

MILITARIZED FEMININITY IN YOUTUBE RECRUITING ADVERTISEMENTS BY
SERVICE BRANCH

by

WHITNEY HOERMANN

(Under the Direction of Justine Tinkler)

ABSTRACT

Despite servicewomen's recent inroads into ground combat roles in the American military, scholars have not yet studied the implications for recruiting and evolving messages about femininity in the military context. The present study takes a mostly qualitative, content analysis approach to how militarized femininity is constructed across the branches from 2017-2021. A primary sample analyzes commercials produced for widespread consumption compared against a secondary sample of interviews and series from each branch channel, which are geared towards populations seeking information on their own. The analysis finds that 1) branches reserve more explicit promotion of servicewomen for interested recruits rather than the public, 2) public content only seldom casts a more gender diverse vision for the future, and 3) the branches associated with ground combat (Army and Marines) are less likely to recognize servicewomen and their trailblazing contributions but are more subject to critical attention from viewers regardless.

INDEX WORDS: Gender, military recruiting, advertising, YouTube

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DEDICATION

To those who hear the call to serve and answer with their lives.

“Ask not what your country can do for you — ask what you can do for your country.”

John F. Kennedy’s Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961

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The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the United States Air Force, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Though military affairs tend to remain marginal to civilian popular culture and mainstream academic study, the space where these spheres interact largely involves recruitment. Such efforts include advertisement campaigns designed to simultaneously entice civilians to join while bolstering public support. Effective recruiting appeals must, therefore, resonate with cultural beliefs held by the audience. Due to age-old ties between men and organized violence, military recruiting ads have long been considered to possess the unique capacity for both molding *and* mirroring (Grau & Zotos, 2016, p. 762) cultural notions surrounding masculinity (Connell, 1985; Morgan, Brod, & Kaufman, 1994). Similarly, recruiting ads are the largest producers of normative images of ‘militarized femininity’, or gendered stories about women’s military roles (Enloe, 1993; Brown 2012b). Since then-Defense Secretary Leon Panetta announced that all combat roles were fully opened to women in 2013, service branches have had to address how women and femininity fit into their recruiting narrative (Swick, 2018). For the current project, I asked how the service branches portray women and femininity relative to men, masculinity, and traditional gender stereotypes in recent internet recruiting ads.

It is important to study advertising content by service branch because 1) each branch is an independent institution that conducts its own recruiting and 2) the various messages combine to tell a more complete story of how gender is constructed across different work and defense settings. Brown (2012b), in her thorough analysis of masculinity in recruiting from 1970-2007,

firmly establishes how service branches appeal to different aspects of masculinity in accordance with their different missions and service cultures, and she finds that these nuances endure as women are integrated. Other research affirms notable differences across the service branches with regard to gendered violence¹ and discrimination (see Table 1: Breslin et al., 2019; Davis et al., 2017; RAND, 2015) as well as demographic representation (Brown, 2012a; Relations, 2020), strengthening the case for considering variation in recruiting across branches.

Table 1. Results for the 2018 Workplace and Gender Relations Survey of Active-Duty Members (Breslin et al., 2019)

*Significance of the differences between the prevalence rates of each branch are not reported

Service Branch	Sexual Assault Prevalence (%women/ %men)	Sexual Harassment Prevalence Rate	Gender Discrimination Prevalence Rate
Army	5.8/0.7	24.3/6.0	18.3/2.3
Navy	7.5/1.0	31.4/9.3	18.3/3.7
Marines	10.7/0.8	31.9/5.7	21.7/1.7
Air Force	4.3/0.5	15.4/4.0	9.8/1.5

Prevalence rates for each of these measures are based on respondents' anonymous recollection of the worst "one incident" from the previous year (2017-2018) which meets Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) criteria.

While studies on militarized masculinity and women's experiences in the military abound, research on women in military ads in the 21st century has been few and far between. Compared to extensive interest in ads enlisting women's support for World War II (Honey, 1981; Lewis & Neville, 1995; Yesil, 2004) and following the end of the draft (Brown, 2012a, 2012b; Enloe, 1983; Megens & Wings, 1981), there are only two studies to my knowledge (Jester, 2021; Strand & Kehl, 2019). One looks at Sweden, while the other, Jester (2021), compares U.S. and U.K. army YouTube ads from 2002-2018 against narrow concepts of hegemonic masculinity. While Jester's findings of generally progressive, egalitarian

¹ For sexual assault, 2014 reports indicate that men in the Army, Navy, and Marines are between 3.3 and 5.1 times more likely to have experienced assault in the past year compared to Airmen (with unadjusted risk highest for Navy men). For women, the same pattern follows with the relative risk rates between 1.6 and 2.7 and the highest risk for women in the Marine Corps.

representations of male and female soldiering accord with longitudinal patterns identified by Brown (2012a, 2012b), her study does not account for uniquely American developments such as expanded gender integration efforts in 2016 and only looks at one branch with a focus on men.

This study specifically assessed how the different branches project images of women in leadership, in combat roles, in speaking roles, as technologically competent, as physically competent, and in relation to other traditional gender stereotypes. The goal is to elaborate on what could be dismissed as a mere “progressive” depiction of femininity (Strand & Kehl, 2019) from a critical feminist perspective (Enloe, 2015; Harding, 1987). Additionally, to include an intersectional approach with a nuanced rather than monolithic framework for femininity, I also considered how the branches vary in their depictions of women of color (Collins, 2015). I pursued this inquiry through a content analysis of YouTube recruiting ads and material for each of the four service branches between 2017-2019 (excluding the Coast Guard and the newly created Space Force for lack of available data).

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Brief History of Gender in the Military

Save for support roles and a few exceptions during major conflicts, warfighting has been historically male. Extreme manpower needs during World War II saw the creation of all-female initiatives like the Women's Army Corps and spurred images of iconic advertisements encouraging women to support the war effort (Blakemore, 2019). The Women's Armed Services Integration Act was signed in 1948, but it only allowed them to serve under drastic limitations on participation with and command of male troops – combat roles were prohibited.

Restrictions loosened with the end of mandatory conscription and the creation of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) in 1973, largely because of feminist movements for increasing women's workforce inclusion and because the military was now appealing to wider demographics for its manpower (Binkin & Eitelberg, 1986; Blakemore 2019). Between the 1970s and 2011, the proportion of enlisted women increased sevenfold to 14% and quadrupled for officers to 16% (Patten & Parker, 2011). In advertisements during this period, military branches had to choose how to maintain traditional associations with masculinity while crafting an acceptable militarized femininity. Brown (2012a) details how appearances of token women (mostly white) in print military ads increased in frequency and gradually shifted away from passive, subservient roles, but a "sharp line" persisted between women and images of combat into the turn of the century.

Various policies since the birth of the AVF have upheld this line, from the 1988 “risk rule” designed to protect women from the dangers of combat to the 1994 Direct Combat Exclusion Rule banning women from combat units below the brigade level.²

It was not until 2013 when final policy barriers to female participation in ground combat were officially removed (Swick, 2018). Following the conclusion of a thorough “women in services review” in 2015, a handful of female “firsts” began to make inroads into combat spheres. These include the first two women to graduate from Army Ranger School (2015), the first female Marine officer to complete the Infantry Officer Course (2017), and the integration of the formerly gender-segregated Camp Pendelton Marine Combat Training Course (2018) to name a few. In the wake of these developments in integrating women into combat roles, I assess YouTube recruiting content for each of the service branches. Overall, I predicted that the once “sharp” line which Brown (2012a) observed before 2003 would be somewhat blurred to the extent that the divide between women and ground combat has been breached in reality.

This is only a cursory overview of the many gender-related policy changes, contingencies, setbacks, and milestones that have transpired in the last century of American military history. Notorious black marks, like high rates of sexual violence and the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy and culture, continue to mar the narrative of progress towards an inclusive force (refer back to Table 1 on sexual assault). Though gendered violence and discrimination are symptoms of broader society and not unique to the military, they also reflect a military wrestling

² Brigades consist of 2-3 battalions and are usually between 3,000-5,000 soldiers.

with gender and self-image in an era when an acceptable (and effective) warfighter fails to conform to hegemonic, warrior-type masculinity (Hinojosa, 2010; Hood, 2021).

Though the definition of the term is not without debate, ‘gender,’ for this study, refers to activities, images, and dialogue pertaining to the socially constructed differences between recognized sex categories (Fausto-Sterling, 2005; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The military only formally recognizes the categories male and female, and this study is primarily concerned with femininity (or, simply put, traits associated with women). The absence of recruiting messages about transgender, non-binary, and gender non-conforming identities sends a message in and of itself, serving to reify the male-female binary as normative.³

I anticipated that this reification would also present itself in the content of the advertising more explicitly, through appeals to traditional gender roles interspersed with more progressive images. Mixed messages would accord with Sjoberg’s (2007) prognosis that militarized stories about women have become increasingly “complex” since the Gulf War. Later sections will outline the expected complexities of this study.

Importance of Studying Recruiting Content

As mentioned, there has been much research on women’s military experiences, but there is considerably less on the militarized images of women projected in recruiting content for public consumption. This is somewhat surprising considering that “[r]ecruitment materials are a window into the construction of militarized femininity” (Brown 2012a, 152), packaged and tailored by each branch to present “ideal types” of servicewomen (Enloe, 1993). Other media

³ Former President Trump’s ban on transgender troops was only recently lifted on 30 April 2021 (Wamsley, 2021).

sources, namely news stories, can and do contribute gendered messages to the popular discourse surrounding the military (e.g. Bridges & Wadham, 2020; Sjoberg, 2007). Such contributions are of comparable significance, but I am here concerned with how each branch attempts to sell itself to the public (Brown 2012a), not necessarily how civilian journalists respond.

The military as a whole has commonly been conceived of as a “gender-defining institution and socializing agent” (Segal, 2006). In addition to its longstanding history of labeling men “girls” and “pussies” when they show weakness in basic training (Arkin & Dobrofsky, 1978; Williams, 1989), the military has not shied away from overtly defining masculinity in its advertising. For instance, the Marine Corps’ pre-1970s campaign looks for “A Few Good Men” (Brown 2012a, p. 166). The common use of gendered appeals is not surprising considering how often gender has colored American advertising more generally (Barthel, 1989), but gendered messages in military ads are unique in their potential to shape recruits’ expectations of their future careers, reinforce or challenge a service branches culture and self-image, and construct a dominant narrative for the civilian public who has few other avenues for understanding the military.

The importance of recruiting content in shaping recruit expectations should not be understated. Statistics on the Navy’s YouTube campaigns, for instance, support the reality that recruitment actually ‘works,’ citing an 18% increase in consideration to join following the creation of a recruit-specific channel (United States Navy, 2019). Servicewomen in RAND focus groups credit realistic, diverse advertisements for motivating themselves and others to join while also “debunking [military] myths perpetuated in movies” (Yeung et al., 2017, p. 33). Critically analyzing the content of recruiting ads, therefore, provides a reliable snapshot of the expectations which women (and men) take into their military careers. Such knowledge has practical and

theoretical implications for understanding and shaping the entire process of changing gender norms within a male-dominant total institution.

To hone on the component of leadership, lab studies have shown that institutionalizing women's effectiveness as authority figures leads to more acceptance and deferential behavior from followers in the group (Lucas, 2003). Though the conditions of that study differ considerably from this context, it is possible in the current study to look at how women's leadership is publicly endorsed by each branch through advertising compared to how it is actualized institutionally in terms of frequency, retention, and other demographic measures. Focusing on the gendered content of recruiting advertisements allows for a more informed theoretical discussion of related social processes, institutionalization and challenging status hierarchies being just a few.

