently, but in connection with other identities and experiences (Mahler, Chaudhuri, and Patil, 2015). Gender has been understood as performative by thinkers like Butler (1990); it is not innate, but socially constructed. In this context, the relationships between geographical space/place, institutional/structural mandates, and the social agency and actions of individuals will be investigated to understand better women's experiences of sexual vulnerability within places and spaces of the US military. There are military landscapes beyond the "terrain and tactics" that much military geography focuses on. These other landscapes include domestic, leisure, and

occupational spaces where military personnel live, play, and work on or near military installations.

Geography's Military Components

Military theory and practice historically reflected an “us” versus “them” world. These are now acknowledging that the military operates within a global village where soldiers serve in many roles in a *mélange* of neighborhoods (Thompson and Grubbs 1998; Shields and Soeters 2013). This narrative is fundamental to understanding the dynamics of nationalism, citizenship, and militarism in the 21st Century (Shields 2011; Hammack and Pilecki 2012; Woodward and Jenkins 2012; Woodward 2014; Christian, Dowler, and Cuomo 2016; Forsyth 2019) to (re)frame Janowitz's and Huntington's conceptualizations of the civil-military problematic (Feaver 1996; Feaver 2017; Travis 2017). Essentially, military professionalism and self-regulation should ensure military obedience to civilian authority and societal expectations of ethical behavior to ensure national security without undermining the democratic system of government (Travis 2017). Military forces that are hierarchical and sophisticated function as a major public diplomatic agency at home and abroad (Karada 2017). The underlying civilian-military tension and actors' associated performances manifest in myriad arenas, particularly those regarding respect and inclusion of all sexes and genders. Acceptance, inclusion, and care of others are particularly relevant to this research.

Although the military rank structure, core values, and the UCMJ exist to ensure intergroup care, complex expectations and enactments of agency and performativity in

multiple layers of military service in spaces and places remain. Social agents possess a choice, rational or irrational, in how they interact with other social agents. Thus, women's experiences of physical insecurity, individually and as a gendered cohort, in military environments, embody Foucault's (1986) martial heterotopia, real places that exist differently in different time periods.

The military and rape in time, space, and place. Throughout history, rape has been associated with warfighting (Littlewood 1997; Crawford 2017). There has always been only one reason why men get killed and women get spared in war: to obtain or hold on to reproductive "resources" (Buss 2005). The actions of Daesh/ISIL/ISIS and Boko Haram provide contemporary examples of this (Botelho 2014). One may argue, however, that modern societies have no need to rely on this behavior for male status attainment nor population sustainability. Therefore, numerous explanations for military rape and now MSV, in general, have been posited, such as the warrior ethos including hypermasculinity, military operational stress, and the numerical sex/gender imbalance of personnel (Katzenstein and Reppy 1999; Sjoberg 2014; Crowley and Sandhoff 2017). These explanations are addressed emergently within this research by the very women who lived the experience of military service.

The geospatial phenomenon of MSV. In military spaces, the sexual safety of women who comprise a mere 16.62% on average of the population (Defense Manpower Data Center 2019) is of particular concern. Discussion of rape is abundant in the legal, medical, and social sciences literature but, compared to statistical data, scant qualitative

data exists in the literature regarding the geo-social manifestation of rape and sexual assault, especially related to the military. The ‘female analog’, defined as overvaluation of relationships with men and the use of sex as a commodity to obtain power and influence, is often discussed (Stander, et al. 2011). In 2007, however, Leora Rosen of the National Institute of Justice addressed rape rates and military personnel in the US in a state-level analysis. She tested Baron, Straus, and Jaffee’s (1988) cultural spillover theory, which asserts that the more a society tends to legitimate the use of violence to attain ends for which there is widespread social approval, the greater the likelihood of illegitimate military violence. Her hypotheses were that the correlation between rape rates and military personnel would be higher in communities associated with Army and Marine Corps personnel because of their more direct association with ground combat *and* lower in those communities associated with Navy and Air Force personnel (Rosen 2007). Ultimately, her study found no support for the cultural spillover hypothesis and, in fact, there were no significant correlations between rates of rape and the presence of military personnel. She did find a strong correlation between rates of rape and alcohol consumption, a correlation that has been acknowledged by the US military as well (US Commission on Civil Rights 2013). Ceccato (2014) examined the geographic factors associated with rape incidents. She sought connect social behaviors within the physical landscape with the occurrences of rapes and attempted rapes outdoors. She found that rapes typically occur in places with a high density of potential targets, with rhythmic spatio-temporal patterns, and with isolated or restricted visual and auditory surveillance. She also found that leisure activities involving alcohol consumption directly correlated with rape incidents.

Military installations embody the spatial and temporal characteristics that facilitate the rape scenarios described by Rosen (2007) and Ceccato (2014). The military community is intimate, even familial, insulated from external communities with its own infrastructure, is occupationally separate, has exclusive housing, utilities, and recreational activities, and often has exclusive police and fire protection as well. The demographics of military spaces focus on adults of “mating age,” which implies a motivation to actively, and perhaps aggressively, pursue sexual activity (Morris 1996 and Brownson [now Buscha] 2014). For example, 82.9% of Marine Corps active duty personnel, the youngest of all the American military services, are between 18 and 30 with an average age of 25 (Howden and Meyer 2010; Council on Foreign Relations 2018). Residents are also transient (Cullen and Agnew 2011; Ceccato 2014). The military often demands relocation of military members and families (Segal 1986) creating a sense of transiency.

US military installations and activities are indeed intimate and, by necessity, publicly unseen or unseeable. This (in)visibility requires research into these places and spaces and their tradition-steeped subculture to form an understanding of the social phenomena within (Woodward 2014). The people who labor at and with war – soldiers, their families, local civilians, politicians – all live inside a space in which otherwise gratuitous violence is minted into a coherent narrative; a complicated, unstable very public and also very private exercise (MacLeish 2013; Woodward 2014). Meštrović (1997) also asserts that in intimate spaces individuals’ emotions and their related actions are not judged by outsiders, only the participants. This is particularly true of warfighting and the imperative complicity in inflicting upon and witnessing the pain

and suffering of other human beings (evidenced by the growing literature on service members' post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and related mental illness issues (Eichler 2017)). Extra-judicial military atrocities have usually been committed in secluded places and spaces (Meštrović 2007). In contrast, individuals now engage in public activities such as cyberbullying, sexting, and live-streaming atrocious behavior, such as rape, murder, and suicide on the internet and via other media (Atkinson 2009, 302), a kind of social deskilling (304).

Drinking environments. Military members tend to be isolated from society with no *in loco parentis* and engage in leisure activities that often include excessive alcohol consumption (Bogle 2008; Hlad 2012; Demant and Landolt 2014) and risky sexual behaviors (Bogle 2008; Bradshaw, Kahn, and Saville 2010; Fortunato, Young, Boyd, and Fons 2010; Swauger, Witham, and Shinberg 2013; Snapp, Lemto, Ryu, and Rosen 2014; Sutton and Simons 2015; Scott 2017; Weitbrecht and Whitton 2020). Geographic research into alcohol consumption, drunkenness, and nighttime economies of places and spaces has been growing. Theorists have argued that attempts to control and regulate alcohol consumption and the 'evils of drink' were central to the bourgeois modernist project and vision of urban life during the 18th and 19th centuries. Historically, drinking and drunkenness have been socially structured and have different behavioral components and consequences in different contexts (Jayne, Holloway, and Valentine 2006; Roberts 2006; Wilton and Moreno 2012) to include mobility (Duff and Moore 2014), geographic location (Valentine, et al. 2008; Calafat, et al. 2010; Demant and Landolt 2014; Brands, Schwanen, and van Aalst 2014), and economic, age, and

gender elements (Jayne, Valentine, and Holloway 2008; Holloway, Valentine, and Jayne 2009). Because the military is a quasi-family, of particular relevance to this research is Jayne, Valentine, and Gould's (2012) discussion of family life, alcohol consumption, and "public" and "private" drinking cultures, which include geographic space/place and social context as well as risk, responsibility, and the consequences of one's actions. They unpack 'problematic,' 'sensible,' 'safe,' and 'unsafe' drinking practices within specific places and spaces, differentially and discursively constructed in relation to one another. They note that women's as well as men's inability to consent responsibly (i.e., cognizance of potential results) to sexual activity due to substance ingestion has been well documented in the scholarly literature (Jayne, Holloway, and Valentine 2006; Roberts 2006; Jayne, Valentine, and Holloway 2008; Valentine, Holloway, Knell, and Jayne 2008; Holloway, Valentine, Jayne 2009). Further, women drinkers still face more opprobrium than their male counterparts, reflecting the persistence of gendered expectations of 'respectability' and historical discourses about women in public space as 'loose,' and inviting male violence (Jayne, Valentine, Gould 2012).

Military Places and Spaces as Historical Geographies of Morality

This study argues that US military places and spaces have historically reflected geographies of care. Geographies of care emerge strongest from a well-known and bounded morality (Popke 2006; Eckenwiler 2018; Bennett 2014). This manifests in prescribed shared values which cohere in a narrowly constructed sense of common destiny, inheritance, and continuity (Cloke 2002) or, from a geographic perspective,

broadly as a species activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible (Tronto 2017). Codified most stringently in the military, the laws of war extend to others when macro-level care (i.e., that of the nation-state) is turned exclusively inward in real or imagined protection of itself and its citizens.

Just war and landscapes of care. There is a primal human tendency to care based on our biological heritage of cooperation. We are willing to expose ourselves to risks because the future is uncertain. Our sacrifices are expressed by a pretense that we have a reliable basis for cooperation, a base that must be created. In the process of creating a foundation for cooperation, pragmatic sacrifices produce opportunities for cooperation, simulating social order to allow community to become real (Adloff 2016). The value experimental nature of free will means that the rightness or wrongness of free choice cannot be known with certainty in advance, that is, *a priori* (Kane 1996). This is nowhere more organically evidenced than in the build up to, waging of war, and negotiation of peace.

Successful warfighting and humanitarian intervention are complicated (to say the very least) and too tangential to discuss here. Pertinent to this discussion, however, is the ‘reasonable probability of success’ as a moral criterion in the Western just-war tradition. This guides the discriminatory, appropriate, and necessary use of force, material, and personnel to achieve the military objective(s), which takes on political significance at home (Harbour 2011). To ignore the probability of success is to irresponsibly risk an incalculable amount of damage to innocents and combatants. This

may be the most compelling criterion that supports rallying the troops to pursue ‘just’ military action in response to ‘unjust’ war or terrorist attacks.

Social relations are constituted through space, constrained by space, and mediated through space (Dear 1988). Therefore, the attribution of moral agency to place is by no means unproblematic because of the risks of fetishizing that place and potentially dehumanizing evil that lurks within. We must therefore acknowledge that place-based moralities are often complex, and likely none more so than those militarized for the execution of lethal force against designated others. These places simultaneously require the material and physical care for their inhabitants as well as providing care to others (Cloe 2011), both combatants and non-combatants. Clearly, US military service members are held to a higher moral standard than civilians. From the top down, part of the ever-present background noise of military service is the belief that this line of work is one with a unique moral status, unique moral challenges, and unique as well as strict moral requirements (Ficarrotta 1997).

Oaths, values, and principles historically establish military geographies of care. Throughout American history, military tradition demands altruism. Military personnel, more than most people, live under a sense of duty, aligned with a strong foundation of order, deference, and discipline. They have taken oaths admitting them into the ranks of the military and, as citizens, they are required to honor legal justice, civil law, and the social and ethical customs of their communities. The primary moral pressures upon them, however, are such formal mandates as telling the truth, keeping promises, respecting property, and preserving life (Placinta 2016, 40).

Military oaths. Passage into US military service, and thereby military places and spaces, requires that new enlistees and re-enlisting ‘members’ sign contracts and swear a military oath of enlistment:

I, (NAME), do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to regulations and the Uniform Code of Military Justice. So help me God.

Committing to care through identification with abstract ideals of the Constitution is inherently implied. Othering of ‘enemies,’ exclusively defined as both foreign and domestic, is mandated. A hierarchy of obedience is established. Laws and/or rules in the form of the UCMJ are recognized to govern interactions. Faith and allegiance via familial commitment are thereby sworn.

The officers’ oath begins similarly through the statement of allegiance, but the language regarding hierarchy is not present. Dictated by federal law, instead, an admission of free will to oblige one’s self and faithfulness to the *office* are stated.

I, (NAME), do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and

domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God (US Code, Title 5, Section 3331).

Through these oaths, leaders assume responsibility for their decisions and actions, even presumptively *valuing* this altruistic responsibility of care (Kane 1996, 204; Milligan and Wiles 2010). Similarly, the UCMJ promotes care by prohibiting behaviors that negatively impact specific others in the military ranks and the military community at-large.

Military values. On the surface, military social contracts seem to be codified law rather than actual capitulation of one's self. But what cannot be codified by law is loyalty as an emotion crucial to cohesion, effectiveness, and care (Käihkö 2018). Loyalty as a moral emotion rather than just a behavior informs a person's sense of self (identity), connection to others, and sense-making processes. Morals have an emotional basis; they are felt and cannot be disentangled from one another. Loyalty relationships are highly discretionary and targeted rather than general and diffuse. Voluntarily committing to a reciprocal relationship authenticates the value of others to and for one's self. To be genuinely loyal is, therefore, in part, to assert who one is and who one intends to be in the future (Connor et al. 2019). Loyalty is capitulating one's self to the whole.

Polar Star Principle. Military leadership rests on trusted guidance. Navigators regard the pole star Polaris, or the North Star, as a reference point for the movement of other stars. The ‘polar star principle’ refers to the idea that a leader must be an attractive model of what a virtuous person should be, and the followers will calibrate their behavior in relation to this appropriate and necessary example. The principle holds that the leader’s moral goodness can modify the nature of the people led (Woods and Lamond 2011). External regulations may correct people’s outer behavior but, in their hearts, they will not have submitted necessarily to moral conduct (Liebert and Golby 2017). Preferred, of course, is that all service members, the leaders and the led, *be* virtuous and willingly if not eagerly sacrifice themselves (Liebert and Golby 2017). This promotes communal care.

An intended function of loyalty at the meso- and micro-levels is to produce social cohesion among members of a group such that they identify the group’s needs and interests with their own, over and against the satisfaction of the needs and interests of others. Sublimation of individual identity into strong group identification, of which reciprocity is crucial, remains a key purpose of military training and addresses the challenge of motivation to fight, kill, and die (Connor et al. 2019; Hart and Lancaster 2019). Emerging from loyalty is ‘care’ conceived of as a collective military virtue (Sandin 2007).

Core values adopted by all branches of military service reflect varying degrees of commitment and, one would logically presume, expectations of care for one’s comrades. The core values of the US Air Force, released in 1997, identify “integrity

first, service before self, and excellence in all we do” as statements of the institutional values that provide the moral framework for military activities (LeMay Center for Doctrine 2015). Similarly, but more comprehensive, the Army Values are loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, and personal courage. Still more comprehensive, the Marine Corps lists traits expected of its leaders as justice, judgement, dependability, initiative, decisiveness, tact, integrity, endurance, bearing, unselfishness, courage, knowledge, loyalty, and enthusiasm.

Drilling down more deeply into morality in military places and spaces, through initiation via recruit training or officer candidate schools, inductees are taught, memorize, and thereby are expected to incorporate into their own selves, as well as embody through their lived experiences, the core values, traits, and principles of the military institution. The initiate now is expected to ponder how s/he may incorporate self to a system organizing place, time, personhood, the physical world, and history (Beidelman 1993). Thus, all branches of the US military espouse core values, credos, and desired traits and principles to inspire, and nurture, and sustain geographies of care.

Neoliberalism and the All-Volunteer Force (AVF)

This section describes the affect of neoliberalism on the All-Volunteer Force (AVF). It provides a brief discourse analysis of military recruitment tactics from the 20th Century through today noting the transition from a focus on self-less service to one's nation to individual financial gain. Further, historical oaths, credos, and values functioned well to morally foster the military activities of preparation for and actual warfighting when the warrior environments were exclusively male. Sexual interest and

activities largely were distanced from military installations and combat theaters. Sexual pursuit was a liberty or leave activity. It now exists in the military workplace. My data suggest that the inclusion of women in AVF US military geographies, sexual arenas, as [now] combatants significantly altered the care landscape. This creates unique challenges to enactment of benevolence to all, propriety between the sexes/genders, and women's sexual safety, particularly.

The civic republican tradition describes well the interactions between armed forces and societies because it unites an understanding of autonomy and individual judgement in a context that also acknowledges the obligations of public duty, social roles, and individual freedom (Menchaca-Bagnulo 2019). This tradition espouses that American service members have a historical propensity to share a fairly consistent set of values (Crosbie and Kleykamp 2018), what Tronto (2017) labels a “caring democracy.” Although too complex and charged a discussion in which to engage deeply here, this research adopts the perspective that a republican, democratic emergence of spontaneous order as *catallaxy*, a free system of exchange, is only possible given a conception of law and social contracts as ‘rules of just conduct’ (*nomos*) and not reflective merely of law conceived specifically as legislation (*thesis*) (Vatter 2018). For the US military, this perspective was challenged most clearly by the emergence of neoliberalism at roughly the same time as the establishment of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF).

Tronto (2017) identifies neoliberalism as a seemingly unstoppable and hegemonic global set of forces that remake human societies to conform to market logics, a dominant narrative, or a regime of truth (McDowell 2004). While no human

society can be oblivious to the demands of economic life, a shift clearly occurred in the modern era. Tronto (2017) suggests that by deflecting ‘care’ into the realms of ‘personal responsibility’ and ‘family’ obligations, the dominant belief is that if people are now less well cared for, it must, by definition, be a failure of their own personal or familial responsibility. This requires us to reflect upon this shift and change the terms of the contemporary discussion about subservience in service and care as they impact military geographies and the sexual violence against women that continues to occur within them.

Recruitment, neoliberal individualism, and money as motivator. There is an existent and even promised military culture of kinship and care, ideally serving to coalesce place-occupiers in given places and spaces toward tasks, a purpose, and a mission external and ‘higher’ or deeper than just one’s self. It is depicted in recruiting posters and other recruitment materials. Rallying cries for military service always designed to speak to the passions of their audiences. Countless people have ‘sacrificed’ themselves for the nation – they have given themselves for a thing that they believed to be bigger and of a higher standing. Patriotic citizens thus provided such sacrifice in the form of general austerity measures without it being clear what is received in return (Adloff 2016). Those enlisting in lieu of serving a jail sentence similarly (re)paid a ‘debt’ to their current society. When instituted, the draft, of course, demanded sacrifice of self to the nation, payment of a ‘debt’ to the past and on account for future generations. To that end, the notion of care resonates through military recruitment campaigns in modern US history; however, in the late 20th century, the focus shifted

dramatically. The 1917 call-to-service from an iconic Uncle Sam poster (Figure 1) ironically, supplanted female representations of the United States previously in the forms of the youthful, beautiful, and serene Columbia and Lady Liberty (Elder 2013). In stark contrast, Uncle Sam presents as wizened, shaggy, and tough.



Figure 1. Iconic Recruitment Poster used in World War I and World War II. Source: <https://time.com/4725856/uncle-sam-poster-history/>.

Unspoken in the Uncle Sam ads, the recruitment pleas during the World Wars demanded leaving hearth and home for the purpose, literally, of national defense and freeing European allies from nation-state aggressors such as Germany and Japan. This sociopolitical obligation of young *men* extended to the containment of communism during the Cold War. Women's contribution remained largely on the home front. Prior to the war in Viet Nam, the focus of military recruitment remained on one's selfless service to the nation, not what military service would do for the service member or,

worse, how the draft was perpetuating social inequities in American society in the guise of consent (*Harvard Law Review* 2004; Brissette 2016; Liebert and Golby 2017; Amara 2019). Inequitable from its advent, President Abraham Lincoln established the Enrollment Act of 1863 which required compulsory military service of able-bodied American males. Conscription into the US military ended on January 27, 1973 (McCarthy 2017).

One hundred years removed from the Uncle Sam ads, while recruiting posters still exist, internet recruitment pleas can be labeled nothing short of gaming-style infomercials. The Marine Corps recruiting website initially includes action videos including multiple people, men as well as women, what appears to be a humanitarian action, the silent drill team, a helicopter, an amphibious vehicle, and a flag detail. All images are bright and clear and all focused on a culture of cooperation. The still image (Figure 2) addresses the answer to our nation's 'call': a 'weapon' that is the 'elite fighting spirit' that is within every Marine.

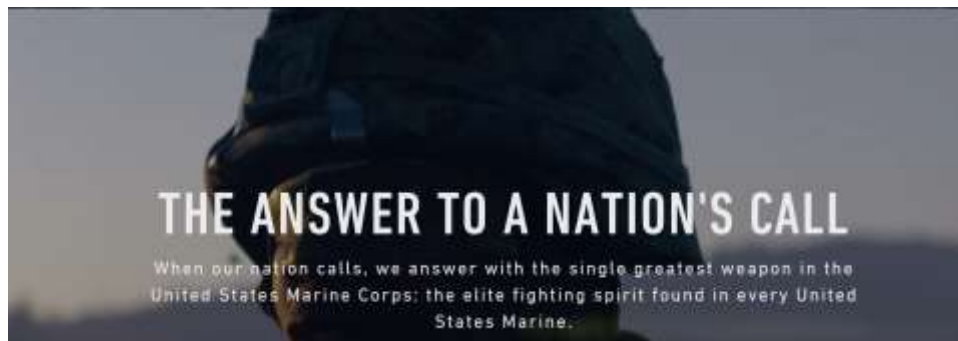


Figure 2. "The Answer to a Nation's Call." Source: US Marine Corps <https://www.marines.com/>.

A still image (Figure 3) identifies the personal battles ‘won’ during the transition from civilian to Marine and concludes with “...there is no higher honor than to fight and win for our nation.”



Figure 3. “Becoming a Marine.” Source: US Marine Corps <https://www.marines.com/>.

The final still image of the recruitment process (Figure 4) culminates in a ‘finished product’ of this transition from initial recruiting invitation to United States Marine. It includes officers and enlisted Marines and represents men, one woman, and multiple ethnicities.



Figure 4. “Being a Marine.” Source: US Marine Corps <https://www.marines.com/>.

The USMC recruiting site offers no discussion of a ‘job’ other than that of fighting and winning battles. There is no mention of tangible ‘benefits.’ The tag line on the image states that Marines always win “...with a selflessness that guarantees a better future for us all.” On another page, the purpose of the Marine Corps is defined (Figure 5) as defending the people of the United States at home and abroad. Further, its purpose is to return Marines to society as ‘quality citizens.’



Figure 5. “Who We Are: Our Purpose.” Source: US Marine Corps <https://www.marines.com/>.

Clearly, the Marine Corps promises to foster a culture of cooperation within its military places and spaces and among their inhabitants, including within American society at-large as citizens. In sharp contrast, the primary stop-shot graphic on the US Army website (Figure 6) is of a helicopter which, when in motion, careens wildly through a canyon of darkness and blowing dirt. The focus is on ‘you,’ the viewer.



Figure 6. “What’s Your Warrior?” Source: US Army <https://www.goarmy.com/>.

In an era of the AVF, which now includes women incorporated into combat-military occupational specialties (MOSs) (Athey 2019), the inducements to service remain varied. In today's US Army advertisement (Figure 6), words such as those targeting the viewer's inner "warrior," "skills," and "will," acknowledging their potential for "impact," "fight" and ability to "transform," and accept a "global challenge" and "daily mission," further define the desired recruit. Ultimately, you may be awesome, but if you join the Army, you will be a superhero. This quickly shifts, however, into the section immediately below the helicopter simulation to an interactive self-analysis of one's personal and occupational expectations (Figure 7).

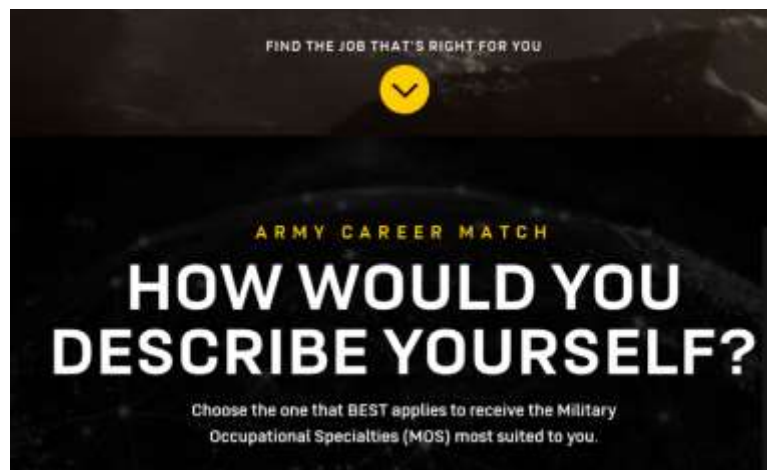


Figure 7. "How Would You Describe Yourself?" Source: US Army <https://www.goarmy.com/>.

So, if one is afraid of heights, helicopters, darkness, and dirt or is subject to motion sickness, there is still a suitable military occupation ready and waiting. The possibilities appear endless. Note, specifically, that the advertisement's language encourages one to choose the descriptor that BEST [capitals in the original] applies. The viewer obviously possesses so many of the requisite traits that they must be narrowed down to ensure Army career-match accuracy. Also included is the language

to obtain the MOS “most suited to *you*,” insinuating that the MOS is contingent upon *you* and not the reverse, the reality that it exists wholly and abstractly from your existence and for any other potential recruit that lands on the site. Finally, the insinuation is of a gift, of “receiving” the MOS most suited to you. After these engaging visual and pseudo-intellectual exercises, if the viewer is *still* not sold, literally, on the concept of enlisting, the US Army provides a limited, haphazardly presented graphical breakdown of tangible benefits (Figure 8). It is all about money.

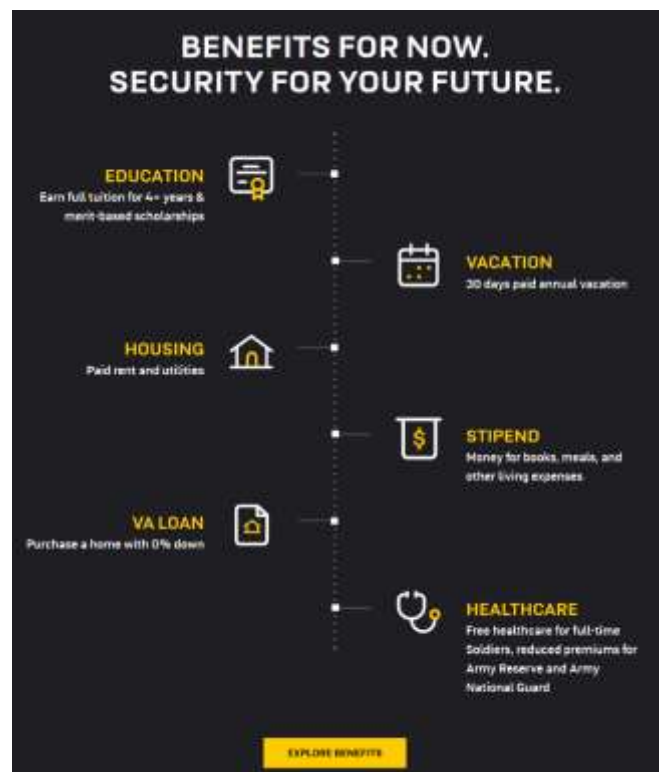


Figure 8. “Benefits for Now. Security for Your Future.” Source: US Army <https://www.goarmy.com/>.

In an “Aim High” video mélange, the recruiting site for the US Air Force provides a straight-forward fill-in-the-blank opportunity for self-disclosure by the potential enlistee (Figures 9 and 10).

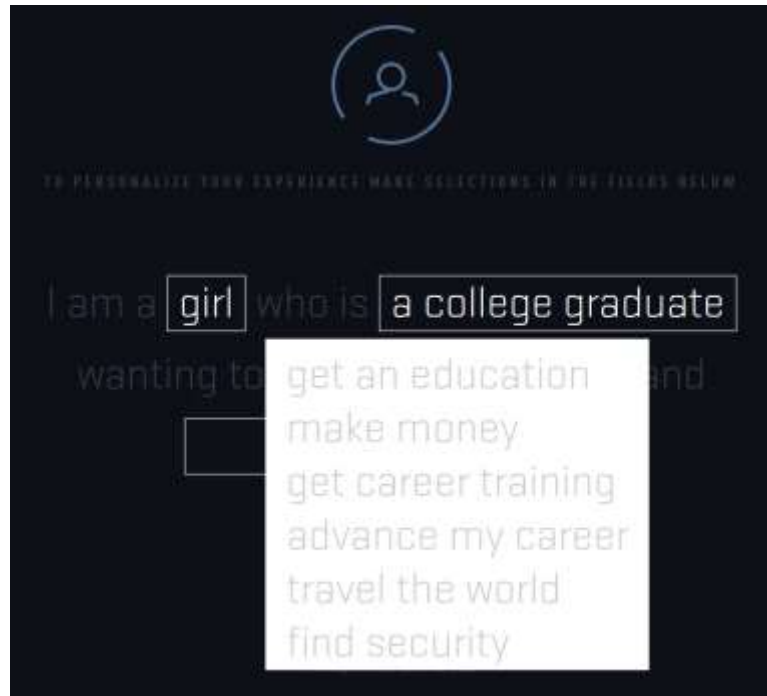


Figure 9. “To Personalize Your Experience...wanting to...[first blank]...” Source: <https://www.airforce.com/>.

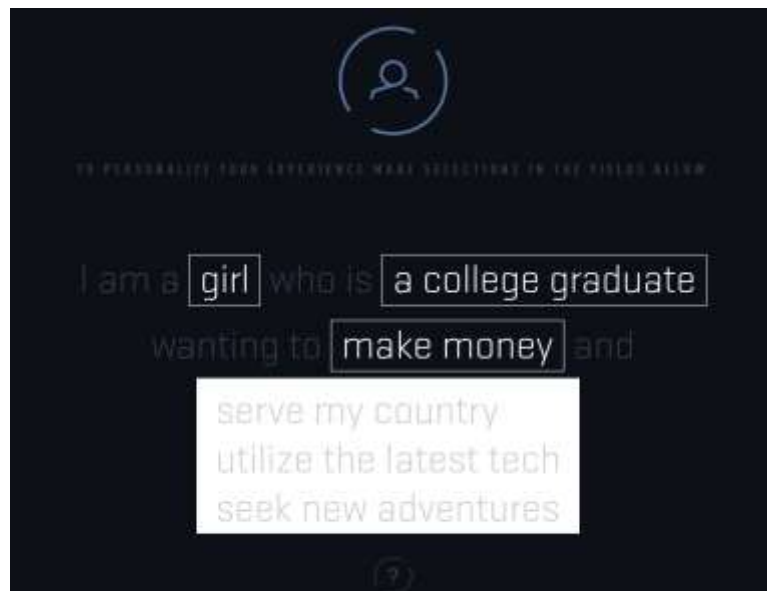


Figure 10. “To Personalize Your Experience...wanting to...[second blank].” Source: <https://www.airforce.com/>.

The US Air Force site then states, “Every Air Force journey is unique, so your experience on this site should be as well. The more you explore the site, the more it will

customize to you.” The US Navy’s website, too, is more like the US Army’s than the US Marine Corps’ with the focus on military service as an employment opportunity rather than a call to personal growth and civic service. The US Navy site leads with “Get up to \$40,000 now,” however, below the ships and SEALs photos, posits the sea is “a force to be reckoned with,” boasts “command” of the sea, and states that the sea is the US Navy’s honor, courage, and commitment (Figure 11).



Figure 11. “Forged by the Sea.” Source: US Navy <https://www.navy.com/>.

Evolutionary psychologists believe that even apparently selfless impulses such as heroism must provide some adaptive advantage for individuals. *Inclusive fitness*, also known as kin selection, convincingly explains the probabilities of self-sacrificing for kin. According to *reciprocal altruism*, individuals who sacrifice for the benefit of unrelated others are gambling that they will reap the benefits of returned favors (McAndrew and Perilloux 2012). This is especially important in warfighting environments when life and death hinge on decisive, moral decisions and actions (Robillard 2018) across multiple scales.

The neoliberal focus on financial benefits, however, cannot be ignored. Olsthoorn (2005; 2007) asserts that it is unlikely that soldiers will make the ultimate sacrifice for a reward, and that a courageous act undertaken for a reward hardly deserves to be labeled moral. Olsthoorn (2005) cites Hobbes who wrote that the peace and security of a civilian society requires a military that itself can only exist by the willingness of some to make sacrifices for the security of others. We value peace primarily because it creates suitable conditions for pursuing our end goals – well-being, happiness, flourishing (Zavaliy and Aristidou 2014). Thus, true landscapes of care and the behaviors within require right behavior toward one’s colleagues and even strangers in the right circumstances (McAndrew and Perilloux 2012; Pianalto 2012; Schut, de Graaff, and Verweij 2014).

All-Volunteer Force (AVF) Geographies

American women served in the US military intermittently in times of national defense need since the Revolution, primarily as nurses, clerks, and in communications. In 1947, Senate Bill 1641, entitled “The Women’s Armed Services Integration Act” established a permanent place for women in the armed forces. In 1973, President Richard M. Nixon ended the draft, establishing the All-Volunteer Force (AVF), allowing entrance of women into all MOSs except those related to combat (Holm 1982). At the time of its inception, top military officials expressed serious reservations against the AVF. The neoliberals’ vision, however, was actualized and, in the shift to the AVF, the Army increased pay, relaxed grooming standards, and began to market

itself by emphasizing individual opportunity and personal enrichment as exhibited above (Janowitz 1975; Moskos 1986; Hart and Lancaster 2019). The AVF was concatenated with neoliberal principles, privileging individual choice over the obligations of citizenship, and relied increasingly on market research to reach potential recruits (Shields 1993; McDowell 2004; Brissette 2016). The military is not a unique institution only because its members risk their lives; indeed, many occupations are hazardous. When ordered, however, members of the armed forces are expected to kill or support a killing machine (Baggaley, Shon, and Marques 2019). Any theory, model, or directive that treats military members as employees while ignoring the moral elements of the experience are flawed (Shields 1993). Interwoven is the willingness of military members to sacrifice their personal, physical, and/or mental health for the security of others (Shields 1993; Olsthoorn 2005; Grimell 2019). With the exception of the US Marine Corps, evidence such as the recruiting ads above indicates a shifting focus away from capitulation of self and the creation of landscapes of care to neoliberal individualism. This immediately loosens the sense of commitment and cohesion and, I suggest, detrimentally impacts women's experiences particularly in military environments. In a military context for the purpose of this research, I adopt the US Army's definition of 'military cohesion' as "The bonding together of members of an organization in such a way as to sustain their will and commitment to each other, their unit, and the mission (Hart and Lancaster 2019)."

Women's role and contribution confusion. In the early days of the AVF, the negotiation of gender relations in military places and spaces challenged everyone

involved (Meyer 1996; Weinstein and White 1997; Herbert, 1998; D'Amico and Weinstein, 1999; Katzenstein and Reppy 1999; Gutmann 2000; Fenner and DeYoung 2001; Burke 2004; Solaro 2006; McKelvey 2007; Holmstedt 2009; Cohn 2013; Sjoberg 2014; Brownson [now Buscha] 2015; Harris 2015). Although professed to be 'equal,' military standards for women were incomparable to men's standards, particularly in the realm of physical fitness and training.

Tronto (2017) identified neoliberal capitalism as a system in which embodied and sexual identities have been imagined and composed historically. Ironically, at the advent of the AVF, it was believed initially by many that women would have a civilizing influence on the military institution, its places and spaces, and its inhabitants (Gutmann 2000). Contrary to the 'expectation of equality' (Tronto 2017), the intensity of the consumerist 'liberation' of sexuality has undermined the scientific equation of sex and truth in a vivid hyperrealism of signs, leading to Baudrillard's "sexual indifference" (Pawlett 2013). Women are given 'woman' as sign, as simulation; women remain othered and alienated (Pawlett 2007) as we hear in the women veterans' interviews.

Humankind exists amid historical harm and wrongdoing, and among inherited and institutionalized advantage and disadvantage (Cloke 2002). Eichler (2017) and many other scholars assert that the contested presence of women in military places and spaces results because militaries remain male-dominated organizations that privilege characteristics stereotypically associated with masculinity (such as strength, aggressiveness, or courage) and tend to devalue characteristics associated with femininity (such as emotion, peacefulness, or caring). She further alleges that militaries

are one of the key institutions reproducing gender inequities in society, as they privilege a specific version of masculinity defined in opposition to subordinate masculinities and femininities. As we will see, in military geographical locations, living, working, and recreational environments overlap with the only distinction largely of one being ‘on’ or ‘off’ duty. Unhealthy workplace environments correlate strongly with MSV, and the blame often falls squarely on leadership (DoD SAPRO 2019). This research indicates a deep division between contemporary military men and women. A transition between generations also is suggested in the interview data.

To summarize, military environments require willing adherence to military rules and regulations fostering communal care, such as the time-honored laws of war, the Geneva Conventions, the UCMJ, and military oaths, and the more recently adopted service-specific core values, codes of conduct, and credos to inculcate and sustain good order and discipline. These are not gendered, but evolved historically through warfighting, which was performed almost exclusively by men. The neoliberal advent of the AVF and unrestricted inclusion of women, however, created ‘sexual arenas’ in which sexual behaviors between colleagues disrupts good order and discipline in ways previously unknown in almost exclusively male military geographies. To date, legislation and training have failed to mitigate this and MSV and the fear it inspires among military women continue.

The next chapter provides the research methodology used to investigate military women’s experiences with MSV.

4. METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the research methodology adopted to ensure appropriate and necessary research protocols were followed to ensure compliance with Federal and University policy as well as maintain the highest level of scholarly research. Included are descriptions of the methodology selected, a presentation of the interview subjects' demographics, the data collection and analysis process, and study limitations. It concludes with a discussion of theory construction implemented through this process.

Military culture, gendered perceptions of environment, and actions and feelings of care are concepts not easily nor meaningfully quantified. Research and writing, at their best, are exercises in democracy. The act is about sharing ideas. Some ideas, like those related to this phenomenon, are simply difficult (Cresswell 2013). Historically, counting incidents of sexual violence and climate surveys employing Likert scales have not proved successful in identifying – much less altering – whatever culture does exist in the modern US military (King 2015). Therefore, this exploratory research seeks to contribute to the literature by providing a novel lens through which MSV may be viewed, discussed, analyzed, and potentially mitigated.

One inhibitor to securing reliable data regarding fear of sexual violence resides in the fact that, for some sections of society, expressions of fear may be shameful and embarrassing. There is a strong *prima facie* case that people may minimize their fears in surveys and interviews (Sutton and Farrall 2005). Caution was exercised with an awareness of possible bias in all phases of this project. For example, as a female U.S. Marine (1985-1997), I felt a natural affinity with other female military service

members. I resolved, however, to be diligent in accurately capturing, evaluating, and expressing their beliefs, feelings, and experiences and not knowingly infusing my own. A two-decade temporal separation and difference in service branches enabled a distanced and critical analysis. Acknowledging these limitations, qualitative research methods remain more effective at capturing the essence of this phenomenon, the mental and social processes lurking behind the experiences and fear themselves.

Classical Grounded Theory (CGT)

Theory is practice and, when done well in a way that does not deliberately exclude and obfuscate, can change lives, and become a positive force toward social transformation (Cresswell 2013). Grounded theory, then, is a practical and systematic research method aimed at theory construction. It is an iterative, comparative, and interactive method that begins with inductive data. Grounded theorists attempt to remain open to all possible theoretical understandings of the data and systematically check which one(s) best accounts for them (Charmaz and Belgrave 2019). This method dovetails well with feminist theory and pragmatism, described above, which view apprehension of the world as partial and perspectival. Qualitative geographers tend to agree that a single set of qualitative research practices should not be prescribed, but that the practices must reflect at the barest minimum, credibility, traceability, and honesty (Baxter and Eyles 1999). Data are expected to be problematic, layered, and co-constructed through interactions and reiterations. Grounded theory is embraced by many qualitative geographers because new concepts that build new theories emerge directly from patterns in the data. The resulting theory is said to be grounded because

claims are traceable back to the original data (Keenan and Fontaine 2012), potentially tying theory directly to practice.

Institutional Review and Approval

Grounded theory as a method is not guided by a theoretical perspective. Its greatest strength is in its flexibility (Evans 2013). The Texas State University Institutional Review Board (IRB)'s approval for this human subjects research was secured via Kuali at <https://www.osp.txstate.edu/irb/>. All related approvals of this project and relevant e-mail correspondence between the researcher, Texas State University offices and individuals, and organizational gatekeepers were presented for its review. This project received IRB approval as Protocol #6182 on November 8, 2018; see Appendix A. Due to the sensitive nature of the research, as a condition of approval, the IRB required that the researcher provide the research subjects a Victim's Services Resources handout specific to the region of Texas in which the interview occurred. This document, given to all participants, provided information specific to that interview site should the participant desire to seek professional assistance regarding her personal situation and emotional and physical state related to the research subject matter before, during, or after the interview. For an example used, see Appendix B.

Research Site

The study area for this research was, literally, global. Participants were targeted solely based on their identities as female military veterans currently residing in Texas. The state of Texas was selected as the study area out of convenience. It is exceptionally

apropos as a study region for numerous reasons. It is the second most populous state in the United States and has an adequate number of major Veteran Administration complexes at which women veterans seek services. Texas is the second largest state in land area, is the largest in the continental US, and is ethnically, geographically, and socioeconomically diverse. VA complexes are located in both urban and rural areas (Woodward 1998; Woodward 2000; Woodward 2014). Further, Texas boasts the largest women veteran population in the United States with 185,000 (9.63%) of 1,921,000 as of September 30, 2019 (US Department of Veterans Affairs 2019). Thus, Texas' women veterans comprise an adequate population from which to investigate this topic. The twenty women veterans interviewed for this research related experiences from a total of 63 separate permanent military installations. Mission-specific and sites of temporary duty experiences are excluded as actual places. A visual depiction of the extent of these locations is captured below in Figure 1.



Figure 12. Map of Military Installations/Sites of Women Veterans' Experiences.

Recruitment of Research Subjects

Initially, active duty service women were considered the ideal population for recruitment for this research, individuals who could offer experiential data in the moment. Eight months of Department of Defense and the service branches' misinformation in communications and attempts to adhere to policies that circled back to themselves, however, dashed the researcher's hope to secure necessary permissions to use this population in human-subjects research. It was abandoned on October 11, 2018. The issue of external inhibitors such as this as well as internal inhibitors of

narratives will be discussed in the Findings with specific examples from women veterans themselves.

With minimal modifications to the proposal's structure and interview script as well as committee and Institutional Review Board approval, transitioning the research focus from active duty to women veterans allowed much easier access to research subjects and eliminated any fear of organizational prohibition or reprisal. Further, a key to what makes formal knowledge useful and potent is precisely the streamlining and intensifying of the world in our accounts that is aided so much by the passage of time and the distance it gives us from the chaos of the present (Sarmiento 2015, xvii). The women interviewed for this research all experienced spatial distance from events and emotional maturation allowing reflection on their prior experiences. This also fostered comparison of their military service experiences to impressions of their understanding of the contemporary state of MSV. The transition ultimately proved extremely valuable and insightful. Individual women veterans of all ages and military branches were invited to participate in this research.

Gatekeepers represented the Texas Veterans Commission, the US Department of Veterans Affairs, and Women Veterans of San Antonio. Recruitment of research subjects occurred via flyers posted by gatekeepers in locations publicly (i.e., Veterans Administrations medical complexes and events) and on-line (e.g., Grace after Fire Facebook page) frequented by women veterans. Appendix C is the Solicitation Flyer distributed to invite participation in the research. Respondents wholly self-selected. Via a snowball effect, invitation distribution continued with participants recruiting by word-of-mouth, directly (e.g., recruiting acquaintances) or indirectly (e.g., re-posting or

“liking” on Facebook). This did not occur as extensively as hoped. However, capturing experiential data randomly through self-selection allowed, through analysis, emergence of intriguing themes as well as variation in some concepts and homogeneity in others. A set of 20 interviewees achieved saturation (Fusch and Ness 2015, 1408; Hitchings and Latham 2020), although there was a disproportional representation across service branches. Because qualitative data cannot be extrapolated and these data comprise representation by multiple generations of veterans, for comparative purposes only, see Table 1.

Table 1. Military Service Branch and Interview Subject Representation, May 2019.

Service Branch	# Female	% Female	# Interviewed	% Interviewed
US Army	70,704	14.82%	14	70%
US Air Force	66,753	20.33%	4	20%
US Navy	65,331	19.64%	1	.05%
US Marine Corps	16,370	8.80%	1	.05%
Total			20	100%

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC), https://www.dmdc.osd.mil/appj/dwp/dwp_reports.jsp.

Consent and Semi-structured Interviews

In-depth interviews allow for a different level of fear awareness and experience than quantitative research can reveal (Stanko 1995; Pain 1997; Koskela 1999). Thus, qualitative data collected via long interviews can provide minute ethnographic detail (McCracken 1988) about perceptions, beliefs, self-efficacy, and agency enactment. In addition, Dunn (2010) asserts that interviews can be especially effective to counter the claims of those, such as mass media sources, who presume to have discovered *the*

public opinion. Therefore, an ethnographic¹ approach (Winchester and Rofo 2010) was determined most appropriate to collect, analyze, and interpret in narrative terms women's perceptions of military-civilian communities and their sense of sexual safety.

All women interested in participation contacted the researcher directly to schedule an interview. Permission to conduct research was requested directly from interviewees via an IRB-approved consent form. It introduces the study to the participant, advises the participant of potential risks, advises the participant of researcher's responsibilities, and provides information should she have any questions or concerns after the encounter (Appendix D). Semi-structured interviews were conducted in quiet, yet public locations such as hotel lobbies to promote the comfort and confidentiality of respondents and to develop rapport (Dickson-Swift et al. 2007). When requested, other interviews occurred in locations such as the subject's home and the researcher's University office.

All interviews were captured on an unobtrusive recording device, specifically an Olympus VN-541-PC, then uploaded to a flash drive, and later transcribed verbatim, excluding disfluencies. Questions contained in the interview script (Appendix E) reflect a pyramid format from general to specific to capture military women's perceptions regarding their sense of sexual safety. The design is systematic in structure yet fluid in response, is critical, and allows reflexivity. On occasion, the researcher asked clarifying and follow-up questions. Interview questions focused on personal experience, perceptions, beliefs, and expectations. Particular focus was on gendered locations,

¹ Although interviews are considered an ethnographic research method by many, Steve Herbert's 2000 article argues against this. See "For ethnography" in *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (4):550-568.

actors, events, and interpretation; the potentially disparate occupational, living space, and recreational experiences of men and women; the sense of connectedness to the geographic place and its inhabitants; and how and why a “place” was important (or not) to her experience. As anticipated, many women interviewed were not be able to articulate these concepts in a free-form response and often strayed from the geographic focus of the research. Purposefully, the CGT interview process is very open-ended and intended to capture a variety of perceptions. The researcher often gently yet firmly encouraged a return to the research topic of sexual violence in US military places and spaces.

Data Collection

Data collection began December 1, 2018, in San Antonio, Texas, and concluded with the twentieth interview on April 10, 2019, in College Station when saturation was achieved. All names presented herein are pseudonyms to ensure participant confidentiality with a true respondent name/pseudonym matrix maintained separately by the researcher. The demographics of the research subjects were tabulated below (Table 2).

Table 2. Woman-veteran Interviewees’ Demographic Data presented by Age.

Name	Age	Home at Entry	Year of Entry	Why Enter?	Branch of Service	Officer or Enlisted ?	Military Occupational Specialty (MOS)
Pat	74	Seattle, WA	1964	Always wanted to be in the Army	Women’s Army Corps	Enlisted	Personnel

Table 2. Continued.

Name	Age	Home at Entry	Year of Entry	Why Enter?	Branch of Service	Officer or Enlisted ?	Military Occupational Specialty (MOS)
Margaret	72	Tucson, AZ	1974	Struggling financially; husband was USAF	US Air Force	Enlisted	Accounting & Finance
Gladys	69	Deanville, TX	1967	Escape bad home environment	Women's Army Corps	Enlisted	Clerk Typist
Erin	66	Ft. Worth, TX	1971	US needed nurses in Viet Nam	US Army	Officer	Medical/Nurse
Mary	62	New York	1974	Get out see the world	US Navy	Enlisted	Storekeeper
Florence	58	Oakland, CA	1980	"Gung ho"	US Army	Enlisted	Intelligence
Rita	40	Denton, TX	2001	\$ for college	US Air Force	Officer	Logistics
Leslie	39	San Antonio, TX	1997	Followed boyfriend	US Air Force	Enlisted	Human Resources
Patrice	33	Houston, TX	2004	Family tradition & \$ for college	US Army	Enlisted	Intelligence
Melinda	32	San Antonio, TX	2008	\$ for college	US Army	Officer	Intelligence
Darlene	31	Fairfax, VA	2010	\$ for college	US Army	Officer	Ordnance
Linda	31	San Antonio, TX	2010	Nothing else to do	US Army	Enlisted	Medical
Colette	31	Austin, TX	2008	\$ for college & benefits for child	US Army	Enlisted	Medical
Willow	29	Ft. Riley, KS	2012	"I felt a duty."	US Army	Enlisted	Medical
Janet	29	Pearland, TX	2011	\$ for college	US Army	Enlisted	Communication
Kristi	29	Dallas, TX	2008	\$ for college	Texas Army Natl Guard	Enlisted	Military Police
Grace	29	Lexington, KY	2008	"I felt called to do it."	US Army	Enlisted	Medical
Lauren	28	Victorville, CA	2009	Escape bad home environment	US Marine Corps	Enlisted	Intelligence
Rachel	27	Dallas, TX	2014	\$ for college	US Army	Enlisted	Chemical, Biological, Radiological, & Nuclear
Riley	23	Ft. Worth, TX	2016	Learn a trade & for adventure	US Air Force Natl Guard	Enlisted	Bio-environmental Engineering

The oldest woman veteran participating in the interviews was 74 and the youngest 23, comprising three generational cohorts. Through socialization and events, generational cohorts are thought of as a group of people moving through space and time with each bringing with is a distinct sense of self. This ‘peer personality’ contains a set of collective behavioral traits and attitudes that become evident through a generation’s life cycle. They share an age-group identity, and all are influenced by that generation’s collective mindset (Strauss and Howe 1991). The shading in Table 2 above identifies each research subject as a member of a generational cohort. Green indicates a member of the Baby Boomer generation, peach represents Generation X, and blue represents Millennials. The generational cohorts were broken down by corresponding birth years of that cohort (Table 3).

Table 3. Interviewees’ Generational Cohorts with Corresponding Years of Birth.

Generational Cohort	Years of Birth
Baby Boomers	1946 – 1964
Generation X	1965 – 1980
Millennials	1981 – 1996

Source: Strauss and Howe. 1991. *Generations: The History of America’s Future, 1584-2069*. New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 36.

The interview of shortest duration lasted approximately 29 minutes and the longest was more than two hours long. No research subject requested premature conclusion of the interview. During the first two interviews, it became evident that numerous questions in the interview script were meaningless. For example, responses to the question, “Did you live on base in the barracks or off base?” provided no consistency and created confusion and unnecessary description. During initial training, all

women lived in single-sex barracks of some type. When assigned to duty stations, however, they may or may not have lived on- or off-base depending on their rank, marital status at the time, or even due to the availability of rooms on the installation. While deployed, all described living in a wide variety of single-sex dwellings from posh to ramshackle. While stationed in Viet Nam, Gladys describes hers: “Henry Kissinger came over once for a visit. And, apparently, they had him in, I don't know, a Jeep, whatever they had him in, and touring him. And, he actually...I heard this...he actually thought our hooches were for the POWs.”

Similarly, the interview question related to spending time indoors or outdoors did not garner meaningful data related to sexual safety. Women also did not care to talk about their sense of confidence in a specific environment or the perceived safety of women in combat-arms MOSs, those units and service members who close with and destroy enemy forces or provide firepower on the battlefield. After each interview, the researcher took notes of reinforced and new concepts described and what worked or did not work procedurally. Consistent with the iterative CGT methodology, the result was deeply conversational interviews providing data rich in content and breadth with much circling back to issues of importance to the interviewees yet relevant to the project.

Data Coding

Coding the interview data was performed in a flexible manner, but in accordance with accepted grounded theory methods identified by Charmaz (2006), Charmaz and Belgrave (2019), and Corbin and Strauss (2008). Due to the cohesive structure of the interview script and the resulting consistency of data obtained, coding at three phases sufficed. The first phase of open coding identified anchor points,

specifically the woman veteran, the geographical locations (i.e., military installation), and type(s) of her military experience there (e.g., training, garrison, and deployment). Through axial coding, identification of key categories of experience (e.g., safety, fear, success, failure, benevolence, violence) in each type of location comprised the next level of coding. Axial coding allows for plurality and fusion to represent extremely complex phenomenon. It ensures analytical rigor while maintaining the integrity of all responses. There is no reduction. Finally, these categories of experience were unpacked through selective coding by identifying events, people, and interactions involved. These were then grouped into belief and behavior categories which facilitate comparison between individual experiences across space and time. For example, the theme of violations of Adultery, violation of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62,² emerged from its presence in numerous interviews across locations, service branches, and generations of veterans. Searchable code words for violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, therefore, include “cheater,” “liar,” “player,” “lonely” and “guilty.” Obviously, code words are not necessarily exclusive to only one theme and are subject to interpretation. Every effort was made, however, to remain true to the context presented by each research subject. The coding process involved development of emergent themes (Table 4).

² The word “adultery” is used in this research context as used by interview subjects to identify specific behavior prohibited by the UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, as a punishable offense, that which is ‘conduct of a nature to bring discredit upon the armed forces or that which is prejudicial to good order and discipline.’ The researcher in no way explicitly nor implicitly implies civil illegality or personal immorality. Usage of the term herein reflects usage via admission and/or observation of the women veterans interviewed as well as the legal literature.

Table 4. Coding Example for Emergent Theme “Violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, Adultery.”

1 st Level Coding – Open			
<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Duty Type</u>	<u>Date(s)</u>
Margaret	Kusan, South Korea	Duty station	1988
Linda	Hurricane Harvey Mission, TX	Humanitarian mission	2017
Colette	Ft. Campbell, KY	Duty station	2009-2012
2 nd Level Coding – Axial			
<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Experience</u>		
Margaret	Homesick half-way around the world, met an old acquaintance		
Linda	Under crisis circumstances, drinking when she normally did not & experienced sexual assault		
Colette	Surrounded by “smoking hot” Special Forces [exotic/erotic] men		
3 rd Level Coding – Theoretical			
<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Belief/Behavior</u>		
Margaret	Guilt: Needed “home,” someone to talk to & release sexual tensions		
Linda	Conflicted: Stress, impending divorce & experience of sexual assault		
Colette	No guilt: “Lying was normal. You lied. You just lied.”		

Although the example portrays the process simplistically, once captured via coding, the essence of experiences related to the emergent theme provided theoretical foundations that were compared to the other emergent themes through data analysis. These data, too, only reflect experiences of the women veterans who self-identified as violators of UCMJ Article 134, Article 62, or those witnessed or heard rumors of such violations of the UCMJ. The more complex and widespread phenomenon of sexuality (mis)use and its relevance to women’s sense of sexual safety will be discussed in the Findings chapter.

Data Analysis and Presentation of Findings

Data analysis organically occurred as consistency or diversity of experiences and recurring themes emerged from the data. For a project with a single researcher, a

small number of interviews, and sensitivity of subject, a manual and personal method of analysis served perfectly. Captured through the researcher's active participation, initial hearing, re-hearing, and then multiple readings of transcripts, rather than counting occurrences of coded words as often happens in qualitative research, such as those analyzed using data analysis software such as NVivo, ATLAS.ti, MAXQDA, Quirkos, etc., the data reflect intimacy between researcher, interviewee, and phenomena. The audio and transcription files serve as the artifacts of all interactions, validating the researcher's interpretations.

Building upon the emergent theme of violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, used above as a descriptor of coding, it also serves here as an example of the researcher's data analysis practices. In this case, the focus is on the interview subjects' experiences as violators of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62. The first self-identified violator, Margaret described being stationed unaccompanied in Kusan, South Korea, in 1988:

And, there was comingling. I'm gonna be honest; I was guilty of it. About six months after I'd been there, a man came in to do his in-processing. It was someone I had known from March [Air Force Base]. Well, we got together, Jessie and I. I don't remember Jessie's last name, but Jessie and I spent a lot of time together because we knew each other and we were a long way from home. Um, and, it gave us somebody to, to talk to, to release the sexual tensions with, you know, because you can't...being celibate for a year is hard when you're married. And, he was married.

Stationed at Ft. Campbell, Kentucky, Colette describes her reaction to being widowed in 2012:

And to be honest, while my husband was off dating someone else, I was sleeping with everyone I could find. So, let's not act like I was the victim, right? But when they're dead and you find these things out, you kind of

have a pity party for yourself. But let's not be fake. I was totally sleeping with everyone I could find. One guy in particular, he was smoking hot. John. So dumb. So dumb. That man was so dumb. Anyway, he was so hot. Yeah, I've done plenty of horrible things, but that was one of them. And, I remember when I was a widow, I was like, "Oh, my God. You *lied* to me." And I was, like, finally my friend was, like...No, it was my new relationship. He was like, "Colette, so, were you not seeing anyone?" And I was like, "Oh. Oh!" And he looked at me and I was like, "Shit!" There was [*sic*] no more pity parties. So, anyway, that was the big thing. Lying was normal. You lied. You just *lied*. I lied through my teeth.

Analysis of these data confirms consistency with the literature. Military places and spaces historically and contemporarily generate stress as well liberation encapsulated in concepts of home/away and related beliefs and behaviors. US military locations and the experiences therein, while not unique, are singular and often extreme (Dolan and Ender 2008, 165). There is a necessary temporariness in military places and spaces, a structure of separate public and personal values systems (Harvey 1989, 286). Consequently, suspension or out-right rejection of civilian home-based behaviors deemed personally and socially appropriate in places and spaces results. Complicating this further is the military's alleged establishment of a new 'home,' a family for its service members.

When conceived and operationalized, this research was not intended to be a quantitative or even a mixed-methods project. Adding tabular and GIS data presentations, however, serves to visually represent the findings related to the phenomenon captured qualitatively in language. As recognized by Hitchings and Latham (2020), primary data gleaned from interviews gives geographers the broad facts of a case or situation. In effect, expressing findings via longish quotes illustrates how events really happened. They demonstrate access the truth about what happened 'on the ground.' They 'give voice' to the often-unexamined views of those being researched

and ‘paint a picture’ of the geographic locations and their embedded cultures. This, in turn, illuminates themes that emerged from this grounded theory research methodology.

Limitations

Due to the complexity and scale of the phenomenon of MSV, the limitations of this research are many. The geographer must have a certain richer way of knowing, one which can cut through that which is inscrutable – or manifest appropriate concern when things seem intractable (Curry 1991, 223). Thus, I attempted to winnow the numerous themes emerging from the data into those that seemed to impact the greatest number of individuals or those with the most egregious impact related to the topic of MSV.

Limited literature. To the best of my knowledge, this exploratory study is the first to attempt to translate the notion of geographies of care to military landscapes and, more specifically, to the phenomenon of MSV. The literature is, therefore, limited and necessitates triangulation of theories from a variety of disciplines and a few reasoned intellectual leaps to apply concepts and previous findings to this research. Every attempt has been made to keep ‘like with like,’ with the understanding that the military exists as a singular institution often lacking civilian parallels (e.g., lawful prohibitions against fraternization, adultery, etc.). The hope is that this inaugural contribution establishes a foundation for future scholars to home in on what works and, obviously, what does not.

Absence of male voices. Obviously, this study does not include male voices.

Therefore, a one-sided opinion is offered through which the issues of exclusivity or blame may be perceived. I must be clear in stating, however, that all women veterans provided data related to positive experiences with male service members in addition to any challenges they encountered. The inclusion of data herein serves to answer the research question posited from military women veterans' perspectives only.

Bias introduced by IRB process. I must also state that the Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval process, which requires that the most sensitive question of the research methodology be revealed in the solicitation process likely biased potential respondents either to enter or avoid research participation (Monahan and Fisher 2010). My concern is that research subjects seeking a platform for expression or catharsis were more inclined to participate than others, thus skewing the data collected. While I respect the intent of (and historical reasons for) this mandate, I believe bias was built into the project by deterring potential participants or encouraging others.

Theory Construction

Within the context of the background and literature review provided above, use of qualitative methods and the precepts of CGT allowed the intellectual freedom to advance beyond "checking the boxes" of hypothesis testing. No null hypothesis exists to be rejected in this empirical study. Instead, through investigation of women veterans' sense of sexual safety in military environments, numerous novel and some rather disturbing themes emerged from the data. This required returning to the literature to try

to describe and explain emergent themes. The leap from data analysis to grounded-theory construction is captured in the distinction between two generations of women veterans, the Baby Boomers and the women veterans of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) as determined by their birth year (Table 3). Their descriptions of transformed military places and spaces, and the gendered interactions within them, color our understanding of MSV in ways unachievable through quantitative data.

Our understanding of the MSV phenomenon is enhanced three-fold. First, the inclusion of women in these places and spaces as service-member peers to men adds an additional cohort of actors challenged by environmental stressors with the complication of creating ‘sexual arenas’ (Allison and Risman 2014). Within these arenas, women veterans interviewed expressed experiencing conflicting moral tenets, mistrust of authority figures and colleagues, and gendered exclusionary othering. Second, the data encourage the belief that concerns about sexual violence in the military remain unresolved through legislation and training. Clearly, another course of action is required. Third, pragmatism continues to drive everyday relations in US military places and spaces. Ultimately, however, contemporary behaviors in military environments appear to negate capitulation to service and care. This further confuses social contact, interactions, interpretations, and contracts, which do not inhibit, but more likely benignly allow or even encourage continued sexual violence in US military geographies. The next chapter presents the results of the research with discussion of relevant emergent themes.

5. RESULTS

This chapter presents research results determined via a rigorous coding and analysis process. Through this process, the themes of ambivalent sexism and generational ‘buckets’ of experience emerged. Military landscapes were also exposed as environments of forced associations and total control. It outlines individuals’ as well as organizational decisions that contribute to MSV and failures to mitigate through poor training techniques. This chapter also describes and explains contemporary challenges to military geographies of care, presents military women veterans’ experiences with rape, and provides the current organizational response to MSV.

First and foremost, the research results identify the ‘event of place,’ the coming together of peoples and events previously unrelated in a state of ‘throwntogetherness’ in time and space. It is experienced as a constellation of processes rather than a single ‘thing’ (Demant and Landolt 2014). The most profound and overarching theme emerging from the data reveals the neoliberal erosion of military places and spaces as moral geographies, historically places and spaces of care. Specifically, military leaders recognize that service members’ values reflect the values – or lack thereof – of the larger society (Bennett 2017). Emergent themes from the data thereby characterize a US military environment in transition, perhaps even to be labeled a devolution of military morality and cohesion, which reflect transitions in the larger society from which our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines enlist and are commissioned. One result is ambivalent sexism in the form of othering, sex-based professional and social

exclusion, and isolation, which perhaps cultivates sexual violence against women in military geographies.

Ambivalent Sexism

The interview data reveal that women veterans' concerns for their sexual safety within contemporary military geographies manifest largely through ambivalent sexism, the benevolent and/or hostile othering of women, which results in social and/or professional exclusion and isolation. A few examples from the interviews offered here introduce the emergence of the supporting theme of ambivalent sexism. Lauren, a Marine Corps Sergeant, describes hostile sexist othering, echoing the oft-stated analogy of the military woman as a 'piece of meat,' a manifestation of the Coolidge Effect (Buss 2003). She also identifies isolation as dangerous and offers personal and sexual safety advice to other women regarding social media, a hallmark of neoliberal individualism:

There are good people and there are bad people everywhere you go, and the Marine Corps has a lot of good people, and you wanna be buddies with the good people. You can't be by yourself. It's like any male-dominated area. I mean, really, I would use the 'ten wolves, one piece of steak' reference. Maybe the wolves don't even want steak, but when there's only one, then, you know, it's attractive. Then, it's a desirable thing, you know? And you can't be afraid to be assertive and push off, and that's hard for a lot of women, but more so now in a people-pleasing sort of social media. Don't send nude pictures, ever. Don't allow those to be sent to you. Don't allow for that to be acceptable or common. I think it's [social media has] really diminished any type of personal life that can't be scrutinized by your peers, and your peers are who you work with, your peers are who you live by, your peers are... You know, if they're seeing every picture that you post, and... You do whatever you want, you know, but when those guys are your friends and they see all those pictures, they have a perception already, and they're gonna judge you based... They

don't even have to know you. They're gonna judge you based on those pictures, and that's what is a big problem in the Marine Corps.

Colette shares a similar experience:

Like, I didn't realize that as fresh meat, every turn for the first two years I was on the plate. I was definitely ready for the taking and, because I didn't know what was really happening, I wasn't aware that it [attention] wasn't genuine. They [males] were calculated about coming into contact with me, if that makes sense. It wasn't by chance. It was because they knew they were trying. They had a goal and they saw me as an ends, as that goal.

Grace identifies the source of hostile sexism and continued objectification of women as popular culture, such as music:

If you listen to music, we're bitches and ho's and... You know, there's a lot of... I don't know if you listen to rap music, but that's the general... maybe joking around, but, but that's the dialogue, you know. You don't hear us calling men bastards and I don't know, like, whatever, but it's very constant in the rhetoric of women.

As a lesbian, Patrice offers insight into her experience fitting in with her male peers by *not* being othered as a 'woman,' yet seems also to unknowingly apply her own version of hostile sexism to the situation:

So, the guys who I hung out with, right, they were like my buddies. I was one of the dudes. Like, when dudes would have their 21st birthdays, like, it'd be me and a bunch of dudes who take them out. The girls weren't there 'cause the girls were girlfriends. They were clingy or, you know, they, "Behave!" No, we were acting like a bunch of dudes, you know? You know, I didn't look at them like they were disgusting man-pigs because they were buying some prostitute a drink. I didn't care. It didn't affect me. I'm not trying to take you home. I'm not trying to wife you up. That's not what I'm here for. "Go for it, bro. Like, I'll cover your back. Let me know what you need." You know what I'm saying? Yeah, we [lesbians] weren't the girls that were...like, got dressed up. Like, when you saw me out of uniform, it wasn't a shock. Like a lot of girls, you see out of uniform you're like, "Holy crap! Where did you come from," right? Now, they have make-up and their hair's did [*sic*] and they got, you know, their jewelry on and all that. This is how I live. Jeans, t-shirt and a ball cap. In 14 years, my style has not changed, okay? This is what I go out in just like every other

dude, you know? And so yeah, I mean, that's why I hung out with the dudes 'cause I wasn't... The girls were all looking for boys and want to bitch about them. And I'm like, "I get why he did what he did. No. You're annoying. That's why he didn't call you back." Yeah. He doesn't owe you a drink because you flirted with him. I'm sorry, you know? So, I didn't... If they were like that, I didn't hang with women like that. I couldn't stand that. Like, I'm not going to relate to you at any point in this conversation.

Former Army Corporal Kristi spoke about her experience of hostile sexist othering at Ft. Leonard Wood, Missouri, in 2009, even speaking to the issue of race as an element of acceptance and inclusion on a microscale. The ultimate result beyond one's immediate peer group, however, is the exclusion of military women as 'problems,' excluded, and unsafe:

What I was most surprised by was a drill sergeant telling all the women that within two years we'd be pregnant or married and that's not a part of the culture I understood. I'd never been treated like just an interchangeable object before. They only had one female there and she was more tough than all the men, so I learned quickly that I represented *all* women any time I did anything. And, so, I had to behave differently. So, it was more of a 'prove yourself' environment, but even when you did, you were still doing something wrong. It was almost like because you're not a man... Here because we slept separately, we're in different areas, we weren't with our platoons, so we were treated like we were a problem all the time. Like toxic masculinity is strong in the culture. The male is normative behavior. Anything other than man, you know, that "other" mentality. So, you're always going to be wrong in that environment 'cause you're not a man. So, what do they call it, compulsory heterosexuality, and there's a couple more I'll think of at some point. But I learned that racial minorities would stick together. So, you'd have Hispanics or blacks or Asians, but the white women were unique in that we didn't fit with our white male counterparts. We didn't get to bond over race. It's like our black female friends of mine would belong with their group of men whereas I didn't belong with mine, which is weird because being white in the world is not seen as a negative thing it's a... It has a privilege that goes with it but, in the military, being a white woman is not. You don't have that safe group. So, I learned through my service that these are *not* my brothers.

These and many other women veterans' expressions of place/space-induced emotions and gender-specific challenges extend infinitely beyond simple discomfort with one's 'place' (Glick and Fiske 1997). These data support the literature that argues that, historically, military women have not been considered equals to men in warfighting activities and locations (Meyer 1996; Morris 1996; Kier 1999; Cohn and Jacobson 2013; Sjoberg 2014; King 2015; Eichler 2017; Harris, McDonald, and Sparks 2018). Whether benevolent or hostile, the on-going and pervasive othering results in restriction of emotional and physical self-care. They continue to experience isolation and often are excluded from the masculinized military professional and social networks. It also prompts reconsideration of existing structures and contemporary policies related to the entire US military. The women veterans' testimonies suggest that many modern legal-rational efforts to equalize the military experiences of men and women have failed.

The concern emergent from the data is that the AVF encourages a sense of entitlement without civic service and undermines the American melting pot by removing the shared experience of citizens, regardless of background, serving the nation in a common institution (Amara 2019) with common care of each other. As previously stated, the irony is that the *expectation* of care exists structurally in institutional laws, credos, and mores. The experiences shared by the women veterans interviewed support this and my analysis tracks this with MSV concerns within this group. For example, after enlisting "just to serve people. I don't know why. I just felt called to do it for whatever reason," Grace shares insight through her experience as an Army recruit at Ft. Jackson, South Carolina:

I grew up very Christian and it was culture shock my first day. Oh, my gosh! I just never seen... I'd never been around people that. I don't want to say different than me 'cause I've been around a lot of different nationalities, but I've never been around... I don't know if what you'd consider poverty. My first day there are these girls screaming at one another and there's, they're *mad*. I don't know what they're mad at. You know, at basic training everybody's mad about everything... Don't know really why anyone's mad. You're really just too tired to care. They're screaming at each other, not listenin' and one of the girls goes, "You need to get you some business." I said, "I don't even know what that means." What am I *doing* here? "Get you business." How am I gonna survive this? So, it was very eye-opening for me.

When asked about this phrase, Grace clarified, "Get you some business" means you get your own business and stay outta their's. Oh, it makes sense, but I was like how am I gonna survive here? I mean, I don't even speak this language. And, they were... I've never even heard of wiccans."³

Grace above describes separatist and admittedly foreign behaviors in a place and space intended to form cohesion among previously unknown women, recruit training, locations structured to instill conformity to authority and discipline with intensity and single-mindedness (Sack 1997). Leslie discusses the juxtaposition of a different type of neoliberal individualism, predators in military environments who prove particularly challenging to young women who have been protected within traditional benevolent environments in their civilian lives:

I'm aware that there are people that grew up with protecting the women against the predators, but somewhere in there are those people that didn't learn that or that they [women] can't be protected all the time. So, of course, if they're protected, they don't need to be taught how to protect themselves which, when they're not with their protectors, then they are

³ This is also expressed by Riley whose experience was as an Air National Guard recruit at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio: "She told us she was a witch and that she... Yeah, she did that and she would wake up in the middle of the night and sleepwalk and sleep talk and it was just like really creepy stuff happening. I was just, like, "Oh, my gosh. These people are real?" So, it was definitely different and a little bit scary just because it was... I don't know. I felt creeped out a little bit by that scenario."

left to themselves because they weren't taught. They weren't going to need it because they were always going to be with their protectors, which is really not practical. Like in nature, there're predators everywhere. Humans are still creatures with natural urges and if they're not educated or if they're repressed, then they come out if they're stressed or they're whatever... They come out.

As presented above, military service advertisements as recruitment tools promise an array of benefits to potential members. They inspire landscapes of care, a sense of a family and inclusion by association with similarly committed brethren. In contrast, as we have seen above and I will continue to present, AVF women entering the US military experience environments and peoples quite contrary to those promised. This aligns well with Tronto's (2017) belief that neoliberal forms of caring are injurious to people's health.

Warfare is a highly violent practice, and it seems to occur always amidst a breakdown of symbolic relations between a subject and an "other" (Nordin and Öberg 2015, 409). My data suggest a transition away from landscapes of care to neoliberal individualism. From within this small qualitative data set that cannot be generalized to the larger population, emerged a generational break in the ways in which the women veterans interviewed experienced their military service, whether as a member of the Baby Boomer generation or the AVF generation.

Generational 'Buckets'

A traditional attitude toward place was that every man and woman belonged somewhere and that those who wished to be happy would find that somewhere to be. Identity was a given; one desired to settle down. The neoliberal individualistic attitude toward place and identity is that a person belongs where she wishes to belong and, if

she would be happy, she will strive to realize this wish until her mind changes and she wishes to be somewhere (or someone) else (Norwine and Smith 2000, 4). Geographers know well that humans modify their environments in ways that make it easier for them to achieve their goals. Sometimes this occurs shortsightedly and, like the transition to neoliberal individualism, new ‘evils’ emerge with anticipated benefits.

There is an eighteen-year gap in the ages of research subjects Florence, 58, and Rita, 40, at the time of their interviews. This corresponds with a roughly twenty-year difference in the years of entry of Florence, 1980, and Leslie, 1997, and Rita, 2001. Viewed as cohorts, of the six oldest interviewees, one indicated “struggling financially” as her reason for enlisting. Eight of the 14 younger interviewees stated that money for college motivated their commitments to military service. Of the twenty interviews, this thread of financial motivation stands out as unique between the Baby Boomers and recent generations of women veterans. This seems to characterize the nature of their service experiences. It represents an imagined future in which higher education equates to a personal societal opportunity and financial success (Charles 2005, 46), which was expressed by many AVF women veterans interviewed.

Baby Boomer generation women veterans’ negotiation of separation by sex.

Lauren earlier described a military woman as being a steak among wolves. The very fact that this research focuses on sexual violence requires investigation of women’s bodies in military places and spaces. The challenge to incorporating women into military places and spaces is necessarily geographical. In the spirit of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, separate is inherent unequal, which was never a concern in professional

military places and spaces as expressed by the Baby Boomers interviewed. They were never considered 'equal;' therefore, their presence never embodied a real threat to the authority of the men. Annie, my oldest research subject, was twenty-one years old in 1965. As a young WAC (Women's Army Corps), she lived off base in the D.C. area and describes her military role: "I was working with 201 files and this is just as 'Nam is heating up, and so I was making sure all their papers were in order and everything was together and closing out their files and tsk [shakes head sadly] saying, "Good luck."

Enlisting a few years later, Gladys explains her background growing up in Deanville, Texas, in the 1950s: "I learned never to have an opinion or even express one for God's sake." She goes on to describe her experience of distancing between the sexes in the military at the Women's Army Corps recruit training site at Fort McClellan, Alabama:

There was a place on Ft. McClellan called Tiger Land where men were joining for Viet Nam and she made this speech and she [a black female drill sergeant] said, "They may be trees, but you are not squirrels." You have to realize, I'm 18 years old. I have no idea what this woman is saying to me. I kept thinking... It took me so many years to figure out what the hell she was saying. "Trees and squirrels." What the hell is this? I had no idea, and I was just so incredibly green and naïve to even hear anything like that.

From this position of naïveté, Gladys's experience in Viet Nam then careened through a gamut of emotions:

To me, it's [today's military's] not as bad as it was then. I know that's hard to understand. Well, because, to me it's not. It's [American culture's] more open now. It wasn't open then. You kept your mouth shut. In 'Nam, the plane lands. In 'Nam, okay, we're under mortar attack. One of the first things that a guy said when they landed the plane... It was an Army guy. I saw him. "Oh, look what the plane brought us, a whore." That was my welcome to Viet Nam. And there was this incredible... I had rank, but I paid for that dearly. I was there a week. I was already the Comm non-commissioned officer in charge. So, here I am, a female, 19 years old, in

charge of a 20-man team of draftees. They're allowed to carry weapons. I am not. I was never allowed to carry a weapon. So, you had to be able to talk really, really good to get your point across. But you have to understand where they were coming from, too. They didn't want to be there either, and now they got a damn broad telling us what to do. You know, you could understand where they were coming from. And it was rougher in 'Nam. I tell you why. This is really hard to take. For a woman who had no sexual experience, who was just enjoying having a good time, these guys... I went out into the field. You have to realize where they were coming from. They're my age. They're young. Their hormones are just raging. They have not seen a round-eyes, which means American female, in months, maybe even a year. They see me, they see their mother, their girlfriend, their wife, sister. I don't care who he is. All of a sudden, I'm somebody else in their life. And they want to touch me. They just want to touch me. And a lot of them, the second they would touch me, they would ejaculate. Right into their fatigues. This is really hard for a 19-year-old to take. It's like, you know, what am I going to do with all this, you know, and I got [inaudible 01:18:09]. And it was rough. That part was really tough. And they want to touch you. This was the hardest part now, was... I'm out in a village. Now you got to realize, a round-eyes has just shown up. These Vietnamese women are selling themselves every night to make a few bucks. And I show up. Guess who gets the attention? I do. They lost their business for that night. And so, I would arrive. They would throw everything in the world at me. Broken glass, rotten, rotten, rotten anything, would throw it at me. And because we don't want you here. We don't want you here. That kind of thing. They would throw their crap at me. To those guys, I was the world. I was the world to them. And they went to great lengths just to touch me.