This study contributes to the broader sociological study of gender in advertising, specifically to the concept of "femvertising" (Grau & Zotos, 2016, p. 769). Advertising messages that clearly "empower" and celebrate rather than objectify women are effective, well-received selling tactics for products like Pantene and Under Armor (Bahadur, 2014). While military recruiting ads certainly adjust to trends of the times, and they may be considered "femvertising" by virtue of associating women with non-stereotypical work, I anticipated that, unlike simple product rebranding, advertising for gender diversity would be constrained by institutional factors (i.e. an actual lack of servicewomen to highlight in recently integrated areas like ground combat) as well as fear of backlash from viewers. I hypothesized that 1) women's empowerment would stop short of casting a vision for combat and leadership that is any more gender-inclusive than military history has thus far allowed and 2) appeals to a more traditional order would still echo in

some of the ads, especially for the branches which have tended to identify strongly with masculine norms in advertisements past.

Studying the ads on the YouTube platform provides the advantage of studying audience interactions (e.g. comments, likes), which sheds some light on public attitudes towards the content. Certain historical features of the American military and its supporters lead me to predict that reactions against a positive, inclusive, empowering representation of servicewomen would be a considerable motive for constraining the progressiveness of the recruiting content. Beyond the typical resistance to change as well as the considerable pride with which veterans and loyal supporters tend to view our military, its culture has not historically embraced departure from the hetero-masculine normative order.

A case in point is the long lifespan of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy which allowed servicemembers who identified as homosexual to serve provided they did not tell anyone. Even though Australia, Canada, Israel, and Britain lifted their ban on gay servicemembers and saw no impact on unit cohesion or military readiness, the American ban persisted until 2011 fueled by the rationale of “military necessity” (Belkin, 2010). A similar rationale is used in arguments against the integration of women into ground combat roles (Corps, 2015). The official policy stance of our government now mandates against gender restrictions for all combat roles, but if history is any indication, pro-military audiences will probably not want to see or hear about the expanded inclusion of women in military advertising content, similar to the way they would rather servicemembers keep quiet about their homosexual identities. I expect that the branches which primarily do ground combat, the Army and the Marine Corps, will see the most backlash against progressive military femininities where women and distinctly feminine characteristics are highlighted.

Gender Stereotypes

Any informed study of what might be considered normative or progressive concerning femininity requires an analysis of stereotypes. Stereotypes are, broadly speaking, beliefs about a social category (Spears & Haslam, 1997; Vinacke, 1957). Gender stereotypes then are beliefs about gender categories, and they are informed by commonly held cultural narratives about the roles that men and women fill in society. Advertisement is only one of many sources for shaping beliefs about gender. To the extent that advertising messages are the “environment” in which we live (Kilbourne, 1999), it may even be considered one of the most influential sources. Gender stereotypes inform our expectations, which inform our interactions, which go on to shape the systems and structures in which we live (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

Though researchers debate on how to conceptualize stereotypes, they can be divided into subcomponents such as trait descriptors (e.g. strong, compassionate), physical characteristics (e.g. fitness), role behavior (e.g. leader-follower), and status (e.g. occupation: Deaux & Lewis, 1984). I assess these components as they pertain to gender in the military context (e.g. rank, uniform, authoritative roles, etc.). Role behavior related to women’s engagement in violence or exercise of authority is of particular interest to gauge how branches choose to reflect recent integration advances.

Differences Across Branches

The work of Melissa Brown (2012a, 2012b) is the only contemporary scholar to my knowledge engaged in a thorough study of gender in recruiting across the service branches. My work builds on her narrative in a new decade and on a new digital platform. As Brown found

presentations of militarized femininity in recruiting ads to be substantively different for each branch for the latter half of the 20th century, I expect to find similar trends.

The Army is the largest of the service branches, and due mostly to its manpower needs, it has been the service most willing to appeal to female recruits since the creation of the AVF. These appeals have tended to communicate that “a woman in the Army is still a woman,” commonly presenting women as equal members of the team but rarely associating them directly with combat, weaponry, and violence (2012a, p. 159). I expect to find a similar trend in the current study because, despite women’s inroads into ground combat roles, media portrayals of women soldiers in combat during the Gulf War were met with resistance (Archer, 2013; Gronnvoll, 2007; Sjoberg, 2007).

The Navy, which did not initially make much-concerted efforts to attract women volunteers, has an early legacy of associating women primarily with nursing, clerical, or ‘spoils of war’ roles (2012a, p. 162). Overall, the Navy relies on non-combative, technical competence and primarily makes appeals to this end; thus, I predicted women in the Navy would be portrayed as highly proficient in mechanics and technology. Though as of 2019 the Navy had about 30% more women than the Army (20% compared to 15%: Defense, 2019), I still expect undertones of the traditional notion of a “generic sailor” as masculine to remain present (Brown 2012a, p. 162).

The Marine Corps, primarily tasked with amphibious combat as an offshoot of the Navy, has been most firmly associated with traditional, militant masculinity. Hence, they have the least proportion of women compared to other branches (8.9%, about a third less than the Army: Department of Defense 2019). They were the only branch to formally push back against 2013

women's integration efforts (Blakemore, 2019; Corps, 2015). I predicted that they would maintain overall appeals to traditional masculinity (e.g. combat scenes, low-voiced male commentator) while making a concerted effort to include women at least as tokens to improve women's recruitment and bolster their reputation on gender relations. The resulting story of militarized femininity would be a woman who is truly "one of the men," without many distinctly feminine markers.

The Air Force was created after women were officially integrated into the military. Its relative distance from ground combat has made it most aptly positioned to employ women, though it tends to attract enough technically apt men that it does not have to do so (Brown 2012a, p. 164). Its emphasis on providing skills for future career advancement markets what Brown calls a "working-class masculinity," and I expected that the Air Force would construct a similar narrative for women. Since barriers to aviation were longstanding (reversed for combat aviation in 1993: Swick 2018), I also anticipated that a few token female pilots would be included in keeping with "femvertising" for diversity recruitment efforts.

Intersectional Considerations

A study of gendered messaging would not be sufficient without consideration of how race and ethnicity intersect to create overlapping but inherently different narratives and categories (Howard & Renfrow, 2014). In the present context, the main question I ask is how militarized femininity is presented for white women compared to women of color, concerning

each subgroup⁴. Unique stereotypes apply to different groups (e.g. black women associated with aggression, white women with vulnerability), and, therefore, their presentation in military recruiting ads tells different stories.

Brown (2012a) found that even though minority men and women tended to join the AVF in numbers disproportionate to their presence in the overall population (only true of Hispanics for the Marine Corps), white women continued to be the predominant face of militarized femininity, even if they were just pictured as tokens (p. 170). Notably, black men were overrepresented in ads compared to their composition of the ranks, perhaps reflective of the early efforts to take advantage of the lack of better job opportunities available to African Americans.

This shows that when it comes to diversity and recruiting ads, oftentimes representation reflects the service branch's recruiting goals. At the same time, they project to public audiences, or *mold* (Barthel, 1989), an image of who is desirable for military service. Brown's findings that black women, in particular, tend to be underrepresented tracks with other media studies which have found that members of racial and ethnic groups viewed as less adherent to gender stereotypes (e.g. Asian men seen as less masculine) receive fewer features in various types of media (Schug et al., 2017). It makes sense that military advertisements, despite goals for diversity, would conform with this broader social practice, perhaps in an effort to remain sensitive to the attitudes of their audience. Sjoberg's (2007) analysis of news coverage in Iraq supports this theory. She recounts how the news media focus on glorifying the conflict's first

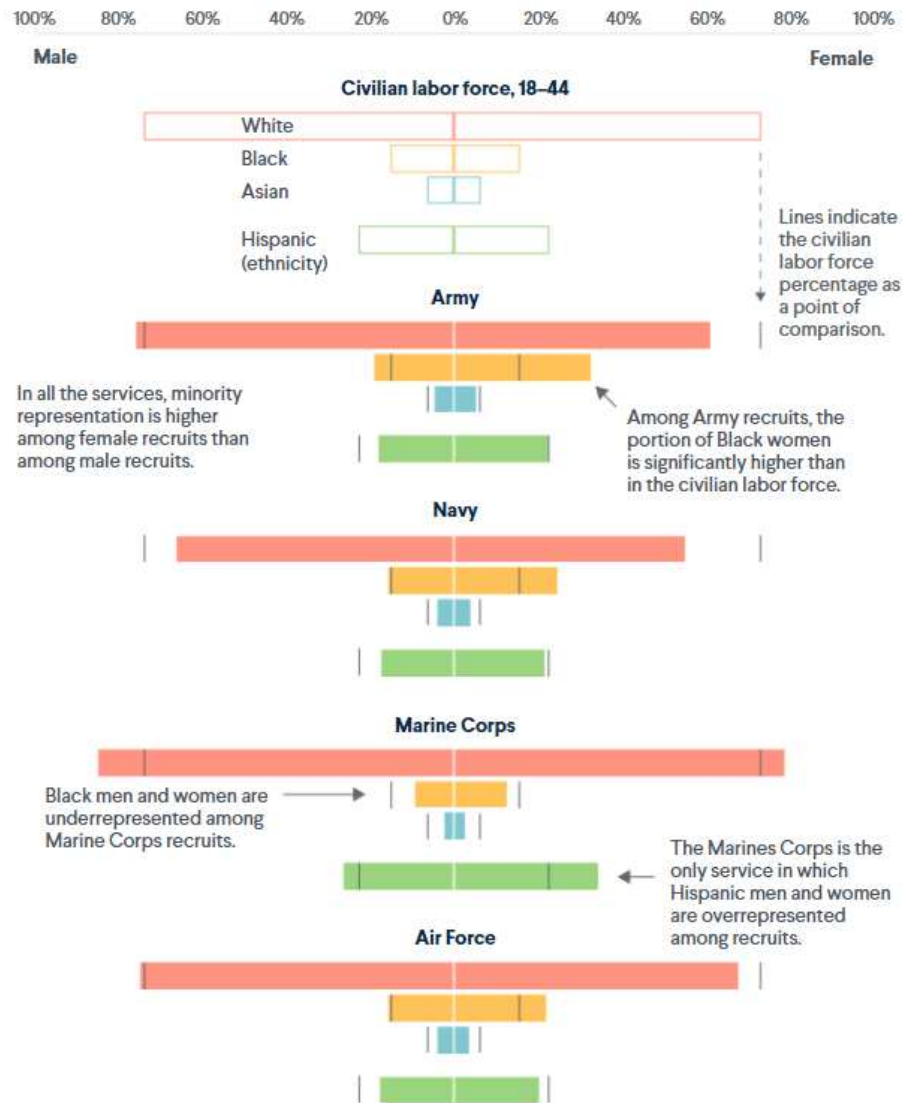
⁴ Federal agencies recognize five races (Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander) and two ethnicities (Hispanic or non-Hispanic) (Council of Foreign Relations, 2020).

female prisoner of war (POW), a young white woman, overshadows the fact that another POW, a black single mother of two, was captured and injured in the same altercation (p. 86). Stories like this confirm that the public eye does not seem ready to embrace a non-white military heroine, despite the disproportionate contribution of women of color towards national defense -and similar trends in recruiting ads indicate a military not ready to challenge this dominant narrative.

I anticipated for post-Iraq advertisements that service branches would continue to give women of color less airtime compared to their white counterparts, regardless of the demographics of the force itself. As of 2018, racial and ethnic representation differed for women across service branches and ranks (see Figures 1 and 2). Figure 1 shows that black women maintain an over-representative presence in all branches except the Marines, the only branch where Hispanic men and women are more successfully recruited. Asian men and women are less represented in every branch than in the civilian workforce. Figure 2 illustrates how upper officer ranks continue to be predominantly white.

With this demographic background in mind, later sections will elaborate on the intricacies of the roles, behaviors, traits, appearances, and voices ascribed to all groups of women in contemporary recruitment ads. Comparing the current demographics against the representation of actors in the advertisements serves as an indicator of how the vision for desirable servicemembers communicated in the recruiting content aligns with the reality of how women tend to serve.

Hispanic, considered an ethnicity and not a race, overlaps with racial categories.



Source: Office of the Undersecretary of Defense.

COUNCIL OF
FOREIGN
RELATIONS

Figure 1. Race and Ethnicity of Enlisted Recruits by Service and Gender, 2018 (Council of Foreign Relations, 2020).