Also speaking to separateness between the sexes in the Viet Nam-era military, as an Army nurse stationed with the 121st Evac in 1975 outside Seoul, Korea, Erin states:

I think Army nurses were always welcomed because we fixed you. We helped you. We comforted you. We, we were always looked upon as... Even though we were young and not too much older than the sick guys or the wounded guys, we were comforting. We were comfort. We were helping and we were caring. I hate to use those words, but, we were your sister. We were your mother. We were, we were *home*. We were like, "Oh, you're going to fix us and you're going to send us home."

Enlisting in 1974, at the end of the Viet Nam Conflict, Margaret describes the presence of males' sexist attitudes towards military women and hints at a generational shift in attitudes of the women:

When I transferred down to March Air Reserve Base in California, I worked for a Master Sergeant, but I swear I don't know if he was old enough, but he had the brown-shoe attitude. Women belonged at home. Women did not belong in the workplace. Women did not belong in the Air Force. And, you ran into that. I guess maybe I had a different attitude about it, maybe because I was older. I dunno. Or, maybe it was because my father was that way. My father was old fashioned. My dad was French, totally 100% pure bred, and he had the attitude that a woman... He didn't like it when my mother had to go to work. He thought he was failing. So, maybe that's where it came from, but I don't remember having that many problems with the people, with the men, that I worked with. I had more trouble with the women. Well, the one that I remember. The one that sticks out is a young lady who I was supervisor of and this girl had the attitude that she was... I guess she was the beginning of the next generation and it's almost like she felt like the world owed her something. She didn't want to do her work. It must have been mid-80s.

Overall, women veterans of the Baby Boomer generation expressed no fear of their male military counterparts. Erin attributes a sense of security to a group mentality. "We always went places in groups, hung out with the same people, went to the same parties. And, then, I went to Korea. Nobody felt safe 'cause, you know, you walk in the country and the first things they say to you, 'Do you have a Will? 'Cause you have a 38-second life expectancy.'" She elaborated, "The 8th Army Coalition and the Koreans were like, 'Oh, pray for summer to come quick,' because the North Korean tanks can't come over the rice paddies in the summer 'cause in the winter, they're frozen. They can come."

Similarly, Gladys describes the America in which she grew up as "a more trusting environment" than today. She expresses fear during her military service, but also resolve in the face of potential death, first drinking whiskey from a flask while landing on the Alaskan tundra due to a lost engine, and then in Viet Nam because it was combat. The military leadership identified potential violation of the women by their own male service members, however, because Gladys describes a guard on their quarters and the women's dubious response:

We actually had this poor guy who was a sentry who was supposed to guard us. This guy, you can imagine. Does he want to be here? Does he want to be doing this, standing there guarding women? But he has the only gun. He has the only gun. So, one night, we heard that they [the Viet Cong] were going to infiltrate, okay? So, I look at Danielle. I said, “Tell you what. You go flirt with this guy, I’ll kick him in the balls, and Willa, you grab the gun.” This was our plan of survival. And we could never do it. We got to survive. We got to figure out how we’re going to do this. “So, you grab the gun, okay? I’ll kick him in the balls. We’re good. You just flirt with him.” And we were going to do it. We can do this. That was our plan, honest to God. That was the whole plan of how to survive there. How pathetic, right? What we had to go through to survive.

If we conceive of people in ecological terms, basic recognition might be expanded beyond its appreciation of everyone’s equal moral worth to take account of the significance of place for the equitable flourishing of all ecological subjects (Eckenwiler 2018). Once established, the necessary care to nurture all place-occupiers results in achievement of all military branches’ core values, credos, and oaths. As directed by the tenets and laws directing warfare and warriors, the expectation is that all service members *recognize* the humanity and value in each other and give of themselves accordingly.

Above, we heard experiences of women veterans prior to the AVF. Both Gladys and Erin describe experiences subsuming themselves to the collective in the forms of physical and emotional comfort and representations of *home* as women for male soldiers. This is consistent with Glick and Fiske’s (1997) *complementary gender differentiation*, which is the benevolent aspect of traditional views of women assigning them traits consistent with traditional gender roles (e.g., wife, mother) that men depend on women to fulfill. Baudrillard (1993) is quite clear that the ‘erotic privilege’ of women – that they represent the powers, attractions, and dangers of sexuality for both

men and women – is, in fact, a sign of their “historical and social subjugation, a sexual overvaluation so as to stave off the crucial examination of the order of power.”

Through negative stereotypes of women, men have long been able to gain self-confidence by believing that they are better than the other half of the population. This is a common strategy by which members of groups boost their own self-esteem through derogatory beliefs about other groups (Glick and Fiske 1997), especially in US military environments. Symbolic violence clearly operates on women: they must give and continue to give of themselves as sexualized objects simply to receive the validation of the consumer system (Pawlett 2007). Paradoxically, women veterans of the AVF, beginning in 1974 with the inclusion of women now as peers to men, experienced this in tandem with neoliberalism and Baudrillard’s sexual indifference. With women’s valuation as subjects possessing human dignity, competence, and worthiness of respect in question, morals are suspended, which leads to distrust and fear of their military environments and the people within them. Mary, for example, enlisted in the US Navy in 1974. She describes her experience transitioning from recruit training to her MOS school:

When I was in the boot camp, you didn't have much of a mix between females and males there at boot camp but then that all changed when I went to Meridian, Mississippi, and so there was, you know, trying to fit in, you know, and got into some stuff as a new recruit down there down there in Meridian, Mississippi. It was different. I got into some things that scared me. Yeah, first experience was with men, boys. I mean, they weren't really men. Boys and, you know, all they wanted was, you know, to get in bed with you. So, that was scary. A lot of drinking and... I never, you know, because it scared me and so I was very careful not to get myself drunk and get myself in the situation that, you know, I couldn't get out of. And, all they wanted to do is get you in the backseat of a car and have their way with you, and so I pushed myself off plenty of guys there. I felt like I was assaulted by one of the guys, you know, and well, he got me alone and got me into the back seat of the car. I fought myself out of there.

Yeah. He, he... Well, another time... Actually, I think this was actually at the at the base. This other time that he just, he got me into the room you know wanted to get in bed and all that, so I had to fight him off.

When asked if she told anyone about the experience, Mary replied, “No. This is very embarrassing.” She continues to describe her experience at her first duty station at

Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico, and the access between men and women in the barracks:

First duty station was in San Juan, Puerto Rico. And that base, I mean, the sailors and the women, you know, girls, they had free access to our rooms, and so it was just a walk-in type thing. No, yeah, it's just walking in/out type deal. I was in bed one night when this guy came just, I mean, it was just open. I mean, they could just walk in at any time. I was asleep in bed and had one guy come in one night and I think he was looking for someone else and, and he was starting to get in bed I says, “What are you doing?” and, then, it surprised him, too, because it wasn't who he thought it was. And, and one of the other women in... Because I think it's like, it's kind of hard to remember we had several beds in that one room and she's screaming, got him out of there, you know. But, yeah, had easy access. That's all I can remember.

Mary's solution to her fear of living in the barracks was to spend a lot of her time off base at a Christian Servicemen's Center. When asked if that was a safe place for her, Mary responded, “Yes, because it was scary there on base.” Further, she felt that she had no male leadership she could trust, having been sexually propositioned by her executive officer. When she transferred to NAS Coronado in San Diego, California, she married and lived off base. Her explanation for her negative experiences was: “You know, of course, when I was in the military, I felt like it was more because, you know they, they want sex more than they... I don't know if they really had as much respect for the women in some areas.”

Enlisting in the US Army six years later in 1980, Florence describes a frightening encounter during the day in a public place while on a double date with

another girl, her male friend, and his male friend. The girl she had met in boot camp a couple of months earlier, both now stationed at Ft. Lee, Virginia:

We just went to a grass area and sat down and had a blanket and, and just sat there and we talked. And, then, he kind of grabbed me and threw me. I mean, we were sitting down and he laid me down and he was saying, you know, “What happens if this happens to you?” And, he pinned me down and, of course, my knee came up into the crotch ‘cause I’d been taught that. And, but he really threatened me. And, I think it was more of a learning situation, something that he wouldn’t really do. Because there is, there is, there is some activity going on around but it wasn’t, you know, I’ll say, “Oh, you know, it’s daytime.” But, then, when I got up, and I went over to her and say [*sic*], “You better check your friend,” and, I said, I said, “He just tried to do something to me.” And, I went to the car and sat. Well, the guy was more upset than anything else that his friend did that. But, then again, you don’t have “friend” friends like you do for months and years growing up. You just have, you know, “couple of months” friends type things. I mean it was... I mean, I didn’t mess with any guy, any guys, you know, after that, who knows, for months. Because it was... As soon as I remembered it, going down, you know, being pinned down.

Similar to Mary, after the assault Florence adopted an avoidance strategy in attempt to ensure her personal safety (Miethe 1995; Stanko 1997), Particularly disturbing, however, Florence describes her attack as a ‘learning experience,’ disbelieving that she actually would be sexually assaulted in a public place during the day. Of note as well, is her reference to ‘friend’ friends of a long duration as opposed to ‘couple of months’ friends. Kristi also chimes in on this topic, stating, “So, it just takes an extreme amount of time to become a safe person.” Leslie also asserts, “It takes a long time to get used to where you live and most in the military know that by the time you actually get used to it and you actually start caring is when you have to leave again.” These thoughts speak to another emergent theme in the data, that of transiency and, particularly, the effect of sexuality on care.

Post-Baby Boomers' experiences with truth. Driving the overarching theme revealed by my findings, the deterioration of military geographies as moral geographies care, interviews with this younger cohort identify confusion in the contemporary military with what is 'truth' or a 'lie'. Although they possess more *information* than their female military predecessors, they express a lack of faith in what is real and what is the truth. Contemporary women veterans describe this confusion about the real and the true as permeating every aspect of their military service, personally, socially, and professionally. This awareness is nowhere more evident than in their otherness from civilian society as well as from their male equivalents within military environments. Many women interviewed expressed experiencing a feeling of loss and many times feigned what was expected, such as camaraderie and respect, but they did not have, in military environments.

We read before of Rachel's experience being assigned an MOS she was 'sold' by a recruiter, but never practiced. She justified the untruth with the acceptance of money promised, performed a job "wherever a hand was needed or just kind of like a catch-all," but further stated that she did not receive the entire bonus amount promised. Certainly not the first enlistee to be lied to by a military recruiter; other contemporary women veterans struggled to discern truth and reality in their military experiences. Willow describes the unreality of her male peers being counseled to steer clear of her outside of work hours:

And, I didn't know about this until way afterwards, but they counseled the guys formally, in writing, like, "There's a female coming, and you will *not* make any jokes that, you know, could be offensive to her. You will *not* talk to her outside of work." And, they knew, like, coming on, like my enlisted record brief, like, this was a single, 22-year-old female, so she's gonna live in the barracks, but you're not gonna talk to her outside of work. At all. So,

at first, my first month or so, I just thought I smelled funny or something because they didn't talk to me as soon as we left work. [Drawing on the table with her fingers.] Like, here's the company area. Here's the street. Here's the parking lot. Here's another street. Here's the barracks and, like, as soon as we crossed the parking lot, like, we would all be walking back to the barracks together, and they would just peel off. I'm like, do they hate me? Like, what happened?

Lauren describes the paradox of instruction to trust females even if she does not like them, while her male peers are identified as 'brothers' who are 'disgusting':

[In Boot Camp] Like, "You build your relationships now, like, with you know, your fellow women." We'd have senior drill instructor time, and they would be, like, "You don't go anywhere alone." So, maybe the culture was already becoming aware of, you know, potential problems, or problems happening in the Fleet, but that was one of the biggest things. "You don't go anywhere alone. I don't care if you don't like whoever the female is. You never let her go anywhere alone. You always go together." So, that was a big thing. And of course, like, the mindset of, you know, "These men are your brothers and they're disgusting, so don't even look at them. Like, don't even pay attention to them." So, that was a big... And I was, like, "Yeah. Yeah. That's so right."

Riley further describes maintenance of 'secrets' between the military and the folks 'back home':

Someone told me [the current boyfriend had a girlfriend back home] and, actually, I think he was kind of borderline racist. He was a black guy and I have dated whoever. I'm not going to not date you because of your race. I go out for personalities and common morals and stuff like that. For him, he was from Connecticut and I guess his growing up was a black community. So, he would never want to show a picture of me to his mom. He'd be Facetiming. He never would show me because he'd be saying stuff about me being a white girl and this stuff. I don't know. It kind of made me feel really bad. I was, like, "What the heck? I'm not even thinking of you that way. Why are you, like, treating me this way?"

Place-identity and its sense of personal and collective identity, confidence in secure moorings in a shifting world, is absent from the data collected from those serving after the Baby Boomer veterans. If no one 'knows their place,' in this shifting collage, how can a secure social order and selves be fashioned and sustained? Such

confusion over the real and true within military environments simply does not exist in the interview texts of the Baby Boomers. They certainly experienced challenges as women, but never a sense of being misplaced and not belonging in some fashion. Contrasting the two eras, Annie chides contemporary society for the confusion. She states, “It’s just everything is so loose and everybody’s so angry and you can demand, and it’s in your face and there’s, there’s no respect for authority anymore. It just isn’t there anymore, respect for other, other people.” The darker side of assurance of the real and true, however, is expressed by Gladys who states, “This was the late 60s. You were property. Women were property. They didn’t sell you like slavery, but it was pretty much akin to that. It was like Colonel Mercer called me ‘his girl.’ His little girl. That always grated against me. But he was quite a mentor. He said, ‘Any young man who wants to date you, I want to interview him first. That’s a [*sic*] order.’ So, it was that property kind of thing.”

Forced Associations and Environments of Total Control

Military landscapes comprised of volunteers nonetheless are forced communities (Harvard Law Review 2004) steeped in structure and regimentation which, in turn, generate stressors not found in civilian places and spaces. Challenges to the cultivation of geographies of care in military places and spaces are environmental stressors and service members’ responses to them through enactment of risky behaviors in response to forced associations and environments of total control (Ben-Shalom and Benbenisty 2016).

Environmental stress and reactive risky behaviors. It is well documented that military operational service encompasses a unique set of duties involving a heightened level of physical danger, geographical separation from familial/social supports, challenging living standards, and increased physical, cognitive, and emotional exertion (Deans and Byrne 2009). In addition to the known sense of hazard related to warfare, research within the past decade identifies the impact of non-traumatic stressors on military members including task demands, feeling bored with the location of posting/assignment, homesickness, friction with authority, and negative life events (54). My data are replete with examples of these stressors and service members' responses to them. At the extreme end, Darlene describes the situation of a male Army warrant officer raping a female specialist in Afghanistan, blaming his actions on stress:

When I was in Afghanistan, I witnessed some issues, for sure. Like there was, there was [*sic*] definitely rape cases there and, from a [male] warrant officer and a [female] specialist. Yeah, and he certainly, I would say, he exploited his position and exploited the trust that he had gained from them, and he then crossed that line and there was a rape incident with one, yeah. She had to tell somebody that she was actually sexually assaulted. Over in Afghanistan, he attempted to commit suicide, and they put him on suicide watch. We went back to Alaska and he was court-martialed and I believe, got 10 years in Ft. Leavenworth. He alluded to basically just being in the military for a long time, stress, pressure, and not having [inaudible 00:09:43], not having, basically the outlets to... I don't know, feel more relaxed, I guess? So, it's really hard when you're downrange [in a combat theater]. You're supposed to focus on your job. You're not supposed to focus on how you can relieve stress. So, the only is you can do to relieve stress are to go work out or maybe a couple of other things. So, that individual, it was hard for him to find a way to, I guess, find an outlet. So, it's really hard to, sort of, change that situation. It was hard to change that situation when you're obviously deployed.

Grace identifies sexual violence as a culture within the military culture. She identifies stressors such as power and dominance, hyper surveillance, and the specific indignity of a urinalysis:

I think sexual assault is a culture within our culture. It's a dominance issue. I think the military may be more prone to having issues. First of all because they watch you like a hawk. Second of all because... So, they are going to see more of the issues of people with drugs and alcohol and when you're constantly on 'em. Like, I mean, I'd get woken up in the middle of the night to take drug tests like once a month, you know. Then, they sit there, watch the urine come out of your body. So, I think when you're so closely watching people, you're gonna see things more and especially in a culture where that masculinity is celebrated in that way, that macho hoo-rah kind of masculinity is celebrated that you're going to have more people that are prone to doing things like that because they have to have that power need. I think it just may be a product of itself.

Colette describes the barracks environment as the 'Mecca of hell' at Ft. Campbell, Kentucky:

Because it's hell. Because there's permanent party walking around. There's people that you don't want to get yelled at. You're so tired of being yelled at. You don't want to have to be in uniform because if you're in the facility, you have to be in uniform. So, it was the Mecca of hell. So, you just wanted to be away from that. You didn't want to be in your room studying. You wanted to be socializing. You wanted to be out and you wanted to be part of people. And, I think, yeah, when you come somewhere that you don't know anyone, you want to find... You want to know people. And, at least in the military, you get close with people almost instantly. It was almost problematic for me because I would trust people really quickly because I assumed they were like me, but they're not. But, at least in my case, I would trust people because I would get close because we're thrust into these really challenging situations together and we want to be close with people.

Willow describes the environmentally induced aggression she felt in 2013 stationed at Ft. Bliss in El Paso, Texas:

If, all day you're not in charge of your day, you got told what time to wake up, you got told to shave your face, you got told to do this, you got told to do that, like, throughout the entire day, and now it's Thursday night or Friday night, and we're going out, do you want to be in charge? Is it your turn to be in charge, and that's where that aggression and that angst gets pushed into? Because I remember... I'm not an aggressive person. I've never been a fighter. Like, if somebody were to start a fight, I feel like I have the skills now to finish it, but you would never see me start that train of thought or that action. But even I remember, like, by the end of the week, it seemed like I just want to yell at somebody because I've been

yelled at so many times this week without feeling like I prompted that. I mean, there had been times, “Oh, yeah, I messed up, Sergeant Rogers. My bad. I’ll fix it.” Okay. I already addressed it, but I’m getting yelled at for an hour even though the problem in a civilian situation would have already been, like, “Hey, boss. I know I messed up. This is what I’m gonna do to fix it. I’m really sorry. It won’t happen again.” Maybe there would’ve been a slight conversation so you could get your butt chewing in, but it wouldn’t be to the extent, like, the characterized version the military kind of expects from those junior NCOs to do that. So, even by the end of the week, if I feel that way and I’m not at all an aggressive person, like, how does the hyper-masculine, overly aggressive guy, who’s been told his whole life, like, “This is how you channel your energy,” like, what’s gonna happen? Is he gonna go home and beat his wife, or is he gonna go out, or...? How can you be surprised that these guys want to do things like this? Take it out on something.

Like Grace, Willow describes a loss of authentic and humane space (Atkinson 2009, 305) resulting in unfamiliar feelings of confusion, isolation, and aggression. She compares her military experience to a similar hypothetical situation with a civilian supervisor, juxtaposing reasonable and unreasonable circumstances. Further, she identifies how individual actors react differently to situational stressors, the need to “take it” [the stress] out on something. Throughout the conversations, we hear of zero, limited, or rejected coping resources available to junior enlisted personnel (Dolan and Ender 2008, 152), which limits coping options and, of course, positive outcomes.

Barracks shenanigans. Responses to environmental stressors obviously manifest in a variety of ways. As an officer, Melinda says that she never witnessed but only knows of incidents from the [military police] blotter:

I do know, just from kind of the blotter and stuff, that there was drug use in the barracks and stuff. And, you read about, you know, some kid on drugs skateboarding down the middle of Main Street with, like, a cape on wielding a saber. That’s pretty risky. Yeah. I dunno. They do stupid stunts in their barracks like jumping off their balconies, and kind of being in that, in that 18- to 24-year-old age bracket where you just want to push the

envelope and there's no death. I mean there are, obviously, rules against drug use, but there were regulations about alcohol in their barracks. And, they hid their drugs, they can hide their alcohol. But I felt like, I dunno, we, we made efforts to kind of limit *excessive* drinking, I guess. It still happened.

Patrice shares her experience stationed in 2005 at Camp Humphreys in South Korea in a 'little' isolated barracks compared to the 'big' barracks:

In our little barracks, not a lot of shenanigans went on, right? People were quiet. They were respectful. But in the big barracks situation, right, you have some loud mouth coming home from the bar at 2:00 a.m., banging on the doors or someone who got really drunk in the barracks who is now like Slip-n-Sliding down the hallway 'cause they think that's a genius idea, you know, 'cause these things happen, and I don't know why. Or, someone decides that everyone needs to come out and party. 'Cause it's the community living. And, so, especially in Korea, right? So, you have a bunch of young people. If you're in the barracks that means you're unmarried. So, we're single or dating someone. But we're not married, okay? And, a lot of these kids, you know, are, again, kids. And, I say this now. I know I'm only 33, but I look at it now and I'm, like, we were children left completely unsupervised. And, I think this is fair to say whether it's in Korea or state-side, you walk outside of a military base, this is what you're going to find in typical situations. You're gonna find the bars. At state-side, you're gonna find the car dealerships, pawn shops, and strip clubs. That's what you're gonna find in every military installation. So, you're either drinking on post or you're drinking off post. If you're underage, you're drinking on post because you can't make it past the MPs [military police officers] at the front gate. So, barracks shenanigans are gonna happen. I mean, the older, wiser ones went and saw the temples and they did this and that. We don't want to go do that. Or, the commander and First Sergeant would be like, "Hey, me and my family are gonna..." You *don't* want to go and hang out with your commander while he's wearing his polo shorts and, you know... That's just weird 'cause you can't be you. So, even though there's [sic] these events organized that you could go see these... It's an organized event. You don't want to go do that. But like there's nothing outside of base that really, you know? Like, the bases are always in these shitty communities anyways, right, where even the off post, post housing is not places that a normal person would be like, "Hey, I'm moving to *that* apartment complex."

Distinctions between safe and risky locations are clearly defined in the data. The question was asked of all research participants regarding 'no go' areas in civilian

communities surrounding military installations. All women veterans interviewed stated that they had never been to such locations. An example is that which is dictated in the Department of the Army's Off-Limits Establishments order for Fort Bragg, North Carolina, dated 8 January 2019 (Appendix F).

Limited recreational options off base. Orders like Appendix F exist for almost all military installations in CONUS and they tell service members where they cannot go due to known dangers. The dangers, however, are not only to life and limb. Patrice's description of the limited or complete absence of opportunities for constructive stress-relieving activities and behaviors on and off military installations echo throughout the data. Willow, a military brat, confirms this from childhood and her own experience on active duty:

I grew up in a military community [Ft. Riley, Kansas], so I definitely see there's a visual transition [between military installation and civilian community], certainly. I stayed away from those areas that I knew were very soldier-heavy. Well, in El Paso, where Fort Bliss is seated, there's, like, a whole neighborhood area, northeast El Paso is, like, 75% military people, and so there is more of the places you can get in trouble. The bars, the clubs, the strip clubs, all that sort of stuff and, I guess, 'cause I joined at 22, and so I had already done all of my partying in college.

Lauren relates similarly from a Marine Corps perspective with her older brother as a mentor:

But as far as, like, the whole right-off-base community, I think it's inevitable. I mean, young men are just like young women, I guess, but they're, you know, more easily targeted for strip clubs if it's right off the base 'cause it's cheap to get to. You had to pay a taxi, where nowadays, Uber. There was no Uber back then, but you get there quickly. It's all haircut places, you know? Buying a car. And a lot of that still applies to females, but it's almost like if you really wanna do all the things that the boys do, you're gonna go to the strip clubs, and you're gonna go to these places with them. So, for me, I never... I didn't like that and my brother

[also a Marine] always, you know, kinda, I guess really, he was like, “Don’t go to those places, you know? They take all your money. What’re you gonna get from it? What do you benefit?” So, really, I didn’t even think of anything for myself. I was just like, “Oh, yeah. Okay,” You know? So, if my friends were like, “Hey, let’s go with all the guys,” I’m like, “I’m not spending my money going over there.” But, it’s always kinda like the culture. Like, everybody who’s been to Lejeune [Jacksonville, North Carolina] jokes about Driftwood, or everybody who’s been to California jokes about... I can’t remember the name of that strip club over there, but there’s one over there that all the Marines know about, you know?

Melinda echoes this in our exchange, identifying undesirable elements as male service members. She admits to being drunk and engaging in risky behaviors to ‘prove’ to the men that she was not afraid:

You definitely don’t want to hang out immediately outside base alone in certain areas. It, it really seems to be area-specific. If there, if there’s housing, it’s usually more commercial, and if it is, it’s usually low-income housing. I, I can’t say for sure, but it seems like higher crime prevalence in those areas. There, there, in general, just don’t seem to be any, like, reputable reasons to stop there. It’s all, like, the pawn shops and loan sharks and strip clubs and things like that.

[Connie] You think that attracts “undesirables”?

[Melinda] Yes [tentatively].

[Connie] Do you think those undesirables are also members of the military?

[Melinda] Yeah [firmly].

[Connie] So, it’s the men that these businesses cater to that draw the military men, too?

[Melinda] Umhmm.

[Connie] How about the women that come to those places? What do you think about that?

[Melinda] So, I have been to some of the strip clubs, like, in Killeen [outside Ft. Hood in Texas]. And, it’s more of, like a... Well, I was very drunk when I agreed to go, but... It’s kind of like showing the guys that you’re cool, too, kind of thing. That you’re not afraid or whatever.

Former US Army Ordnance Officer Darlene who was commissioned in 2010 compares her perception of environments and behaviors in Alaska and Hawaii:

So, enlisted, they go straight from high school to basic training and then straight to their post. They haven’t gone through that party phase yet. They’re on their own for the first time. They have a paycheck for the first

time, and they don't have parents who... So, they're let loose. So, this is like me going to college, but still, I have college keeping me responsible, while these guys... Maybe they never knew responsibility growing up, and they didn't have those examples, their parents, growing up either. Some did, and there's balance. So, I think some soldiers do have that balance of having a good upbringing and they know there are limits. I think some don't. We have a lot of extremes, a lot of variance with the types of soldiers. But, I mean, you got to think about all the temptations off post. Once they go outside the gate, like in Korea. That's a pretty extreme scene right there. So, Hawaii, though... We're in the middle of the island and... Hawaii, you're in the middle of the island. You have to make a substantial drive to go to any significant bar or club scene. There's a couple, maybe, right outside the gate, but... And, I think, that was more of an issue in Hawaii, was you're on post and you don't have transportation to go off post. Where do you go? I think that isolation was maybe one of the issues there. Being so far away from home for the first time and not having a lot of resources, not having money, not knowing anybody. Like in Alaska, you know where everyone went. In Hawaii, you didn't know where everyone went. So, Fairbanks, being smaller and, a smaller community, and there's only so many bars you can go to. Everyone knew where everyone went, and that was even where all the enlisted guys went and it's where not-enlisted people go. I think, with that, people know that, know where you're going to go, you don't have... Your situations can lessen in extremity. You can only do so much to get in trouble in Fairbanks, while Hawaii, there was a little bit more wider [*sic*] range of instances. I think there was a couple of deaths from playing in the waves too much, so drinking on the beach and getting in the water. Motorcycle accidents were quite high. Motorcycle accidents were quite high when I was there. So, water incidences, motorcycle incidences. While in Fairbanks, it was more... There were a couple cold-weather injuries from outside of training or people drinking in the barracks. So, I would say those are less extreme than Hawaii. So, very less extreme incidences than Hawaii.

[Here Darlene transitions to identification of solutions through leadership.] So, the bottom line is, they just need the... Soldiers need to know that someone cared, and that the soldiers can go and talk to them, and it was more, it was just a job for them [enlisted leadership]. So, here we are, nine to five. It's a job. "Okay. I'll text you later," kind of thing. It wasn't like, "I'll make you sure you stay out of trouble, and I care about you." There was none of that. What increases the risky behavior, I think, is, a soldier just still, they still like feel like, and, I believe, they're still treated like children. So, I think if they're acknowledged as adults and given responsibility as adults and treated like adults, they'll act like adults. So, if they have consequences for their actions, they're going to think about it again. That was a big thing. I just think at the end of our weekends, or the week, on Friday, we have our safety brief, and it was just say the same

thing, nothing special, nothing unique or inspiring to really make someone think. I think there can be, there really can be moments of, that are resonated and I can think about it later, maybe a couple hours later, but still resonated with me. It was going through the motions and [not] going back to caring.

Darlene specifically identifies the need for care. Similarly, Rita describes the challenges leaders face engaging their troops in military environments due to generational, socialization, and individual expectations and behaviors:

You know, and every service is different. You know, I will say this, being a Services Officer that's that was kind of our charge right? We knew we had not only provide recreation but provide bring in single airmen and sometimes that's kind of dangerous depending on the way you do that, right? So, not just bring them to the club and have them drink but, literally, whether it's paintball or doing trips you know. We work very closely with information, tickets, and tours to do... I know when I was at Travis [Air Force Base] because we're right there next to Lake Tahoe, we would do ski trips for our single Airmen. So, so there are things out there. The biggest thing is just educating them on what's available but also creating environments where they can meet people in a safe environment and really, you know, kind of build relationships because that's what happens. Someone is in the Air Force for the first time. They're single and a lot of times, they'll be in their dorm. Maybe there is something constructive going on at the club, maybe they have karaoke night. They don't want to go by themselves. So, a lot of times what we try to do is use our First Sergeants to help. Those are the military personnel the closest to the fight when it comes to our junior enlisted. Just say, "Hey, guys, come out," or please go to the dorms, not just for inspections. Go check on them. Befriend them. You know, they're almost like big brothers and sisters. We put a lot on our First Sergeants. We put a lot on them and because they're really on duty 24/7. "Hey, what I want you to do is on Friday night, Saturday nights, I want you to go and check on our airmen. I want you to go to the game room and start a game of pool. Hang out with them. Befriend them. Listen to them." I mean, they're young people and, again, you're dealing with different generations as well, you know, so you know that's sometimes that's the elephant in the room as well because you have to understand, "Okay. What's going on? Is this person from Generation X or from Generation Y, or are they a Millennial? Where in a generation and what is their background? Were they abused? Did they grow up with loving and supportive parents or did they raise themselves? All of that contributes to, you know, how they function within the military. Some people feel like, "Hey, stay out of my business. I do a good job at work. I want to be left alone." Okay. There's nothing necessarily wrong with that, but then what

happens if a suicide happens? Then leadership's spinning their wheels on "What could we have done? What could we have done?" I mean, I think forums where Airmen tell you how they're feeling and what they could have done. Focus groups are important.

Perceptions on the appropriate engagement of leadership obviously vary greatly in the data, which will be investigated in depth later. Also referenced throughout the data are phases of expected behaviors as young people transition to adults. Most prominently expressed by women veterans, however, is witnessing and/or engaging in the rebellion against structure and authority. Often proving officers' perspectives naïve, the rebellious behaviors exhibited by junior enlisted personnel are nothing short of defiant, often illegal, and almost always risky.

Sneaky sex. 'Risky' is best defined broadly here as 'the potential for realization of external, unwanted, negative consequences of an encounter, encompassing individuals' and/or society's identification of a potential danger whether real or imagined.' The same interview questions were asked of all subjects, including identification of 'risky' behaviors in military places and spaces, but data from the Baby Boomers do not include admitted or witnessed behaviors of military women breaking sexual taboos of their era other than Margaret's experience of 'comingling' in South Korea in violation of the UCMJ. For Millennials, Gen X'ers, and Gen Y'ers, however, the sexual behaviors of women figure prominently throughout the data. Grace identifies an oft-cited risky behavior prevalent in the data, sneaky sex, witnessed during her recruit training at Ft. Jackson, South Carolina, in 2008:

There's this drill sergeant... One girl was sneaking out of her barracks at night sleeping with one of the drill sergeants. Female girl sneaking out to sleep with the male drill sergeant, and I was like, "How?" first of all. How

are these people not *tired*? How are you not *tired*? I'm exhausted. I don't know how these people had energy for this stuff, but it was just kind of a culture shock.

Another tale from recruit training at Ft. Jackson, also in 2008 but in a different unit, is described by Colette:

I know that one of the women that I went to train with... There was a lot of pent up sexual tension, I guess. And so, one... And then it was a rumor, a barracks rumor, for sure, but one girl was claiming she was sleeping with the drill sergeant. And so, it was my first open door to how those lines got blurred. Fraternization. They tell you, you can't. You're not supposed to sleep with those people. They outrank you. They're in charge. And, I figured out... That was my first taste of it. And when I got to AIT, I really figured out those lines got blurred all the time.

Rachel describes military personnel in her unit at Ft. Leonard Wood, Missouri, engaging in risky behaviors in 2015 such as sneaking into empty or opposite sex barracks to drink and hook up:

So, I was never allowed off base. Our, like I said, our chain of command, our platoon, they didn't allow that even if you were nearing the end of your training. You got longer passes on the weekend and only if family was there to check you out could you go off post, so I think that was like touch and go. It wasn't even boyfriend and girlfriend like, you know, blood family or marriage. So, we were really strict as far as on base, or post. Yeah, there were people having sex, and it was just really crazy things. A young lady snuck out in the middle of the night to meet up with a guy and I was, like, you've known him for two weeks but she was 'in love' and I was just, like, I don't know if it's young people being silly, but, yeah. Sneaking into the Marine barracks because one of them, I guess, was abandoned, and so that became like the party place and people, yeah, they had just, like, "Okay, we can't leave post, but we're going to bring everything else in." So, and sneaking in alcohol and other stuff, just being young people. From my understanding, it was solely to have sex and drink. It wasn't necessarily to get away. Like, I never heard them, like, "Oh, I'm going to get a nap or something." It was solely to meet up with a guy or girl like... It was extreme. I don't think anybody just went there just to, like, relax. It was the sole purpose to be wild and free. Sneaking into the opposite sex barracks. Some people thought it was primitive 'cause Ft. Leonard Wood is a dull base and so other people were, like, "We can, you know, go in and out like it's no problem." But, to us, I think, maybe, it was so sneaky, maybe, because it was taboo and so they did it

just because we were told we couldn't. I found out about the whole barracks thing, I was just like, "Oh, my, gosh!" like Mom [Rachel]. "What was *wrong* with you guys that you don't *know* these guys?"

Riley also describes the loosening hold of transitioning from the rigid routine and stress of recruit training to the relative freedom of tech school at Wright Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, in the fall of 2016:

Temperature wasn't bad, but it was a lot less, not necessarily rigorous. We still had really hard PT workouts and, actually, we woke up earlier than at basic training. It was a little bit more stressful because you had free time, you know, when you get out of class to either study or hang out. So, that can be stressful because, even though you have to be in your room by 11:00, you don't necessarily have to be *asleep* by that time. It's on your own structured level on if you want to go to bed on time or not and get a good amount of sleep or if you're going to stress yourself out by staying up late and studying. So, that's how it was a little bit different, but it was more lenient when it came to being integrated with people and hanging out with people outside of the class schedule. So, I guess, when it really started changing was we had a [*sic*] eighth week of basic training. It was Airman's week. It's whenever the guys and girls got to hang out a little bit and when you're away from civilization and, I guess, flirting and all that stuff. For eight weeks, they get kind of... What's the word? They just are craving that attention or something. So, a lot of people start hanging out and when you go into tech school, it's kind of, like, "Oh, that guy likes me." That type of thing. People are more interested in hanging out together. It's just you've never been away from the opposite sex for that long. So, whenever you're put back together, it's just kind of like a weird situation. From the people that I met, and even you sometimes, you've never been away from people [especially the opposite sex] for so long. So, it's just weird to be around other people again where you can talk freely and stuff, but a lot of experiences that I noticed were that people had been isolated for so long that they were just doing things that they would've never done if, say, if they were in their hometown because they know people, they're, like, "I'm not going to do that and embarrass myself." But here it's, like, they didn't really care because it's just they were craving that attention. People are having sex in the laundry room where the cameras could see them, and just crazy stuff was going on that normally wouldn't be like something they would be doing in the real world.

In addition to the perceived sense of sexual desperation, Riley reiterates above the distinction between the 'real world' and the 'military world' and their disparate

expectations for behavior. She also introduces the concept of sexual exhibitionism, which is described by Linda at Ft. Sam Houston, Texas, in 2011 as well:

So, when we're in line, and it was actually in line. We were in line to throw our grenades and they ended up being... Everybody was already paying attention, but they ended up getting really, really close and we're this close [claps hands together] right on top of each other and a lot of recruits, you can hide pretty much really easily, so there's not enough drill sergeants to do all the grenades and watch all the soldiers. I think they did foreplay or they were fondling each other. I told, I believe, one of my [male] drill sergeants, but because I didn't have proof... Everybody knew about it. [I didn't report it] because she didn't have a problem with it. Everybody was like, "I don't want trouble. I just want to get through this." Head down. I don't want trouble.

Janet states, "There was sex during both deployments. There was one female on my first deployment that got caught in a port-a-john. Another time, the same female got caught [having sex] in the showers and then she got promoted to sergeant." Grace describes an incident told to her by a friend and, although not identified as 'sneaky,' is sexual behavior that certainly challenges the existence of good order and discipline in military places and spaces:

There's [*sic*] a lot of people that were drinking quite a bit that shouldn't have been. My roommate would come home... I was too petrified to drink, but she would come in smashed during, like, bed check and I'd have to like take care of her. There was a couple that got married. A very strange story... So, they were my, my class when I... My class was pretty difficult so, like, a lot of people failed out. Well, the husband, I think, I don't know if he failed or was getting med-boarded [discharged] or something. Well, one of the guys in my platoon told me that for their bachelor party it was an orgy.

Sneaky sex, especially enacted through hooking up, is an emergent behavioral theme supporting the overarching theme of neoliberalism eroding genuine care in contemporary military environments. Research indicates that because of its socially weak association, fleeting, and exposure to vulnerability, participants experience

embarrassment, guilt, and regret following a hook up (Bennett 2017). Here we continue to present responses to environmental stressors.