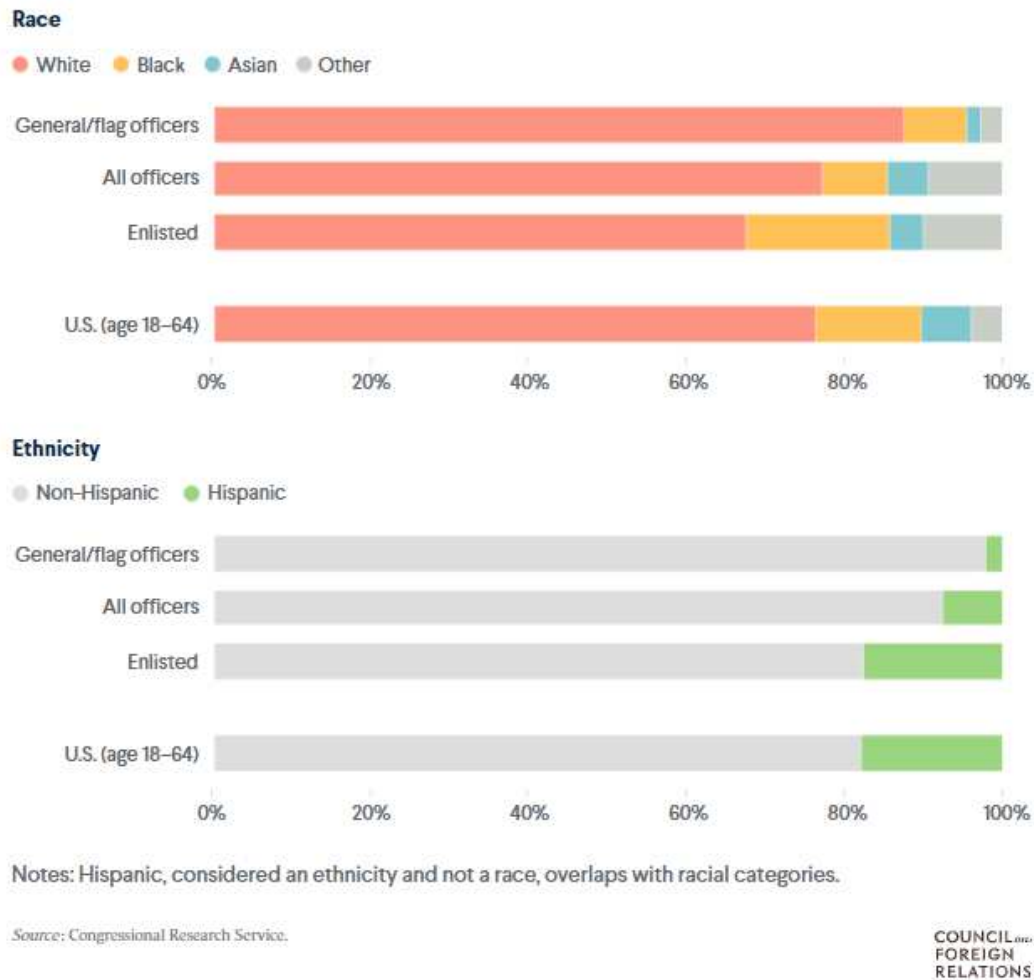


Figure 2. Race and Ethnicity by Rank, 2018 (Council of Foreign Relations, 2020).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

I conducted a mostly qualitative content analysis guided by the themes discussed above and a critical feminist lens (Harding, 1987). This approach allowed me to both compare how old trends persisted and identify new themes as they emerged from the data. The sample consisted of recruiting advertisements posted as YouTube videos between January 2017 and September 2021 (with a few minor exceptions) in connection to official recruiting campaigns. The videos were publicly accessible (though they may be removed from the internet at any time: see Appendix C and D for video links). This allowed me to play them multiple times, pause them, or adjust the speed, which was conducive to thorough analysis (Pennington, 2017, p. 2).

Data and Sample

The unit of analysis was individual YouTube videos, but I distinguished between attention-grabbing, publicly oriented, branch-promoting advertisements and more immersive, documentary-type, informative material for potential recruits who are intentionally seeking information about a service branch or even a specific job. My first sample consisted of only publicly oriented advertisements; Because this type of content was more likely run in an active advertising capacity rather than free-standing videos on specialty pages, they better reflect the gendered messages produced for broader consumption. From this sample, I can assess the type of military recruiting content YouTube users may consume as an inadvertent part of their viewing

experience, more like a television ad. I included a second sample group of the recruit-gear content from each branch to get a sense of the difference in how femininity is projected to those men and women who are motivated to seek out additional material themselves and are perhaps already interested in joining.

Dividing the samples allowed me to compare the content produced with the aim of both recruiting and garnering public support against content that is meant specifically for populations looking to enlist or commission themselves. By analyzing the approaches to these two audiences, I can look for patterns in how militarized femininity is presented, perhaps more palatably, for a wider audience in the first sample and how it may be presented differently (e.g. celebrated, presented as normal, etc.) to appeal to the expectations of potential recruits in the second sample. As I will discuss, some overlap in the two types of content is inherent to the advertising environment, and, therefore, I hesitate to overstate the difference between them. Consideration of changes in gendered messaging across target audiences is valuable information for this topic, nonetheless.

Public Sample

The public sample only included videos posted between 2017 and 2021 because my research question was concerned with how women are presented after they were legally allowed in combat positions and had begun to integrate into ground combat roles. I did pay attention to how content and interaction with the videos varied into and beyond 2020 due to the likelihood that these ads would reflect a changing sociopolitical climate of the time. The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in March brought abrupt changes to workforce retention, which possibly impacted military recruiting efforts. Additionally, 2020 was an election year that saw a fairly

extreme shift in partisan administration. This may also influence recruiting efforts (as evidenced by the quick change in transgender troop policy under President Biden). The summer of 2020 also saw widespread public attention on racial diversity and inclusivity in the wake of the George Floyd shooting. As far as content, I paid attention to which ads may have been impacted by new diversity efforts to get an idea of how representation for women (particularly women of color) may have changed. I also explored published recruiting strategies to see how each branch adjusted its recruiting efforts explicitly.

To locate the publicly oriented commercials, I relied on YouTube’s built-in search function, which returns results based on the relevance of the video’s descriptive information to the query input. The search terms consisted of a combination of “U.S. (branch name) ad/ advertisement/ commercial/ recruitment/ ad campaign/ marketing”, including the target years. I excluded results that do not feature the official branch logo at the end or appear to be filmed from television with an external recording device. The cutoff for length was about one minute, with a majority being thirty seconds long. A minute is the point at which one could begin to question whether the content was intended to grab attention or communicate information to an already captive audience⁵. After excluding ads that were too long, only focused on a specific job, or were more storytelling than attention-grabbing, the public sample included every possible video ad that fit these criteria without any representative sampling.

⁵ For example, the Marines had a two-minute-long version of one of their sixty-second ads, but I coded the shorter one since it was more of a “commercial” rather than a short story, and people were much more likely to watch it through to completion.

The final sample for the public ads was (N-Public) was 48 total. Because of variation in the type of ads released by each branch during the period of interest, there was a wide range of representation in this sample: N-Public Army = 25; N-Public Navy = 4; N-Public Marines = 12; N-Public Air Force = 7. The Navy was more focused on producing content that fit my criteria for the recruit-gear sample (Werner, 2019), while the Army had a large, publicly-oriented campaign with several short clips released during the period, which accounts for the wide range in sample sizes by branch.

Recruit-Based Sample

For my analysis of the content geared towards recruits, I looked only to the official recruiting YouTube pages of each branch (not to be confused with the official pages that each branch also has for similar but wider purposes like branch pride, information on public events, etc.). There are also plenty of unofficial fan videos about “life in the military”, but my focus is on how the branch markets itself to potential recruits. The branches vary in the amount of material they post per year, for instance, the Marine Corps posts about 30 minutes total while the Navy has upwards of 3 hours of content each year going back to the early 2000s. Though I focused mostly on videos in the timeframe of interest, if a video on the recruiting page fit my criteria and was very popular, I included it even if it was a few years older – it will still appear towards the top of the popular page today, which puts it in the timeframe of interest. Most of these videos were interviews with real servicemembers, footage of training, or personal stories.

Unlike the public ad sample, the sample I drew for the recruit-gear content was not statistically generalizable or anywhere near representing the entire population of like content. I included videos that specifically promoted women or featured their personal stories, as this was

the most effective way to see how a branch is marketing femininity to recruits. To make sure there was no blatant contradiction between the messaging in this content and the rest of the channel, I did watch at least one ad from every playlist, most of which included less than 15 videos.

The final sample for the recruit-gear sample (N-Recruit) was 76 total. Similar to the public sample, there was considerable variation in the representation of each branch: N-Recruit Army = 17; N-Recruit Navy = 34; N-Recruit Marines = 9; N-Recruit Air Force = 16. The concentration of ads from the Navy reflects their focus on turning out recruit-gear content in general – as well as content promoting servicewomen. The Marines, on the other hand, do not prioritize these types of videos. Despite these differences, the samples still allowed me to get an informed look at the gendered messages produced by the recruiting channels for recruits as well as wider audiences.

YouTube as a Platform

Relying on YouTube as a “repository” for modern military recruiting ads has been employed in similar content analyses (Jester, 2021; Strand & Kehl, 2019). YouTube is indeed only one platform of several (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, television) by which the military reaches target audiences. They have also been known to tailor their marketing of gender-based on the audience (e.g. *Sports Illustrated* versus *Seventeen* readers get different ads: Brown 2012a, p. 168-69); however, a cursory search reveals considerable, oftentimes exact crossover in the content of each branch’s official social media pages. Additionally, the service branches have been forthcoming about how they are shifting marketing attention away from television and onto the internet, making it prime ground for research on official recruiting messages (Bowman,

2018; Peralta & Caporusso, 2020; Wenger et al., 2019). This aligns with broader statistics about the massive amount of YouTube content consumed across the world every day (van Kessel, 2019). Studying the ads on YouTube provides the added benefit of viewing the audience interactions, which is not possible for television or print ads.

A feature of YouTube that allows for running ads only for specific demographics complicates my analysis by blurring the criteria between the public and recruit samples for some of the ads, mostly in the Navy. There is no surefire way to know if and when a video was run as an ad, much less the viewers towards which it was directed. The best way to tell if it was aired at all is to look at the view count compared to the video interaction ratio. Then, to double-check, one can look to the comments to see if anyone is complaining about receiving the video as an ad. Based on this strategy, it appeared that about half of the videos that met the criteria for the public sample originally aired on television and never actually run as YouTube ads. To run as an ad, a video has to be uploaded to a page, and then the owner has to choose how, when, and to whom to broadcast it. The only way to get an idea of the target audience is to see who is commenting on the videos, but even that does not reveal the advertiser's original intention. Most of the ads were probably "TrueView In-Stream" ads based on the fact that they are 11 seconds or longer (Andrus, 2018). This means that viewers probably had to watch at least 5 seconds before being able to skip – though a handful of the 15-second versions might have been non-skippable. I was surprised to find that many of the typical "commercials" were not run as ads, but many documentaries, personal stories, and "hype" or heritage videos were. (This was especially true for the Navy due to their unique recruiting strategy, which I will discuss in more detail in the next section.) Consequently, I kept the distinction between the two samples based on the type of content and apparent breadth of the intended audience, but I made certain to indicate where the

distinction is not perfect when it comes to running otherwise recruit-gearred content as a paid advertisement.

Measurements and Interpretations

My approach to coding the data can be described as both inductive and deductive. Because I am drawing from themes of militarized femininity and gender stereotypes, which have been identified in previous literature, I did not take an explicitly open-coding approach. This did not preclude me, however, from staying attentive to emergent themes, as identifying all themes present was necessary for answering my research question.