Excessive alcohol consumption. Recent literature focuses on a perceived shift in young people's drinking habits, particularly a contemporary practice Measham (2006; Dolan and Ender 2008, 157; Jayne, Velentine, and Gould 2012, 193) labelled 'determined drunkenness.' About Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, Janet says:

Honestly, the only thing I could really remember ever doing in Ft. Bragg is going to bars or dance clubs. That's really all there ever was to do. Any Friday or Saturday night, we never did anything other. Like, if we weren't going to a bar or a dance hall, we were having parties in the barracks. The only things really there were to do was alcohol-related and bar-related so much to the point that, whenever I got here, I actually didn't know anything else to do or even what to look for as far as things to do because that's all I'd really been around for the last seven years and I've forgotten almost that there were other things to do. All the strip clubs were definitely geared towards the male group, so definitely none of them, like... Anybody that did something other than go to clubs or bars, they left the Fayetteville area and had to go expand outwards to find things to do and places to visit and stuff like that. But there was Myrtle Beach and a lot of people go to Myrtle Beach.

Lauren describes the pervasive mentality of binge drinking in the Marine Corps:

I mean, everybody... Same things, you know? Somebody gets a hotel room to get away from the barracks, and everybody goes and gets drunk. They offer, you know... You can go out this weekend and do that, or here's tickets to go somewhere, but even though the tickets are free, Marines aren't gonna afford the logistics to get there, what they're eating when they get there. 'Cause if they're on a hotel off base, you know, they all pitch in for this. And then they come back and eat the chow hall because they have a meal card. As least money we can spend on all this and the most money we can spend on beer, is what we're gonna do. I mean, even when I was younger, that was what we all do. You know, you go hang out, you drink as much as you can 'cause it's a competition, you know? So-and-so outdrank you, and so-and-so outdrank you, or whatever, and I'm small. Of course everybody outdrinks me. And it was almost like a status thing. Like, "Oh, yeah, Bybee parties with guys." Or, "Bybee handles herself with boys," or whatever. And I remember specifically one Thanksgiving. It was

when I was at Lejeune. We were getting ready to deploy. We couldn't afford to fly home 'cause tickets were super expensive and we hadn't gotten paid in, like, two months 'cause something was wrong on the administrative side, so we had no money. It was, like, me and three other Marines, and they found somebody who lived off base and we'd go party at their house, you know, for the weekend. And I remember we were sitting there Thanksgiving Day, and everyone was so drunk before we even ate. Like, we just sat there, and I remember, like, I had a beer in my hand, and I remember, like, waking up, and I saw this beer in my hand, and I was like, "Wow. I could've spilled that everywhere." I mean, I look back on it now and I'm like, I was so stupid, but it's because I wasn't looking for anything else. I mean, I was just, like, we're all doing this together, you know, we're all a team. I think a big part is separation from family because you're basically establishing your own group, now, with your unit. And, it's glorified. I think the glorification of it is a big problem, but I mean, that goes with the culture. But, also being separated from your family, you can't afford to go do fun things you might've done with your family, you know, vacations or other things. And, basically, it's we work hard, we party harder. And that's a big mentality.

Colette's experience includes myriad risky behaviors resulting from military place and space environmental stressors:

Oh, it [risky behavior] manifests. So, I think the reason we all were partying so hard is, first of all the age group, the age is from 18. I knew some people who were in their late thirties or early thirties and they definitely partied with us, too. But, most of them were between 18 and 25 and we were there to have fun after training was done. So, I think it was, first, to let off steam. Second, I think it was because we had just come out of basic training. It was a form of rebellion to kind of feel you still had your life because you know what I'm talking about. Your life kind of goes away. Everything you do is gone and, when you're in training, you kind of want to... You get the chance to see the real you again. And so, I think several people are just simply probably alcohol abusers and basic training does not break that. You don't become sober. You become sober by force, but then you're right back in the opportunity and you go right back to those habits. So, basic training doesn't necessarily change your life. It can't unless you want it too. Third, you're putting males and females together in very close quarters. I mean, we are on top of each other. We spend hours together and some of those hours are in compromising positions. We have to go out in the field and so we all are disgusting together and we're changing together and they try to limit that stuff, but sometimes it's just got to happen. And young. I also believe that because we're all working out really hard, our test [testosterone] levels are shooting up and so we're willing to... Testosterone. I'm not a doctor, but

there's connections between test levels and your sexual drive, you're willing to take risks, you're willing to be more... You take chances; you don't think things through. And we're all sitting there running five miles and doing pushups and circuit training. So, we're all in great shape. So, that's my first theory. My second is that we... All of us come out of basic training thinking we need to settle down now. Basic training gives you this false idea that you need to, like, find a family and be close to people because when you go to basic training that closeness is taken. Even though you get letters and you might have someone at home, you want that physicality with someone. You want that physical interaction. And so, I think that's another willingness. And then I think the location. We were in San Antonio, Texas. It is a party city. I mean, it is so easy to go out. I mean, everywhere.

Patrice describes over-consumption of alcohol as only partially responsible for sexual assault in military places and spaces and admits her role in advocating a hedonistic party lifestyle:

They're these young adults that their pre-frontal cortexes haven't developed yet to make rational decisions, who are escaping whether it's the control of their parents or the control of their NCO. And when they get that freedom don't know what to do with it. You know, we say that the military should give you this structure, right? Well, the structure, it so much that you want to rebel against it. It's like watching these kids who were raised by really strict parents go off to college and lose their ever-loving minds. Yeah. Pastor kids are a great example of that. They're the best kids through high school. Make all these great grades. Go to college and lose their ever-loving minds, right, 'cause they haven't experienced that before. But you bring these communities of all that same type of people together and we feed off each other. Sexual assault doesn't happen between one person and another person. It happens in the community because the community either turns a blind eye to it or the atmosphere drives it. We drive it in the military by over-consumption of alcohol. That's the normal. If you're not going out on Friday night to the bar, you're a loser. What are you doing with your life? If you're staying at home to study for a test, you're a loser. You should be at the bar, you know? And I say that because I have told people that, you know? These horribly shy young ladies... I'm like, "Let's go! Let's go out. Let's do this."

Rachel relates, "A lot of drinking. I feel like that's what's always taking place off base, just getting drunk as possible and then showing that you're macho and that, either, if you're a guy, you know, super alpha male. If you're a female, you're either, you can

hang, or you, you're sleeping with one of them. Kinda seemed like either one or the other." Linda describes an experience of party chaos upon arriving at Ft. Carson, Colorado, in preparation for deployment to Afghanistan:

I remember going to a party and I saw the worst of everybody, and I was, like, "I'm not doing this again." Basically, one of my peers was married, was having sex... A female was having sex. Her husband was in New York. They were in a room having sex. Somebody else was throwing up in a... I mean, it was just, like, everything, everywhere... They were trying to get somebody in the car and he ended up trying to run out, and I was, like, no. Chaos beyond belief and I was, like, "I'm never doing this again. Like, don't ask me to hang out with you. Just don't."

Patrice identifies the drinking practice as part of the military production of space, particularly the process of inclusion and exclusion from the group. Linda describes the debauchery of a party. These situations are obviously not stable stages in which people are passively embedded, but a constant process of temporary encounters of people and situations (Demant and Landolt 2014). Whether used to escape stress or in rebellion from authority, drinking alcohol is harmful to one's health and binge drinking peaks during young adulthood, the life-stage of the overwhelming number of military service members. Research also shows a strong correlation between drinking alcohol and engaging in short-term sexual relations. Further, recent studies suggest that high alcohol consumption might serve as a short-term mating strategy in young adults. Both men and women who drink alcohol are perceived to be more sexually available and interested in sexual encounters compared to peers who do not drink (Vincke 2017), which may impact sexual violence in military geographies. [This will be discussed in greater detail when discussing 'hooking up.'] Like Patrice describing the community as ultimately responsible for sexual violence, Rachel concludes this section on risky

behaviors with a paradoxical yet disturbing description of activities in military places and spaces and keeping secrets:

And maybe this goes to why the environment is the way it is. It's really tight knit. Each unit you go to you get really close to those people and that time, whether it be 10 weeks of training, or years living at your station and so maybe that's why there's such cover-up, maybe that's why there's so much, I don't know, just blind eye to things when you know behaviors are wrong, good or bad. I think we form a really close-knit community.

Secrecy is a normative requirement of certain intimacy relationships, such as performance of the sexual act. It also forms the bond that unites members of secret orders and associations of which the US military can be included (Tefft 1980). As previously presented, the data indicate that events and relations produced by people violating boundaries and proprieties create secrets. Secrecy can comprise a commonly agreed-upon set of restrictions and silences about the proper time and place of disclosure. Secrets are not simply the results of social conventions, or even that such conventions reinforce them, but that massive mutual collusion is required to maintain them. We see many manifestations of secrecy and its implications in military geographies. Secrecy is expedient. Sometimes, it enables the powerful to escape accountability for their exploitation and manipulation of the weak (Tefft 1980). The unmasking of some secrets, however, may be a grave mistake (Beidelman 1993). If we expose secrets about dangerous places or abusive acts, we morally have the obligation to intervene.

I argue throughout that military places and spaces require adherence to core values and enactment of leadership traits and principles to ensure cohesion, good order, discipline, and successful warfighting through commitment of one's self and care for one's comrades. The dark side of secrets, as we shall see, is that those designated as

leaders acting pragmatically, communicatively come to an understanding of their lifeworld as unproblematic even when it is beset with complexities and the potential to betray their ethical commitments to fellow human beings (Gellately 1997). More troubling is recent research identifying widespread empathy for individual and collective acts of nihilism, abuse, and the preservation of ‘community’ against interlopers at the cost of others’ human dignity and well-being (Meštrović 2008; Pawlett 2013; Sjoberg 2014; Harris 2015).

Leadership failures. Almost unfathomable conceptually, how does sexual violence continue to manifest in military places and spaces with such engrained codes of conduct and expectations for ethical behavior? Most military professionals are aware that those they seek to lead are people first and soldiers, sailors, airmen, or Marines second. They have entered the military with unique personalities and individual sets of motivations, interests, attitudes, and values. They share basic needs for survival, belonging, esteem, and self-realization. Each of these needs must be met in turn for the next to become operative and efficient. Although servicemen wear uniforms, they also are a part of an intricate network of civilian relationships. They have wives, children, husbands, parents, hopes, fears, dreams, religious ideals, and names. The successful leader remembers that he or she is dealing with whole beings, people who are infinitely more than soldiers, squad leaders, platoon commanders, mechanics, artillerymen, or pilots (Placinta 2016). Mitchell (1998) accurately identifies the example of the Marine Corps in which leaders exert ‘authority’ through competent leadership rather than ‘power’ through coercion, stating: “In any civilized military, the force exerted by

superiors over subordinates is not power; it is authority. Men who exercise authority acknowledge that they themselves are subordinate to others. Men who wield power answer to no one. In the armed forces of a democratic republic, the only power that should matter is firepower.”

The not-so-‘Strategic Corporal.’ The concept of the ‘strategic corporal’ asserts that individuals of relatively low rank (i.e., E-4/USMC Corporal) are empowered with leadership and tactical responsibility for themselves and their subordinates (Gill 2009; Nix 2012; Dalgaard-Nielsen and Holm 2019). Leadership and cohesiveness help control the behavior of unruly individuals (Shields 1993). Emerging from the data, however, is more evidence of failure by leadership at all levels to marshal control by leaders of those led, toxic leadership (Dobbs and Do 2019). Grace describes how actors within military places and spaces employ control tactics and, specifically, the impacts on women’s experiences:

First of all, there’s a whole different language. Second of all, you’re taught from the beginning to believe there’s only one way, only *one* right way and that’s what whoever’s in charge of you says. And, you shut up and you don’t talk about it, and you don’t think about it, and you just do what they tell you to do, even if it didn’t make much sense. You just do it anyway and they also promote the idea that you can only contribute if you’re, I don’t know, physically in the best top tip shape and sleep deprivation and all that good stuff. I mean it’s a, I mean, it’s really control tactics, suppose. [It puts women at a distinct disadvantage] because you’re subjected to the being compared to being male and female. I mean, like, there’s different standards for girls, but then it’s “easier” for us and it’s... We get it “easy.” We’re “lucky.” We don’t have to, you know, do as many sit-ups or push-ups or whatever, whatever crazy stuff.

Colette describes the military environment as dehumanizing, feeling ‘gross,’ and her struggle to overcome the loss of agency:

Because I'm an intelligent person. I think I have free thinking or free will. And I'm aware of rules and regulations, but there was... Especially in basic training, but in the beginning of AIT, they really tried to fuck with your head. And so, they wanted to maintain control over your mind. And the way they did that was by getting you in trouble at the very rarest moments and there was no such thing as respect for your time. I feel like eventually I was at a place where I didn't feel less than a human. I just felt kind of gross because I'm smart and I'm not brilliant, but I'm intelligent and I'm not trashy. I cleaned my room and I just want to do my homework and go to bed and which obviously isn't what happened. I got drunk a lot. But, you kind of want to just be left alone and there's just no such thing. They're going to stay on because they have to. They have to maintain that mental control because that's what keeps you in check.

Throughout the discussion herein rage the tensions and challenges of leadership to maintain military good order, discipline, and effectiveness necessary within landscapes of care while also ensuring the safety and relative privacy of all service members. From the data, this occurs most often through benevolent sexism, fluidity in the chain of command, and placing women in precarious places, resulting in abuses of power, bullying, and danger.

Benevolent sexism. Gladys asserted previously that women in the Viet Nam era were 'property' although her male commander and mentor believed he was behaving benevolently towards her in mitigating her personal life as a young woman a long way from her home in Texas. In the era of transitioning women into combat-inclusive roles, however, such alleged benevolence proved detrimental as described by many women veterans who shared their experiences. Melinda, for example, describes her experience preparing to deploy with an all-male unit:

My first job was not a job that females were allowed to have at the time. It changed while I was in the military. Yeah. So, they, they had to do some 'roster magic' to allow me to deploy with them, and I had to go through an interview process to make sure that I was a good fit to be with this all-

male unit. The interview... I mean, there were, there were other parts of the interview, but the parts that really stuck with me were, "How do you feel about sexual harassment?" And, I said, "I'm against it." But, they, they kind of probed and, like, "Well, you're, you're going to be in an all-male unit. If we accept you... And, so, it's, it's probably something that you're going to have to encounter. So, what would be...? How would you respond when that happens?" I was, like, "I grew up with brothers. Like, I'm not going to tolerate it." My expectation, you know, having not really experienced that yet in my life being a 21-year-old *girl* fresh out of college, like... You know, I expect that I would address it with the person involved directly. And, then, they ask me how I feel about penis jokes. "We hear a lot of penis jokes. Again, you're in an all-male unit. You're going to hear a lot of penis jokes." I was, like, "Okay." I guess I've never thought about my opinion about penis jokes.

Willow portrays the sexist benevolence of her battalion commander during a field training operation:

And, the one forward operation I went forward with, it was supposed to be the two of us females with the one male NCO. A couple days out, ahead of everybody else, and then she backed out at the last minute. She came up with some excuse. She was not a similar mindset to you and I. She expected different treatment. She decides, "Oh, I'm a cute girl. I shouldn't have to pick up that heavy med set." If her hair hadn't been in a bun... "I'm cute. I don't have to do that." But, yeah, she backed out at the last minute because... She's, "Oh, well, I'm prone to yeast infections and UTIs [urinary tract infections], so I don't think I should be away from the porta-pottys." *What?* So, they were about to pull me, and I put my foot down. I said, "Look, like, I've trained to make sure that I can be in these medically advanced situations. You can trust me to do my job. I know how to take care of this truck. I know how to take care of these patients on a forward basis with limited equipment. Why should I *not* be able to go?" And so they said, "All right. Cool. Foster, get in the truck," and a guy went with us instead, and we were fine. We were 100% fine. And, then, our battalion commander gets out there and he sees me, and he, like... This guy's a character. So, he's got the big dip and he's the cav guy. And, he sees me and books it across, and he's like... He calls all us women by our first names. Okay. Whatever. His wife was in as well, and so he was like, "I just want you to know that I care about you, so I'm gonna remember your first name." I'm like, "All right, if that's the way you do that..." Yeah, but he comes over and says, "Mel, are you good? What the hell are you doing out here?" I said, "Sir, I wanted to be out here. I'm fine. Please don't do a thing. Please, sir. Please do *not*." He said, "Okay. Where do you pee?" I said, "I pee'd upstream, and all the guys pee downstream. We figured this out within an hour of everybody setting

up.” And he said, “And you’re okay with that?” “Yes, sir. I just wanna do my job.” He said, “Okay. If anybody gives you hell, you come straight to me.” I said, “Okay, got it.” So, that was, I guess, the least benevolent sexism, but just for him to come over and address that, “Well, where are you peeing?”

Other examples in the data illustrate behaviors and dictates by leadership, especially high-level leadership, attempting to comfort or protect military women in various situations. Indeed, this may benefit a woman or a few women on a micro-scale, but as we have already seen, this largely acts to separate women as a cohort from their male peers as *female*, serving to actively “other,” and thus isolate them in geographies where incorporation is necessary for successful place occupiers.

Precarious placement of women in place and space. Other leadership attempts to separate and/or isolate military women from men are not benevolent, but self-serving. Lauren describes the decision of her Officer in Charge (OIC), a male captain, to separate her from her male counterparts while detached in Mexico, compromising her safety for the sake of his career:

I went with a team to Mexico for a few weeks and we were down there working with the Mexican Marines. Basically to help train them for counter-narcotics operations. So, I went. I was the only female. We went down with a team of intel. Everybody was Staff NCOs, a captain, and a gunny. I was a lance corporal [E-3, the only woman and the most junior]. But they picked me because I spoke Spanish, and I was cheap to put on orders. I did a language test over the phone, nothing really official, and then we went to go do our training in New Orleans before we left, and then we took a C130 down there, and I was the only female, and they wanted me to translate, you know, for the headquarters element, or for the classes, or communication between whoever didn’t speak Spanish and the rest of the Mexican Marines. That was intimidating. Very intimidating. Well, I was the only woman, which really wasn’t my concern, I was really freaked out by how much Spanish they thought I knew. I kinda grew up in California, sure. I speak Spanish, but not military documentation Spanish. So, I got down there, but one of the staff sergeants, he was, like,

“Don’t worry about it, like, we’ll figure it out. You can explain around things. You know enough,” and when we got there, the Mexican Marines, they don’t have women in their Marine Corps, so it’s, like, cooks are the only people that come, but they come on and off base every day. And the Mexican Marines stay there every day, ‘cause that’s where they have their boot camp is where we stayed. And, so, there are these, like, little hooches, and we all started to get into one hooch, and I was right there with everybody else, and the captain came in and he was like, “Oh, no, you are *not* staying in here.” And I was like... The gunny, he was, like, “Well, where is she supposed to stay by herself on this base?” And so, [the captain] was like, “Oh, no. I’m not dealing with this. You’re gonna go...” So, they put me in my own hooch, and I was really freaked out ‘cause I was, like, there’s no locks on these doors. There’s no door in the back. It’s not like we have here in America. It’s a very simple building, an open-door rear where, like, a small fence is and then, like, a latch barn door, basically. And so I was pretty nervous. I was like, I’m gonna be in here by myself, and so the gunny was like, “Get out.” So, I get out ‘cause I know he’s gonna talk to the captain, and they end up, you know, kinda going back and forth, whatever they said, and the gunny was, like, “Okay, I’m gonna give you this radio, and you’re gonna stay in that hooch by yourself.” And I remember I was like, “I don’t want to. Can I stay with you guys?” Like, “I don’t wanna stay...” What do you mean?” I mean, it’s not an American military. They’re all looking at you like, “Oh, here’s this small, white, blue-eyed girl gonna stay by herself.” And, so, the first night, two different times, guys walked in, male Marines, Mexican Marines walked into the hooch and I would jump up ‘cause I’m freaked out anyways, you know? And I’m like, “Hey!” I stayed in there. I told the gunny about it and the captain was very specific, like, “She will *not* stay with the males. I don’t need any incidents.” And in my head, I’m like, “‘Incidents’? What about...?” I was scared of a group of foreign military members coming in and gagging me and raping me in the middle of the night. And, I don’t wanna pass judgement. I mean, they were all great guys that we were working with. I don’t even speak all the Spanish they speak. I cannot identify anybody. The lights aren’t working past a certain hour in this hooch. So, I definitely held a grudge against that captain. You care more about getting in trouble with your career than my safety. We were there a month. After we were there for a little while, pretty much established, like, a relationship with the Mexican Marines we were working with, and it was... I just had a real hard take-no-shit face on all the time. Like, “Don’t.” We didn’t have weapons either. So, that was a big discomfort. Even some of the staff were kind of nervous about, you know, no weapons.

Willow recounts a field experience in which pregnant women soldiers were placed precariously at McGregor Range, New Mexico, which produced disastrous results:

One field problem. We went out, and we were at McGregor Range, which has, like, full plumbing, like, dorms, not full service, but, like, showers and plumbing and running water and all these things. And so they decided, “Well, we’re gonna bring our pregnant women out. They’re gonna be brought out in a van instead of in the convoy ‘cause they can’t wear their gear, obviously, but they’re gonna come out still, and do, like, radio guard, and things like that, non-laborious things.” Women who were, like, eight weeks along and women who were, like, seven months along. So, they were out there, and they were working, like, eight-hour shifts, so it was very garrison-esque for them. And, they were mad about it, but I think ‘cause they thought they weren’t gonna have to do that. I know a couple women who were fine. They were like, “Yeah, this kinda sucks. I’m uncomfortable, but, like, all right, I’m out here. Cool. Whatever.” And some were just, like, furious because I think that they had a malingering pregnancy rather than a... Yeah. So, they were out there for a couple weeks, and then one of them who was very, very early, miscarried. So, they yanked all of the pregnant women back to garrison. ‘Cause there’s no way for them to prove whether the stress of her eight-hour shift on a radio... Did that cause her miscarriage, or was it just a natural miscarriage? The Army can’t disprove that they did it. Yeah, but then they were all back. But I asked ‘cause we had our phones, and they were gone one day. And, I text one of my girlfriends who was pregnant. I said, “Where are you?” And she’s like, “Oh, so-and-so from Alpha Company miscarried, so they took us all back. When they took her to the hospital, they just put all of us in the van. Gave us, like, five minutes to pack.”

Obviously, the situations described above illustrate merely two of the myriad challenges faced by leadership and the women involved with incorporating women fully and successfully into their units and military activities. At what point are women ‘equal’ to men, not vulnerable as women, and how do such essentialist distinctions compromise service members as women and as soldiers? The possible distinctions between gendered positions will be discussed below.

Fluidity and ambivalence in the chain of command. The US military rank structure and mandates of leadership exist universally across contemporary space with minor differences between the service branches to create cohesive primary groups that

ensure their own safety as well as the safety of the nation and its peoples (Harvard Law Review 2004). Military geographies comprise places with structures imposed upon them and actors performing within these places and spaces. These spaces are fashioned and developed by complex processes. The goals, standards, and norms are hardly self-generated; they arise from the larger military environment and from civilian society (Käihkö 2018). Former National Guard military police officer Kristi identifies home as her ‘safe’ place now, comparing it to her current chaotic college environment and former structured military environments:

My home now is like a safe place. You have an actual *place* and the people that operate within it are my safe people, like my husband, my children, my parents. Some level of trust, respect. There’s a certain power imbalance whenever I leave my safe place. So, you just feel... I always feel uncomfortable in those social places outside of my home. Especially on campus. I don’t know if it’s the random people and random places, but I’ve never been a fan of... There are no patterns. There’s no understanding this environment. It’s just random all the time. And in our military culture, there’s structure to all of it in where you’re going.

Nodding to this complex interplay, former Army intelligence officer, Melinda, also compares the military environment to that of college, but identifies challenges to the authority of the rank structure and relative authority due to ‘blurring’ of maturity, professionalism, and being ‘familial’:

The age ranges [in college and the military] being very similar, and, so, the maturity levels are very similar. I think there’s more freedom to express and act on, on those immature thoughts and feelings in college. Whereas, the military at least attempts to regulate that, and there’s a shell of professionalism around that immaturity. That shell of professionalism does crack very easily, especially when you’re dealing with these young kids. There’s definitely more of a parental figure in the military, I would say. You know, it’s kind of mutually influential, I would say. So, there’s the maturity of the parental figure, but, then, especially in a deployed environment... Those, those lines between authority figures and subordinates tend to blur because you live together constantly, and you just become a family. And, so there’s, there’s, more, of like, a friend’s

relationship and so the influence of those immature ideas can also flow to those parental figures. There are all those restrictions but, I mean, *everybody* was having sex *all* the time. And, it was the kind of sexual relations that, like, would probably never happen in garrison.

As a member of the leadership, a young Army lieutenant Darlene, commissioned in 2010, was challenged by the expectations of her rank:

Looking back, I just feel like I was more naïve. I felt good being a Second Lieutenant. It's essentially being a private. And, definitely, looking back, I can definitely say there were situations where, maybe, I should've crossed the line or not crossed the line, created better boundaries. So, like, enlisted guys just, sort of, definitely making a move, like flirting and showing their interest, and I didn't really create clear boundaries as a leader. I wanted simply just to meet people and hang out with people. But, looking back at that, they weren't just trying to be friends. They were... There [*sic*] was obviously other motives there. But, luckily, I did end up creating a line and nothing came of it, but I can definitely see from new people coming into... Like, new, younger, 19 and 18-year-old girls coming into the Army, into the military, how naïve they might be, and they could certainly have a different perspective. A lot of, just, immature mentality and very naïve, as well, I think, to being on your own. Sort of, learning to take responsibility for not getting birth control or... [trails off].

Colette describes 'how those lines blur' between the leader and the led and lots of lying at Ft. Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas:

So, I turned 21 while I was in AIT, so I was drunk all the time. So, I had a lot of fun. That was my first experience with how those lines blur. My second experience was that... I knew candidly and there was photographic proof. I had classmates in my training that were sleeping with our leadership as they call it, cadre. We used to have drill sergeants in AIT, but they took that out for some reason, I think because our training was over a year. I don't think I could handle a drill sergeant in my face for over a year. I probably would have just, "Done," like "No," but so I remember specifically there was an NCO, he was an E-6 and he was a badass. He was really cool. I don't know how he ended up training us being in his position because I think he was a combat arms. Maybe he re-class'ed, but he got involved with a girl and there were tons of instances like that. And so, not tons, but there was enough to notice and there were some scandals, you know and, like, then the females, we're just as bad. We have the same drives that males have. So, we all want to be physical with people. We want to date. We've been in training for a long time. We're young and so our reproductive hormones are moving and so we're

not any better. We're all comin' for somebody. And so, I knew a lot of female soldiers who were involved with soldiers that they weren't supposed to be involved with, whether it was our platoon sergeants, our cadre, or people that were permanent party outside of us because we're not locked down at that point. So, that was my first instance. My second instance... So, that was at Ft. Sam. At Fort Sam, I didn't really have any brushes with assault or anything. I was never... I definitely drank a lot, but the people that I was with took care of me. I never experienced anything that was dangerous. I mean, it was all dangerous. I was completely obliterated, but I never had anyone... Nothing was ever done to me against my will or that I don't, didn't know of, like, I woke up wondering about. There was never anything like that. At least what I remember from training is a lot of lying, like, lots of lying.

Rita relates her own and a friend's experiences between senior enlisted men preying on young female lieutenants:

By 2004, I had been PCS'ed back to San Antonio, and, I remember my... What made me uncomfortable over and over again was this one civilian, retired Chief, worked logistics within the building, but the way he would look at me up and down. "Oh, hey, LT [Lieutenant], you know, how you doin' today?" "I'm fine Mr. Mason. How are you doing?" "Oh, I'm doing all right." And, I mean, he had to be in his 60s, but he flirted with me. Like, it was just very disrespectful. I mean you know when someone's ogling you and looking at your bottom and just being a creep. Yeah, so he did this on and off for about a year before I had to say, "Look, I don't know what your problem is, but I'm *not* the one. I am *not* the one so, um, you need to take your eyes, put them back in your head, and keep your distance." And, at that point, I wouldn't even, I wouldn't even talk him. I wouldn't look at him. I had to assert myself 'cause I was just, like, "Okay..." I didn't tell anyone. I just wanted to come to work, do my job, and go home. So, after that experience, he backed off. He backed off and I was grateful because I was just like, why would it take someone that level of having to do that? Especially as young as I was. I mean, by this time, you know, I'm a first lieutenant but still, you know, he's looking at me thinking, "Oh, she's young. She's naive. Let me just..." So, it just gave me an impression, okay, this is not your first rodeo. He's done this to somebody before, you know, and I probably should have reported him at that time and just said, "Hey..." You know, but I think at the time he was a GS-14. I mean, he was pretty high on the pecking order as far as, you know, civilian rank goes, and then on top of that he was a retired Chief Master Sergeant, retired E-9. That's the highest level you can go as far as the enlisted corps. So, I was just like, "Okay, he knows better," but then I thought, "Well, he's old school. Maybe that's how it was back in his day," you know? I just thought of something. So, going back to Travis [Air Force Base] real quick [*sic*]... So, one of the

other sexual harassment experiences I was a part of, or at least knew about, was because one of my colleagues, a fellow lieutenant, was going through some things and even when I PCS'ed to San Antonio, she would still call me and say, "Rita, this is happening. This is going on," and I told her, I said, "Gina, you have to report this." This was happening with another Chief in our squadron. Eventually, they found out what was going on. She reported him finally. They found out what was going on. He got a reduction in rank and was forced to retire. But he was someone and I... The thing is his, his wife is very involved with the squadron. They had moved from Minot Air Force Base [North Dakota], which is nowhere, and he was coming in around the time I was leaving. And, so, didn't hear great things about him, but I was shocked when I heard that he was sexually harassing. Again, she was a lieutenant, he was a Chief Master Sergeant. I don't know if that has any parallels or what was going on during that time frame, but she did report him and because his was pretty aggressive. Not just innuendo and ogling, but no kidding very explicit language. So, after a while, she had to and then when she reported she found, ok, she wasn't the only one.

Lauren describes an abuse of rank situation against a friend of hers:

She went to WTI 'cause aviation units always go to WTI and back. That's in [MCAS Yuma] Arizona. And she was going out with her shop, and they were all gonna go to a strip club, and so she goes out with her shop and they all go to the strip club, and she ends up getting drunk and one of her gunnies [Gunnery Sergeant, E-7], I guess, has her on his lap and is, like, feeling her up, like, in her shirt and everything. And so she calls me the next day. She's hung over, and she explains to me. She's like, "I don't know what to do. It's weird." She's a lance corporal at the time. And I was like, "You have to say something." She was like, "What am I gonna say? This is my gunny. No way, I'm not saying anything. I'm gonna get in trouble. Whatever." And I'm like, "Who's there with you 'cause they all saw that too." "A bunch of guys from the unit." I'm like, "Why?" you know, and then I was really mad at her, and now I'm like, they took advantage of the situation. She's young. She's the only girl. You know you're a gunny. She's a lance corporal [E-3]. She's not gonna say anything, you know? 'Cause her unit was pretty tight, and they're about to deploy all together. She's like, "Well, the gunny's a good guy, and everybody was just drunk." I'm like, "Stop making excuses for him." So, that was pretty crappy. And then when she came back from deployment, she hated her unit, she hated being at work, she didn't wanna be there. She got out as fast as possible. After the training at WTI, she was just uncomfortable if the gunny was there. He monitored all of the [promotion] boards. Like, she went up for meritorious corporal. Didn't win, but he was on the board. So, she was always just, "I'm not even gonna go for it." She had the perception that she was looked at as a slut, and that just wasn't gonna go away. And, so, she just, like, carried it, and I'm like, "You gotta bounce back. You just

gotta assert yourself at work, you know. Do all your MCIs [Marine Corps Institute correspondence courses]. Reestablish your professionalism. That's totally possible." And, I talked to one of my friends at my unit, and he is male and a sergeant, and he was like, "If you tell me names, you know, I'm gonna report this." And she never told me. I never knew her guy's name. Never knew. But, yeah, she ended up, couldn't count down the days until she got out.

Care is not limited to mere concern, institutional role play, or even exchange. As presented above, the lack of symmetry or horizontality exposes a dark side of commitment to the family in which the relationship between capitulator and comrade may become one of domination and exploitation. Another slippage may occur when commitment to care is replaced by demand for care (Chanial 2014), situations of abuse of power, and bullying. Unmediated access to power can lead to unmediated access to coercion (Gellately 1997). Ambivalent and/or abusive leadership and secret lawlessness contribute to an erosion of public respect (Tefft 1980, 17) and, sadly, the data provide specific and pervasive examples of how this occurs in contemporary military places and spaces.

Proposed earlier, my data support the assertion that military installations embody the spatial and temporal characteristics that facilitate potential rape scenarios described by Rosen (2007), Bogle (2008), Ceccato (2014), and other researchers. The absence or apathy of *in loco parentis* figures, adventurous sexual activity, and underage or excessive alcohol consumption compromise women's sexual safety, leading to unintended consequences. Of these adjustable factors threatening women's safety, alcohol (ab)use is identified as the greatest and most pervasive contributor to sexual violence against women. The recourse that most young service members identify and

choose is escape, even if temporarily, from the base environment to ‘out in town,’ which offers its own hazards.

‘Out in town’ as an escape. Young service members escape the stress of the barracks and the watchful eyes of leadership by living ‘out in town’ or staying off base whenever possible. The reasons for intrusion into their off-duty time may be justified as we have seen above with barracks shenanigans and such. Melinda states, “They [barracks dwellers] have to do more to hide it [drugs and alcohol] on base than off base, whereas they can do whatever they want out in the open and keep 18 bottles of liquor in their apartments off base. I think they want to live off-base so they can have fun without regulations. Yeah, the freedom to, to do whatever he wants without having inspections all the time.” Leadership varies, of course, but the data resonate with descriptions of abuses of power, being ‘played with’ by NCOs while living in a barracks environment and the desire to escape. Illustrating the near-constant intrusion into her life, Willow describes her off duty time living in the barracks:

I had a female roommate, of course, but our entire rest of our building and our wing was men. And that didn’t bother me. I don’t think there was any situation of, like, fellow soldiers living there that was weird, but it was just constantly... I don’t know what your experience was in the military, but the weekends, at 10:00 [p.m. Saturday night], you get a knock on the door, and it’s your first line supervisor coming by just to check on you and make sure your room is clean in case sergeant major stops by. And then, knock again at 11:30 in the morning on a Sunday, and it’s your squad leader, you know? It just goes up and up and up. Five or six times throughout the day. They’re wanting to check on you. And it wasn’t just me, I’m sure. They checked on the rest of the platoon too, but... So, they want to check on you, but also make sure you’re not up to anything you shouldn’t be up to, and that your room is clean, and it’s ready in case senior leaders stop by for an inspection on a Saturday or Sunday, pretty much every week.

Lauren also offers insight into the mentality of young service members living in the barracks and seeking to escape:

Anything to get away from the barracks ‘cause there’s an NCO on duty, and they’ll come knocking on your door early in the morning, or come, you know, mess with you and the cleanliness of your room, and that’s base property. You’re just subject to whoever’s there, whatever games they feel like playing. Back then, like at MOS school, or when I was younger, I went to California after that. I mean, the beach. That’s only beach places, though. So, Virginia Beach. We would go to the beach or walk around the shops or something, but when you go... You’re trying to stay off base, it’s hotels. Everybody basically knows the cheapest hotels, everybody splits, you know, packs as many people in a room as they can, the guys at least. And, they just stay out in town as much as possible, and that’s where a lot of the drinking happens, obviously. Yeah, every single base. Yeah, definitely binge drinking. That’s one of my big pet peeves, actually, with the Marine Corps culture.

Some choose early marriage just to enact the option to escape. Kristi puts it bluntly,

“It’s a culture of you get married before you go to war because you make more money and you’re gonna die there,” but Willow continues more benignly:

People get married really quickly to get out of the barracks on purpose, stuff like that. I mean, there’s multiple different things going on, I think. At least in my experience or observation, there’s quite a few people who join the military ‘cause they need some stability. Maybe they didn’t have that before. Probably, like, a personal level stability, if they didn’t have... We saw a lot of unstable, rushed into marriages around us. And, part of that was probably, like, “I can get out of the barracks, I don’t have to clean common areas and get called out of my room at two in the morning because somebody got a DUI,” or whatever. That sort of shenanigan, but then also, just married soldiers, I think, have a different standard of treatment from single soldiers. If you need somebody for a last-minute duty, do you call so-and-so who, maybe, is... You don’t know what his wife’s up to, or if they’re in town, or do you call the guy that’s right across the street? “Get your body over here right now.” Yeah. And, so, I wouldn’t say that it was totally, like, “I gotta get out of the barracks so I’m not around all these other people,” but it was mostly those responsibilities, and just the privacy level. Like, they have a right to come to your house. No. They have to announce themselves if you’re off post because it’s not government property, and your spouse, hypothetically, is a civilian. But, like, then, they never did. “We’re coming by the married soldiers’ houses this weekend. I’m gonna give you a two-hour heads-up. I’m gonna call.”

And they never did. It was a text, like, “Hey, I had to say that I touched base with you. Yeah. Got it. Cool. My house is clean. You know me.”

Darlene also addresses the issue of early marriage in the military, citing numerous factors both pushing and pulling young service members:

Being young and immature and lonely and not having a good... It just takes one person, maybe, to say something, put that seed in someone's head to, maybe, get them thinking “Maybe this isn't the best idea.” Not having, once again, a good leader, a good NCO, to say, tell them the truth, “Hey, you've only known this guy for less than six months. You should *not* do this.” There isn't that strong leadership presence in a soldier's life, whether it be male or female. “Dude, just stop and think what about you're doing. *Chica*, stop. Think what you're doing. I recommend you *don't* do this because you're young and you still have a whole life to live.” I put it back on the NCO, once again. Because, if they're not getting it from their family and, of course, they're not going to get it from their friends in the Army because they're like, “Oh, girl, yeah, you should get married because you'll get the benefits along with it and you can go off post and...” I put it back on the NCO [to counsel wisely]. I'm not saying to them not to do it [marry early/young]. I'm saying they need to give an honest opinion, a recommendation. If they have been together for six months and if an NCO does know their soldier and sees that they're a good couple, well, even then I'd have to say, leadership needs to be smart, then, in informing them of their decision. “Hey, you've known this person less than six months. I see that you're happy and that you guys are in love, but with the Army's record of how marriages go, my personal opinion is that I recommend you do *not* go through this.” So, it's proper communication from effective leadership. And, it's both. Being an effective leader is stepping up and being able to say, saying something, but knowing how to say it correctly. Because, I don't think, they should be telling them exactly what to do. But they need to give them an adult perspective on marriage, on finances, on their personal life and drinking, and, and dating. We had a soldier in Hawaii who just pulled some bad behavior just because he was having troubles within his relationship. You have to get to know them, that personal life, or else it will affect work, and it can't get to that point, right?