A preliminary observation scheme which I used for taking notes on all the videos can be found in Appendices A and B for the public and recruit samples respectively. More so than pre-selecting themes, it was intended to apply my critical feminist lens by focusing on how militarized femininities map onto gender stereotype components (Deaux & Lewis, 1984), but it also left room for unforeseen observations and patterns which shifted in further analysis. Though I did measure some count variables (e.g. frequency of women of color), my approach was not heavily quantitative. Instead, I aimed to follow the ethnographic content analysis (ECA) model as presented by Altheide (1987). This model incorporates numerical data into the narrative data and assumes the space and time allotted to each image does not translate directly to meaning. Continuing in the vein of ECA, I conducted an iterative, reflexive coding process, and I was highly concerned with communicating transparently about my coding and interpretation decisions.

Data Analysis

Coding of the videos was done manually through ATLAS.ti. For both sample groups, I conducted at least two iterations of observations and coding. This means that I collected observations from the videos twice, and then I codified themes emerging from the observations in a semi-open coding round and then a more focused coding round. For the video observations, I watched the videos all the way through as well as frame-by-frame and alternated focus on audio-video elements, dialogue, and characters, as needed. This usually meant watching videos at least 4 times, often more for collecting the frequency of actor demographics in the public sample. In between rounds of both initial observations and then coding of the observations, I adjusted the categories and themes and made detailed observations (memos) about how and why the schemes changed as I narrowed in on relevant themes (Esterberg, 2002). I then stepped back and assessed how those themes connected.

To interpret these findings, I asked questions expounding on the original research question: What story does each branch tell about militarized femininity? What behaviors, appearances, and other components are presented as acceptable, and what is excluded? How does this compare to portrayals in earlier periods? How does the messaging reflect, ignore, or otherwise treat advances in women's participation? How does the audience interact with the messages communicated about gender? My answers to these questions will refer back mostly to the literature already discussed, but I will also review some of the reports, blogs, and articles I found where the branch recruiting agencies explain some of their strategies explicitly.

Positionality and Replicability

Even though I cannot influence the content of the data itself (unless I were to comment on or like/dislike the videos), Saldaña and Omasta observe that “...your level of personal involvement as a participant-observer... positions or angles how you perceive, document, and thus code your data” (2016, p. 7). My coding decisions are certainly influenced by my knowledge of the broader literature and brief experience as a female officer in the Air Force myself. The lens I hold to the presentation is admittedly critical and inclined to ascribe particular importance to negative, unequal, or otherwise damaging portrayals of women. I plan to thoroughly document my research decisions in my account of how I arrived at my findings to recognize my influence as a research instrument at each stage. This documentation of the coding process would also lend to the replicability of the project, though I make no claims to an objective perspective that could be perfectly replicated (Burawoy, 2019).

To increase the reliability and replicability of my analysis, I provided 5 undergraduate experimental methods students with my observation scheme and codes and had them each code 4 videos, one from each branch. They noticed and coded the same themes with about 88.55% accuracy compared to my results, which is high especially considering their minimal training in sociology.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

I will present the findings of my systematic analysis of the video content and discuss emergent themes there before moving into the findings of how the audience interacted with the content. The findings of the content of the videos themselves answer my main research question about how militarized femininity is constructed across the service branches – I also discuss variation between the public and recruit samples here. Patterns emerging from the audience interaction provide insight into public attitudes and recruiting climate in response to the militarized femininity presented in the content.

Content

The three primary ways that the advertisements constructed militarized femininity was the demographic appearance of the actors, the careers, tasks, and positions in which servicewomen were cast, and the consistent but nuanced message that “gender doesn’t matter” – here I am referring to the various ways that competency, conformity, or focus on the mission are pitted above or against differences in gender identity (feminine identity). The first section I refer to as *actor representation*, the second as the *outer bounds of gender integration*, and, lastly, the discussion of the *gender doesn’t matter* theme I refer to as such. I describe how each of these components varies across service branches and samples. The three sections are interrelated such that choices about actor representation and limits on gender integration both contribute in large

part to how a branch communicates that “gender doesn’t matter”; Therefore, I will elaborate throughout the section on how this message is reiterated and what it comes to mean for each branch.

Actor Representation

Demographic representation amongst actors⁶ varied between ads and between branches. These patterns are important since the gender and skin color of actors send a potent message about what is acceptable and desirable for military service.

Before presenting the frequency counts based on my observations, I will note the limitations and benefits of my approach. Without any information on the actor’s professed racial, ethnic, or gender, identity, I can only categorize them based on my impressions from the videos. Gender identity is fairly obvious due to the military’s strict adherence to male and female appearance standards. Classifying by race and ethnicity introduces more ambiguity. This is largely because of the confusing, essentializing, and socially constructed nature of racial categories themselves (Roth, 2016). My actor observations, therefore, reflect “observed race” rather than actors’ self-reported “racial identity”. The possibility for discrepancy between my racial categorization and the actors’ proclaimed identity is highly likely, as “observed race” is subject to viewer impressions and biases (Harris, 2002). Nonetheless, the “observed race” of the actor is all the audience sees, and the impression of the content is all I am concerned about for answering my research question.

⁶ I use the term actor in a gender-neutral sense throughout the paper.

Though my impressions might very well differ from other audience members, I was able to watch the videos multiple times (at least 4 each) to make sure that my observations were at least true to the footage as best as I could discern from skin color, accents, hair texture and style, facial structure, and last names. Including counts for racial and gender ambiguity based on appearance and based on lack of visibility allowed for me to classify actors who were either not clearly shown or had an ambiguous appearance in general.⁷ I also cross-checked four of the videos with 4 of the student researchers and found a 90.5% overlap in observation of actor demographics for the main subset of actors.

Additionally, I should note that these frequency counts were only collected for the ads in the publicly oriented sample, not the recruit-based sample which is not statistically representative of similar videos. This means that they represent a snapshot of the observed demographics across short, attention-grabbing, branch-promoting ads for active-duty military service between 2017 and 2021. The demographics of the actors chosen for these types of ads are noteworthy, though they must be interpreted in conjunction with the more qualitative analysis of the recruit-based samples and not in isolation.

Table 2. Proportion of gender identities observed for all branches in the public ad sample.

Actor Gender	Frequency Count	Percent
Men	459	76.50%
Women	115	19.17%
Ambiguous physical features (unknown)	2	0.33%
Obscured by gear, lighting, or camera angle (unknown)	24	4.00%
Total	600	100%

⁷ My criteria for counting actors were limited to active-duty members in uniform shown in the main frame for at least one second. There is room for subjectivity even in this measure, but it is similarly sufficient to capture typical viewer impressions.

Overall, women represent about 19.2% of identifiable actors across all branches in the publicly oriented sample (Table 2). In other words, about one-fifth of clearly identifiable active-duty servicemembers in the commercials were visibly female. This figure is slightly higher than the total proportion of uniformed women on active duty in 2019, which was 16.6% (Department of Defense, 2019). Right away, the comparison suggests a willingness to present a slightly more female face for the US military than current numbers reflect. This theme is consistent with subsequent findings that willingness to cast a noticeably more gender-inclusive vision for the future of the force is relatively rare, largely confined to the recruit-gearred channel, and varies by branch.

Table 3. Proportion of gender identities observed for all branches in the public ad sample by branch.

Gender	Branch			
	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force
Male	68.57%	86.26%	78.20%	67.35%
Female	23.81%	12.98%	15.41%	32.65%
Ambiguous physical features (unknown)	0.95%	0.00%	0.38%	0.00%
Obscured by gear, lighting, or camera angle (unknown)	6.67%	0.76%	6.02%	0.00%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Evidencing the need to look at both the recruit and publicly oriented samples, the Navy has the least proportion of clearly identifiable women in their public ads (Table 3: 13% of actors), but they are willing to run a mini-documentary, half-animated series as an official advertisement specifically promoting women from their recruiting page. Other branches do not represent female voices and stories to nearly the same degree, but they do have more clearly female actors in their commercials. Another trend that stands out in this table is the tendency of the Army and the Marines to obscure the gender identity of the actor with gear or fast-moving scenes. (6-7% of actors for both branches: Table 3). Paired with the subsequent observation from

my qualitative coding that the Air Force and Navy were more likely in their public commercials to include gendered markers like jewelry, long or loose hair, and nail polish and less likely to emphasize a shared identity or sense of teamwork, the argument can be made that the image of the servicewoman projected to the wider public by the Army and Marines is more muted, less stereotypically feminine in appearance, or even ‘one of the boys’. That said, every branch communicates to some degree that ‘gender doesn’t (or shouldn’t) matter and that women are equal, competent members of the same team. I am careful, therefore, not to overemphasize the differences in these few visual trends before elaborating on the fuller picture of militarized femininity presented by each branch.

Table 4. Proportion of racial and ethnic identities observed for all women (excluding unidentifiable actors) in the public ad sample by branch.⁸

Observed Race/Ethnicity	Branch				Total
	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	
White	88.00%	23.53%	39.02%	31.25%	45.22%
Black	8.00%	17.65%	4.88%	25.00%	13.04%
Hispanic	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	6.25%	1.74%
Asian	0.00%	0.00%	2.44%	6.25%	2.61%
Ambiguous physical features (unknown)	0.00%	17.65%	12.20%	12.50%	10.43%
Obscured by gear, lighting, or camera angle (unknown)	4.00%	41.18%	41.46%	18.75%	26.96%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

⁸ I have frequency counts for servicemen by race and ethnicity, too, but I did not include them here since I am focused on how servicewomen are presented. There was an interesting finding that the Army only cast half the proportion of white men compared to women (43% compared to 88%) and that they did show a handful of Hispanic, Asian, and racially and ethnically ambiguous servicemen. This pattern does not hold for other branches, who all cast higher proportions of white men than white women.

Table 4 shows that only 8.0% of (noticeable) women actors in the Army public sample were clearly African American. There were not any noticeably Asian, Hispanic, or other clearly non-white women actors. In the recruit sample, even the series geared towards promoting diversity does not include any clearly Asian women, though they do include clearly Black, Hispanic, and White women. On the contrary, 88% of the women are clearly white, which is much higher than the other branches' ads (Marines are the next highest at 39%). This is probably because the Army chose two white women for a major ad campaign ("What's Your Warrior?") which featured few other actors and showed the same actors multiple times.

The Navy ads also lacked any clearly Asian women actors. They also had the smallest proportion of white women compared to the other branches (23.53%) of all the clearly female actors, which is consistent with the fact that compared to other branches the Navy actually has a smaller proportion of white women.

Only 4.88% of Marine Corps women actors were clearly African American. This proportion is the smallest of all branches – though if they actually do cast more black women, the high 'unknown' proportions might capture them in reality. Regardless, black women are seldom clearly visible in the Marine commercials, which is a pattern that is also observed in the Marine Corps' recruit sample. There are many women shown who could be Hispanic, Asian, or mixed race, but due to the tendency of Marine ads to avoid showing personal details (e.g. names, accents, etc.) in favor of busy combat scenes in full gear, it is difficult to tell they are women, much less determine their race or ethnicity. I expected a clearer showing of Hispanic women (and men) considering the Marine Corps is the branch that is most successful in recruiting Hispanics.

The Air Force is the only branch that shows women close enough to discern that they are Hispanic or Asian (each group comprised 6.25% of the clearly female airmen). They also have the highest proportion of clearly black women compared to the other branches at 25%.

Taken in total, and assuming that the high number of unidentifiable actors means every category is an underestimate, the visual representation of racial and ethnic diversity among the servicewomen in the ads is not far off of the actual demographic for each group except those who identify as Hispanic: As of 2019, active-duty members were 68.8% White, 17.2% Black or African American, 4.7% Asian, 4.1% other or unknown, 3.0% multiracial, 1.2% Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, 1.1% American Indian or Alaska Native, and (measured separately), 16.7% Hispanic or Latino (numbers reflective of men and women, measures of race and ethnicity of servicewomen only not available: Department of Defense, 2019).

Interpreting this demographic snapshot does answer one aspect of the main research question: The ideal-type servicewomen, is clearly white almost half of the time (45.22%) for a typical commercial across branches. Servicewomen of color do appear, but their representation in the cast on screen is not necessarily up to the proportion of their actual representation in their branch. The fact that about a third of servicewomen on screen are either obscured from view or have ambiguous racial appearance complicates this observation and raises a related question. Is the tendency to cast servicemembers whose group identity cannot be easily discerned intentional? Refraining from overt attempts to showcase non-white group identities does mitigate the chance of a ‘political correctness’ accusation, which is common in the YouTube comment section. The exact answer to that question is not necessarily my concern, but I note in my qualitative analysis how the rest of the content navigates this line of portraying militarized femininities without incurring scathing online backlash.

The Outer Bounds of Gender Integration

As Brown (2012a) noted in her study of servicewomen in recruiting ads, where women are shown and what they are doing is just as important as where they are *not* and what they are *not* doing. She was particularly interested in the clear line which was drawn between servicewomen and violence and combat roles. I assess how this line has blurred, but not erased, since policy changes and recent women firsts have transpired in ground combat, and I expand this line of analysis to look at leadership roles and training environments. I found that while gender segregation largely persists in gender-typed jobs (e.g. men dominate in military police roles and women in nursing roles), there are some nods towards a vision for a more gender-integrated future where the lines are not drawn as clearly.

Leadership and Rank. A trend that is clear and fairly consistent across branches is a willingness to show women acting in supervisory or leadership roles. By leadership role, I mean giving verbal commands, acting in a commanding role of a ship or unit, standing in a leadership position in relation to a military formation, or appearing in a supervisory, decision-making capacity. This is somewhat comparable to a managerial figure in the civilian workplace. In fact, they are often shown leading men, and they are seldom shown in follower roles besides in basic training and next to general officers. The Army was the only branch that did not have at least two public commercials with women shown executing some leadership function, but (despite their rhetoric about teamwork) most of their footage was lacking in any sort of group dynamics in general due to their recent individualistic, ‘choose your character,’ video-game-esque campaign. Women appeared in some leadership capacity or as senior officers and NCOs, however, at least a handful of times on all the recruiting channels. The Navy goes so far as to have an entire playlist of six videos called “America’s Navy – Female Leadership.” As I will discuss more when I

develop the theme of explicit promotion, celebration, and demarcation of women and diversity, displays of women in leadership were more common for branches that tended to actively celebrate diversity – namely the Navy and the Air Force.

Women in general officer positions (O-7 and above) are lacking in the public sample compared to the recruit channel (see Figure 3). This is probably due in part to the fact that there are simply fewer women in these positions and, therefore, fewer available to cast in recruiting ads. Only 7.64% of general officers were women as of 2019, and there was only three total in the entire Marine Corps (Department of Defense, 2019). There are seldom any women chiefs of staff⁹, for instance, a position of authority which the Air Force highlights in two of their commercials.



Figure 3. The televised Navy ad on the left, while still featuring a woman submarine and commander, shows her congratulated by what appears to be a male three-star general. The woman on the right is a one-star general who gets her own video on the recruiting channel, and her story is not run as an ad (see Appendix C and D, Navy, 2018 and 2021 respectively)

As evidenced by the above example, women who are seasoned, senior leaders do not tend to get the same airtime as their male counterparts who vastly outnumber them. Thus, while the

⁹ Chiefs of staff are the highest-ranking officers (four-star generals) for each of the service branch departments who serve key leadership and advisory functions.

branches all express some willingness to cast women as competent unit-level commanders in the face of stereotypes to the contrary, they all shy away from presenting a vision for the force which is more inclusive than it already is in terms of the highest possible roles. This sends the message that while women are included in the majority of the force, the top of the hierarchy where branch-level decisions are made are reserved for men. Since all branches reinforce the same message, the idea that successful military departments are led by men is reified at an institutional level (Lucas, 2003).

Almost All Men With Weapons. The gap that Brown (2012a) found between women and weapons, ground combat, and violence during the early decades of the AVF largely persists. With a few exceptions, most of the footage of ground troops or actors holding or operating guns and artillery are men. This was somewhat surprising, as I expected that the official gender integration of ground combat roles might at least generate some recruit-gear material showcasing the inroads that a few women ‘firsts’ have made in this arena. On the contrary, I found an absence of recognition for these women in the Army (where the most ground combat roles and related female ‘firsts’ exist).

The most recognition in the public sample actually came from the Marines. In their extensive “Any Given Battle” series in 2018, the camera focuses on at least one bun, braid, or feminine face in the line of otherwise male infantry in most of the ads. They even have a female voice narrating one of the thirty-second ads, which is a rare occurrence in all of the public commercials (the Navy also does this at least once). The year before, in the “Battle Up” ad, the short storyline follows a young girl who has the “fighting spirit” and becomes a Marine, eventually showing her in the combat scene in Figure 4 below. There is no mention by the male narrator that she is a woman, that she breaks stereotypes, or any other explicit recognition of

diversity or departure from the normal focus on Marine Corps identity and purpose of “winning battles”. The fact that she was given her own ad and cast in a leadership capacity was slightly unexpected given the initial pushback from the Marine Corps against gender integration.



Figure 4. The female Marine in this ad was given her own ad, which ran in a formal capacity on YouTube. Footage of her giving orders in a firefight and aiming her weapon was used in at least one other Marine commercial (see Appendix C, Marine Corps, 2017).



Figure 5. At the end of a commercial for Air Force Special Forces, a woman (barely recognizable) is seen walking with other presumed special operators holding a rifle in her right hand. She is the second actor from the right (see Appendix C, Air Force, 2020).

Special Operations commercials were, as expected, heavily dominated by males, as only a handful of women have even come close to succeeding in the more combat-intensive, “door-

kicking” roles (e.g. Navy SEALs, Army Green Berets). I was surprised, therefore, to see that the Air Force made three appeals to women as armed special operators despite the fact that women typically serve special forces in more support capacities (e.g. pilots, intelligence, medics, etc.). One subtle appeal came at the end of a special forces commercial from the public sample, where a barely noticeable woman is seen at the end walking with a rifle alongside three other dirt-covered male operators (see Figure 5). The other two appeals are on their recruiting channel, but are clear, nonetheless. They invite a star female CrossFit athlete to shadow combat rescue on their special forces playlist, and then in a separate commercial-type video cast a specific, more female-inclusive vision for the future: “...The first enlisted RPA pilot. The first American female fighter pilot. *Soon the first female special tactics Airman...* [emphasis mine] (see Appendix D, Air Force, 2019).”

It is notable for understanding the differences in recruiting pressures on each branch that the Air Force, which specializes in air combat promotes gender integration in ground combat more explicitly than the Army and did not receive any backlash.¹⁰ This supports my hypothesis that most of the pressure to maintain a traditional masculine order and keep distance between militarized femininity and combat is directed at the Marines and the Army, who are primarily associated with ground combat. Combat and violence, in general, are not heavily advertised on any channel but the Marines, and when it is referenced in the other branches, it usually involves more technically advanced weapons like fighter jets, missiles, gunships, remotely piloted aircraft

¹⁰ The Army had a video of one of the first female infantry officers to go become a Ranger, but they moved it to their regular U.S. Army page and off of the recruiting page after a few weeks without a reason that I can find. The comments were turned off, but on non-official military support page where the video was reposted, it received heavy backlash, with most viewers automatically assuming the standards were lowered for her.

(RPAs), and the like. Where these types of weapons -which are more geographically removed from ground combat- are shown, women are present and cast as proficient operators of these systems without heavy backlash. A later discussion of the comment section will further flesh out these findings.

Male Training Cadre. Training staff, when shown, mostly for boot camp, tend to be male and predominantly white (see Figure 6). This is especially true in the public sample, and the only exception here is old footage of Marine bootcamp which used to be segregated by gender and, therefore, required female cadre. The basic training cadre position is not a job – it is an assignment that usually pulls top-performing members from primarily enlisted career fields to indoctrinate new recruits. These cadres are the first one recruits meet, their first crop of leaders, and their first exposure to what service is all about. It is not inconsequential that this first hurdle appears as largely male-dominated in commercials, and, because most of the footage looks very realistic, it likely reflects real demographics. The footage of basic trainees and the servicemembers in the rest of the ad might show proficient, proud servicewomen, but the gatekeepers and most exemplary figures are men. Recruits have to go searching on the channel to find a female cadre. They do exist, on the channel and in real life, but they are not the public face of discipline, intimidation, and indoctrination.

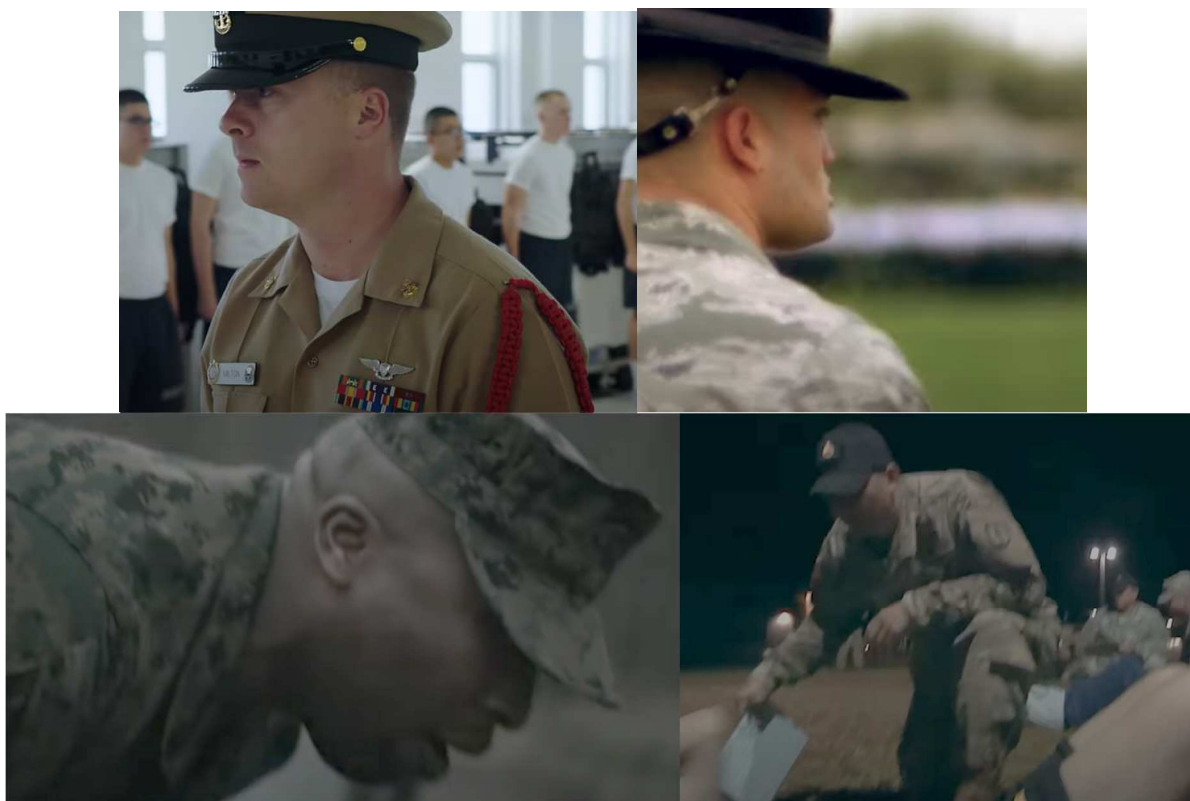


Figure 6. The four images are almost all white male training cadre, one from each service branch (Top: Navy on the left, Air Force on the right; Bottom: Marine Corps on the left, Army on the right; see Appendix C: Navy, 2018; Air Force, 2019; Marine Corps, 2017; Army, 2017)

Beyond a lack of actual representation, I suspect that there is also a hesitancy to cast women in such an aggressive, agentic capacity. Since there are no exceptions to this trend, I cannot see how the comment section would respond. There is no backlash in the recruiting channel when women are shown talking about their experiences as cadre, but it is not unreasonable to expect that if they appeared in a commercial in a similar capacity to the images in Figure 6, some audiences would react negatively to this specific transgression against prescriptive gender stereotypes, as previous research suggests (Rudman & Glick, 2001).