Considering the data, it seems harsh and even unfair to blame leadership (Meštrović 2008, 151) exclusively for the myriad transgressions and general mischief enacted by young service members. Many of the changes noted in military discipline (or lack thereof) are not unique but rather characteristic of the entire American system. Ethical

lapses pose unique dangers to the military, however, because they undermine public support and potentially erode operational readiness (Crosbie and Kleykamp 2018). So, what has changed about the military structure within recent decades to compromise these? The answer is simple: military geographies are now ‘sexual arenas’ (Allison and Risman 2014) instead of geographies of care.

As discussed above, neoliberal individualism allows, if not encourages, the placement of an actor’s desires, choices, and beliefs above all other considerations. This enshrinement is a component of modern life; it is part of the widespread and influential narrative which claims that modernity liberates individuals and their desires from the constraints or limits of tradition (Pawlett 2013).

Contemporary Sexual Challenges to Military Geographies of Care

Undoubtedly, the insertion of women into US military places and spaces allegedly as ‘equals’ has historically proven to be a recipe for disaster; the phenomenon of MSV *within* the ranks did not manifest until the AVF. One must ask how time-honored fraternal egalitarian ideals failed in preventing sexual violence against women in military places and spaces? One answer lies in the discourse of sexual reason, meaning that social systems of scarcity and competition create scarcity for some actors who will achieve less than others, and some of those actors resort to violence in status confrontations with others, whether their competitor or the object of their desire. These systems, temporally and spatially, are complex with shifting nuances of social status and prestige whereby *anyone* can feel marginal, thwarted, or unrecognized irrespective

of externally measurable hard data, such as military rank and awards received, as well as soft data such as ‘beauty’ or trustworthiness (Pawlett 2013).

In these messy geographies, Hochschild’s deep acting is adopted by military women in environments of total control. Deep acting is painful precisely because it is work on the self that forces an adjustment to who we are told we ‘ought’ to be or how we ‘should’ feel, and recognition that we do not presently embody this already. Taking on someone else’s (or the organization’s) rules to govern our own emotions and behavior makes us feel odd, ill at ease, and it feels wrong when we try to convince ourselves that this is our normal, everyday behavior and way of feeling (Meštrović 2008; Addison 2017). Willow provides an example of this and how it impacts objectification of military women:

I think a major thing... I was just doing that applied philosophy this semester and they were talking about affirmative action, and an example... I try not to, like, disclose my veteran status, like, that’s not the only hat I want in my life, and it’s not, like my favorite hat to have worn. It’s not my whole identity. So, I can’t fight about these things, but then they were saying, like, “Yeah, women needing to be, like... We need to get x percentage of women in combat roles,” and I was finally like, “Hey, you don’t just plop them in like that, similar to the senator’s agenda. This isn’t how this works.” But for men to be expected outside of work, when not in uniform, you’re supposed to be a gentleman and chivalry [*sic*], and all these things like the damsel in distress is who they’re gonna marry one day, or you know, just those sorts of social norms are not parallel to how you expect men and women in uniform to act. So, if guys are still leaving work every day and, you know, seeing ads all over, and seeing whatever on the internet where women are objects and women are lesser and women are supposed to be, like, fragile and petite and precious, or whatever, all of these things that are *not* your fellow soldier, how is he supposed to show up to work the next day and treat me like just one of the guys? It’s just very... I think that if society expects the military to treat us, like, exact equals, either disconnect them from society completely so they don’t see this, like, “Oh, look at women as objects still,” when you’re in your free time.

Riley describes an abject sexual boldness of her male peers, which deteriorates into pervasive rudeness:

For me personally, I haven't dealt with a ton of stuff yet, but whenever I was in my tech school, there was some things said to me. I think, as a female in any branch of service, if you're even slightly attractive, you're going to get some, I guess, flack, like, "Why are you here? Are you trying to prove something?" So, for me, there was [*sic*] certain things that were said that they weren't warranted, you know? We're just in class and they were, like, "Hey, do you want to, like, have sex with me?" Or something like that and I'm just, like, "*What?* What did he say?" They're, like, "Oh, I'm just kidding. You know I'm just kidding." I'm just, like, "All right. Okay, then." Then, for me turning these guys down throughout my tech school, they just started being very rude to me for no reason. I'm a very nice person. If you be nice to me, I'm going to be nice to you. As a professional environment, I'm going to be a professional about it. But, for some reason, if one person does it or one person says something like that, it's a chain reaction and a lot of people, a lot of the guys, they form a little group, you know, and because one of them has made that okay, it's the chain reaction and a lot of them feel like it's okay for them to say this to you. I'd always been around guys that are very respectful to me who knew who I was as a person and that I wasn't an easy girl, if that makes sense. But I think going into a new situation like this where you don't know anybody, being even a semi-attractive woman, you get a lot more attention than you're wanting because there's not that many women there to begin with. So, they see you as a pretty girl and think that you're probably easy or maybe slutty or something even if you're not. So, they start kind of testing the waters and advancing and saying things to see... And at first, whenever that happened, I didn't really know what to say because it's, like, you don't expect that. I thought maybe they said something else and maybe I was just hearing it wrong. But it was probably five different guys in this group that started saying all these things to me and I'm, like... And whenever I wanted to report it, I was encouraged kind of not to.

Kristi takes the issue of sexual indifference in the military a few steps further, even including a challenge to feminism:

The military culture has to change. I think that's a top-down thing. I think we need women in more leadership roles that are not trying to be men because a lot of times to be successful you have to behave just like men. You can't care too much about women because it makes you "other"-ed. It's a deeply problematic thing. But, you have less [*sic*] women at the top because women get out over time for whatever their reasons and a lot of it has to do with sexual assaults or family violence or not being able to

have kids and be home. You know there are whatever thousands of reasons. I think if we could quit acting like the military is now inclusive of women... It's this 'add women and stir' mentality. Well, they just throw the women in and they stir it and they just expect you to perform well. But nothing's catered, like, catered to women. It's all catered to men and then you're supposed to perform in that environment. And we culturally are different. It's a social construction of gender. We perform our gender versus actually being essentially different because there are very few essential differences. It's social construction. Women are supposed to be women in a certain way and if you're not, then you're something else. So, I feel like I did break some of the mold. It feels really weird to talk like this, but if you are a pretty woman that does something really great, you are judged still as a pretty woman. I was still judged based on what I could provide as a traditional women's work versus the really awesome things that I did. Men still come to my home, soldiers, and I get applauded for making dinner like, you know, "You got a good woman." So, what's a "good" woman? Like, I made you dinner? And I push back against this all the time, but it doesn't get me anywhere. Society as a whole has to change and it's going to take generations, and sometimes it gets pushed back. You've got the really angry second wave feminism and then people are like, "Let's be girly." So, we've got like let's embrace girly feminism in the third, and then it's just like we need to be more feminine and I feel like the second wave took away my right to be feminine. And, then now, we're in this weird place where people agree and disagree on the same topic in this fourth wave that has no like connected move 'cause it's always been white middleclass women feminism and now we don't want it to be and now we don't have like this collective umbrella. And no one cares about changing military culture.

In her own words of experience, Patrice summarizes the absence of trust in the contemporary military environment:

I think in the military environment we assume, 'cause of everything we're taught about honor and loyalty and, and our unit cohesion and morale, right, that the guy next to you... And I mean, guy as in male type, has your back no matter what. And, then, he doesn't. What do you do with that? You don't know what to do with that. Now, not only have you been violated in one of the worst ways a woman could be violated, but he violated like what you truly believe should have been an oath to you. It's an unspoken oath that he was going to protect you. He was gonna be like your brother. And when that guy, you know, approaches you, that creepy guy in the corner, he was gonna step up and tell the creepy guy to go away. And it turns out *he's* the creepy guy. And the guys get together and making [*sic*] condescending comments about women and degrading them, a common occurrence even 'til today.

Willow describes her experience at Ft. Bliss transitioning into a combat medic role targeted by her drunk NCO at a bowling alley with her squad at Ft. Bliss transitioning into a combat medic role:

I didn't know better. I won't get into it too much, but outside of work, in, like, a group environment, like, very wholesome, "Let's go to the bowling alley" as a platoon, or section, on a Friday evening. Squad leaders are *not* invited. A very drunk squad leader gets in the car at a barracks. A very drunk squad leader comes to the bowling alley. And, I was assaulted, and if I had known that it's okay to say, excuse my French for this. If I had known it's okay to say, 'Hey, fuck off,' like, I absolutely would have. But I froze. There's that fight, flight, or freeze. I froze because he's in charge of me. I don't know how, like, I got myself into this because we're at a bowling alley. Like, what's happened here? And, the other guys immediately stepped in and took care of it, and also encouraged me afterwards, like, "Hey, if this bothers you, which it would bother me if I were you, you need to go into the SHARP reps." So, they made me talk to them, but just that whole situation. Like, I didn't wanna rock the boat. I was the new girl. I'm *the* girl. I'm the *only* girl. I don't wanna create a big fuss, and so instead of him getting kicked out, which he should have been, under the Army definitions at that time, I left it restricted, and, like, "Well, we'll just put him in a different section," and like, that guy, how many more women has he done this to? 'Cause I didn't know it's okay to say, like, "This fucking guy needs to get out. This guy does not need to be around women. This guy can't hang with the changes that are happening." He was a creep, definitely. He had consumed far too much. He was still a specialist at the time. They were waiting for his points to kick in, so they put him in a five slot, and so that's why he wasn't invited. Like dude, you're a leader now. We're just trying to hang out as the Joe's and the Jane. And he just had that place there, and he addressed it at work the next week 'cause I felt really uncomfortable being around him and, like, "Oh, shit. Now what do I do?" And, he tried to just address it, like, from across the whole warehouse that we had of medical supplies. He's like, "I know I made an ass of myself on Friday. Whatever. You don't have to be weird about it." And that's when I was like, "Okay. Well, it *is* gonna be weird because what you did shows me intent of what you're thinking of me. You don't just see me as your soldier. You see me as an ass that you're gonna get at some point. That's not going to happen, and that's not okay." So, I just wonder how often that happens. So, if somebody's gonna be in that combat role, I don't think they should be there as the only woman. And, apparently, that's what they had talked about doing. So, our whole brigade, they moved us out of the combat roles, like, two years after we'd been there. So, the guys had finally gotten used to us being around, and,

like, “Hey, you don’t treat us like crap. We’re just one of the guys. Like, don’t even try it,” and they’re like, “Okay, yeah. Martinez or Shelley (whichever at that point in time), like, yeah, she’s one of the guys. She’ll kick your ass if you, like, try something. Just don’t even do it.” They talked us up once they had gotten used to it, the assault and brigade support battalion. So, we took a couple of years, a couple of steps backwards.

More so than ever, this solidifies women’s status as other and thereby subject to indifference, ambivalent sexism, and the negative consequences of isolation and exclusion such as sexual violence. There is no respect. There is no loyalty. There is no care.

Individuals’ Decisions in Military Sexual Arenas. With the inclusion of women as peers, military geographies are now ‘sexual arenas’ (Allison and Risman 2014) shielded largely from the public’s scrutiny. They exist with sexuality now enacted within military places and spaces of home and work by the 24/7 proximity of military men and women with no *in loco parentis* as discussed above. Further, service members are under contract; there is no option to quit or otherwise elect simply to leave a hostile environment. Due to forced associations, one does not choose one’s colleagues. The hidden dangers below the waterline (Figure 13) is one way to think about women veterans’ experiences with military service.



Figure 13. Iceberg of Sexual Coercion, Unwanted Sexual Attention, and Gender Harassment. Source: National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine. 2018. *Sexual harassment of women: climate, culture, and consequences in academic sciences, engineering, and medicine*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press <https://doi.org/10.17226/24994>.

While enactment of sexuality is unavoidable now in military places and spaces with men and women working and living in proximity, there is an absence of an overarching morality actively governing service members' beliefs and behaviors related to each other and their sexuality(ies) (Figure 13). Everyone has a moral right to control their body and property. These include so-called negative rights against interference:

the moral default is that others may not lay hands on, nor damage, our person or property. Our bodies are our primary property (Tronto and Fisher, 1990; Beidelman 1993; Tronto 1993). Controlling our sexual contact that others have with us is centrally important. We *give* other people our moral consent and waivers to the contrary (Dougherty 2013). Thus, consensual sex is an act with the reciprocal expectation of respect and privacy. Treating someone with disrespect, as a mere selfish means, or engaging in deception violates the other's sex as act engaged in from a position of self-determination and autonomy. Thus, managing consensual sex as capitulation of one's self to the greater good forges bonds of mutual respect and trust even if only to the point at which the agreed-upon relationship is terminated, regardless of its duration.

Hooking up. Research on adolescent and young-adult sexuality in the past two decades (largely focused on college students) documents a new sexual script for sexual activity outside of committed relationships: hooking up. It is loosely defined as any sexual behavior outside of relationships, which may range from kissing and fondling on a dance floor to coitus, oral, or anal sex. The ambiguous nature of the term is undoubtedly part of its appeal to those engaged in hooking up (Bogle 2008; Fortunato et al. 2010). Research has found gender, racial/ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic divides in hook-up behavior. Interestingly, many appear to 'age out' of hook-up culture and behaviors over time (Allison and Risman 2014; Helm, Gondra, and McBride 2015; Robertson, Olmstead, and Fincham 2015). Compared to 'dating,' the standard of courtship since the end of World War II, hooking up involves a distinctly different ordering of sexual activity and romance where sex precedes romantic involvement (if at

all). Relationships today are considered too time and resource consuming (Lamont 2014). The hook-up script thus implies a lack of any necessary pre- or post-sex intention to pursue future contact. The emergence of hooking up marks an increased acceptance of non-relational sex in American culture (Katz and Schneider 2013; Allison and Risman 2014).

This new cultural script enacted in the US military coincides roughly with the advent of the AVF and is facilitated by members' easy access to one another. The exchange may be truthful and morally consensual; however, it negates one's self-sacrifice through consensual sex simply because the temporal and spatial transiency of sexual 'one-use' nullifies the *intent* of sacrificing one's self to another – that of building trust and future reciprocity, counter-sacrifices (Mallard 2011; Katz and Schneider 2013). Lauren describes the motivation for as well as the negative effects of hooking up in the US Marine Corps:

I've had friends, some in the barracks where they've never really received that much attention from men before, like, either at home or when they were growing up, or whatever, and so there's so few of us, really, you know, there's only so many females walking around, and there's 50 dudes, and, you know, three girls. Some of them, they like the attention, but I don't think they necessarily wanted what that attention requires a lot of the times or insinuates. You go out with a guy, he's paying for all your stuff, he picks you up, he drops you off, he's hanging out at your barracks, you guys are making out, the next step in his mind is, "Okay, we're gonna have sex." And, so, I know a lot of the times, females that I've known... Well, I'm not sure, but yeah, "It's no big deal. So, it just happened. It's no big deal. It just happened." But, again, hindsight's 20/20. In my head, I'm like, "Oh, that's such a terrible mindset. That doesn't validate you, you know? You're a professional and, you know, so..." "But, at the time, it was really, like, no big deal. We're all Marines, and we're just having fun, or you know, not really thinking about things down the line, I guess. I think I would say definitely down the line, a lot of the women suffered because you hook up with so many people and the Marine Corps's such a small community, it will get out. You know, you check into a unit, you're at an MOS school where, you know, you're gonna go to an intelligence

battalion. You're not gonna go to some other MOS. So, everyone's been where you've been. People know the instructors. Your NCO's know the instructors. The instructors end up hearing about the gossip, you know? People get in trouble for, you know, messing around in the barracks or having sex in the barracks, and you get NJP (non-judicial punishment). Now you're gonna go to a unit, all these people who know that. So, I think, you know, not thinking in the moment, like, "Hey, we're all just having fun, having a good time, hook up," but it doesn't work like that if you work, live, sleep, eat with these people. You can't escape. Your home life is your work life.

From her experience in the US Army, Rachel also describes hooking up as detrimental:

It's, it's kind of scary how, not so much mental, but how quickly people will have sex with someone. And it's not just for the, I mean, literally safety, you could, you die from this but the mental aspect. I don't think people... People dismiss it and say, "Oh, you can have sex with..." and I do think that you can have sex with someone and it just be the physical but there also is a chemical, you know, that's released, there's also that intimate like, I don't know, emotional aspect of sex and so, I think when we dismiss that and actual reasoning for these things, we mess up ourselves because then you keep longing for that connection or dismiss it and say, "I don't need it" because I, you know, I just need this one thing from this person and it's really scary.

Colette specifically identifies separation from one's home and family as transients in military places as a contributor to the degradation of personal and military morality:

So, when you're coming to training... So, like myself, I was living in an apartment, going to AIT, which is the most cush environment ever. I don't have to live in barracks, but I'm still technically in training. So, I'm not really a full... I'm not a soldier yet, but I don't have to live on the [base] in the barracks. So, I get to leave, but I can't have my kid with me because I'm studying. Like, I was in a course that normally, in the regular world, takes two years and I did it in one. So, we're in class from 8:00 to 5:00. We're PT'ing at, like, 4:55 and then they're making us do stuff in the evening. So, I mean, there's no time, but I definitely made time to get into trouble. So, with men or with anyone. So, what happens is whether they're married, whether they're *[sic]* have children, if they're in relationships or their spouse is in the military, they come and they're remote. They're not with their families. They're in Fort Sam. They're at San Antonio, Texas, rather than, like, at home. So, they're not going home to their families. So, what they're able to do is tell me who's from another city. I don't know their family. I don't know their background. They say, "I really like you. You're adorable. We should date." And I'm like, "Yeah." And, then,

what typically happened almost three, like, with all three men, someone would tell me, “You know he’s married,” and I’d be like, “Mother fucker, you know, like, you kidding me?” And so, most of them ended because we went our separate ways because we were in training. You move eventually. You’re not there permanently. So, eventually they just left. So, I definitely gained a bit of a reputation. I was not seen as, like, the good child. I was definitely slutty, but I look back and it was great. It was fun. I don’t care.

Hook-up culture emerges in a complex interplay between physical space and individual background characteristics. Hooking up may reflect experimentation with sexuality as women navigate the competing demands of contextual imperatives and self-development (Allison and Risman 2014; Katz and Schneider 2013). In the context of sex as self-sacrifice and trust-building, however, Lauren’s explanation of the hazards of hooking up tie into the construction or destruction of respect and trust in military places and spaces expressed through the data by many women veterans and supported by research (Bogle 2008; Dougherty 2013). Earlier, Janet stated, “If you started sleeping around with them, they were all gonna do it [try to seduce]. And, then, if you didn’t sleep with anybody, then they would back off and they’re like, ‘Oh, she’s actually a good person, a good girl,’ or whatever.” Colette echoes this as well related to leaders. She describes making herself a target through her hook-up behavior. She states:

If you were in the right place and the right time and you, as a female, gave off the right energy and you gave off the right signals, your leadership, the people who were permanent party, who were meant to be your mentors and your guidance and your disciplinarians, the people that you were to get help from, they would take advantage of that. They would come for you. And, at the time I was very single. I had a child, but I was single and I enjoyed being single and dating around and hooking up. It was great. I don’t feel guilty about it at all. But they definitely... The leadership would come for you if they felt they could try that [have sex with you].

In college environments, independence from adult supervision plays a role in facilitating hooking up as well as proximate living to similar-aged peers and socializing at parties (Bogle 2008; Allison and Risman 2014). These are consistent with my findings for the US military; however, in the intimacy of military places and spaces, everyone is watching and making judgements that cannot be escaped and potentially have broader impact on morale. All who expressed an opinion confirmed that hooking up is not conducive to relationship formation of any kind, not just romantic, and even places men and women at odds with one another. This is consistent with the existing literature (Bogle 2008) but is particularly relevant to military geographies.

Of further concern is the reliance on alcohol to ‘facilitate’ the hook up encounter and the use of nonverbal cues to signal interest in hooking up, which potentially leads to questions of actual consent given (Bogle 2008; Swauger, Witham, and Shinberg 2013; Sutton and Simons 2015; Vincke 2017; Weitbrecht and Whitton 2020). Research has also found that women have more to ‘lose’ in hooking up due to the sexual double standard of appropriate behavior (Bogle 2008; Bradshaw, Kahn, and Saville 2010; Snapp et al. 2014; Sutton and Simons 2015; Weitbrecht and Whitton 2020). While some research suggests that hooking up or casual sex is a positive and empowering experience for women (Bradshaw, Kahn, and Saville 2010; Vrangalova and Ong 2014), my data suggest that military women are already othered and to varying degrees excluded from kinship with their male comrades. Thus, the complex expectations, behaviors, and inherent vulnerability of hooking up likely further challenge military women’s relationships, safety, and careers through misaligned

communication, meaning, and trust in military environments that require good order and discipline.

Adultery. Article 134 of the UCMJ is a General Article. It includes Adultery in paragraph 62. The military defines adultery as “sexual intercourse” when the parties are not married to each other and at least one of them is married to someone else. Specifically, “While adulterous conduct that is private and discreet in nature may not be service discrediting by this standard, under the circumstances, it may be determined to be conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline” (United States 2000 UCMJ, IV-103). No civilian analog to military good order and disciplines exists (Esquivel 2001). The first inclusion of adultery and fraternization as “black letter military criminal sanctions” was with the massive amendments to the Manual for Courts-Martial (MCM) in 1984, again tracking with the rise of neoliberalism and the advent of the AVF. Notably, one of the most profound changes in the military at that time was the integration of women into the main body of the US military (Esquivel 2001), which resulted in numerous high-profile trials, demotions, and resignations of accused male leaders.

Violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, on display in military places and spaces undermine oaths made, imply favors granted, and thereby erode community trust. The egregiousness of violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, is two-fold in the US military. First, upon entering the military, an oath was made by the officer, very broadly, or enlistee, very specifically, of allegiance and service to the US government and the UCMJ. Second, a vow of commitment of self, including one’s

sexual actions (unless a waiver was granted), was made to a spouse/partner through marriage vows. By making promises, we place ourselves under obligations (Dougherty 2013), the violation of which rejects the commitment to and reciprocity of care and to the constituents and communities to which we extend care (Esquivel 2001).

The theme of violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, courses throughout the data. Whether or not ‘private’ or ‘fair,’ adultery exists, and its detrimental impact endures (Crosbie and Kleykamp 2018). Mentioned previously were the experiences of Margaret, Linda, and Colette who self-identified as violators of this article who expressed varying degrees of remorse and their reasons for violating Article 134, Paragraph 62. As a witness, Riley discusses extramarital affairs in military places and spaces as resulting from missing contact with someone they love who is elsewhere:

So, that definitely happens. I know at my tech school, even though it’s technically punishable through the UCMJ, it happens a lot that people are not aware of. People don’t necessarily report it because they may be friends with that person; they don’t want to cause them to lose a military career, but they’re away from their families and their husbands. Maybe they’re used to being close to someone like that all the time and these situations arise where they’re having affairs on their husband or wife just because that’s their only option there. It’s sad to think that, but it happens a lot more than you would think.

Rita also addresses the issue of violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, identifying separation from a marriage partner as creating a ‘rift’ in the marriage:

You know on the Air Force side. I’ve only seen that [violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62,] in terms of deployments. I don’t I don’t know what happens home station, but in the deployed environment, you know, one thing I would overhear here coming into the Air Force is, you know, ‘whatever happens TDY stays TDY.’ And, so, at first, I was confused. What exactly does that mean? What kind of things are happening TDY? I would never personally observed [*sic*] it, but I would hear stories. And, so, I think that whole you know, being away, especially if the person is deployed or TDY a lot, well, then, yeah, I mean it may naturally occur because there’s a rift in the marriage, you know.

Rachel also describes the pervasiveness of violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, in military places and spaces as spontaneous interest, but with detrimental effects in the closed military community:

Like, literally, people, and it wasn't even necessarily the guys or the girls influencing the other sex or whatever partnership it was. I think it was equal. People would come into it wanting to get away with, away from whatever it was or just being enticed by this new person and they both welcomed it. They were just, like, "Okay, you kind of like me." It was subtle maybe at first and, then, the flirting quickly moved on and, yeah, it was just kind of like a cute little office fling to them, maybe, and just something fun on the weekends. And then get away. You stay where you stay. I stay where I stay. It was kind of awkward because sometimes there would be larger events. Someone's having a Fourth of July barbeque, inviting everyone. It's like "You're inviting *everyone*?" Okay. And, then, maybe, the woman finding out because she wasn't invited so, yeah, I think it was very conducive to lying and being manipulative and cheating in relationships.

In addition to admitting her own affairs, Linda describes the military environment as conducive to violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, which leads to a lack of trust and confidence, which is 'prejudicial to good order and discipline':

So, it's very toxic. A lot of toxic leadership. A lot of pride. A lot of ego being thrown around. A lot of just, "I'm better than you and this is why and I'm also better than you because I can get this female," and I'm, you know. And it was, it was a release for everybody else. Like, it was to go with somebody else that understood work in this shitty place. They know to keep their mouth shut. I know to keep mine. And, we just need a release. Wife doesn't understand because she's not military. She'll never understand. Husband doesn't understand because he feels emasculated. So, Colorado, again, I didn't hang out with anybody. I didn't drink with anybody. I just didn't trust anybody. It was, I'd do my job and go home. That was it, 'cause I don't need to know about your personal life because if I know about your personal life, I'm gonna bring it out to light. You're not gonna be a 'leader' and then go mess around with anyone knowing that you're not supposed to and then tell me that I need to do something and I can't follow you because you... And you can even you can't keep your stuff in your pants. No, we're not gonna do that, and I didn't let anybody know who I was, but it became to the point where was *so* isolated that my anxiety just started to get worse.

Kristi also spoke extensively about violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, in the military. I asked pointedly, “So, what is it about these places where you have the people coming together and cheating on spouses?” She replied, “I have no idea. It’s like in the water.” She describes her situation in which she was the one cheated on in a combat zone in Afghanistan and ends up sharing a room with her cheating husband’s other woman:

They tried to send me home [from Afghanistan] and I wasn’t the one cheating. They actually offered me to go back home and not stay for my deployment. But I was like, “No. I trained for this. I am here for this,” and no one asked him to go home. So, why did he get to stay and I didn’t? Like I don’t understand. Well, I was running away from my life at home and some way you go back home to “Hey I’m now divorced. I’m failing college. This isn’t going well. I had something to prove to myself. I had to get through what I started. And I felt at that point like that’s supposed to be, like, earn the uniform I was wearing ‘cause they put that into you in training. So, the whole free college, like, that leaves at some point and now you’re like, “Let me serve my country.” And so that’s what I wanted to do. But I mean I heard him having sex with another soldier through... ‘Cause our walls are plywood. So, I’m on a top bunk and I have a plywood wall and they’re getting it on, like, in the top bunk bed that’s a plywood sheet away from me. I don’t know if he knew or just didn’t care. But she got in a physical fight with one of her roommates, so they kicked her out of her room and they put me in her room. So, I was now sleeping in her bed and no one cares. It’s as if you did this to yourself mentality kind of thing.

Grace describes the violence resulting from an adulterous situation found out (or perhaps planned) in the barracks at Ft. Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas:

These people were a few classes ahead of me. I didn’t know them, but this girl was married, but was still in the barracks for whatever reason. I’m not sure exactly, and she was sleeping with a guy in her platoon. Well, the guy in her platoon, had, I don’t know, he somehow got in her thing [room] somehow even though the ACGs sit out there, access control guards, were out there all night. I don’t know how this guy got in, climbed in a window, I guess, and she... Come to find out, I thought the husband had just *seen* it. He came in to beat this guy up. No. Apparently, she let the guy in and he almost killed the guy that was in her platoon. Like, he strangled him and he was in ICU for quite a while. So, yeah. That was pretty intense,

and he ended up being in our unit and, I mean, he was so... I mean he was like... The guy almost beat him to death with a lamp, too. [Grace continues about another incident.] So, we, we chose where we went for Phase Two [of MOS training]. So, the girl chooses where she's going and the wife... And, then, they get called to the First Sergeant's office, right? So, that's where I was like, "Hey, what's going on?" Come to find out, I guess they've been having a threesome with some girl, and the girl fell in love with the husband, so she [the girl] told the First Sergeant that he raped her in front of the wife. Come to find out, the girl was lying, so the girl went to jail and I think they both got kicked out.

Colette describes violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, resulting from isolation, easy access, and the power of the cadre overseeing new trainees at Ft. Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas:

People cheat. They lie. They're not very forthcoming about their marital situation. And, when you're in training, it gets really shady because I don't know if that cadre actually has a wife because I don't know him outside of... I don't leave this compound like he does. So, I think that's part of it. When you have a lot of power, it's easy to decide you're not going to do the right thing. And when you've got, like, 50 smoking hot little girls who just came out of training and they would just, they'd hump walls at that point. It's your chance. That's how I look at it. But I knew females who, female NCOs who were just as questionable in their behavior.

Rachel describes similar behavior while at AIT at Ft. Leonard Wood, Missouri:

When she [a trainee] would go into his [an officer's or NCO's] office, either her battle buddy would stay outside if he knew no one else was there, I guess, that night. I'm not really sure. Or, she would be in the room or like further in the corner. [Connie: "But you mentioned a wife."] Yes, his wife actually... She came on post and she took our photo. She would bring the children around. It was really awkward. She was a really sweet lady and I was just, like, I didn't know initially when meeting the wife that this was happening, and it wasn't until my battle buddy was like, you know, kind of I guess said something to me and made me kind of pay attention to this situation. I was like, "Oh, my, gosh," and this girl was just playing with the wife's children and smiling in her face and all the while she was secretly... I got that vibe from someone else and he was muscular, tall and he knew girls kind of fawned over him and so I could see him in that way because he would flirt with a girl or, you know, maybe touch. But, with that guy, I honestly didn't pay attention to him and, so, when this was brought up to me, I was, like, "Wow. Okay." So maybe, maybe that's why the wife came around 'cause no other wives came, so

maybe she knew her husband and was keeping an... I have no idea. I think it'd be the perfect situation for someone who was looking for that [a hook up or affair]. Like I said, the wife doesn't know. She's off base and these girls aren't here in your life every day like a traditional affair, you know, like you would have at the workplace. This is only going to be here momentarily and leave and... Yeah, very convenient. So, I think it would be the perfect environment if I was that person seeking out that.

These narratives and similar narrative data describe the mistrust and resentment of individuals experiencing, witnessing, or even just hearing rumors about violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62. No longer an expected expression of commitment within the marriage relationship, the sexual act functions socially in a disinterested, transient way. Further, it exemplifies the breakdown of military morals, of 'good order and discipline' mandated by the UCMJ. It embodies Baudrillard's sexual indifference; sexuality has no significance other than as a spectacle, human interaction valuation is questionable, and opportunities for sexual violence arise.

“Power sex.” Human action is only moral when an understanding of the future exists, when one can behave reflexively with respect to one's own wishes, when reasons (and not only desires, instincts, or emotions) can guide the action (Adloff 2016). Allen (2003) describes power as determined by “nowness” brought about by the immediacy of networks and their activities to close-down options, often through seduction and/or persuasion. The act is pragmatic, yet using sex to ‘take,’ to exploit or gain favors without the givers' moral consent violates Kant's imperative to not treat people as mere means to an end (Dougherty 2013). To illustrate this, Melinda describes “power sex” and its dynamics in military places and spaces:

It's alluring. I mean, I mean from, like, an officer's perspective it's alluring to have sex with someone who's higher ranking than you, but

there's also some power dynamics with having sex with someone lower ranking than you. I don't know. It's, it works both ways, I guess. I mean the military, the UCMJ's perspective on all of it, is that the higher-ranking person is always wrong because they have all the power. But, I've, I've seen a specialist manipulate a captain to try to have sex with him. [When asked "What would she gain?"] The power associated with having "had" a captain. Bragging rights. And, even just the, even if she didn't say anything, just the rumor of it increased her statute amongst her peer group.

Regarding promiscuity, Lauren states simply, "You can be the one everyone wants, but you can never be the one everybody's had because you'll never get respected." Janet states similarly:

I've definitely seen it just about everywhere 'cause guys love competition, especially when it comes to who is more sexually promiscuous and more "better," I guess. And, but, like with those guys, I think it was a bit worse because they had no females in their unit. They were the only ones that were that forward about it and tried that hard that early on [to seduce]. And, they only backed off once they figured out, *if* they figured out... If you started sleeping around with them, they were all gonna do it. And, then, if you didn't sleep with anybody then they would back off and they're like, "Oh, she's actually a good person, a good girl," or whatever.

Thus, similar to violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, "power sex" may provide immediate gratification of exploitative desires and status within a limited peer group, but the ramifications for a woman's status in the larger military community are extensive socially and professionally, especially for individuals in leadership positions. Grace for example describes military places and spaces as locales of "a very sexual culture. Everybody talks about sex a lot. It's a joke. We can, I dunno, make fun of sex. My husband has told me stories about girls coming to their barracks and, they'd like run, not him, but his friends, would like run trains on them or whatever. These aren't soldiers. These are, like, random women. What do they call them? Barracks, barracks sluts? Or, I dunno, something like that. They're like, kinda like, badge bunnies, whatever."

Using sex as a tool of power or manipulation surfaces many times in the data. Patrice describes it as standing at “parade pretty.” In the scenario below, woman’s sex is used to gain favor and potentially as a tool of intimidation against men (Williams 2005):

So, I’m not saying that women need to be like dude-ish. But, like, I’ve seen it where, “Oh, that’s too heavy for me. Can you help me?” You know? They still play the ‘girl card’ as I call it. You know, we’re all supposed to be soldiers, regardless. You should be able to walk 30, you know, with a 35 pound, pound ruck on your back the same as he can. Yet, they’ll be like, “Oh, it’s too heavy,” you know? And some dude probably being nice will help her. And then she gets away with it. So, then, she continues to do it, you know? I call it standing at ‘parade pretty,’ you know? When they get their little hip cocked out to the side ‘cause they think it’s gonna work. And unfortunately it does, you know? And I think today, in today’s culture, too, a lot of the men in charge are now terrified of doing or saying anything that could be construed as sexual harassment. And so, like, if a female comes up to him, they’re like yeah, sure, whatever. Like just end the conversation. So, you can’t be like, “Well, what are they talking about?” you know, ‘cause they’re terrified of it.

Although certainly not new behaviors in human history, the sexual behaviors depicted in the interviews negatively impact the enactment of expected care in military geographies by compromising truth and normalizing means-ends acts. Hooking up, violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, and ‘power sex’ all tarnish consensual sexual intercourse, degrading loyalty, truth, and trust in military geographies. Most egregious are, of course, sexual assault and rape.

Rape is Not a Military Woman’s Choice

My argument thus far has focused on military environments as historical locations of care and its degradation through neoliberal individualism, especially those behaviors of a sexual nature enacted through the active choices of hooking up,

violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, and ‘power sex.’ All of these are actions of choice. Rape is not a military woman's choice.

Predatory male behaviors. To reiterate, the function of self-sacrifice is to build and maintain social bonds, accomplished through daily exchanges of cooperation and support such as politeness, encouragement, interest, and other emotional intangibles. The result is the creation of geographies of care. In contrast to such sacrifice, barbarians use force or fraud to achieve their ends. The use of force does not build social bonds – it destroys them (Meštrović 2015). We call contemporary barbarians predators – a label previously reserved for animals. Colette witnessed and condemns predatory behavior at Ft. Campbell, Kentucky:

The problem is, is that you can tell people not to do certain things, not to behave as a predator, not to take advantage of vulnerable people, which I think trainees are vulnerable because their minds are what I would consider in a huge transition. And when you start taking advantage of that, that’s not ethical and it’s morally and ethically and professionally corrupt. It’s not okay because trainees... I look back, I was super messed up in the head. I was unbalanced. I was trying to find my way. I was trying to give my family a better future because I was broke. But I was also really young and I didn’t know much about the outside world and a lot of my fellow members, like, were the same way or even less experienced than I was. They had no children. They left *home* from their parents’ house and now they’re 18. They’re smoking hot and they’ve got this 30-year-old who’s like, “Heeeyyyy.” You’re taking advantage of a vulnerable population. And whether you believe that or not, just because their ID says “18” [age] and “US Army” does not mean that they’re a [*sic*] sound mind to make such a big decision about getting involved with you. And, that was my big thing is I felt leadership took advantage of soldiers, first of all, young soldiers specifically, at least for my big eggriances [*sic*], male to females or female trainees and male soldiers, NCOs. When I finally got to permanent party, I was at Fort Campbell, Kentucky. I arrived there in July of 2009. It was just basic training over again, because I was running all the time and I was like, “I hate my life. Where the hell did I just go?” I would say the ratio for every seven to eight males, I saw one female and it was the same story. But, so, I was a PFC. I was an E-3, so I would watch

it. I would watch these NCOs pray on these baby soldiers, these girls who had been in training for *way* less [time] than I have. So, I had already kind of figured out the game but, at that point, they had been in the Army for four months and five months, maybe six. And so, they didn't have freedoms in AIT, so they weren't in the Army as long as I was, first of all. And they had no freedoms. These NCOs knew that. And I can remember it. I can see it in my head right now. And they weren't looking to *date* you. They weren't looking to take you out to dinner. They weren't looking to mentor you as a soldier. They were looking to have sex with you and, I believe, take advantage of the fact that you had been in training for a while and you were probably willing to do it. Do I think it's necessarily assault or anything? No. But, do I think it's shady and unethical and kind of shitty as a noncommissioned officer? Yeah. Because I think it's a misappropriation of leadership and it's not really fair because you've been in the Army long enough, you should know better and there's got to be an E-5 you can hook up with, right?

Rita, a former Air Force officer and SAPR [Sexual Assault Prevention & Response]

Officer at Lackland AFB in San Antonio compares the tradition of objectifying women to the contemporary issue of predators in military environments:

I think it's [sexual violence is] a combination of what people are bringing into the military as far as personal experience, upbringing, you know, cultural norms; and also the military at different points in time being a breeding ground for certain predators. And I say that because at one point, and this all happened while I was in, I remember in 2000 and it had to have been around 2010. All of a sudden we got a mandate to look at our work areas and anything that was offensive whether they were whether it was a picture, a saying, whatever I was not privy to the fact that people still in their offices had maybe call girl posters up or you know because you know back in the day we used to paint girls on planes. So, each of those planes had a had a female name it was a naked girl on there. It was just tradition, right, because it was men who ran the air force and that's what they liked and so they thought, "Oh. This is okay; it's a compliment to call a plane a female" or whatever, not knowing they were objectifying women. But, anyway, but some of that was still going on and so here I'm thinking, "Well, no, that's a product of World War I, II, you know, different campaigns back in the day." But there was still some of that stuff going on. So, what happened was the IG, the Inspector General, would go around and make sure there was nothing offensive on the walls. So, here we were, we were sort of seemingly cleaning up the environment, but there were still ideas and still behaviors there were not yet being addressed. So, that happened around 2009. By the time the Lackland scandal happened, I don't even think DoD knew how to handle it. They were just like, "Okay we got

to teach about prevention,” but it wasn’t until even later than that, probably about 2015, when they were like, “No, we need to focus on behaviors. What kind of music are you listening to?” All the way down to that. So, the course that I taught basically gave samples of different country, hip-hop, pop music and we let people listen to it and kind of say, okay, “What do you see here?” So, all the way from you know you know calling a woman something that you thought was complimentary but wasn’t. And, people would say, “Man, I’ve listened to that song over and over and over again. I’ve never thought of that.” And, so, you could tell the training was largely entrenched in more psychological resources. Basically, outsiders that were coming in and saying, “Okay this is what we’re observing. This is what we’re seeing.” Because this is not a military product. This was not a Department of Defense thing, you know. This was going into now individual people’s lives and saying, “Watch the music you’re listening to. Watch the shows that you’re watching and understand how it contributes to the cycle of wrong thoughts which then lead to inappropriate behavior.” And, so, now that’s the focus. You know, it’s kind of cool you know, and in the military, we’re mandated to take those courses, but it’s like what are people outside the military doing? And then we can’t control that, but so I say all that to say that to your question, “What are the contributing factors?” Well, the contributing factors was that largely you know jokes about women, jokes about gender identity, jokes about homosexuals are largely going unanswered. People could... Just like they used to smoke in the office, people could say these things, and nobody would say anything. So, really the silence of bystanders that would hear it. Maybe it would make them cringe, but they just didn’t say anything. Silence is complicity.

Similarly, Linda describes individual military women’s behavior she witnessed that made them vulnerable to predators and compromised the sexual safety of all military women:

It [sexual safety] depends on if they’re [the women are] looking for validation. Now, if their validation comes from their work because they’re actually good at it, then, they don’t need the attention from the men. If their validation comes from men’s attention because they’re not that great at work, they’re gonna go for that attention because there’s so many men to get attention from and so few females, it’s very easy to get validated by just turning around and saying, “Heyyy,” like, you know, just flirting with somebody. If this was, if this was. they really want to be there, then they would not complain. They would not say, like, “I need this because I’m a female that...” They would just tough it out, shut your mouth, and do the job. Whatever assignment it was. If it meant cleaning the restrooms. If it meant moving 12, 20 bags of sand from one place to the other. You’re not going to get a male to do it. You’re gonna do it yourself, and we’re not

gonna cry, and complain, and bitch and moan. And, that was the biggest thing for me. It was, like, “Shut up.” Just because you’re a female doesn’t mean that you get special privileges, and a lot of females that were looking for that validation from men would whine, bitch, and complain. It was more of like a picking and choosing. Like, if she’s this fragile then she’s also fragile in the sense of I, I can pretty much date her if I wanted to. Like, she’s easy. [Predators will prey upon those women] that are looking for validation. That aren’t gonna say anything. That are okay with not meeting standards.

Sack (1997) notes that even reason itself is gender specific. It is important to determine what factors construct gender and how much of it is the result of biological processes.

In this regard, one force that can mold gender is the realm of meaning. The realm of meaning stresses our ability to think as a key factor separating us from the rest of creation and making us human. This radical imperative of recognition drives us in a process of bringing about a sense of ‘us’ to recognize all contributions to the creation and sustenance of our common world. Taking this a step further, in a democracy, reciprocity demands that we acknowledge *all* care that is offered and received, the different voices, as Gilligan calls them. This, however, requires trust, which is as we have seen in short supply between men and women as well as women and women in military environments.

Othering, cruelty, and bullying have always existed in societies. In the historical military geographies of the past, one was able to recognize one’s enemies for who they were. It is now more difficult to distinguish friend from foe – and the friend may become a foe and then a friend again. The distinction between ‘good guys’ versus ‘bad guys’ still exists in military geographies with the important caveat that the ‘good guys’ share many of the barbaric characteristics of the ‘bad guys’ – and vice versa – which

makes the difference superfluous (Meštrović 2015). Predators in military geographies contaminate places and spaces leading to military women's unease and abject fear.

Military places and spaces of women veterans' unease. Military geographies are characterized by unique circumstances that may directly challenge women's sense of sexual safety. We have heard women speak to the challenge of transiency and the feelings of unease it fosters. Another, unsurprisingly, is the machismo and toxic masculinity displayed by males, which can be overwhelming and intimidating due to the skewed ratio of men to women (Dalgaard-Nielsen and Holm 2019). Melinda describes Ft. Polk, Louisiana, as 'awful.' She mentions the issues transiency creates, again references the 'real' world as distinct from the 'military' world, and surmises this to more likely be a location for sexual violence to occur than other places at which she was stationed. She states:

[Ft.] Polk. Oh, God. So awful. I mean, Sierra Vista, or Ft. Huachuca [Arizona], was far away from, you know, real life, I guess, far away from a city. It felt, it felt closer than Ft. Polk then Ft. Polk did. It was probably about the same distance to get to a city, but it just felt so remote. And, it was so green, but it was ugly, like swampy. It kind of smelled and like, the town itself just looked like it was falling apart. The buildings look dirty all the time somehow. So, they have a main cadre there, but mostly it's just rotating units for JROTC, so it's very *temporary*, but the people who live there and work there all the time have kind of a [*sic*] elitist attitude for no reason. I dunno. It's not a friendly atmosphere, being a visiting unit. Maybe because they're the trainers and we're the trainees. We're training to go to war, and they have to stay there. Yeah. 'Cause there's a weird kind of... The visiting units tend to, to kind of look down their nose a little bit at the trainers because they're not going to war even though they all have combat experience. It's just a weird kind of chest-thumping on both sides. There's just so much machoism, I guess. It makes more sense that it [sexual harassment and sexual assault] would happen there.

Janet describes the madness of Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, due to the sheer number of troops as well as the level of testosterone:

So, one of the Ft. Bragg jokes, because it's the 82nd Airborne and some Rangers and Special Forces especially... So, because there are all these people there, the joke is that Ft. Bragg where even the STDs are airborne. So, that's the joke basically saying be very careful. So, they basically gave me a warning and actually some of the other male soldiers, like the lower enlisted when I first got there, they gave me warning as well. Like, "You're the new female on the block. Every single one of them is going to... It's going to be like blood in the water and they are going to try to hit on you. They're gonna try to get with you. Just be very careful and be very mindful of what they're doing and make sure you don't wind up like..." Just, just, be careful essentially is what they were doing. My NCOs gave me the same spiel as well as some of the other privates. And they didn't tell me not to, but they gave me fair warning so I could just kinda like, "Be mindful that everything that happens in this battalion everybody knows about. So, keep in mind what you're trying to portray because everybody's gonna know about it and they're going to make assumptions." And, they gave me warning that some people will make false assumptions no matter what you do, so just be ready for that as well. And, so, they were trying to give me at least a decent head's up. That way, I can make my own decisions from there. And like I figured since I was going to be deploying with these people and like one of my jobs when I was deployed on my first deployment was actually taking care of the engineers' Comm, like a whole platoon's Comm, so like we did. And so I wanted to get to know them and meet them, but I like went to the day room and, oh, boy, were they right! I felt like I was walking around the day room the entire time backing away from people. And like 'cause, 'cause they didn't understand personal space and everybody kept getting in my personal space. So, fortunately like I had a head's up so I had walls up and guards up. So, like, with the engineers when I first got there, like none of them tried to rape me or even try to do that. They were just at, like all of them, it was almost like a competition of who could get with the new girl first is what it... That's honestly what it felt like more. And it didn't feel like an assault of any kind. It was kind of, but not really. Not in that aspect. Not a violent... It was more of a "Who's the *man*?" kind of props kind of thing.

Darlene describes distinct differences in the leadership and behavior of males in Alaska, Hawaii, and Afghanistan. She identifies the degree of focus on the mission as fostering a specific environment:

Because, in Alaska, there's [sic] a lot of males that I could trust, and I really didn't feel like the male-female ratio would make a difference. You'd find men that you could trust to go to look after you. But, then in Hawaii, it was different. I couldn't trust anyone. It was a very different mentality in Hawaii. The males were much more, it was much more competitive. They were very intimidated by a strong female. Egos got in the way, very passive-aggressive. I didn't trust, really, my peers so much. I didn't trust my bosses, who were all males. So, on that side, I can definitely see how much it would be harder to talk. My personal perspective from Hawaii was that being with the 25th ID, 25th Infantry Division, you had two brigades, 2nd Brigade and 3rd Brigade, and then you had a sustainment brigade on Schofield Barracks, as well. And then, a lot of other small units. It was just a much bigger unit. They had division staff there. A lot of majors were very competitive with each other. My opinion, very immature, obviously, from ... basically, just being, going through war and being promoted very quickly, and I feel like that was... The majors were that generation of just [slaps hands together] being promoted and were not quality leaders. Immature, passive-aggressive, so on and so forth. Competitive, and that trickled down all the way through the ranks, all the way to the NCOs, being tired and not caring because they knew their leaders didn't care. They were just out for themselves. And, of course, that trickles down to soldiers being ill-disciplined and... Yah, just really not watching out for themselves, either, and so, it's... People still worked hard in Hawaii. There wasn't necessarily a mentality of like, "I just want to do my work and do what I have to do to get out and go play," which was sort of surprising for me. I definitely get more of it is a competitive mentality, which is the ego. So, it wasn't, yeah. Alaska, it was, I think, having a smaller base. Fairbanks, Fort Wainwright, just had one brigade and then an aviation brigade, as well. So, just two, an aviation brigade was relatively small. And, that was it. So, the post there was, supported that brigade. It was more of a smaller, intimate community where all the majors were, were, worked well together. I just remember that, going from Afghanistan where they worked well together. And, obviously, being in a combat environment where they put, basically, their personal issues aside and just take care of the mission, and having that mentality, bringing it back to Alaska just, really, had good, strong leadership relationships with everyone. And that trickled down in a positive way. I think Hawaii was very sexist. Absolutely. My personal feeling, and if I surveyed other females that were with me on Schofield Barracks, I think they would feel the same. If you're on paper, if you're a guy, you would get pushed up front to be looked at automatically [for promotion]. And then, if you're a female, unless you're recommended or whatever, it's, you're not looked at. Okay, it's hard for me to explain but, for example, my first year in Hawaii, I came into an office where it was all black guys. So, I came in as one white female. I've never had issues working with black guys until this office where... I just had a very different mentality. I brought in, like, I was very task-oriented and just very focused

on what the officers' tasks were versus NCO tasks were. So, I would just, sort of, turn things upside down. And the, I would say, NCO just didn't communicate well with me and I wasn't communicating well with him. So, I think we just had that natural, different how men and women... Men are wired differently than women are wired. So, you just have just that natural clash. I knew my job well. I think they were intimidated by that, and my boss, boss's boss, which was my [inaudible at 18:10], they didn't know. When I came to them with issues, they didn't support me. They went to the NCO and supported him. And I would have to say that, just because they were a boy club. So, I just spent a year in that job feeling alienated, helpless, useless. One of my biggest regrets is not standing up more and being more assertive in my calling out bad behavior, like "Major Braden, you're doing this and I don't like it, and I'm going to go to the EO, I'm going to go to the IG, and I'm going to see what help I can get because this is absolutely wrong." I didn't want to stir, I guess, the pot or rock the boat anymore. They still, they still had control of where you go next, like still possibly recommend me to another job. So, I still was trying to find the balance of working with them to improve the relationship and work with my NCO to improve the relationship. And what came back on it, they just didn't like me, bottom line. So, the leadership in Afghanistan, which is so focused on the mission, so focused on work, and I just remember all the captains and all the majors being in their offices all the time and were just so worried about what they needed to do to support the rest of the brigade. And, they knew they had to work together and there couldn't be any personal issues. We had 12 soldiers die in our brigade and they knew this was, this was the missions. We all were making impact, big scope of international affairs in the Middle East, so, they had the big picture in mind. They didn't have their small agenda in mind. And I saw that by them just working incredibly hard all the time. I never saw any competitiveness between the majors in Afghanistan and Alaska. They just had the mission in mind.

Although never sexually assaulted, Kristi relates her discomfort at her body being the subject of constant conversation, scrutiny, and fantasy. She received an origami crane from a prowler and experienced another unwelcome instrumental advance in the form of a bench as well as also absolute terror in her first three months deployed in Afghanistan:

I mean, they do try to toughen you and change kind of how you conduct yourself. Some of it was 'cause I was a woman. I mean, I never had people talk about my body before like, ever, you know, specifically talking about your boobs in a uniform jacket. Like, it's weird to act as if I don't have

them, you know, and stand a certain way. It's not like you're trying to bring attention to yourself, but it can be the source of jokes. Like let's talk about the one woman in your group. You know, women jokes, like, equal rights are funny. Things like stupid boy humor, you know, and you sit at the smoke pit and you try to just blend in somehow. Back then I didn't even try to change that culture. You just try to be in it somehow. I remember feeling safe, er, unsafe most of my deployment. Some of that's from actual physical things that make you unsafe. But learning that, and I had men follow me places, you know. They just follow you 'cause you're pretty, I guess. You don't have to be that pretty to be pretty overseas, so... And they tell you that. "You know, you can be a 'three' home but a 'seven' over here, you know." They call it... I can't remember what they call it, something like 'dust goggles' or something with goggles about being overseas. And you hear it, like, the second you get there and they kind of warn you, "Hey, you're gonna get a lot more attention than what you're used to." Some of it is really trying to be like a service, like, "Hey, this is gonna happen. Let us know if you need something. Yeah, it's comin'." So, I understood it was coming, but I didn't really understand like saying, "Good morning," to someone was flirting now, you know, or eye contact walking down the street means you're interested. And you're in long sleeves and pants and you don't wear makeup and your hair is back in a thing and you're trying to do your, your job and be respected. And prove that you belong there. But, instead, people leave me like notes in my room or like an origami crane like on my desk, which you're not allowed to be in my room, so someone came into your space. So, anything someone comes into your space you already feel unsafe. And, then, I had a man make me a bench once 'cause I thought like how cool if there was a bench outside our room, like, we could all hang out. And then he made a bench outside my room. It's those kind of gestures. You can't just go to the hardware store over there, so it's a big deal. Well, later he told me he thought we were going to be together. And he was engaged planning a wedding. I'm like, "I don't understand, like, how this went." He was an officer. He told my officer bosses that we were dating. I mean, how do you date overseas? Like, we can't be in one place together and it be okay. So, but he had a false sense of the world. I mean, he ended up being really strange and when we got home, he just didn't adjust, and I don't understand what was in his brain then or what I did to send that I message. I mean, the most I ever did was walk home at night because we weren't... I had an experience that made it where I couldn't walk home at night any more by myself. And that wasn't a "let's walk together 'cause we like each other walk." We were the last two at the office. And, he wasn't in my section. It was just a "Hey, Henderson's going home. Who can walk with her?" "Hey, I am leaving now, too." You know, and that's it. But it's this zero-to-60 kind of thing. You know, you just say one thing and now we're getting married, you know? It's a very weird thing, but I had two soldiers and sailors... I don't know who it was. I was walking to work by

myself at night, [they] tell me they were going to rape me. And, if I... I mean, we carry weapons, so I don't really understand like how you feel this sort of safety to say it, or this power to say it 'cause, of course, the first few... I don't know what his suggestive remarks were, not as blunt, but they became very much, "This is what's going to happen and you're going to enjoy it." It was dark and they came... They just can just appear like out of the... Do you know what B huts are? Okay, ours are plywood-like box shacks that sleeps six to eight people. And they, we put them everywhere. I didn't have one but when you walk toward there's a wider gravel road than normal. You can fit like a Gator or two that can drive by each other. But they just appeared like, you know, where I was walking on the road. And it's lit but not really 'cause you don't want to get mortared, you know? So, we don't have bright lights. So, it was just a really unfortunate setup. And, I mean, I un-holstered a pistol and, "I will shoot you," like, no, this is not happening, you know, ever. But, you can't un-holster a pistol and threaten to shoot people, you know? That can't be my everyday answer, so you have to have a different solution. And, that's the one time I did tell. Not the one time, but the biggest events that happened that [I] informed my NCO about and that's why we were no longer allowed to walk alone at night.

In addition to the environmental factors identified by Ceccato compromising women's sexual safety, military geographies include a substantially skewed sex ratio and enactment of procedures that run completely counter to those intended to ensure women's sexual safety. Numerous veterans mentioned darkness affecting their sense of safety at night and Kristi describes above the practice known as 'light discipline,' which requires minimal or no exterior lighting to prevent enemy identification of our bivouac sites as targets for mortars and snipers. Research (Farrington and Welsh 2006) indicates that exterior lighting reduces nighttime crime; however, this is not an option in combat theaters where service members' safety rests on the concealment of darkness. As I have presented, women's compromised sexual safety in military places and spaces results from a constellation of factors. All interpersonal factors, however, seem to result from an absence of mutual care in military geographies. Most egregious is theft of one's sex through force or fraud.

Military Rape Vignettes

Below are vignettes shared by the women veterans interviewed for this research of their abject fear of military places and spaces of rape potential and their own or their relatives' or friends' rapes. As the data indicate, the potential for physical sexual violence emerges from identifiable, *known* triggers. They consistently include the othering, exclusion, mistrust, and degradation experienced by so many women experience in military geographies.

Leslie's deployment to Saudi Arabia. One of my harder stories that I have in my career was going to... Again, my bases, my deployment locations, were easier. They call them 'cake bases' because they weren't actually in the thing [combat theater], but still being so far isolated and I was doing a TCN duty, which is third country national duty, because we were in Saudi Arabia and we had sections where the coalition forces, like the Air Force and all of our friendly countries, are on different spots inside the Saudi base. So, my job was that day was to follow this truck around while they checked electrical boxes for something around the base and so I had my little GMC. I had my pickup. I had my radio. I didn't have any weapons. And, there's a highway in between where we lived and where we worked and then, wherever that went, I don't know because we weren't allowed to go. We were out in Saudi in the middle of nowhere, but they actually on this big long highway they got over and turned right really quickly and they didn't signal very well and, so, I had to, like, get over to the median so the people behind me could, like, keep going. I couldn't slow down and make that turn without flipping the car. So, but the car behind me decided to slow down and get in the median with me and then actually rear ended me and had, you know, thrown my car across the, back over the street. Luckily, there were no other cars, but that was, like, at least 90 miles an hour or whatever. That's what they told me. That's the story I'm remembering. But the horrible, hard part of it was that the only thing I had was my radio to call back to my people, you know, my Air Force people, but *they didn't believe me at first. I was... I guess, I was hysterical enough they thought it... Because when they get bored, they make funny stories over the comm [radio]*[emphasis added]. So, the Saudi police were the first ones that came and wanted to take me off base to a hospital and in Saudi Arabia you *don't* go off base as a woman by yourself. I think I had hit my

head decently, but... I know I had a headache for a little while. I think they said it was a small concussion or whatever but not, not, nothing major. It broke the back windshield, but I had my seatbelt on and I stayed in my car. For that, I dunno, ten minutes or so trying to get my people to, like, believe me and telling the other people not to take me out of the car. So, yeah. That was, again, it was in the middle of the desert, in the middle of nowhere. You *don't* go off base in that country as a woman and I was more blonde back then so... [Connie asks "What was your fear?"] Not coming home. Yeah. Not coming home. Of all the things that they could do to women over there, I guess. There was a plethora of things that could have happened, so I didn't want to go off base. Yes, because afterwards, like, when we had to go meet leadership because vehicles were injured and, apparently, in that country even though he hit me, he could have still charged me for doing it. Because it's their country and they could do what they want. So, I actually had to go off base with my leadership to their police station or whatever to let them talk and it was a very scary moment for me because, again, I'm a woman, by myself. Not by myself, but the only woman with my leadership who are men. It was a young Saudi policeman that was, or whatever job he was, but he was a Saudi military person. He chose not to press charges, which luckily, even though he hit me, I was told they still could have pressed charges.

Rachel's friend's rape in Japan. I know of a young lady who was in the Navy and she did deploy and obviously, you know, their training is in the water and while in Japan, she was raped. And, it was extremely traumatizing for her and just the cover-up. Like, she couldn't contact her family. I only found out through her mother. She's like, "Have you talked to such-and-such lately?" and it was like, "No." She's like, "Please check on her," and so I call her and you could... I felt like someone was watching over our conversations 'cause they'd be very short and it's like you know this person for years and you know their personality. I understand the situation's going to be stressful, so maybe she wasn't as personable on the phone, but it was... It wasn't the norm when we communicated and getting her back to the States was really difficult and just making it seem as though she was a troublemaker for speaking out about this. So, she didn't share everything and I didn't want to ask. But, from times where she opened up, she was drinking and so she kind of felt guilty and it was like, "Well, did I send mixed signals or, you know, was I being flirtatious?" I was, like, "Being flirtatious and inviting someone to have sex with you are completely different things. Even if you were a little more flirty, that doesn't mean "Come and take advantage of me or, you know, rape me." So, that was one. She didn't talk about rank but there was more than one person and so that was scary because we're taught that if you don't have a female battle buddy you can have two guys. Well, that's even worse. *It seems like now I have someone there to hurt me even more. You would think that one of them would hold the other one accountable and say, "Hey,*

this isn't cool," but, nope, they go along with it [Emphasis added.]. The young lady from the Navy that was raped, she just felt like nothing ever happened. She eventually just left the military and was discharged and it was a dishonorable discharge. She was fighting it and a lot of other details. But, being more, I guess, receptive or understanding when people are wrong and not just assume like, "Oh, no, this is going to tarnish our name." Like, I feel like that's what the military's more concerned about like... If we admit that there's something wrong with us then we're completely, you know, dishonorable now and we're defamed but, in actuality, I think that in admitting that you're wrong or admitting that you have some areas of improvement makes it look better and so that would be really important.

Kristi's friend's and her own rape in Afghanistan. There's something about the power imbalance that allows a company commander to come in to where I'm working and actively flirt with me in front of my peers, you know? And he would follow me home or show up at the laundry point and be there, you know? Or, send me a business e-mail about work and then add a line at the end that was for me. I'm like, "This is not acceptable behavior." I was 20 years old when this happened because they, he, couldn't have been too much older than me. He's a college graduate and a captain, so I would say 30. I would guess. So, I mean that's older enough. He'd know better. But he was the company commander of a California unit and we had some of their soldiers that worked in our prison. Now, I never worked in the... I mean, I worked in the prison when they needed help like escorting people places, but my job was specific to missions that were outside of the facility. So, any time people had missions outside the facility, it went through my office. And I'd been in the office longest, so I must have been one of the lowest ranking, but I knew the most things. And so, I have the preferential treatment just 'cause of my knowledge base. But he, we as an office, and again I'm the lowest ranking. One woman. We had two women. We were joking about men. They said something about wishing they could have a beer right now 'cause we couldn't drink. And I said something about a margarita, and I don't even know if I'd ever had a margarita, you know, but you just want to fit in. Or, to make jokes about home, you know, 'cause that's a big thing. So, we would go to the fridge and I'd ask for a margarita and they'd get like a yellow Rip It can, you know, that's your 'margarita' And somebody asked for a beer, so they get the one that's probably color coordinated to what they asked for. It's a stupid joke. And, so, he had heard this joke and so was started [*sic*] to send me e-mails about having margaritas in his room, like I'd come over for margaritas. And commanders get their own room. They get a TV. They get to watch movies from back home or a sports event and I didn't go. I was like, "I don't want to. I don't want to." So, finally, one day it just all quit. He finally quit following me, he quit showing up places and it was over. And I was just so glad it was over. I'm like, how do you report this? He sent me inappropriate, one-sentence about having a

margarita and he'd insinuate in his room, but he would never say, "Come to my room." It was known without saying and I felt unsafe all the time. But how do you report he was at the laundry point? Like, I know you're waiting for me but I can't prove you're waiting for me. So, and you're a commander. I'm an E-4. It was not very... He raped my best friend. And she reported it and he got sent home, but he still got to command his unit with women in it. He had to go back to California without losing rank. He just got sent home. Nothing happened to him. She went over to have a 'margarita.' See, I knew if I walked in that room that whatever happened, I would have less control over. We had already... But she didn't get as much attention as I did and I don't know why. She's beautiful but she's a mechanic, so I don't know, maybe, 'cause I was new or I wasn't sleeping with everyone. I don't know. There was something about me that got more attention than I should have 'cause there are other girls who would be your more 'magazine pretty' girls you think would get this attention. For some reason, I did. So, I don't know. *There's something at some point about my personality that I tried to shift 'cause I have some sort of draw that wasn't good for me. Like some sort of magnetic personality's bad, so I tried to figure out how to turn it off* [Emphasis added]. And she wasn't getting that attention. So, I think he showed it to her, and she came over for a drink and she said, "No," but he didn't care. I mean, and when you put a rifle down, it's not like you can just go get it, you know? She didn't get to carry a pistol. The pistol's a lot easier to un-holster than unslinging a rifle. So, I mean, it's... Because that happened to me. I didn't shoot him. I didn't even know where my weapon was. It's a trauma event that you can't think rationally. You can't behave in a way... And this is not something I talked about often, or ever, that when you originally consent to a sexual interaction you originally say, "Yes," and it's so completely not what you consented to, how do you say, "No," when you're already unsafe? And calling that rape feels weird because it's not a "No, don't do this." It's not violent in the beginning. It's a, "I said 'yes' to this," and so now you just wait for it to be done because it's safer. I mean, I don't want to... All the other horrible things that you've heard of happening to other people to happen to me. So, just wait. I mean... And I didn't shoot him. I didn't think about shooting him. You just wait for it to be done. So, I don't know if I would have shot him. I would like to think so in that moment in the ally for sure because I had control there, you know. This wasn't already... I didn't... I wasn't closed in in the same way. You know their name. You know if they have kids, or... Those things change. Like, you're told that they're [male service members] your people, then they prove you wrong in the worst ways.

Janet's experience with the 'rape shacks' in Afghanistan. And there was a bunch of shacks, so there were rows and rows of shacks. And the local nationals used to live in those shacks, but they were then, at the time we were there, they were empty. So, nobody lived in them, they were

not being used for anything, they were scheduled for destruction, but they didn't get destroyed the entire time we were there. So, any time you went to chow, you had to go through all of that and then come back and that was three times a day 'cause that was the DFAC in the area for us. And, then, the showers [sic] was inside the same building. There were showers in every building for each person, or for each portion of the conexes you know? Like, they would have their own shower at the very end and their own bathroom at the end. Then if you had to go to the bathroom at night, you had to leave outside, go outside and then go into the bathroom and then come back around possibly go up the stairs. And, then go back into your room and the doors had hard locks as well. So, that when you're in your room you felt nice and secure. However, and like they had one area was all the females and then there was males, the male buildings on either side of us. There was just rather what was open and they always put the females in one area just to make it easier. Also, because whatever building you were in that was the shower you would use. That's why they had us all in the same building because we all used that one shower. Well, the smoke pit areas was [sic] by the T-walls between the barracks and those shacks so it's right on the inside of those T-walls. So, a lot of the guys smoked, so they would be sitting in there and a lot of us would just go out there and b.s. and have some fun talking and stuff. Well, one night it was really dark and the guys were out there just chit-chatting and stuff and then one of them happened to glance towards the buildings and they noticed that there was a male in all black sweats looking through the window at the female showers. He yelled at him and then the guy takes off running towards those shacks and then he actually follows him and tries to chase him down. Several of the guys did, they tried to chase him down. Because they didn't get a good look at his face and they had no idea who he was or even what race he was. They just could tell he was a male. And they chased him down, but he disappeared in the shacks and they were never able to find him or identify him. So, they like... And, of course, we found out about all that so we had to keep a close eye on that. And then we came to those shacks that were there, those empty shacks. They came to be known as the 'rape shacks,' because a lot of times at night... It happened more than once while I was there and I think we were on BAF for three to four months and it happened more than one time. I think it happened two or three times while we were there. Women, like, you know... You're in your PTs [shorts and t-shirt]. You're sleeping then you get up in the middle of the night. You gotta go to the bathroom. You don't really take your weapon just to go right around the corner then come back. So, a lot of females would leave their weapons inside their rooms and then they would half asleep, they walked to the bathroom and then they go back up to their room. Well, guys in black sweats would wait in the shadows because there wasn't a lot of light in the area. They'd wait in the shadows and then they would snatch females that were just going to the bathroom and they would snatch them and drag them into those shacks and rape them. You don't really take your

weapons to the gym, so a lot of the females would leave their weapons with their battle buddies while they went to the gym and if any time that they saw a female in PTs walking back, because you had to walk between all the shacks, and any time they saw a female walking through there with no battle buddy and no weapon, they would snag 'em and then rape them in those shacks. So, it became like where you were not allowed to walk through there unless you had a battle buddy. Because of the sheer number of times and the fact that they were never able to figure out who did it... Because there was [sic] multiple types of military on there, there was local nationals there, there was our own guys there, you know. There was everybody there and because they made sure to wear black on black and they hid in the shadows with their hood up, it was... Nobody was ever able to identify them. It was actually, there was one suspicion that it was local nationals and then there was another suspicion that that it was actually civilian contractors, a civilian contractor doing it. So, we never really knew.

Rita's encounter with a survivor raped twice while deployed.

So as a SARC, I came in contact with a survivor who had been sexually assaulted twice, both in a deployed environment. Same person, and I'm just kind of like, "What is going on here?" You know that she had not gotten the help that she needed as far as counseling and really seeking out those things, but I think in a lot of ways she was either in denial because of the trauma and again she's reporting both assaults later, after the deployments are over, right, because now she feels like there's an environment where she can come forward. She didn't feel that way when they happened the first two times but she feels that way now that she can report. I think one occurred probably at Qatar which is in United Arab Emirates and then the other one occurred in Iraq. Different guys, same survivor. So, yeah, if someone were to ask me, "Do you think deployed environments are... Do you think a predator would think that was a more advantageous environment than being at home to, you know, sexually assault someone?" Absolutely. Yeah. I would say, "Absolutely." Well, largely, because I mean things are changing but because SARCs are in [combat] theater. You have a SARC office there. People as SARCs deploy so that people can report there. The GS and military and that's why you'll always have a military presence in the SARC world because you must have a SARC in theater now. But it wasn't always like that, so I, the timeframes where she was assaulted, there was no one to report to. Then, the other part, part two is the lack of training, lack of not just training for people that foster environments that then lead to sexual harassment and sexual assault, but also for individuals who are survivors of it to say, "This was not your fault. There is nothing that you did to cause this." You know that training wasn't there either, so I think that... She's a strong young lady. You know, she's very capable. She's very accomplishment-driven. She is currently a Tech Sergeant, which is E-6. I think they [sexual assaults] both occurred when

she was Staff so both occurred when she was an E-5. Yeah. Yeah, but you know she chose... She, she values her career, you know. She comes home and tries to forget. She didn't tell anyone. *For her, I think in both instances, she trusted. She worked alongside these two individuals in both scenarios. She knew them. This was not a case of a stranger assaulting her* [emphasis added]. She knew and she's also a very nice person, you know. Some men may take that as though 'she wants me.' And, it's like, "No, I'm not attracted to you like that. You're my friend. You're my colleague. I have to work with you every day. It's just important that we get along." But knowing her, there's no way she could have even... If she gave signals, it's inappropriate. It's just inappropriate. t's wrong. Unless she gave her consent, "Yes I want to have sex," you're wrong. And that's another thing we're teaching is if the person is incapacitated, if the person hasn't explicitly said, "Yes," then just assume that the answer is, "No."

Lauren's anger at her friend's rape at Twenty-Nine Palms, California. Like, I had a Marine that worked in the same squadron as me, and she ended up getting raped at a training exercise. And, I was *so* mad, ready to throw down, because I was like, I wish I was there instead of her because if it was gonna happen to somebody, it was gonna happen to her 'cause she was nice to everyone, you know? She didn't have a buddy. She was hammered drunk with Marines from another unit. We don't work with them. Her buddies left her, and it was a training exercise away from the unit, you know? WTI [Weapons and Tactics Instructor Course], 29 Palms. Where she doesn't know, you know? She's a lance corporal hanging out with corporals and sergeants, you know? And I specifically told her before she left, I'm like, "Be careful. You're only going with one other female, and you guys are not in the same work shift, and so you're gonna be by yourself, so make sure you stick with the guys from your shop." "Oh, I know, Sergeant. I know, Sergeant." I'm like, "Okay, well, you're very nice." And she was, I mean, which is, you know, a good quality for a decent human being. You know, it's not a bad thing, but it was already... People would mess with her, or make jokes or mock her all the time 'cause she was just... She had a high pitched voice, which didn't help. So, she wouldn't really sass back to anybody, and so, you know, I found myself, like, somebody says a comment to her, and I'm like, "Shut your mouth," you know, but you're not saying it for yourself. I'm not your guardian, you know? So, that was really frustrating. So, I was like, God, I wish I was there or, you know... Another Marine woke up in the hooch while it [the rape] was going on, 'cause they were back in the hooch. And, I guess he ran away. She was not unconscious. So, she woke up and pushed the guy off, and he ran. And, when she woke up, she was still super drunk, still had no idea what was going on. No idea. But he didn't get charged. Because she was so intoxicated and because a lot of people reported she was flirting with him anyways. So, no way to prove it was *not* consensual.

Patrice's rape at Ft. Leonard Wood, Missouri, and her mother's rape at NAS Coronado, California. Now, when I was in AIT, we finally got to the point where we could go off base, right? We're all excited. And someone decides to have a hotel party. And I should say that it's a motel because it was like one of the crappiest little hotels, you know? Oh, yeah. Crappy. And some civilian guy showed up who happened to know someone who knew someone. I don't even remember the relationships. And we drank and drank and drank. And the next thing I know is, I woke up with a man on top of me in the bathroom. I have no idea, no concept of how long when it happened. All I know is one of the females I was with must have had to go pee. She opened the door. She screamed. She ran and got her boyfriend who was a civilian. He ripped this guy off of me. They threw me in the shower and put me to bed. And I woke up the next morning. And, so, it's never the guys I served with that I felt... It was more of men who didn't understand the military who seemed to have a problem with us. Again, I was so drunk, I can't tell you exactly all what happened or what was said or what his motivation was. Could it have been that...? I'm sorry. I'm wrong. He was actually a student as well. He was in the Army as well. His last name was Brown. I'll never forget it. I have no idea what his first name was. But I don't know. Maybe 'cause I was gay. There [*sic*] could also have done something it, 'cause I was a woman. I don't know. Again, so drunk I can't comprehend any conversations before, after, or during.

My mother... I know we're talking about me, but my mother... My mother, who was in the Navy from 1976 to '80, was raped by a group of Marines solely because of the fact that she was gay. And she became pregnant. That's where my oldest sister comes from. We love her. And, you know, she's part of the family regardless. But, again, it was about the power. It's, "You're not meant to be here." She was a Navy diver. She actually taught at the dive school at Coronado. And I think it was a, "You don't belong here." So, again, she was at the dive school. And she was actually a diver. Her job that night was... Basically, they always had someone stationed at the pool to keep drunk idiots out of the pool, okay? No surprise there, right? But, anyways, so she was there by herself, which obviously probably wasn't a good idea. She was on duty by herself. At the pool. Of course, they had the building and that's where she was. And it was three Marines from the training class, so they knew who she was. And she knew them. And they knocked on the door. So, she figured, "All right. I'll see what's going on," and by the time she opened the door, they grabbed her. And they pulled her into one of the back classrooms and all three raped her. Beat her so severely she has no idea what happened. She woke up in the ICU. Turns out someone was bringing her chow, and realized, "Where the hell is Smith or, actually, it was Eckert at the time. You know, where the hell is she?" And they started looking, started looking. Of course, this was pre-cell phone, too, and found her bloodied, naked in a back classroom. She woke up. The doctors told her what happened, that they

had given her a D & C, so that shouldn't be a problem. Well, six weeks later she found out, nope. That didn't work. She was pregnant. Of course, at that time she also didn't know which one would have been the father. So, that also complicated things, and she was told by the Navy at that time... Because, again, you're dealing with the elite of the elite, right? These guys had made it to SEAL training. She was only an E-4, E-5 at the time. No. She was only E-4. My mother never made it to five. She was only a four. Or, uh, Boatswain's Mate Third Class, whatever that equates to. I can't remember. And, so, she was told by the Navy essentially that it would be best if she just left the service and didn't do anything about this 'cause she knew who the three guys were. But, here's the elite of the elite, the cream of the crop going through SEAL school. How embarrassing would it have been for the Navy to have three candidates be accused of this? Plus, then they would also have to deal with the fact that they did it because she was gay. And, under that time Don't Ask, Don't Tell was... But back then, all they have to say was she was gay and she would have gotten a Dishonorable [Discharge]. So, they threw that over her head. So, she said, "I'll just leave." So, she got an honorable discharge. But pregnant. Yep. My father, who happened to be a Golden Knight, was coming to do an air show in Coronado and they knew each other from high school. So, he said, "Hey, let's go get a drink." She goes, "Well, let's go get coffee," 'cause at this point she is visibly pregnant. Tells my father what happened. He goes. "No problem. We'll get married." "No harm, no foul." And, for 18 years, no one was the wiser. Yeah. So, yeah. So, that happened to my mom. Then, it happened to me and, you know. Yeah. Being by herself on duty was not a smart thing. She also... Again, back then, there was no sexual harassment training. There was not even any discussion about that. And, she definitely took on a very male dominated field. Not only was she in the Navy, but now she's a diver at the dive school. And my mom's all, at that time was all of 5'3" and 110 pounds. Now, she could lift a brick no problem, you know. She would love to throw these guys in the pool with their bricks on. But that didn't stop her against three other guys, you know? So, I think to her it was a... Not being by herself would have been a thing, and also that these guys felt like it was okay because she was gay. So, what is she gonna do? She's not going to open her mouth. You know, and these were highly decorated men who had made it to SEAL training. What was she gonna do? But my mother wanted me to understand that story before I went into the military, too. That you gotta... Safety is in numbers is what my mother always told me and I think that's really what she really blamed a lot of it on. But she left alone overnight by herself. And maybe she blames herself for opening the door. But she knew these guys. These were guys she was supposed to have known. You know, and she wasn't an instructor. But she worked at the school. So, she had seen these guys, you know? They had seen her. You know, so these weren't strange men in a back alley. You know, I don't feel like I was targeted. I feel like I showed up at the wrong time, at the wrong place. And, again, I don't know the conversations I even

had with this guy if I did have any. I certainly know me. Even at 19, wouldn't have flirted with a man. Definitely not, you know, on my things of I would have done in my lifetime [being gay]. So, I don't think I could even say I gave him a suggestion of it, you know. But, did he feel threatened about it? Maybe. I felt violated and disgusting and I had to shower. And, of course there was blood everywhere. I had never slept with a man. And, I woke up the next day. It was a Sunday morning. Went back to the base. It was not until Monday morning when we're at PT the pain in my groin area started. So, a couple of the girls who knew what happened were like I think she needs to go the TMC [Troop Medical Clinic]. So, down we go. My blood pressure is off the chart. I'm explaining to the doctor. And the doctor is a male. And he asked me if I had been raped. And I said, "No. And the nurse, who was a female, told the doctor, "I think you need to leave," and she asked me four more times and I repeatedly said, "No." I was terrified at that point because I was underage. I had been drinking. I knew I was gay. I remember my mother's story. My biggest concern was, "Holy crap. Am I pregnant?" 'Cause I don't know if a condom was used or not, and probably not. And, so, I remember denying, denying, denying. And it wasn't until I left the military where you get your medical and dental records. And I just happened to go through, you know, perusing. And I found that sheet. And it said, "Patient denies rape. Clear evidence of rape." And that's all they said. No one referred to it anywhere else. That's where it ended. I was on a plane. I was on a plane coming home to Houston for Christmas Exodus and he was sitting three rows ahead of me. I didn't do anything. I have no idea [if he saw/remembered her]. He certainly didn't act like he did. And, I remember landing at Bush Airport, getting off the plane, running to baggage claim, and running to find my mother. And, I never told her what happened 'cause I feel like if I had told her, it would have been confirmation to her that... Not a place for kids, you know, or women, you know, 'cause of what happened to her. And that was it. And I never thought about it or spoke about it again. When I got my period, I was relieved. I was like, "Thank God!" Then, off to Korea I went and never thought about it again.