“Gender Doesn’t Matter”

To restate again what I mean by “gender doesn’t matter,” I am referring to the various ways that competency, conformity, or focus on the mission are pitted above or against

differences in gender identity. The consistency of this message confirms my predictions that the service branches would follow historic patterns of emphasizing a strong, mission-oriented force over (and sometimes at the expense of) recognizing individuality. To a certain extent, as ads better reflect how servicewomen have expanded the narrative of militarized femininity across careers, ranks, and roles, they will inherently communicate that gender identity is no barrier to proficient military service. This message is present as servicewomen are shown to be athletically and professionally capable, working, marching, and running alongside their male team members (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. Male and female Marine trainees run together in formation, distinguishable by their hair (or lack thereof) and physique (see Appendix C, Marine Corps, 2020).

The message that “gender doesn’t matter” in the military does, however, conflict with historic masculine dominance in this sphere as well as Acker’s (1990) theory of gendered organizations. The theory asserts that no institution can be gender-neutral. Furthermore, she claims that ideal-type employees tend to conform to masculine norms; If this assumption has support anywhere, it is definitely in the military. I find support for this phenomenon with two subsequent themes emerging on opposite sides of the “gender doesn’t matter” coin: 1) Branches that have primarily been responsible for ground combat (Army and Marine Corp) produce a

muted, less markedly feminine image of a servicewoman (she is ‘one of the boys’ or a ‘soldier without a gun’) who is not actively recognized or celebrated. 2) Branches with more distance from ground combat (Navy and Air Force) are more willing to explicitly celebrate women’s progress and contributions, especially in the recruit sample, but they temper their recognition with direct messages that “gender doesn’t matter” and “women can do it just as well” as men. To borrow a phrase from a legal scholar analyzing the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy, there appears to be a lingering “assimilation bias” on militarized identities which measures their acceptability against the hetero-masculine ideal-type in order to establish credibility (Yoshino, 1998).

‘One of the Boys’. As the analysis up until this point has illustrated, the image of militarized femininity projected by the Marine Corps is one where women, when present, are shown as capable, agentic, and equal to their male counterparts, but they lack in distinctly feminine appearance markers, are not celebrated for the barriers they break, and they identify and Marines over and above anything else. I get the impression that they are seen as ‘one of the boys’ from the recruiting sample, where male Marines emphasize the sense of “brotherhood” in their personal experiences, but only female Marines make mention of any “sisterhood”. The only recognition for their unique contribution comes from a mini-documentary on Female Engagement Teams (FETs) in Afghanistan,¹¹ where women themselves emphasize that they are Marines first and foremost while male commanders talk about how the women proved their utility in the pursuit of the mission. For the Marines, the overall message is that gender doesn’t

¹¹ These are teams of only women Marines who engaged with local women and children in combat zones who would did not feel comfortable talking with the male Marines.

matter to the point that they do not talk about it, recognize or celebrate progress towards gender equality, or otherwise stray from a focus on unity and a shared goal of “battles won”.

“A Woman in the Army Is a Soldier... Albeit One Without a Gun”. The overall message from the Army in both the public and recruit samples is similar, though it has considerably less of an emphasis on a shared identity, heritage, or “brotherhood”, and indicates some willingness to celebrate individual differences. The Army includes more servicewomen in its public ads (23% compared to 15%, see Table 3), and they are not nearly difficult to identify as female Marines, but they still lack distinctly feminine markers like visible makeup and jewelry, are not shown holding or operating guns or artillery, and are not celebrated or recognized for the barriers they break. The most explicit attempt to celebrate women is present in one of the more recent series on the Army recruiting channel, where a soldier talks about the “strong women” who inspired her to join the Army. This is the only clear echo I could find of Brown’s (2012a) observation that ads from the early 2000s and before emphasized how women soldiers could still maintain their unique femininity (“a woman in the Army is still a woman”: p. 159).¹² Instead, she is presented overall as conforming to the image of a soldier, “albeit one never shown with a rifle” (p. 171), and the branch largely keeps quiet about gender. Where it does arise on the recruiting channel, such as when female interviewees respond to questions about women’s experiences, they are quick to mention how “gender doesn’t matter” and that they are held to the same standards as male soldiers for basic training, physical tests, and promotion boards.

¹² I actually do see more emphasis on this idea in the older, pre-2016 videos on the Army channel which emphasize how women can still be mothers and dress feminine off-duty. Further analysis would be required to trace how Army recruiting campaigns changed their presentation of women over this time period.

“Women Can Do It Too”. Even though the Navy casts the fewest proportion of women in visible roles in its public ads (13%, see Table 3), its recruiting channel most strongly and explicitly represents and celebrates servicewomen compared to the other branches. They have three playlists with over 120 videos combined which feature female sailors’ stories and interviews, some talking about experiences as women specifically. Consistent with Army women’s responses to questions about gender, Navy women quickly make appeals that competency, not gender, is what matters.

I find that this idea is reinforced all the more clearly as militarized femininity is recognized more explicitly. For instance, the Navy recruiting channel also relied on ‘defiance of gender stereotypes’ and asserting that ‘women are just as capable’ as men as appeals. A clear example is present in a newer short series called “Make Your Name”. It includes five semi-animated videos, about a minute long each, starring four different accomplished female sailors whose names are said to mean determination, confidence, adventure, and opportunity. Their stories, which all highlight these traits in some form, are narrated by the voice of young girls. A brief excerpt from one of the videos captures how the idea of women’s competence and defiance as a driving motivation (see Appendix D, Navy, 2021):

My name is Dominique.
People say adventures are just for boys.
But they're wrong.
Thing is, if I want adventure, I have to go and get it.
I'm gonna find a new world,
and be one of the first girls to explore it.
I know lots of boys who'd be scared.
But I wanna do something exciting...
I'll show everyone that I can be both a girl
and a submariner.

The message is that female sailors are worth highlighting for their ability to break barriers, but gender “shouldn’t” matter in terms of limiting job opportunities.

Under the video is a short bio about Chief Dominique Saavedra, praising her as a “go-getter” whose hard work paid off. The narrative carries undertones of other themes recurrent in the Navy’s interviews with women who respond to questions about gender with answers about ‘working hard’ and ‘proving yourself’ again personal doubts and nay-sayers alike. There is a sense that the feminine sailor identity is clearly praised, and it is closely tied to the idea that some progress towards proving that gender doesn’t matter for competence in the Navy remains to be made. Other interviews with Navy women elsewhere on the channel reiterate this message, and one sailor summarizes it well (see Appendix D, Navy, 2021):

I just think, you know, that's another job.
What gender you are, it shouldn't matter.
Out there, you have to be a team.
And by me pushing past the stereotype,
we can help each other out throughout the process.
But I'm always willing to get my hands dirty,
no matter how hard of a job it is.

By choosing to address gender specifically, the Navy can be clear about when and where gender should and should not matter. For instance, they talk about how they have maternal support for mothers and recognize a whole host of women “firsts”, including trailblazing women of color, but when it comes to opportunities and performance evaluation, they are clear and consistent that gender does not and should not matter.

‘Diversity Is in Our Identity’. The Air Force, who shows the highest proportion of readily identifiable women in their public ads, is also upfront about their stance that the Airman identity supersedes gender, race, or creed – they bring on a four-star general to make this very

point in a recent commercial. Similar to the Navy, they are clear about where gender does not and should not matter, but they are also uniquely willing to celebrate women's contributions and progress, especially by recognizing female firsts and celebrating Women's History Month. The branch does use personal stories as often as the Navy on their recruit channel, but they do raise many of the same themes, like 'remarking on women's progress in the military'. They have a promotional, branch-pride type of video devoted to a celebration of "Breaking Barriers", about diversity and innovation more generally, which has similar undertones as 'appealing to defiance', though simply casting women as competent and celebrated is overwhelmingly more common when gender is mentioned at all.

That the Navy and Air Force are bold in communicating how 'women do it just as well' and, therefore, are seen as equal team members is a logical, research-backed appeal, as a German study finds women's perceptions of gender equality in the workplace is a key determinate in their willingness to join the military (Graf & Kuemmel, 2021). Graf and Kuemmel call it the "Achilles' heel" of recruiting women, noting that there is a historical reputation to overcome before this appeal can be fully effective. Aggressively pushing the narrative of gender equality in the armed forces can result in a less common type of backlash where the branch is criticized as disingenuous or misleading (see Figure 8). As I have argued elsewhere, there is good reason to believe that the branches vary in their willingness to portray a more gender-inclusive force in their ads due to different pressures and expectations from the public about where servicewomen belong, especially as it relates to ground combat. I will elaborate on what these pressures and expectations look like by analyzing the key findings from the audience interactions with the videos.

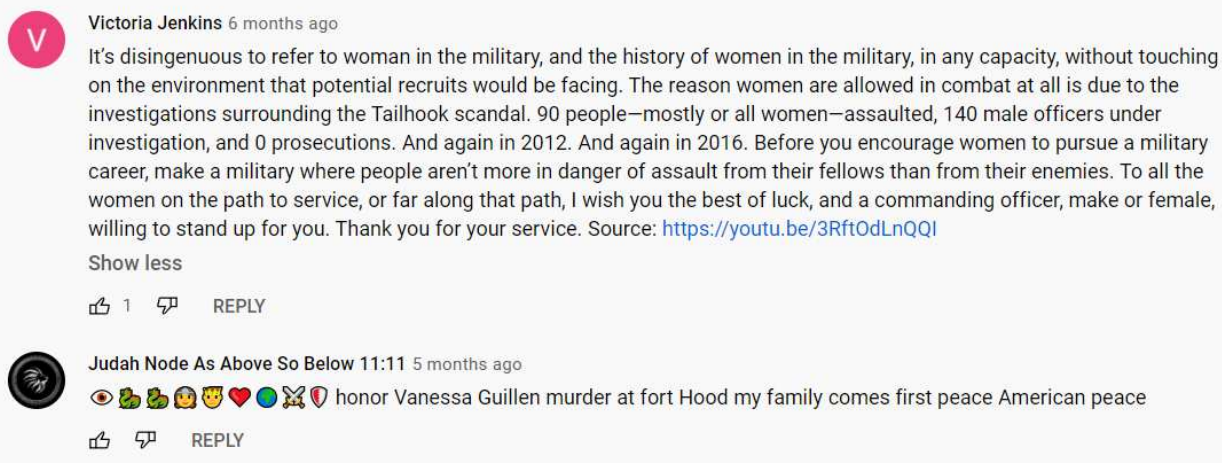


Figure 8. Under an Air Force video celebrating Women’s History month, two viewers react against the disparity between the military’s historic reputation with women and the image of gender equality presented in advertising. They cite scandals from the Navy and Army about how servicewomen were targets of violence by their male counterparts.

Audience Interaction

Viewers can interact leave impressionable reactions on uploaded videos in four ways: viewing to add to the view count, liking or disliking the video itself, leaving a comment, or liking or disliking existing comments. I looked at all four of these interactions in my analysis, but the comment section revealed the most about viewer attitudes and reactions to militarized femininity.

Backlash v. Support

The term “mixed bag” would be appropriate to describe the actual content of most of the ads, public and recruit-based, although backlash was undoubtedly more common. At least twice as many comments related to women’s representation were negative, and they received many more likes. Where there was support and praise for how women were shown as capable, equal team members, there was nearly always backlash of some form against the same content. Figure 9 exemplifies the conflicting responses.