These stories contain concepts addressed throughout this dissertation. They encompass the unique hazards presented to women in military geographies with limited if any ways with which to mediate them. As Acting Secretary of Defense Patrick Shanahan (DoD 2019) states, "To put it bluntly, we are not performing to the standards and expectations we have for ourselves and each other. This is unacceptable. We cannot shrink from facing the challenge head-on. We must, and will, do better."

The US Military Response to Military Sexual Violence (MSV)

Postmodernists define decentering as the ‘absence of anything at the center or any overriding truth. This means concentrating attention on the margins’ (Meštrović 2015). We hear this most clearly in women veterans’ descriptions of the abject failure of mandated ‘appropriate’ gender relations and death-by-PowerPoints training in military geographies. The focus remains on the margins instead of piercing the heart of the issue, which is the requirement to commit ourselves physically and emotionally to one another. The US Army touches upon the concept, identifying sexual violence as ‘a betrayal of trust’ (Figure 14).

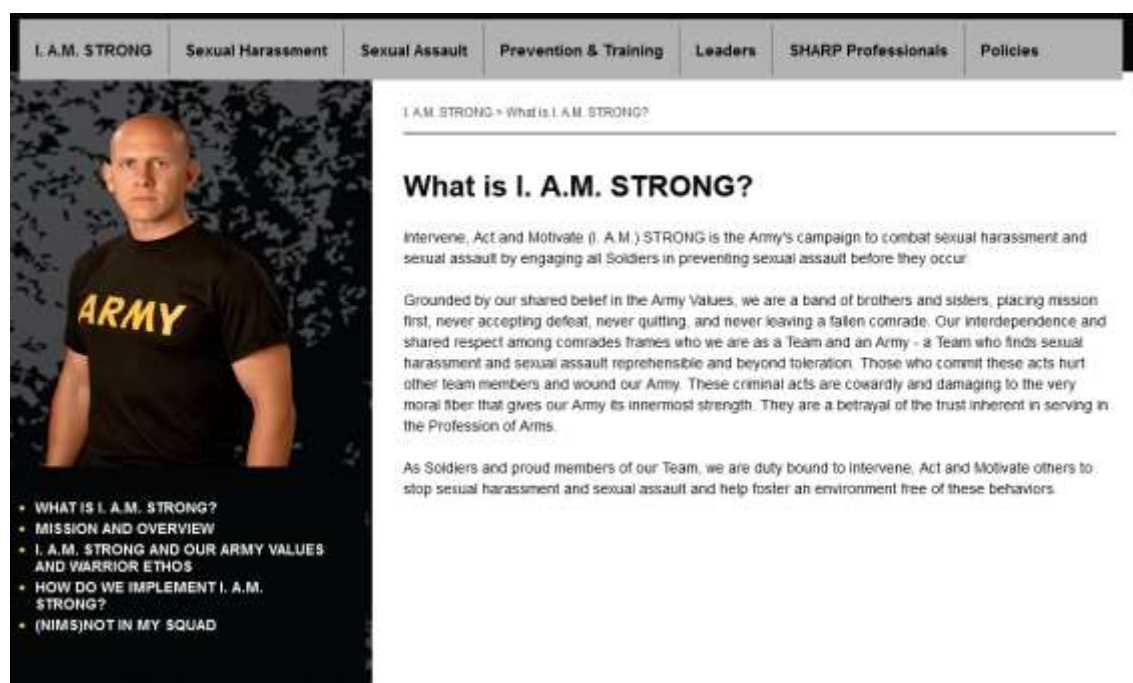


Figure 14. “What is I. A.M. STRONG?” Source: US Army
<https://www.sexualassault.army.mil/Whatis.aspx>.

A deconstructed and decentered social world is one of disenchantment – everything has been torn down – fostering the use of force and fraud because the enchanted, emotional world of mutually committed care relationships has been abandoned. If there is no sense of mutual obligation, then there is nothing that can serve as a moral barrier to the use of force (Meštrović 2015).

Moral Fitness. The focus of interactions in military geographies must be socially binding, reciprocal, trusting, and caring. Darlene describes the challenges of doing the right thing and wishes she had done more when given the opportunity:

It's hard. It's really hard. You would have to stand up and say something to eliminate that tension. And I wish I did [*sic*] more. I just felt like I was the only one who really cared and noticed it. Having a united front and being respectful... And it doesn't have to be all female. It can be, people you don't even know just need to say something. People need to care and to take action.

Moral fitness has been defined as “an attitude of alertness and responsibility on a moral level.” Military servicepersons continuously shift between role of ‘peacekeeper,’ ‘diplomat,’ ‘warrior,’ and ‘brother/sister.’ The military context is, of course, viewed as bureaucratic, rational, and rule-following; however, the data from this project expose the emotional, moral, and non-rational challenges service members face daily (Dalgaard-Nielsen and Holm 2019). They are the primary emotions evoked in situations in which the behavior of others is perceived as a violation of values or codes of ethics (Schut, de Graaff, and Verweij 2014). Riley provides an example and admits the ease with which one may choose to shirk the responsibility of speaking out against bad behavior:

I think people are afraid to say things like how I was. I didn't want to interrupt. The tech school was almost over. It was almost like, well, it's almost over anyways. I can't wait to get back to Texas where people actually treat me nice and aren't rude to me like these guys that are from the north up here. Because most of them, they were from the north and I was, like, "Wow, y'all are rude. I mean, what the heck?" So, I don't know why it was okay, but I think maybe even we were complicit in not reporting it, but at the time, you just don't want to cause any problems.

Studies regarding emotions in military geographies are scant; most historically dealt with the emotions of guilt and shame and contemporary research focuses on emotions related to stress responses such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms. Almost absent in the literature are the morally offensive cultural practices military service members witness yet cannot affect. One example is *bacha bazi*, which literally means "boy play," a traditional practice in Afghanistan in which influential men, such as army and police commanders, use young boys, street orphans, or boys sold by their families, for entertainment and sex (Leatherman 2011; Schut, de Graaff, and Verweij 2014). One can only imagine the moral indignation felt and the desensitization necessary to continue with one's mission facing this and other basic human rights violations in country. Recent, yet limited, research has found that that one reason for acquiescence to human-rights violations is simply placing the mission goals above all other values at stake in the situation. One study admits not finding a relationship between feelings of compassion and action (Schut, de Graaff, and Verweij 2014). This is supported by my data. I believe it also safe to assume that such desensitization likely trickles down to other interpersonal and even intimate relationships, but more research is clearly needed.

My data also illustrate the complexity of situations perceived to be abusive, but in which the perceived victim *accepts* the perceived abusive behavior. Riley, for

example, describes the challenges of trying to be helpful in a situation perceived to be sexually aggressive:

The one girl that had that situation happen, she actually ended up getting mad at me later on for kind of coming between her and this guy because I kind of stood up and told him to go away and stop talking to her like that. He got really close to my face and I'm pretty tall, so I felt like it was... I felt like I could be a little bit intimidating if I had to be. So, he was really into my face and just interacting with me in this aggressive way that I never experienced, but I just kind of wanted to protect her and her interests. Yeah, it was fine then, but then later she was mad at me because she was wanting to still be friends with him. I'm, like, "Why would you want to be friends with someone that treats you and talks to you that way?"

Linda describes the situation of her rape during the Hurricane Harvey mission in which bystanders were unaware of her intentions while witnessing her behavior prior to the sexual assault. One woman even slept in the room with earphones on while Linda was raped in her own bathroom. She admits to being drunk and blacking out.

The major downtime was... So, when I was there, I was there with the skeleton crew and we were working 24/7. Like, it was just, like, constant. We're just, like, tired and then the rest of the unit came in, and so we could now switch and we can now and get rest and stuff, and, so, we had one crew going out and one crew staying back and getting rest. And, for some odd reason, I was, like, I'm gonna drink with everybody today. Like, I, I deserve this. Like, I need to... I'm just [snaps fingers]. I'm tired. I want to hang out with everybody. It's been a rough two-and-a-half, three weeks. I actually got a shower for the first time. And, so, I ended up hanging out. So, my husband at the time brought me this really big drink, and I was, like, oh, I don't feel anything. It's, like, you know, is it really alcohol? But, I don't, I don't ever drink, so, I was like, okay, whatever. And, it was with the girls and we're all hanging out and then we go to my room and, then, at that point, like, I'm, like, okay. We're all hanging out. We're all lower enlisted and then one of the NCOs, he came in messing around, has a reputation, everything. I was, like, "I don't know you by that. I only know you by your work. That is all I know you by," you know, so, we're just hanging out and stuff. So, we started flirting and stuff and I was like, okay. And, then, he gave me a drink from the First Sergeant and the First Sergeant is a known alcoholic and so the drink was, like, this much Pepsi, everything whiskey [indicates a full glass]. I didn't know that. He said that he said it was for everybody, and I was like, why wasn't anybody else drinking it, you know? I was just, like, okay. But, at that point, the alcohol

that my husband had brought me was hitting. I didn't realize it. And, at that point, he didn't even know I was having an affair, but it wasn't with anybody in the unit. I don't, you know, it was nobody in the unit. It was from my former unit, the MP unit [inaudible]. But, so, gave me the alcohol and stuff and then started flirting and, then, for me, with liquor or anything hard, I don't know when I'm gonna... I black out. I don't throw up. I don't do it. I black out. And, I don't know when that happens. So, yes, and but the thing is, everybody's like, "Oh, you seemed super fine." I was like, I can't remember anything. I cannot remember anything and so... Well, and it ended up... I remember dancing. We're all dancing. I love to dance and then that's all I remember. There's lots of us dancing with everybody. But everybody was in the room. Apparently, I ended up dancing. Everybody else left, left me with, with the sergeant. I had a, I had a female in the room put her earphones on, laid down, and I remember her, like, doing that. She's, like, "I'm gonna go to sleep." But, I'm like, "How can you sleep with all of us in here," you know? I was, like, "Cool. Whatever." But they said I was dancing and I was dancing a little bit too much on him, so everybody decided to leave, and I was, like, so, if everybody decided to leave why didn't he leave with them? I'm dancing to this slow number and, then, the only reason why I know things happened was because I had to put it together, and I had to get everybody else's information. The three moments that I remember was being a, was laying down on the floor and I remember the mirror, 'cause I remember the lights, like, the low lights. And, I remember being on the floor and I remember looking down and he was down in that area [motions between her legs]. And, then, I remember being in the restroom looking at the wall, looking at him looking at the wall, and I remember being in the tub and he was on top, and I was, like... Those are the three ... They're like slivers of, like, memories. That's all I remember.

These two examples and many other accounts of sexual activity and intent in the data indicate that incidents of sexual violence are far from immediately identifiable and certainly not clear-cut. Janet and other AVF female veterans identify themselves and other women as 'children' and 'babies' with no or limited life experience to prepare them to respond appropriately to precarious situations in which they find themselves and others in military geographies. Many of the challenges in military organizations are not unique to it but are characteristic of the entire American social system (Crosbie and Kleykamp 2018). In light of the complexity of contemporary gender relations and the

pervasiveness of sexual violence, both of which cannot even satisfactorily be unboxed and addressed, how does an organization such as the Department of Defense even begin to train soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines to “do the right thing?”

Failure of MSV training. But begin they did, and I open this discussion with Patrice’s experience with MSV training:

When I got out in ’08, we didn’t have what we call SHARP, which is Sexual Harassment Army Resource Prevention. We didn’t have that. That didn’t exist. We didn’t have classes where we talked about not sexually harassing anyone, okay? So, when I came back in in 2018 and I had to go to my first class I’m like, “Wait. This is a *thing*? We have to talk about this?” It’s so awkward, right? And, the first time I actually went to a class, they asked me to teach it. I’m like, “Okay. We’ll see how it goes,” and there’s a gentleman there who I liked a lot and we were personally friends. But his snide comments like, “Why is this taking so long? Why do we have to talk about this?” Okay. I lost it in the middle of the entire conference room. I was actually deployed down at the [Mexican] border this time. I lost my shit and I said, “If you have a problem, please explain it to the group right now. What are you doing that’s so much better than sitting here listening to me right now? If you got something so much better to do, please let me know, Brian. Please and I will let you walk out that door.” Of course, he had nothing. We were deployed down at the border. We were at a hotel. You have nothing else to do, so why are you bitching? You’re getting paid, you know? And no one made a comment after that ‘cause I just like lost it ‘cause I just didn’t understand, like, I... Okay, we have to go through this class. The more comments you make the longer the class takes. [When asked, “Did it work?”] No, because guys sit there, and they make these comments. They make these jokes, okay? You have to like show what’s inappropriate touching, which just starts jokes, okay? The Army used to have this video. And if you haven’t looked it up it’s about tea, okay? This is how it equates consent. That if I were to offer you a cup of tea and you said, “No,” okay, I wouldn’t grab you by your hair and force it down your throat. And that’s why consent in a sexual situation... Oh, yeah, you have to Google Army Tea Sexual Harassment video. Google it. It’s on YouTube and it’s a cartoon too, okay? Yes. Makes it seem like a joke. We sit in the room and we check off the box. And now they don’t use that. Now, they’re using some like dramatic poetry, slam poetry thing. Which is also weird and I don’t think really drives home the point or it makes it any more serious. But, yeah, they used to use this cartoon equating getting consent about offering someone a cup of tea. So, what the military

is trying to do to prevent these things, I think, is making it more of a laughing-stock instead of saying, “Hey, dudes, zip up your fricking pants.” I remember in basic they separated the men and the women, and the girls went into one classroom and the boys went into another classroom. No idea what the boys talked about. But the girls were told about keeping yourself clean, not being a whore, not standing at ‘parade pretty,’ and that, essentially, we were told that assume every man that you meet is a bad guy. And that’s your safest way to get through the military. Yeah. But that was the reality in 2004.

Figures 15, 16, 17, and 18 capture simply the essence of the training video referenced by Patrice and other Army veterans of that era.



Figure 15. “Consent: It’s as Simple as Tea.” Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fGoWLWS4-kU>.



Figure 16. “Just because you made it, it doesn’t mean you’re entitled to watch them drink it.” Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fGoWLS4-kU>.

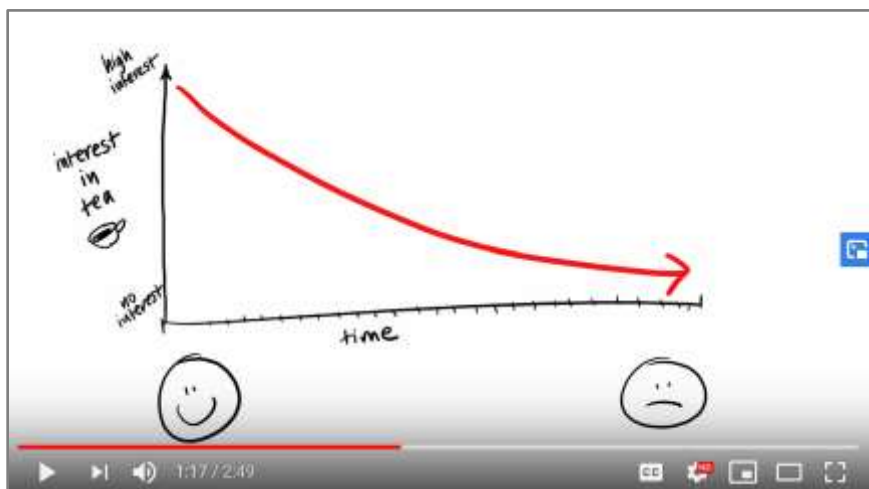


Figure 17. No longer interested in tea. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fGoWLS4-kU>.

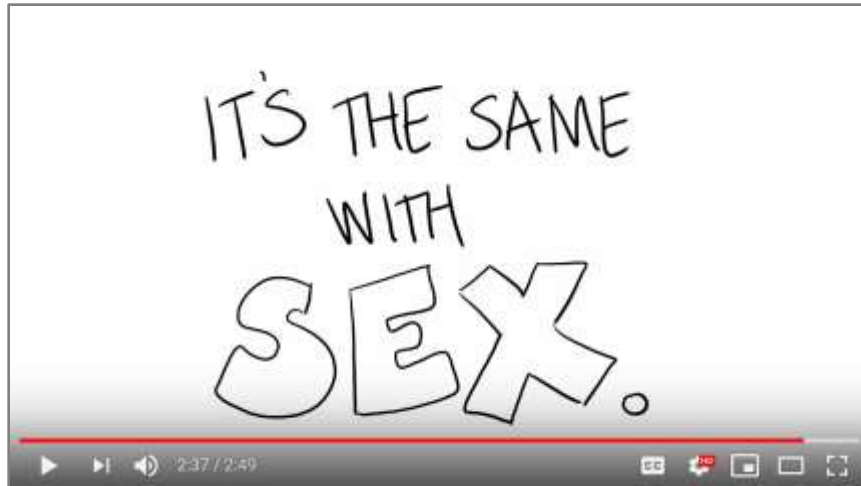


Figure 18. "It's the Same with Sex." Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fGoWLWS4-kU>.

As the video says, "Unconscious people don't want tea," and "Whether it's tea or sex, consent is everything." This is extremely simple advice to apply to what can be extremely complex circumstances. Further, it reduces a potentially hostile situation into comedic. For good reason, the US Army abandoned this training. Patrice's description of her training experience above also identifies the challenges of creating a realistic training experience with the drawbacks being unreceptiveness, snide comments, and innuendo. Rachel describes the next iteration of MSV training, the sterile use of MS Office tools:

Death by PowerPoints. Absolutely. It's, literally, death by PowerPoints. People aren't... I don't think receptive to it because we've seen it so many times. It's the same thing, like there's no influx in a person's voice. It's just look at this, look at this, look at this. There's jokes about it like, literally. Leaving training, people will make jokes like, "Oh, oh, don't SHARP me, don't SHARP me!" and it's just like so... You wouldn't want to say [to] train less, but I guess make it more interactive or take it more seriously. Maybe, have someone else from the outside who's, I don't know, trained in that and so they would know how to relate the message better than my staff sergeant who really doesn't care anyway. And, I'm not saying that they all don't care, 'cause I think that some of them really were passionate about it and really did want to do their job. But, yeah. I think that would be really important. Maybe have an outside person come in and talk to military personnel.

Like Rachel, Darlene believes that more personal experiential training similar to what she experienced in college may be beneficial to military personnel:

We have to go to this yearly training. We have to check the block and do this and this year to really... You have the few in the room that, obviously, will spark good conversation and good thoughts just to make the class a little bit better. But, I mean, for the most part, it's always the same thing: What is...? You define sexual harassment. You define sexual assault, and you say what you should do and what you should not do, and that's it. It's not how do you provide the impact needed instead of going through the motions again, and the Army's just gone through the motions again and again, in different ways. We would watch an hour-and-a-half video. We would have to go through this eight-hour online training. It's intense and I think the most impact that I had was actually freshman year of college. Our school brought in a female that was raped, and I was just totally impacted by her speech. And I went up to her and I said, "Thank you for sharing. It made an impact on me." I still remember that like it was today, and so having a survivor come in... The video that we watched, though, was... It was explaining the history of sexual assault in the military and it had all these survivors that had real-life, like it wasn't cartoonish at all. Well, it was interviewing the actual victims of sexual assault. It was pretty outdated. It was from the 80s and the 90s, and we watched it in 2013 or '14. Yeah, because, I mean, I was in a unit with people who were able to step up and say something and justice was had, and I just didn't see an issue in the system, necessarily. And, yes, it was happening, unfortunately. But at least the system was doing something about it, where, these victims, there wasn't any justice for them. The system wasn't working for them. They felt, they weren't comfortable talking to leadership, so on and so forth. But now I'm trying to think what could actually make an impact, and that's the one thing that made an impact on me, that one speaker when I was a freshman in college when I wasn't even in the Army yet.

Melinda muses that more preemptive training related holistically to the military experience might be helpful for young women before entry into the milieu of military life to prevent their victimization:

Well, since my time in the military, they do a really good job of educating and providing avenues of reporting and even, just, I think that having the knowledge that you can report something is empowering. So, I have had experiences and, you know, one of them I didn't report and the other one I did. I feel like the differences were based on knowledge and understanding, so yeah. The reporting mechanisms are good and empowering. The

environment itself... I think they're, they're making strides to increase safety. Maybe apply maybe more of that kind of parental-like oversight, increase the separation between, you know, the leaders and the led so that there isn't that kind of mutual influence of the immaturity. So, I think I wasn't set up for success going straight from the college environment into the military environment because things were normalized in the college environment and, then, I never had explicit instruction about what normal was in the, in the military environment. And, I don't know if they're doing that now, but I know that it was, it was absent in my onboarding and training. And, it's hard to say, like, well, it's the responsibility of girls or young women to know what to say when they encounter that because it's a professional environment. Like, it really shouldn't be something that you have to respond to, but it's easy to take advantage of an 18-year-old girl or a 21-year-old girl and their inexperience and ignorance about what things *should* be. Education, education is good and I think it certainly helps from, like, a young woman's perspective. Understand what's normal in my new environment, and what *should* be normal and so everybody's on the same page about what the expectations of behavior are because it *is* normal to, to be kind of grabby and hypersexualized in the college environment. And, it's important that everybody knows that, not just the young women, but the young men need to know that that's not okay anymore. Not that it should have been okay.

Speaking more clearly to normalization and empowerment, Colette also warns against punitive training focused primarily on males. Leaning more toward a reciprocal communications approach, she advocates education through understanding processes:

Well, because we're just telling them that they're all awful. We're not telling them what needs to happen. We're not talking about... Well, no, I think some of it is helpful. I think it could be helpful because women are talking about what's happened to them. They have the right to do that. I think that we should be allowed to wear our scars on the outside of our clothes. We don't have to walk around with our backpacks of shit and nobody knows. So, I do think it's helpful, but I think we'd have to say, "Okay. The culture is changing. Women want something different. Now let's talk about what that is." And, then, we have to talk to men. What did they want? What did they think? We can't get any further if we don't ask. If we don't tell, what do they say, like, get it from the horse's mouth? I'm not going to tell a man how to behave, but I am going to tell him what I'm comfortable with. And, I think two things have to happen. We have to educate men on what those undertones look like because aggression and predatory behavior is very... It doesn't always look in your face. The devil wears a suit and tie. It's not *right there*. And second, we have to teach them and to advocate. If a man says something to you that you don't appreciate,

it's not assault. You just simply tell him, "No," and if he does it again, *now* there's a problem. But if you advocate, I have found when I put an end to something and I put an end, that's the end of it. So, but there's a lot that goes into that because then I'm seen as a bitch. Whatever. Be aware. Understand yourself and be aware. Every choice that you make has a consequence. You, unfortunately, are not in a perfect world, so everything you do has a repercussion. Every action has a reaction. Some of them are good and some of them are bad. Be comfortable with what you're doing and make sure you're comfortable of what's going to come next from that. Yeah, and because, unfortunately, not anyone's really going to advocate for you, you have to advocate for yourself and that's not always going to be pretty. I genuinely believe that it's [responsibility for women's sexual safety] our higher leadership, our NCOs, because they talk about in the NCO Creed, and NCOs are the backbone of the Army. Those are the people because they are on the ground every day working with junior leadership and with, you know, higher leadership with Sergeant Majors, Captains, Majors, Generals. So, they are in the middle and they should be telling people what's really happening in their units. They should be telling the higher ups and they should also not behave immorally. Hold yourself to your own, to the real standard. Don't teach me about sexual assault when you're preying on an 18-year-old soldier. Don't do that to me because I know. I'm not stupid. And that's what I think. They are responsible to change the culture.

DoD Commitment to Change. Closing with Colette's charge to military leadership to reinstate care in military geographies, I add the institutional response. Dated 1 May 2019, Acting Secretary of Defense Patrick M. Shanahan published a memorandum addressed to high-level actors, such as secretaries of military departments, chiefs of the military services, and the General Counsel of the Department of Defense. The subject is "Actions to Address and Prevent Sexual Assault in the Military."

In considering Mr. Shanahan's words above, remember that the US military is likely the Western institution most constrained by legal and traditional moral imperatives than any other. Further, I allege throughout this work that the on-going

problem of MSV results from failures of emotional morality and commitment embodied in the absence of care in military geographies. He outlines a “call to action”:

- Implement the recommendations of the ASSITF Report, including taking steps to seek a stand-alone military crime of sexual harassment.
- Develop new climate assessment tools.
- Launch a Catch a Serial Offender (CATCH) Program.
- Enhance Efforts to Select Recruits of the Highest Character.
- Prepare New Leaders and First-Line Supervisors for Applied Leadership.
- Execute the DoD Sexual Assault Prevention Plan of Action (PPOA).

In essence, he adds more legislation atop existing legislation, commissions more ‘check the box’ research atop existing ‘check the box’ research, and implements a Title IX-type denunciation program similar to that popular in Nazi Germany (Gellately 1997; Bennett 2017). To his credit and in support of this research, he also identifies briefly but pointedly the real issues underlying MSV, which are 1) ‘military applicant character prior to selection’ stated in the fourth bullet point, and 2) charging junior leaders who are:

On the frontline of our fight to eradicate these problems in our ranks and must serve as role models in this effort. As such, they must be appropriately prepared and held appropriately accountable for promoting civility and cohesion among their subordinates, setting the example through their own behavior.

By this, we see evidence of DoD awareness of the real problem lurking in military geographies that allows the continuance of MSV. He states that self-capitulation as it has been performed historically, will combat MSV. This is not a compromise of mandates, of which we have many, but of a renewed commitment to character

development. Whether or not the actual moral and necessary components and actions of this complex yet simple phenomenon are recognized remain to be seen. Mr. Shanahan concludes with, “We will not rest until all Service members can serve in an environment of dignity and respect.”

To summarize, emerging from inductive reasoning based upon my interview data, my belief is that military environments have historically been geographies of care and sacrifice (Åse 2019) which, with the inclusion of women allegedly as warrior equals, have evolved into sexual arenas. At their worst, they are now geographies of rampant sexual violence with inadequate controls and training to mitigate the situation. I presented how neoliberal incentives facilitate risky behaviors such as excessive alcohol consumption, sneaky sex, ‘power sex,’ and violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, all contribute to MSV. I also presented how leadership failures further compromise military women’s safety. Finally, we see that DoD attempts to mitigate are valorous, but remain unfulfilled. The following chapter discusses in detail these disruptions to military geographies of care, tying them back to existing literature and offering recommendations for change.

6. DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the disruptions to historical geographies of care in the contemporary US military created by neoliberalism and the AVF. The creation of sexual arenas, transiency and cross-leveling, spatial distancing between leaders and the led, and excessive alcohol consumption all contribute in their specific ways to MSV. Future research, primarily the possibility of gendered modes of care, is also discussed.

CGT methodology relies on the *data* to identify best how to frame and evaluate a phenomenon within existing theory(ies) during data analysis and in the presentation of findings (Hay 2010). Through this exploratory research, I identified and attempted to describe a mere iota of what lies beneath the surface of the phenomenon of MSV about which little is substantively known beyond collection of statistics and Likert scale-captured climate surveys. I believe this has been only superficially discussed to date (Richardson and Kramer 2006), ignoring the underlying issues of MSV.

Reverberating throughout the data are the experiences of military women collectively being othered. Marginalized and determined to be unworthy of care, they are dismissed socially and professionally and are left feeling as well as actually being physically unsafe when separated from their primary group, their unit. This apparently occurs coincidentally through random assignment and billeting imperatives due to space allocations as well as purposefully through boots-on-the-ground decisions made by the military leadership. One example we have seen numerous times in the data is the purposeful separation of women from their units and the dumping of them into a

‘women’s environment’ under the guise of ensuring their safety (Schwartz and Rago 1973). Willow aptly labels these experiences ‘detrimentally isolating.’

Women’s fears in combat theaters result quite normally from being maimed, killed, or captured and raped by the ‘enemy.’ Their fears in garrison, however, result from being unable to trust their spatial situations and the people within them. They do not know if the men surrounding them, sworn to be their ‘brothers,’ are, in actuality, the ‘enemy’ harboring intent to do them harm. Most professionals and laypersons are familiar with the idea of hunting ‘monsters’ in our midst; most people suppose that heinous crimes are committed by sociopaths. However, if the social group’s established scripts contribute to the crime(s) indirectly through the dysfunction and the establishment of a poisoned work environment, then the responsibility for the crime(s) is at least partly collective *as well as* individual (Meštrović 2011). The DoD remains responsible for the conduct within the ranks.

Disruption of Care through the Emergence of Sexual Arenas

Although limited, the data imply that the DoD’s attempts at successful incorporation of women as warriors into military geographies have failed. On January 24, 2013, U.S. Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Martin Dempsey announced the rescission of the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule for women and that the DoD plans to remove gender-based barriers to service. It was implemented in January 2016. Through the data, women veterans of the AVF overwhelmingly express their desire to do good work and function as accepted and contributing members of their units. However, they

continue to experience othering as members of a collective female ‘sex,’ their mere presence transforming historically military geographies of care into ‘sexual arenas’ (Allison and Risman 2014, 118). Research indicates that people treated as sexual objects are seldom accepted as part of a cohesive team and that sexual harassment erodes institutional loyalty and undermines collective values (Shields 1988; Maginnis 2013; King 2014; Brownson [now Buscha] 2014). Many women interviewed allege that some military women actively encourage their sexual objectification, injecting sexuality and inciting related mating behaviors into what was previously an almost exclusively male environment. The enactment of sexuality within military geographies, in fact, embodies corrosion of loyalty, collective values, and morale (Hebert 1998; Mitchell 1988; Maginnis 2013; Sjoberg 2014).

Contemporary service members are inundated with media images of objectified women and mixed messages about appropriate conduct, especially mating behaviors. This challenges the pragmatic actions through which the genders communicate, engage with, and care for one another. My data align with the literature, indicating strongly that hooking up compromises emotional reciprocity and trust-building. Violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, compromise good order and discipline and thereby erode morale. Power sex exploits. Sexual assault and rape egregiously demean. These are critical observations with grave implications because the data also depict the military landscapes of home, work, and leisure as intertwined. De-sexualizing the military workplace remains a necessary challenge to women’s full inclusion and safety in the military (Mitchell 1988; Browne 2007; Maginnis 2013; King 2014) due to the myriad issues described in the data included herein and in the existing literature. Unfortunately,

I offer no comprehensive, robust proposal to address this considerable challenge of sexual relations, except to suggest that the DoD merely enforce the tenets of the UCMJ related to sexual activities such as violations of UCMJ Article 134, Paragraph 62, and fraternization. Mutual respect through care should equalize relationships and reduce, if not eliminate, MSV.

Disruption of Care through Transiency and Cross-leveling

Transiency has always been a simple fact of the active duty military experience as noted by Cullen and Agnew (2011) and Ceccato (2014, 32), which often demands relocation of military members and their families (Segal 1986). Obviously detrimental to the acts of capitulation, when one is constantly in transition from place to place, no time nor space exists to create and sustain bonds of reciprocal trust and care. Mandates to guide moral behavior exist in places, but the emotional bonds develop actively between and among actors in those same places. One's very aloneness, particularly women's as others, in a new environment creates anxiety and fear and, as we have heard, leads to a tendency to make poor choices in attempt to 'fit in' or to trust the wrong people.

Transiency. The data consistently express the anxiety of women moving across CONUS and around the world as not feeling settled and not feeling safe. Every time they report to a new unit, they are 'fresh meat,' subject to unwanted sexual attention that must be mediated in every aspect of their military geography – work, home, and leisure. One veteran also related the story of a female in her barracks who never even

unpacked for months because she moved too often to settle, literally, in one place. In the context of this research of military veterans' experiences, the issue of fear resulting from transiency rests solidly on their isolation in new military places while seemingly under the protection of military law, codes of morality, and the allegedly inherent respect of their 'brothers.' More research is required to develop this topic of transiency and ideally should include the issue of homesickness, which emerged from the data but not to the extent for discussion herein as a prominent theme.

Cross-leveling. The first true test of the AVF, Desert Shield/Storm exposed complexities between women's deployment to combat theaters as well as the 'part-time' nature of the reserve force, the geographical characteristics of the reserve, and its reliance on local labor markets in response to the National Security Strategy. The personnel process known as cross-leveling became a common practice; it is the practice of moving soldiers from one unit to another to ensure that each has enough qualified bodies for the required jobs. It is used to optimize unit readiness, soldiers are bounced around until the mission is complete, and is usually done when a unit cannot fill its personnel requirements (Powell et al. 2006). One might immediately wonder, why not? Simply because it is a firm sociological finding that military units are more functional when they have trained together repeatedly (Meštrović 2008, 144). My data support this. Cross-leveling, more importantly, is the application of the concept of fungibility to the military. Individual soldiers, as well as entire platoons and companies, are substituted for other individuals, platoons, and companies as if these persons and groups were MREs, trucks, or any other government-issued (GI) commodity

(Meštrović 2015). Units preparing to deploy to combat theaters are thrown together with little or no time to form the necessary attachments and bonds that will benefit them downrange. Again, my data support this. The MOS lines may be covered on paper to check the ‘unit readiness’ box, but the emotional bonds likely do not exist to check, *without reservation*, the ‘unit cohesion’ box. Through neoliberalism, fungibility has become normalized. In these environments, there is inadequate time for relationship construction, leaving women particularly vulnerable to predators who see them as isolated, confused, and easy prey.

The purpose of this research is not to directly address DoD manpower issues, but DoD policies clearly impact women negatively with regard to their ordered movements across space and their spatial placement within military geographies. Militaries of men have functioned successfully to varying degrees for millennia. The inclusion of women in military geographies as sanctioned combatants obviously creates unique challenges beyond the scope of this research to resolve. In a world of political agendas, even those of laudable intent, peoples in power lose sight of the impact their decisions have on those exercising limited power, likely not beyond their own daily lives (Myers 2010, 380). It is hoped that this work will at least serve to inform those decisions.

Leadership Failures Facilitated by Spatial Distancing of Ranks

We hear that many young service members desperately desire to escape the base to alleviate stress associated with living in the barracks. Coupled with this, we hear that NCOs and officers do not perform the same checks on those living off-post as those

living in the barracks. Barracks dwellers are disproportionately tapped for duties due simply to their proximity. Further, the data indicate an emotional distancing between enlisted and officers exacerbated by their spatial distancing from their troops in addition to relative positions in the rank structure. Indicated by the data, the results of what barracks dwellers perceive as abuse of power, harassment, and/or neglect are barracks shenanigans in the form of acting out in place and/or exodus from the base at every opportunity as a means of escape or to recreate ‘home.’

Spatial distancing between leaders and led. Scant literature exists on the reasons for the spatial separation of military officers and enlisted personnel, most likely because it is so historically and traditionally engrained in the culture that it is a given. It also represents elitism in a neoliberal era of alleged inclusion. The phrase “Rank has its privileges,” perhaps summarizes the distancing most obviously with higher quality housing opportunities as one achieves higher rank. Of course, spatial separation inhibits too much ‘knowing’ of the others’ life worlds as well as too much amicable closeness through fraternization, especially sexual, opportunities.

An interesting comparison is to think of exclusive neighborhoods’ proximity to low-income housing, yet military paychecks are not so fiscally differentiated by rank as to support such a stark difference. For example, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, officers’ (light blue polygons) and staff NCO’s (green polygon) on-base housing for those who are married unsurprisingly is premier and located in closest proximity to base activities (Figure 19).

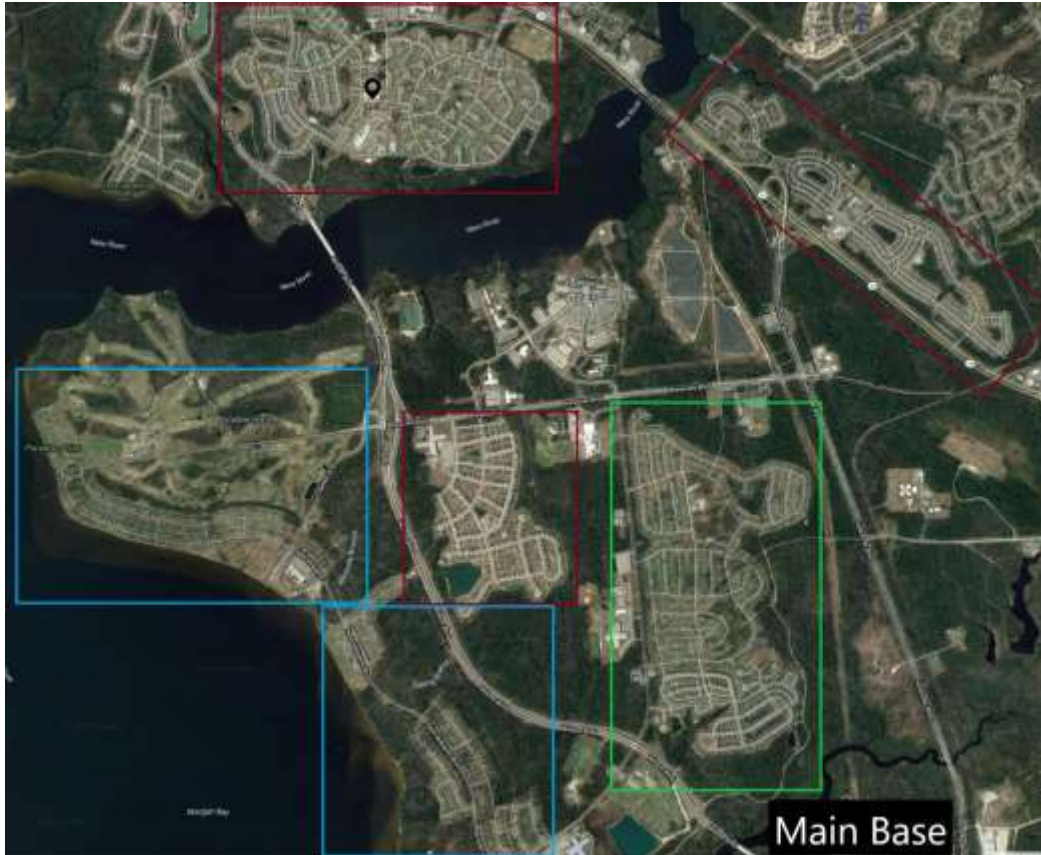


Figure 19. Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, Military Housing. Source: GoogleEarth.