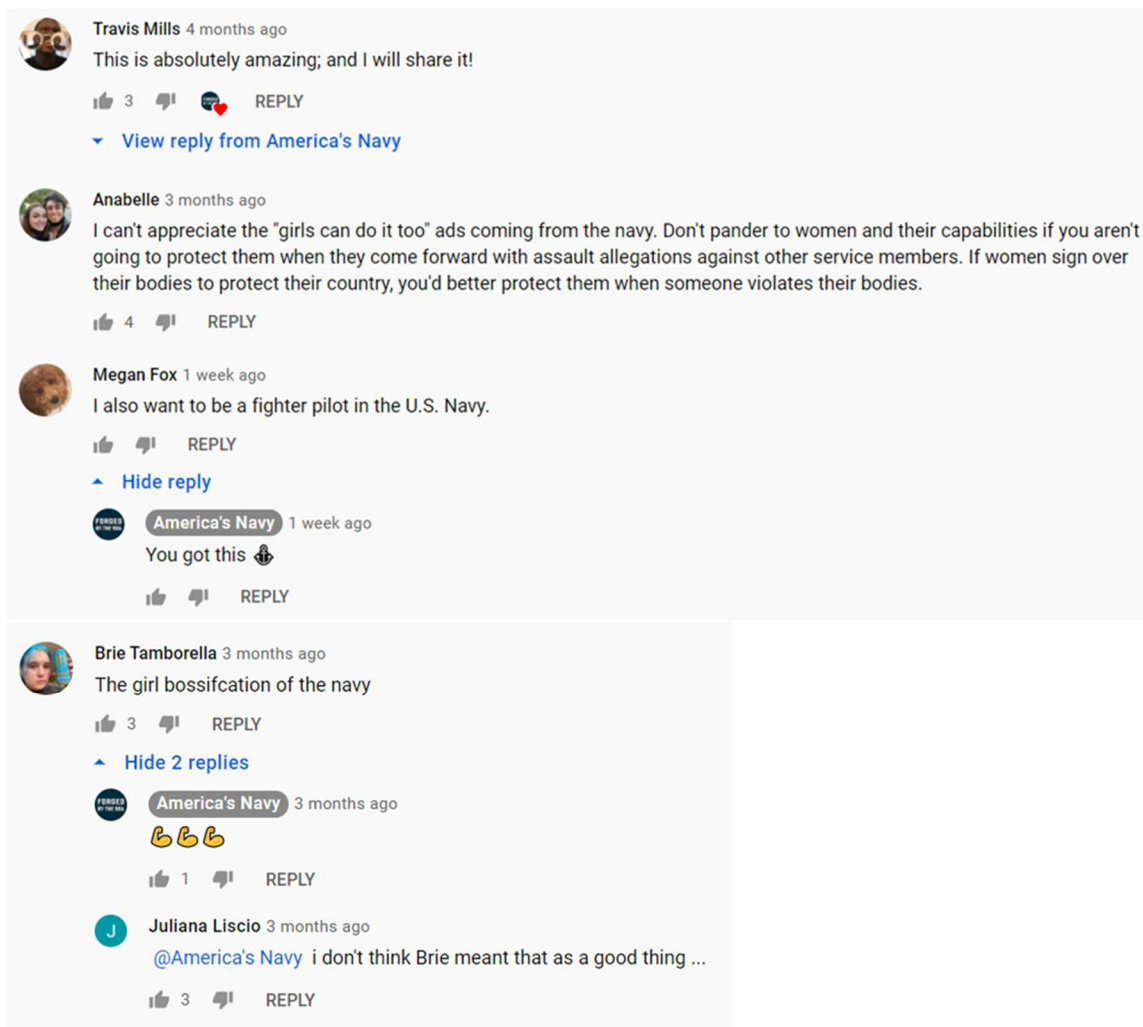


Figure 9. The top comments under one of the videos in the Navy’s “Make Your Name” series exemplify the diverse range of support and rejection in the comment section.

The sentiments of the supporters were mostly the same. Many say they are happy to see women represented, others call it “inspiring”, especially young girls saying they want to be like the servicewomen in the videos. At least one male veteran remarks positively on his experience serving alongside women.

The content of the backlash varied in terms of what exactly the commenter was disparaging. Most took issue with “wokeness”, referring to explicit appeals to diversity, while others expressed their disagreement with women in combat in general. A handful was just sexist or objectifying and made jokes about women or comments on their attractiveness. An even

smaller number, as mentioned above in Figure 8, reacted against unrealistic portrayals of equality.

“Woke” was employed as a criticism much like the way “political correctness” has been employed as a “fighting word” (Stade, 2017). Stade (2017) defines political correctness as referring to “an oversensitive reaction to perceived discrimination”, and I think wokeness can be construed along similar lines. Critics of “woke” content, by their own accounts, do not think women and minorities should be highlighted because it makes us “weak” and is an unnecessary departure from the focus on military strength (a rationale directly reminiscent of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”). They are suspicious of woke content advancing some hidden agenda (they often call it “propaganda”) rather than celebrating how it addresses historic patterns of discrimination. To my knowledge, there is no research on how the social life of the concept of political correctness connects to the concept of wokeness, but the parallels are evident here (p. 109).

Though no branch was safe from the backlash, most of the comments about women not belonging at all were confined to the Army and Marine Corps ads. This makes sense as these branches are primarily responsible for ground combat, the sphere of gender integration that has received the most pushback. The majority of the backlash, in general, was overwhelmingly directed at the Army, however, because of one particular ad featuring strong LGBT representation.

“The Calling” and LGBT Representation. There were only two videos that I could find where LGBT servicemembers were represented. One is a “Faces of the Fleet” story where a female engineman in the Navy mostly talks about her job, but she is also seen laughing and hanging out with her wife and son. There was some support for the LGBT representation in the

comments, but there were also some negative comments like one disparaging “woke rainbow crap”. That backlash, however, paled in comparison to the reaction against the Army’s story about a female soldier raised by a lesbian couple. An excerpt from the beginning of the ad and a few pictures are shown below (Figure 10):

This is the story of a Soldier who operates your nation’s Patriot Missile Defense Systems.
It begins in California,
with a little girl raised by two moms.
Although I had a fairly typical childhood,
took ballet, played violin,
I also marched for equality.
I like to think I’ve been defending freedom from an early age.
When I was six years old, one of my moms had an accident that left her paralyzed.
Doctors said she might never walk again.
But she tapped into my family’s pride to get back on her feet.
Eventually standing at the altar to marry my other mom...



Figure 10. The snapshots accompany the transcript of “The Calling – Emma” shown above. The ad goes on to tell how Emma was inspired by the strength of the women around her to join the Army (see Appendix D, Army, 2020).

This video was posted on May 4, 2021, as one of five in a series where real soldiers tell their personal stories about how they decided to join the Army. News reports say that the comments were turned off soon after posting due to hateful backlash. Around two weeks later, Texas Senator Ted Cruz retweeted a video comparing this ad to a Russian military ad and included his own opinion (Figure 11):



Figure 11. Ted Cruz’s tweet about Emma and an “emasculated” military.

I did not conduct an analysis on social media to find out the exact effect of the tweet, but I did find backlash in the comment section of other ads on other branches’ channels for videos old and new were littered with similar references to “Emma”, “The Calling”, “two moms”, Russian and Chinese superiority, and “woke” military and “propaganda” (see Figure 12 showing “Emma” backlash on an older Marine ad).

The only real difference in how this ad presents servicewomen (Emma) compared to other ads in the public and recruit samples is that “strong women” and marriage equality for all sexual orientations serve to motivate military service. Yet, Cruz’s critique of an “emasculated” force is not focused on other ads where servicewomen are more widely represented. The fact that a positive portrayal of the LGBT community is the tipping point for unleashing criticism on the military as a whole for becoming more feminine and less masculine is not surprising given the

fact that maintenance of hegemonic masculinity rests in part on policing transgression of the heteronormative order (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Jenness, Sexton, & Sumner, 2019). If the popularity of servicewomen in advertisements compared to lack of representation of LGBT servicemembers is any indication, it appears to be more socially acceptable to criticize the latter than the former. By reserving heavy criticism for an ad that is associated as both feminine *and* gay, it is as though the audience is drawing a firm boundary on the acceptable degree of deviance from the present gendered order (see Figure 12).

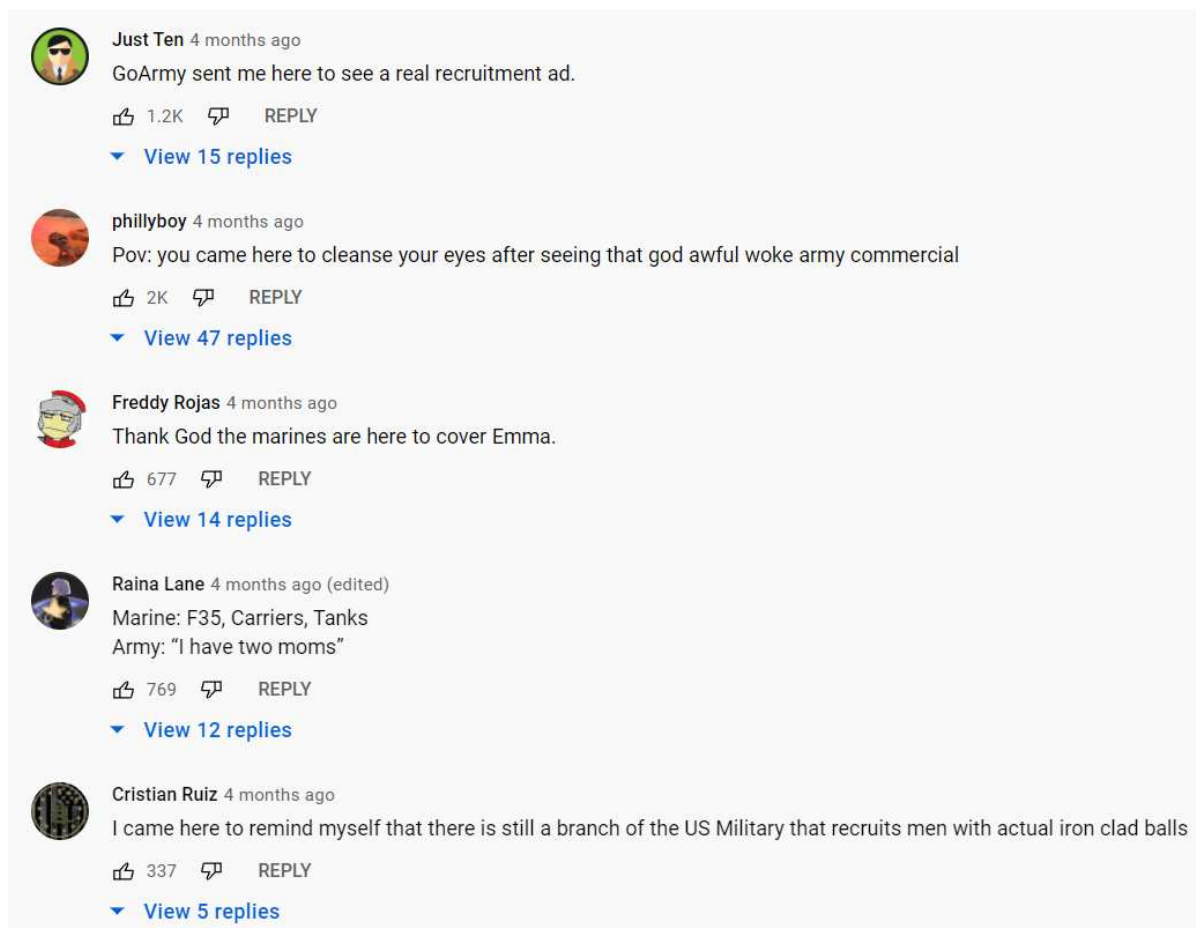


Figure 12. The first five comments of a few hundred reacting against “Emma” by expressing their support for the Marine Corps.

The Army’s “Emma” video touched a nerve amongst a particular audience. Beyond the fact that most of those viewers making these comments are male, their demographic make-up is

not clear. The reiteration of the Republican senator Cruz’s sentiments leads me to think that it must be a similarly conservative crowd. This would also explain the resistance to positive representation of gay marriage. Almost none of the comments actually cite gay marriage as the reason for their resistance, but it is glaringly obvious that none of the other videos in “The Calling” series receive overwhelming criticism for being “woke”.