The officers' housing particularly reflects what passes for opulence in the Marine Corps with houses facing either the New River or the golf course. These are single-family homes, some two-story. In comparison, the majority of enlisted, ranks E-1 through E-5, technically live 'on base' as it is DoD property, but are separated spatially from 'the base' by the New River or Hwy 24 (maroon polygons at top and right). These ranks have lower salaries yet must travel farther distances to their work sites and base resources. The exception at Camp Lejeune is the newest housing area, Heroes Manor, the maroon polygon located between the officers' housing and the staff NCO's housing. Additional research is necessary to trace the decision-making process that resulted in the placement of that community in that location. One significant difference between it

and the others is its accessibility to all Base amenities as well as the city of Jacksonville. All lower ranks' on-base housing at Camp Lejeune is multi-family.

There is a delicate balance to maintain the privacy and privilege of the higher ranking military personnel and the freedom and comfort of the lower ranks, if it is possible to achieve at all especially as we hear the egregious transgressions in the data. One solution might be to redistribute military housing with all ranks living in closer proximity to one another (Milligan and Wiles 2010). To alleviate the obvious spatial separation, positioning the ranks spatially, especially families interspersed with single people may create a realistic *community* experience. This, of course, involves elimination of the polygons entirely. NIMBY (Warf 2010) may substantially reduce the shenanigans of barracks dwellers as well as provide them more present and appropriate attention and care by their leaders. Such mixed-ranks housing areas may also reduce anonymity and expose the motives and behaviors of predators. In the field and in combat theaters, allow the women to remain with their unit. Regardless of their motives for joining, they expect and deserve a culture of cooperation and care. Military landscapes in turn should facilitate safety, camaraderie, and cohesion.

Promotion of appropriate adult behaviors and responsibilities. Modly (2009, 136-7) identifies the most disruptive individuals as “people without a purpose,” occupying public spaces outside the norms of orderliness or spaces that are not “theirs.” Brought glaringly to light in the data is that military service members are indeed ‘people without a purpose’ when they are not engaged in their work or are otherwise bored. The data inform us that they possess finite resources and opportunities to enact

their humanity as agents of free choice, decisions, and actions. This may account for the alleged harassment by NCOs of barracks dwellers. It certainly can be attributed to Leslie's experience when involved in a motor vehicle accident in Saudi Arabia when she states, "But they didn't believe me at first. I was... I guess, I was hysterical enough they thought it... Because when they get bored, they make funny stories over the comm [radio]." This also resonates in the description provided by Darlene of the differences in leadership behavior between Afghanistan, Alaska, and Hawaii. Hawaii was a competitive and hostile environment for her but, she's quoted above stating, "I saw that by them [the leadership] just working incredibly hard all the time. I never saw any competitiveness between the majors in Afghanistan and Alaska. They just had the mission in mind." Extrapolating this to the behaviors of lower enlisted personnel, perhaps they just need better focus when not engaged in their specialized military activities. Lauren states, "The more successful Marines I've seen are because their NCOs, their staff NCOs, are harping on them. You can't even require your Marines to do off-duty education, but a lot of them incentivize it. Like, 'You guys are gonna be ranked according to this.'" The data are replete with reasons why service members became bored and broke patronizing rules. Alternative constructive off-duty opportunities include volunteering for Habitat for Humanity and many other local charities. Again, this cannot be mandated, but it can be incentivized.

Recreate a sense of 'home' in the military. Our service members are inculcated to believe that they share their military experience with their 'brothers and sisters' in arms. Throughout the data, we also hear the need for a sense of 'home.' Of

course, as place occupiers, they are our original sites of care. As the data suggest, this occurs best in smaller communities, such as those Janet and Lauren alluded to stating, “And, maybe smaller areas where people live, not just one mass barracks area, I guess, ‘cause, you know, then it’s more so the guys from the unit that you know that might help [deter predators].” This creates a sense of *self in place* resulting from fewer military personnel contained within limited spaces. This, in turn, reduces anonymity and encourages care through shared experiences in place. Conceptually, creation of ‘co-op’ housing appears incredibly simple to achieve since all bachelor military housing must be kept orderly and clean regardless of occupancy volume or turn-around time of occupation. If barracks are designed to still maintain a semblance of privacy, such as dorm-style housing, but also foster common cooking, cleaning, even pets, etc. it would more resemble living at ‘home’ or in a college environment. Many models exist upon which to test this with minimal disruption to existing facilities and operational tempo.

Through the lens of pragmatism, these data present the reality of female military veterans’ ‘home’ as they perceive it, as well as their opinions about what disrupts their experience of their military home. The interaction process in which actor and environment respond to one another through mutual conditioning, affects community construction or disruption (Chang 2004). Regardless of the method(s) undertaken to resolve the many challenges service members face in contemporary military landscapes that may be absent of care, any reasonable action taken is valorous as long as it is not simply throwing more money and more training at a situation that will never be resolved by those means.

Eliminate excessive alcohol consumption. *First* and foremost, I believe that excessive alcohol consumption by place occupiers characterizes many environments devoid of care. Research clearly indicates that alcohol consumption contributes to incidents of sexual violence against women (Rosen 2007; Ceccato 2014). Consistent with the literature, my data strongly indicate that excessive alcohol consumption results from the stress and boredom experienced in military environments separate from the presence of women; it definitely contributes to a variety of risky behaviors as it has historically. Many women veterans also report drinking socially, even to excess, with men with no fear of violation or adverse effects. Women veterans of the Baby Boomer generation particularly relate experiences of drinking to excess and not being violated, but even being protected by the man/men in their company during the incident. Or, they assert that they chose *not* to consume alcohol to inhibit any opportunity for sexual assault. Women veterans of the AVF, however, consistently report incidents of drunkenness they either experienced, witnessed, or heard about in which women were assaulted while intoxicated.

The particulars of the issue of alcohol consumption (Teachman, Anderson, and Tedrow 2015) and MSV emergent from my data are too intricate to tease out fully here. However, these findings are consistent with existing literature across myriad disciplines linking alcohol (ab)use to sexual assault. Related to military geographies of care, it is fair to say that women as well as men obviously should practice self-restraint and neither seduce another sexually without express consent. The challenge, of course, is when *both* individuals cannot consent due to incapacitation, yet a sexual act occurs. In such situations, reliance exclusively on male propriety and benevolence returns to an

essentialist perspective/expectation and is wholly unfair; willful, shared negligence requires shared responsibility. My recommendation is, again, finding ways to instill the importance of fostering care among service members truly as ‘brothers and sisters,’ not just mandating reliance on a battle buddy who you may or may not even like much less trust. As stated previously, formal training will not accomplish this. ‘Sexual arenas’ (Allison and Risman 2014, 118) must be disassembled and replaced with arenas of respect for all others.

Future Research

To reiterate, many themes emerged from the data, the continued research of which may impact the experience of future generations of military servicepersons. A researcher must prioritize which topic(s) appeal to her/her strengths and, of course, follow one’s heart to serve her/his perceived constituents. I therefore first prioritize consideration of the concept of gendered care before being able to apply those potentially differentiated behaviors to military geographies. Coupled with this is possible transitions in the life cycle that affect women’s sexual safety in military geographies. For example, in the discussion of hooking up earlier, we heard that young people may ‘outgrow’ the behavior. Understanding life phases exercised in certain geographies may, in turn, facilitate encouragement of appropriate behaviors. Linda speaks to this, stating:

Because when a female gets to a certain point in their career and if their motivation is to have validation from everybody around them... And it doesn’t necessarily have to be like, “Oh, this man likes me,” or whatever. It can be validation like, “I’m better than this person, this man that’s, you know, we’re at the same job. But you know what? I’m better because of *this*.” It was more of like a, again, where was the heart at? Was the heart

to serve the soldiers beneath them or was the heart to serve themselves by getting the glory, by getting the attention, by getting the validation of being a top woman in a position that was like, “All right, look at me.” Women have to do what they’re supposed to do, and women don’t get the spotlight on them. You’re not gonna get glorified. And you don’t need to be glorified. If you’re in the military you’re not there to glorify yourself. You’re there to serve each other. Male or female. If you’re here for yourself, then what’s the point of serving? Somebody, somewhere down the line is going to... We’re gonna lose them in something whether it be suicide, whether it be down range, whether it be to alcohol. I mean just because they’re living, but they’re not living their fullest life, we’re gonna lose them. So, yeah, so that’s just my... That’s my assignment is to serve.

Returning to the complexity of gendered care, the data indicate inconsistent attitudes of women committing to the support of one another to ensure each other’s sanity and safety. For example, Colette states:

We were all in competition. We all wanted to feel like we were morally and physically better. We all wanted to feel like “the shit.” And, it was just... I don’t know why women... We didn’t bond during those moments, in those times of training, or times that we should have been together. We were each other’s enemies. And even into my first duty station, I ended up being stationed at Ft. Campbell with two of them of my classmates and they were some of my worst enemies by the time I left.

Kristi describes a similar situation in basic training at Ft. Leonard Wood, Missouri, in 2009:

I got to my basic training last. I got there in day zero with two other men. We were the last ones. I don’t know why, but we were, and I was, treated [badly] immediately because I didn’t know the rules. Some people had been there for two weeks and I hadn’t, so I sat on my bed. So, now we’re outside doing pushups. I sat on my bed. No one told me, “Don’t sit on your bed.” I hadn’t learned how to keep my locker or do my hair. I mean, I had no idea. So, I’m ‘the one.’ And I’ve never failed at really anything until I joined here, and so, I was treated instantly as an issue within my own female group in my room. So, I didn’t get to bond. And I was already older. I was 19, so I was old which is strange because that’s *not* old. Okay, so I didn’t get a safe person in basic. And then, I thought I had male friends, but as soon as Family Day came I realized that, like, their wives didn’t know there were females in their basic training or didn’t know there was a female in their group, so I immediately wasn’t a friend. I wasn’t... I was a problem, again because you could tell they [the wives] didn’t know

I existed. So, females weren't helpful in a work environment because we all had to get that [respect and trust] on our own. But women can be brutal towards each other and I noticed it more just with wives 'cause already a lot of them have an insecurity to them with their husband or boyfriend being away for a year and there are females in your unit. So, you're already seen by the wife as a sexual being even if the man doesn't see you that way. And, I've had male soldiers in my squad that they were not honest with their wives that I was a woman which becomes a problem if you have a Family Day or Christmas party. And so I learned through time that wives and I would never get along, not because I didn't want to, but they already don't trust me, and they don't know me. So, even if I gain that respect in my unit, anything that makes me a woman takes it away.

Lauren describes the challenges of mentoring young women who should be 'hard targets' but who are unable or unwilling to say, "No," and their need/desire to be liked:

I think that the age, maturity level obviously is similar (between college and military environments). You're fresh away from home. You're fresh away from your family. It's the first opportunity you have to really go wild if you choose, and nobody's gonna ground you when you get back. So, really, you have enough rope to hang yourself with in that aspect. It's a really big personal issue for me is that on college campuses, a lot of times, like, girls don't know when to be assertive and say, "No." It's, you know, "She's a bitch." You know, they don't want that on them, and a lot of times with Marines, it's the same thing, you know? These girls wanna be nice and they wanna be liked, and they wanna be, you know, a part of the team, or they want the guys to be their friends, and everything. But, at some point, you have to... Those boundaries have to be made and less and less, I see... Even girls I know, girls in my classes, they're like, "Oh, yeah, this guy sent me a picture," you know? Did you ask for that? "No, but we've been talking." And I'm like, "Okay, well did you tell him, like, 'Excuse me. That's inappropriate. Like, f-off,' even?" "Well, no. I don't wanna be a bitch." I'm like, "You're not saying this needs to stop. Like, you're not telling them, you know, this can't happen." And, I see that a lot with female Marines too. Like, "Well, so-and-so wants to hang out with me," you know. I mean, I was a sergeant and there's some females, none in my direct shop, but I always, like, pull them to the side 'cause it's a smaller community, "Hey, you guys have issues, whatever, come let me know." Like, take them for PT separately, like, we'll all PT together earlier before everybody, and it was always, like, "Well so-and-so likes me, but so-and-so likes me." I'm like, "We always wanna preach be a hard target, but that stands with, you know, your personal relationship and integrity here, too. You need to be a hard target. Like, yes, you're at work, but this is not just work. It's like a lifestyle." So, you have to be a hard target. Don't let yourself be vulnerable to, you know, going out and getting smashed with

everybody. Like, male Marines will go out. I was stationed in New Orleans at one point, and just go out on Bourbon Street all night long, you know? And the females, I'm like, "That is not an option for you. It's not an option for you. So just, 'No.'"

These situations prompt me to believe that thinking through and asking the questions related to these behaviors should be my top priority. All are spatially focused yet require unbounded theoretical inquiry not available currently although burgeoning in the Geography literature. Future research on this topic offers an opportunity to understand gendered care, kinship inclusion/exclusion, and their influence on MSV.

This project was conceived with the intent to investigate why MSV continues to increase even though activities within military geographies remain closely regulated through statute and tradition with the purpose of promoting care. Similarly, service members' conduct should be highly controlled within them as well. Pragmatism as a theoretical framework served well to investigate this phenomenon. Pragmatism's methodological flexibility arises from a focus on intelligent inquiry, which rejects ideological dogma in favor of a contextual, situation-based approach to problem resolution (Shields and Soeters 2013). This opened my eyes to the detrimental effects of an absence of *caring* on military geographies' contemporary reality as necessary spaces of care and its influence on MSV. Our social world is not a unified whole; it is satellites with intersecting orbits. Legislated mandates cannot fix emotion- and moral-based problems; thus, the solutions I propose also are pragmatic, boots-on-the-ground practical, pluralistic, participatory, and provisional ways of thinking and acting. Further research is clearly required.

7. CONCLUSION

Landscapes of care encapsulate the spatial manifestation of care within and across interconnected scales and ways in which care is woven through the fabric of particular spaces (Milligan and Wiles 2010). The purpose of this research was to investigate landscapes of care (or the absence of care) relative to the US military. It examined female military veterans' beliefs, behaviors, and experiences during their service across space and time. The data, analyses, and recommended actions provide a nuanced interpretation of US military places and spaces as landscapes of care and women's experiences of MSV.

This study illuminates the importance of the requisite care that emerges from these efforts to sustain social-cohesion and respect for individuals. It specifically identifies US military environments, currently obscured in the shadow of an alleged sexual violence epidemic, as historical geographies of care previously sustained through oaths, credos, values. Although by no means utopian, like contemporary incidents of MSV made memorable by their locations, military places historically remain in memory by valor, heroism, and tragedy. Adopting a care perspective in these geographies, therefore, is to orient analysis and description of the phenomenon of MSV by asking a question that, despite the apparent banality, destabilizes and resurrects what is simply taken for granted. It enables us to see self-sacrifice in its purest form as loyalty and courage and in its absence in the form of sexual violence. This vision, in turn, offers mitigation through a return to a geography of care, one inclusive of all genders.

Military places and spaces remain locales of traditional societies based upon hierarchy, difference, and inequality, although teamwork and altruism are paradoxically highly valued. In this milieu, women exist largely as isolates, occupying a cultural position in which isolation is an accepted condition and subject to strong framing of their behavior (Radley, Hodgetts, and Cullen 2006). Although almost all women veterans interviewed express positive experiences during their military careers and satisfaction with their service, collectively the veterans after the Baby Boomer generation express failure at achieving the seemingly insurmountable goal of legitimacy and equality with their male peers during and even after military service. All twenty women veterans interviewed experienced some form of sexual violence during their enlistment or commission. The women also drew upon cultural beliefs about the innate vulnerability of women in society, to argue that their very status as women called upon ‘men in general’ to respect them (Radley, Hodgetts, and Cullen 2006, 451). This perpetuates benevolent sexism in all its manifestations.

Violence is not simply a synonym for abstract injustice, but involves a lack of welcoming, hospitality, sharing and exercise of moral virtues. It is theft of one’s ability to perform as a sentient human being, even as an “other.” Addressing violence in these terms, then, involves the healing and redemption of relationships through altruism rather than simply lending power to the powerless (Cloke 2011) through legislation. Real freedom, for philosopher and political theorist Hannah Arendt, represents a collective bringing together of the human capacity for action for the purpose of changing what is wrong in the current shared arrangement (Cloke 2002). All activities that hold our communal world together, which take care of it by taking care of others

by constantly weaving and reweaving these sensitive and invisible links, symbols of our mutual interdependence and shared vulnerability, return us to something original and primal (Chanial 2014). Symbolic relations are broken, saturated, blocked by signs, but are never dead; they lie dormant before flaring suddenly, ahead of or behind meaning, or in sudden literalization. They circulate in alliances, pacts, and binds along broken paths and hidden track. In symbolic relations, there are no structures of difference or identity. Symbolic relations are both poison and cure, depending on timing and dosage (Pawlett 2013).

Our geographical agency draws us together despite our differences (Sack 1997). There are, in fact, some theories of difference that claim not to start from the premise of some underlying unity, some universal human essence (Berg 1993; Lagopoulos 1993). Thus, a return to self-sacrifice in military places and spaces is the institutional, cognitive, affective, and normative answer to the unavoidable fact of neoliberalism – the primacy of individuality and the simulation of structures deconstructed. Regardless of the geographical location, these strangers who come together cannot rely on a common social order from which they came but must actively produce one. Social order must be actively fabricated through the self-sacrifice to the greater good to make it real (Adloff 2016). Community, trust, and care therein coalesce through the everyday game of the acceptance of difference. The other is accepted in her or his difference, but also in her or his fundamental equality, the bridge to the other is built through sacrifices without necessarily resolving the differences (Harvey 1989; Adloff 2016). Consensus is accepted, but not a universal one, only local consensuses pragmatically limited in space-time in which some taboos are suspended, such as killing, and other imperatives

like care remain in place (Pawlett 2013). A common cognitive and emotional commitment creates its own emotional intensity and intentionality. It communitarizes. Values and norms, in turn, (re)emerge to create a landscape of care.

APPENDIX SECTION

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APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL AS PROTOCOL #6182 ON NOVEMBER 8, 2018



In future correspondence please refer to 6182

November 8, 2018

Connie Buscha
Texas State University
601 University Dr.
San Marcos, TX 78666

Dear Connie:

Your application titled, "Military Women Veterans' Perceptions of Sexual Safety on and in Proximity to Military Installations" was reviewed by the Texas State University IRB and approved. It was determined there are: (1) research procedures consistent with a sound research design and they did not expose the subjects to unnecessary risk; (2) benefits to subjects are considered along with the importance of the topic and that outcomes are reasonable; (3) selection of subjects are equitable; and (4) the purposes of the research and the research setting are amenable to subjects' welfare and produced desired outcomes; indications of coercion or prejudice are absent, and participation is clearly voluntary.

1. In addition, the IRB found you will orient participants as follows: (1) informed consent is required; (2) Provision is made for collecting, using and storing data in a manner that protects the safety and privacy of the subjects and the confidentiality of the data; (3) Appropriate safeguards are included to protect the rights and welfare of the subjects. (4) Compensation will not be provided for participation.

This project was approved at the Expedited Review Level until October 31, 2019

2. Please note that the institution is not responsible for any actions regarding this protocol before approval. If you expand the project at a later date to use other instruments, please re-apply. Copies of your request for human subjects review, your application, and this approval, are maintained in the Office of Research Integrity and Compliance.

Report any changes to this approved protocol to this office. Notify the IRB of any unanticipated events, serious adverse events, and breach of confidentiality within 3 days.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Monica Gonzales".

Monica Gonzales
IRB Regulatory Manager
Office of Research Integrity and Compliance
Texas State University

CC: Dr. John Tiefenbacher

OFFICE OF THE ASSOCIATE VICE PRESIDENT FOR RESEARCH
601 University Drive | JCK #489 | San Marcos, Texas 78666-4616
Phone: 512.245.2314 | fax: 512.245.3847 | WWW.TXSTATE.EDU

This letter is an electronic communication from Texas State University-San Marcos, a member of The Texas State University System.

APPENDIX B: EXAMPLE OF VICTIMS' SERVICES RESOURCES

DoD
Safe Helpline
Sexual Assault Support for the DoD Community

24/7 Secure.
Worldwide.
Confidential.

You Can Get Help Now!

You can get anonymous and confidential help 24/7 by calling the DoD Safe Helpline at:

877-995-5247
www.safehelpline.org

A trained professional is always there to provide immediate assistance and can connect you with local response resources.

You can also visit:

www.safehelpline.org/search

Type your zip code in the search bar and select from a list of the closest response professionals.

**SAN ANTONIO
POLICE DEPARTMENT**

VICTIMS SERVICES OFFERED BY SAPD
VICTIMS ADVOCACY SERVICES -
SAPD Personal Safety Plan (PSP)

Services are provided by Crisis Response Team members made up of police officers and caseworkers assigned to each SAPD substation.

Services Include:

Victim Services, Violence Prevention, Crisis Intervention Counseling, Case Management, Child and Family Counseling, Support Groups, Information and Referrals

To Contact a Victim Advocacy Direct Service Provider or seek the assistance of the Crisis Response Team assigned to your service area, please use the following telephone numbers:

Allen Station - 215 South Santa Rosa - (210) 207-2141
Central Substation - 510 S. Elm - (210) 337-4013
East Substation - 3635 E. Houston - (210) 337-2062
North Substation - 13333 Jesse Manninger - (210) 207-8128
Paseo Real Substation - 9223 Paseo Real - (210) 207-2231
South Substation - 711 W. Market - (210) 207-8701
West Substation - 7566 Coltrane - (210) 207-7918

Assistance can also be obtained from the Bexar County Family Justice Center located 1123 N. Main, Suite 100 - (210) 210-6215-0100 or by contacting the Battered Women's Shelter at (210) 733-8818.

F.A.C.T. VOLUNTEER PROGRAM
Trained Volunteers: Visit from Substations, Provide Counseling, Referrals, Training Schedule Posted.

Police Reports & Open Records
File a Police Report
Auctions
Crime & Call Stats & Info
Directory

Impounded Vehicles
Alarm Permits
Sex Offenders
Calls for Service Stats & Info
SAPD Recruiting

Texas Department of Public Safety
Courtesy - Service - Protection

DPS HOME SERVICES EMPLOYMENT ABOUT DPS

Select Language Search DPS

Victim Services Home
Victim Services Program
Victim Services Counselors
"What Happens Next?"
Rights of Crime Victims
Crime Victims' Compensation
Adult Victims of Family Violence
Identity Theft Information Guide
Address Confidentiality Program

Victim Services

You Are Not Alone
The Texas Department of Public Safety is dedicated to providing direct, personal service to victims and their families throughout Texas.

Victim Services Program

You can contact Victim Services at:

Victim Services
Texas Department of Public Safety
P.O. Box 4087
Austin, Texas 78773
Phone: (512) 424-2211

To locate the victim Services Counselor in your area, view contact information.

DPS Victim Services Program is an equal opportunity provider and does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, ethnicity, religion, gender, age or disability.

APPENDIX C: SOCILITATION FLYER



GEOGRAPHY RESEARCH STUDY

Research Focus: Connie Buscha, a Texas State University Ph.D. student, is conducting research that investigates how the military's built environment and its localized culture may or may not contribute to women's perceptions of personal/sexual safety on and near military installations.

Eligibility: Women veterans of any age and any branch of the U.S. military may participate.

Process:

- Semi-structured interviews will be audio taped and will take no more than 90 minutes.
- Interviews will be conducted in your local area.
- All interactions and your responses are strictly confidential.
- Your participation is *voluntary* and you may "opt out" of the interview at any time.

Compensation: There are no direct benefits/compensation to you for participating in this research; however, society and the military in particular may benefit greatly from the results.

Potential Risks:

- The likelihood of any emotional, physical, or professional risks is extremely low.
- Some of the questions, however, are personal and sensitive. An example is: "Do you feel that the barracks/office/field environment presents personal/physical safety concerns unique for women? If so, what kind?" Another is: "Do you personally know a female service member who has experienced sexual assault on or near a base? Can you describe what you know of her experience?"

Participation/Questions: To participate in this research or ask questions about this research, please contact Principal Investigator Connie Buscha at: cbuscha@txstate.edu or (512) 569-2095

This research project 6182 was approved by the Texas State University IRB on November 8, 2018. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to IRB chair, Dr. Denise Gobert at (512) 716-2652 (dgobert@txstate.edu) or Monica Gonzales, IRB Regulatory Manager at (512) 245-2334 (meg201@txstate.edu).

Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095	Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095	Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095	Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095	Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095	Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095	Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095	Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095	Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095	Veteran Geography Research (512) 569-2095
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APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM



INFORMED CONSENT

Study Title: Military Women Veterans' Perceptions of Personal/Sexual Safety on and in Proximity to Military Installations

Principal Investigator: Connie Buscha
E-mail: cbuscha@txstate.edu
Phone: (512) 569-2095

Co-Investigator/Faculty Advisor: Dr. John Tiefenbacher
E-mail: tief@txstate.edu
Phone: (512) 245-8327

Sponsor: n/a

This consent form will give you the information you need to understand why this research study is being done and why you are being invited to participate. It will also describe what you will need to do to participate as well as any known risks, inconveniences, or discomforts that you may have while participating. We encourage you to ask questions at any time. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and it will be a record of your agreement to participate. You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND

You are invited to participate in a research study to learn more about effects of the built environment and *in situ* activities on military women's perceptions of their personal/sexual safety. The information gathered will be used to clarify the situation of personal/sexual safety in the military, inform the academic literature, and potentially impact public policy. You are asked to participate because, as a prior active duty service woman, you have intimate awareness of your experience and military environments.

PROCEDURES

If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to participate in one semi-structured interview lasting no longer than 90 minutes. Interviews will be conducted at your research site on weekends between November 1 and February 28, 2019. During the interview, you will be asked for demographic information and asked questions such as, "Do you feel that the barracks/office/field environment presented personal/sexual safety concerns unique for women? If so, what kind?" Or, "Do you personally know another female service member who experienced sexual assault on or near a military base? Can you describe what you know of her experience?" The interview will be audio-recorded and the researcher may take notes as well.

RISKS/DISCOMFORTS

Due to the small number of women in the U.S. military and, therefore, women veterans, combined answers to interview questions may make an individual person identifiable. We will make every effort to protect participants' confidentiality. In the event that some of the interview questions make you uncomfortable or upset, you are always free to decline to answer or to stop your participation at any time. Should you feel discomfort after participating, *please see the attachment to this form for victim services & resources in this area.*

BENEFITS/ALTERNATIVES

There are no direct benefits/compensation to you for participating in this research; however, the U.S. military, its personnel, and society may benefit greatly from the findings.

EXTENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Reasonable efforts will be made to keep the personal information in your research record private and confidential. Any identifiable information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential and will be disclosed

only with your permission or as required by law. The members of the research team and the Texas State University Office of Research Compliance (ORC) may access the data. The ORC monitors research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

Your name will *not* be used in any written reports or publications which result from this research. Data will be kept for three years (per federal regulations) after the study is completed and then destroyed.

PAYMENT/COMPENSATION

You will not receive any compensation for participation in this research.

PARTICIPATION IS VOLUNTARY

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw from it at any time without consequences of any kind.

Your participation in this research project will be recorded using audio recording devices. Recordings will assist with accurately documenting your responses. You have the right to refuse the audio recording. However, if you refuse, you cannot participate. Please initial one of the following options: I consent to audio recording:

Yes _____ No _____

QUESTIONS

If you have any questions or concerns about your participation in this study, you may contact the Principal Investigator, Connie Buscha at: cbuscha@txstate.edu or (512) 569-2095

This research project 6182 was approved by the Texas State IRB on November 8, 2018. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB Chair, Dr. Denise Gobert at (512) 716-2652 (dgobert@txstate.edu) or to Monica Gonzales, IRB Regulatory Manager at (512) 245-2334 (meg201@txstate.edu).

DOCUMENTATION OF CONSENT

I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the project described above. Its general purposes, the particulars of involvement, and possible risks have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand I can withdraw at any time.

Your participation in this research project will be recorded using audio recording devices. Recordings will assist with accurately documenting your responses. You have the right to refuse the audio recording. However, if you refuse, you cannot participate. Please initial one of the following options: I consent to audio recording:

Yes _____ No _____

_____ Printed Name of Study Participant	_____ Signature of Study Participant	_____ Date
_____ Signature of Person Obtaining Consent		_____ Date

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW SCRIPT

Interview Script

Study Title: Military Women Veterans' Perceptions of Sexual Safety on and in Proximity to Military Installations

Principal Investigator: Connie Buscha

Co-Investigator/Faculty Advisor: Dr. John Tiefenbacher

E-mail: cbuscha@txstate.edu

E-mail: tief@txstate.edu

Phone: (512) 569-2095

Phone: (512) 245-8327

Sponsor: n/a

Investigator will collect consent forms.

Thank you so much for agreeing to speak with me today.

There have been allegations in the American media that the US military fosters a “rape culture.” In thinking about that, I am unaware of any research investigating how the built environment may contribute to military culture and its effect on women’s full inclusion and sense of personal/sexual safety. If, in fact, US military installations and their proximate communities are geographies hostile to women, it logically follows that female military members may fear for their sexual safety in military and proximate places and spaces. To investigate this phenomenon, this research explores military women veterans’ experiences in the military spaces of work, “home,” and leisure through data collected via semi-structured interviews. I want to know your thoughts on this.

The findings and resulting conclusions emerging from grounded theory will inform the literature by providing a nuanced understanding of the issue of women’s sense of personal/sexual safety on military installations and proximate civilian communities. You are asked to participate because, as an active duty service woman, you have intimate awareness of your military experience and environment.

I’d like to remind you that to protect the privacy of interviewees, all transcripts will be coded with pseudonyms. Interviews will last no longer than 90 minutes and will be audio-taped to ensure I have it captured accurately.

You have a copy of the Letter of Consent, but do you have any questions for me before we begin?

Please feel free to *not* answer any of my questions if you are uncomfortable with the content or you simply decline to answer. Please remember that it’s always *your* choice to continue with the interview. And, always feel free to ask me for clarification or about anything else, really.

Demographics: [This could be a survey in advance of the interview, but I prefer it to be part of the narrative.]

- a. What is your current age?
- b. What was your highest rank? [If officer, were you prior enlisted?]
- c. What is your level of education?
- d. What was your marital status on active duty?
- e. Did you live on base in the barracks or off base? [If off-base, what type of dwelling (e.g. apartment, single family house, etc.)?]
- f. If we assume that “gender” is a spectrum, how do you identify between the extremes of “masculine” and “feminine”? [This, I believe, should be completely open-ended.]

Personal Background:

- a. Please tell me a little bit about yourself such as where you’re from (e.g., actual location + “type” such as city, country, suburb, etc.), your family and anything else you think is “interesting.”
- b. What did you love most about where you grew up? What did you like least?
- c. Did you spend more time indoors or outdoors and why?
- d. What type of activities did you engage in outdoors? What type of activities did you engage in indoors?

Military Decisions/Choices:

- a. Why did you choose to join the military? Why the Army/Navy/Marine Corps, specifically?
- b. What military job did you request and why? Did you get that specialty?
- c. From your personal experience, do you feel like it was uniquely challenging for women in that environment? Why or why not?
- d. How do you feel about combat occupational specialties opened to women in January 2016? What are the opportunities? What are the drawbacks?
- e. Would you have been interested in entering one of the newly opened combat specialties? Why or why not?
- f. Did your environment contribute to your decision to leave active duty?

Culture from Environment:

- a. What bases have you been assigned to in your career?
- b. What was your favorite and why?
- c. What was the worst and why?
- d. Do you think the military creates its own culture? Why or why not?
- e. If it exists, does this culture change based upon its location? If so, how does it manifest in different locations?
- f. Did being in the military environment make you feel “homesick”? If so, in what way(s)?

Juxtaposition of Spaces:

- a. What did you like most about base environments? Were there opportunities to engage in a variety of off-duty activities?
- b. What did you like least?

- c. Do you feel like military bases are inclusive and welcoming spaces for female as well as male service members, or is it skewed?
- d. From your perspective, what do you think could/should be changed to make [women/men] feel more included?
- e. Tell me about the local areas off base where you were stationed. By this, I mean that, as you left the base, did you feel a significant change in “place”? Perhaps, like you’ve left one “world” for a different one? What was that other place like?
- f. Thinking about the environment off-base, how do you compare the two [or multiple] environments as either welcoming or “risky” spaces for women soldiers/sailors/airmen?
- g. Specifically, were there areas to be avoided by women? Was the same true for men? Can you share specific experiences?

Military Occupational Spaces:

- a. Do you feel that your office/shop environment presented personal/physical safety concerns unique for women? If so, what kind?
- b. Do you feel that the barracks environment presented personal/physical safety concerns unique for women? If so, what kind?
- c. Do you feel that the field/ship/combat environment presented personal/physical safety concerns unique for women? If so, what kind?
- d. In what environment on or around [fill-in-the-BASE] did you feel most confident and why?

Behaviors:

- a. Considering all of the available options for off-duty recreation, what do you think was the most “risky” [let this be defined by the respondent] behavior service men and women engage in? On base? Off base?
- b. What do you think contributed most significantly to the element of “risk” (e.g., isolation of location, limited options, skewed sex ratio, homesickness, hormones, etc.)?
- c. Do you feel that the military environment, inclusive of space and culture, compromises the personal/physical safety of women service members? If so, how?
- d. In your opinion, whose responsibility is it for ensuring the personal/physical safety of service members?
- e. What do you think should be done to correct this situation?

Closing:

- a. Do you personally know another female service member who experienced sexual assault on or near the base? Can you describe what you know of her experience?”
- b. What advice would you offer to a woman considering entering military service?

Thank you SO much for your candid responses! You have my contact information as well as the University’s. Please, do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or

concerns. If you'd like to provide your e-mail address, I will be happy to keep you updated on the project's progress.

APPENDIX F: DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY'S OFF LIMITS
ESTABLISHMENTS ORDER FOR FORT BRAGG, NORTH CAROLINA,
DATED 8 JANUARY 2019



REPLY TO
ATTENTION OF

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
US ARMY INSTALLATION MANAGEMENT COMMAND
HEADQUARTERS, US ARMY GARRISON, FORT BRAGG
2175 REILLY ROAD, STOP A
FORT BRAGG NORTH CAROLINA 28310-5000

IMBG-ZA

8 January 2019

MEMORANDUM FOR SEE DISTRIBUTION

SUBJECT: Off Limits Establishments

1. Reference AR 190-24/MCO 1620.2B/AFR 125-11/COMDIST.1C,
Subject: Armed Forces Disciplinary Control Boards and Off
Installation Military Enforcement Service, 27 July 2006. The
following areas/addressees are off limits:

a. Commercial Recreational Properties:

(1) Brooks Property, the swimming area located approximately
150 yards east of Highway 210 on McCormick Bridge Road, Spring
Lake, NC 28390 (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

b. Commercial Businesses and Properties

(1) #1 Tobacco, 251 Skyland Shopping Center, Spring Lake,
NC 28390 (OFF LIMITS 19 JUN 14)

(2) Three Hebrew Boys, LLC (AKA Capital Consortium Group,
LLC), 1013 Broad River Road 275, Columbia, SC 29210 (OFF LIMITS-
Pre 2008)

(3) All unlicensed tattoo parlors (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

(4) Asian Odyssey, 5173 Bragg Boulevard, Fayetteville, NC
28303 (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

(5) Drug Paraphernalia to include Spice, designer drugs, bath
salts or any other type of synthetic drug that can potentially
cause dangerous effects. All places having such items for sale.
(OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007, statement updated December 2013)

(6) Executive Club, 5704 Murchison Road, Fayetteville, NC
28311 (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

(7) Fort Video and News Adult Entertainment Center, 4431 Bragg
Boulevard, Fayetteville, NC 28303 (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

IMBG-ZA

SUBJECT: Off Limits Establishments

(8) J & J Fast Mart Gas Station, 5001 Bragg Boulevard,
Fayetteville, NC 28303 (OFF LIMITS-9 JUN 08)

(9) Peaches Adult Boutique and Arcade (AKA Modern News and
Video Center), 115-B Swain Street, Fayetteville, NC 28301 (OFF
LIMITS-Pre 2007)

(10) The Vault (AKA Dreams of Fayetteville), 2527 Gillespie
Street, Fayetteville, NC 28306 (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

(11) Papa Docs (previously The Pearl), 6238-B Yadkin Road,
Fayetteville, NC 28303 (OFF LIMITS-19 JUN 14)

(12) Bearfoots (previously R's Gems and Rocks and Smoke Shop),
4935 Bragg Boulevard, Fayetteville, NC 28303 (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

(13) Rage of Fayetteville (previously Smokey's Pipe Shop),
3614 Sycamore Dairy, Fayetteville, NC 28303 (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

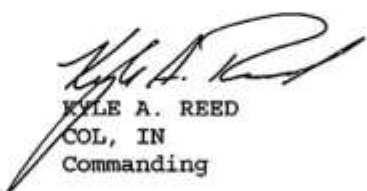
(14) Roses Lounge (previously Boogie Room), 5113 Bragg
Boulevard, Fayetteville, NC 28303 (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

(15) Showgirls Private Exotic Dancers, 4323 Bragg Blvd,
Fayetteville, NC 28303 (OFF LIMITS-Pre 2007)

2. Military personnel observed in off limits establishments are
in violation of a lawful order and are subject to apprehension
and prosecution for violation of the UCMJ.

3. This memorandum supersedes Memorandum from Armed Forces
Disciplinary Control Board, this headquarters, dated 13 April
2017.

FOR THE COMMANDER:



KYLE A. REED
COL, IN
Commanding

Distribution:

A

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