The backlash against “Emma” was simultaneously used to express support for “gender doesn’t matter” messages communicated by other branches, not just the Marine Corps. For instance, when the Air Force Chief of Staff starred in an ad highlighting how the enemy does not care about race, ethnicity, or gender, the commentators expressed praise for the message and dislike for “Emma” at the same time (see Figure 13):

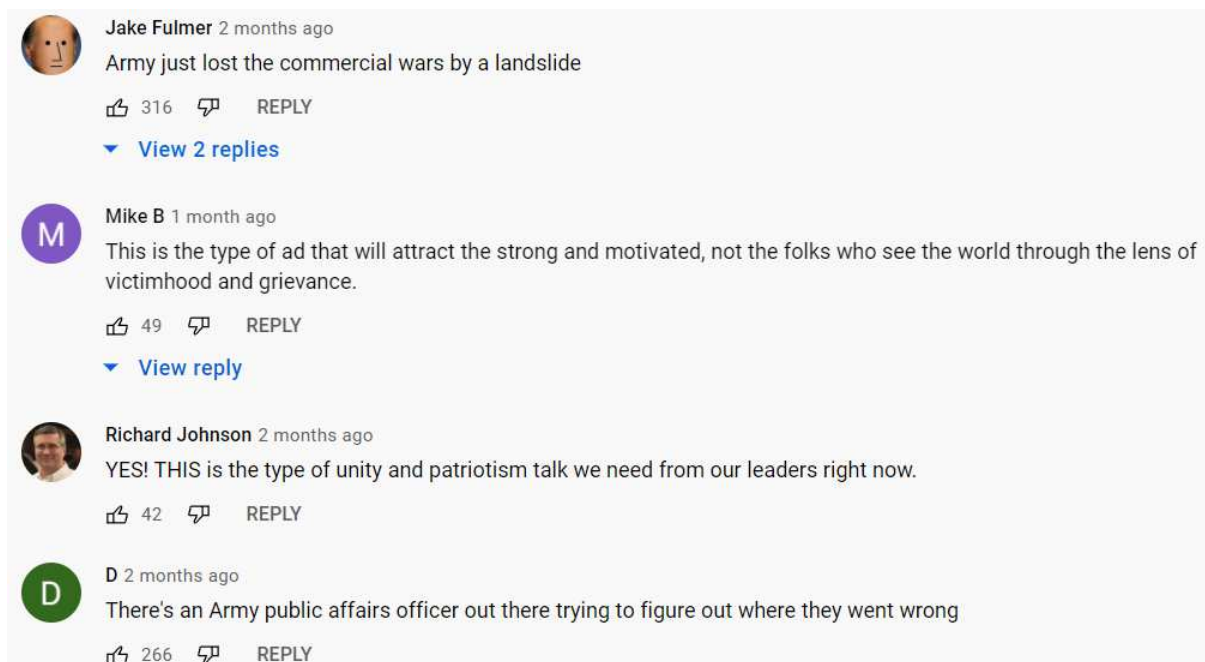


Figure 13. Comments under the Air Force’s “General Brown” commercial disparaging Emma to express their support.

Though exact sentiments vary with regard to the comments against “Emma”, there appear to be two unifying themes: The backlashers either want to see a more “masculine” military and,

consequently, praise ads with men and violence, or they are okay with diversity in pursuit of strong national defense but do not want to focus on it. There is often a blend of these attitudes.

White Supremacist References. A handful of the comments draw from ideas associated with white supremacist groups. Contemporary ideology tends to hold to a somewhat complicated view that an evil group of Jews, aided by feminists and others, are pulling the strings of geopolitics – hence the numerous references to Israel in figures 14 and 15 (McDermott & Samson, 2005, p. 10). The feminists are seen as out of line for how they disrupt the “natural order,” or the white supremacist, patriarchal world view (see Figure 16).



Figure 14. A comment on the Air Force’s “Origin Story” ad featuring all female pilots.

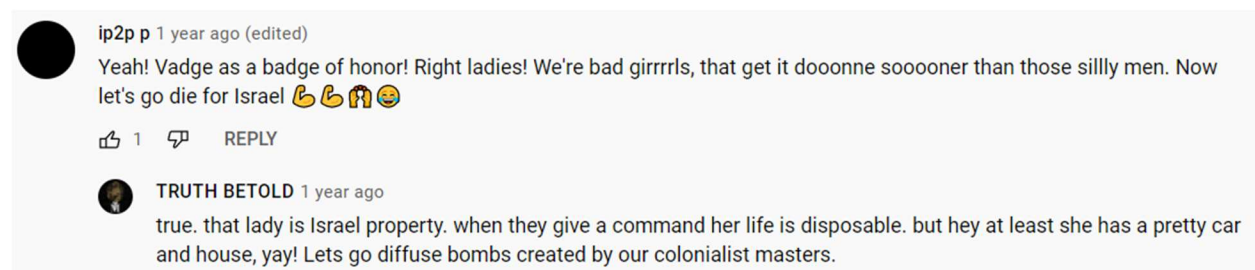


Figure 15. Comments on the Navy’s story about a female EOD technician.



Figure 16. A comment on “Battle Up”, an ad starring a female Marine.

The presence of such comments on military recruiting ads is not particularly surprising given the shared general favor of masculinity and use of force between pro-military and white supremacist audiences. Comments with white supremacist ideology do not seem to get an overwhelming number of likes, but, notably, many of the sexist, anti-feminist attitudes they

feature are shared by the more run-of-the-mill backlashers. It would be a stretch to say that this vocal minority poses a strong threat to military recruiting interests, but their visible presence does make it clear that recruiters must contend with potentially extremist ideology in the target audience.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Modern Militarized Femininity

The active-duty servicewoman in recruiting ads after integration into ground combat is not presented the same way in every branch. She is an expected presence in general Air Force or Army ads, but she may be excluded in a Marine commercial. If she is present, she will be shown as a Marine first, barely differentiated from her male counterparts, and capable of leadership and physical performance in what is still a masculine arena. Here as in the Army, she and her predecessors will not be recognized for their unique, historic accomplishments as they are in the Air Force in the Navy. Similarly, women soldiers and Marines will not be shown sporting earrings, nail polish, or female uniform options like airmen and sailors do. Occasionally, a servicewoman will hold or operate a gun with dirt on her hands and face, but she is far more likely to fill a support role, albeit competently. There is little to no recognition for the inroads she has made on the ground compared to her progress in the air and at sea. The highest ranks of senior leadership and the training cadre positions for the lowest new recruits are still predominantly held by white men across all branches. She is likely white, though the representation of servicewomen of color (who are not clearly Asian or Hispanic) does cast a vision for her future which is more racially diverse than present demographics suggest.

This covers the array of (four) options for performing militarized femininity from which a recruit can choose. To the extent that ads are widely circulated, the general public can see her choices and express approval or rejection for them, too.

For the most part, these findings of the enduring differences in the gendered content of recruiting ads between the American service branches are consistent with Brown's work (2012a, 2012b). The Marines have always been the most stereotypically masculine, and this is what I found. A lack of representation for servicewomen of color strongly persists in this branch, though more recent ads in the sample appear to suggest recent change efforts. The Army has been constrained by large manpower needs to attract the most possible recruits, and recent willingness to try and appeal to more progressive attitudes towards sexual orientation reflect their strategy to tap into growing urban populations and the younger generation (Myers, 2018). The Air Force, as a newer, more technologically inclined branch, was poised from the start to cast itself as more innovative and progressive, and it has done just that – matching, but not far exceeding, the pace of popular opinions on gender and race in their advertisements. The Navy had a reputation of masculine sailor culture to contend with, and while some vestiges remain, they have largely rebranded as a service branch that empowers and supports women who break barriers (though not in the public ads or as Navy SEALs). Perhaps this comes as part of an effort to distance themselves from past scandals like Talihook,¹³ though each branch faces similar pressures to combat the stigma of military sexual violence towards servicewomen.

¹³ The Talihook Scandal took place in 1991 at a convention of Naval and Marine officers. Allegations of dozens of incidents of sexual assault were raised but never prosecuted.

Recruiting Climate

The content of the comment section makes it abundantly clear that pressures to present women as competent, included, and respected are not the only pressure the services face in their recruiting efforts. Public attitudes are divided and vary widely about the extent to which women should be included in the military and in ground combat, about how far away from the present social order our military ought to venture, and about when and where gender and other individual differences should “matter” or be celebrated.

The backlash can be conceived of by various theoretical explanations (e.g. an evolution of the “political correctness” concept), but the framework of individual resistance to gender equality work by an organization captures it best. Alvinus and Holmberg (2021) study this phenomenon in the Swedish military by identifying recurring themes in anonymous defense-related blog posts. Their findings of patterns of blaming the “feminized” organization, shaming servicewomen and their ability to serve, and at times resorting to aggressive, threatening language are consistent with the findings of my own analysis. They describe online communities where individual resistance accumulates and gain momentum as “shadow structures”, possessing a force of their own with which the organization might have to contend if it becomes powerful enough (p. 3). The commentators on YouTube ads in my analysis are not all members of the military organization, but it is not much of a stretch to conceive of the vocal dialogue between

the commenters as an independent force with the strength to influence other viewers and further ‘diffuse’ concepts like “wokeness” (Stade, 2017).¹⁴

The “Emma” backlash is one case in point where a large group of resistant individuals gained a powerful presence of their own. Based on the sheer bulk of the commentors and the number of likes they received, the resistance far exceeded the size of the typical “vocal minority”. This is noteworthy for studying the image of militarized femininity projected to the public because, in the social media environment, the strong backlash is presented right alongside the content.¹⁵ If public opinion vehemently undermines the organizational message, the message itself appears out of touch, unrealistic, or untrustworthy rather than legitimate and endorsed by peers. Endorsement is proven under certain conditions to have a considerable impact on willingness to support a social object (e.g. militarized femininity: Johnson, Dowd, & Ridgeway, 2006). Future research would be needed to confirm how this would impact recruit expectations and impressions, but viewers might be less inclined to support the vision cast by the advertisement with strong resistance in the comment section as a competing force. From a standpoint of interest in creating a national security force that is more representative of the population, it is practically important to understand how online resistance may create obstacles to organizational change efforts.

¹⁴ Other channels such as “Jameson’s Travels”, where a former Marine shares his opinions on recent changes in the US military, are YouTube channels where those who disagree with progressive changes find an outlet, leader, and sounding board (Jameson, 2019).

¹⁵ The ability to leave comments on “The Calling” ads and other ads on the Army channel was disabled. Viewers still expressed their disapproval with the like/dislike function, and they expressed their disapproval for shutting down the comments on other videos. (The dislike button count was later removed across YouTube as a whole.)

I anticipate this will become even more important to study if recent changes to be more inclusive of transgender servicemembers gain organizational support, especially given the resistance towards lesbian representation already observed. Furthermore, efforts to shake up the demographics and capabilities of the force are already afoot across branches as the nation shifts away from the global war on terror. Recent forums within the Special Operations community suggest a change in aesthetic, namely the “burly, bearded” operators of whom YouTube audiences are specifically defensive (Myers, 2021). Gender scholars, as well as researchers concerned with organizational culture change, should pay careful attention to how popular audiences respond to further efforts towards the ‘feminization’ of one of the remaining strongholds of military masculinity.¹⁶

Beyond the implications for military recruiting itself and for studying advertising on social media, the range of reactions to the YouTube content provides ample opportunity for future research at the intersection of political attitudes and online forums. Many of the comments reference partisan rhetoric and link to other heavily partisan-affiliated (mostly conservative) YouTube channels which are beyond the scope of my focus on femininity. Within the ads themselves, the construction of militarized masculinity was also beyond my research scope but equally important. To build on Brown’s (2012b) extensive research on this topic into the early 2000s, more study along the lines of the current analysis is needed to understand how the

¹⁶ I do not necessarily mean that all change efforts will be designed to be more “feminine” or female inclusive; rather, I am implying that history has shown departure from the hetero-masculine normative order tends to be perceived as “feminization”.

presentation of the idealized male servicemember may have changed or remained the same as his female counterpart has taken on a larger presence in the armed forces.

Conclusion

Through a mostly qualitative content analysis of YouTube recruiting advertisements, this study provides a thorough look into the construction of militarized femininity after women were officially allowed into ground combat. It covers all of the available content which could be considered a commercial for active-duty service between January 2017 and September 2021. Although it is limited to one platform and cannot capture every video which may serve some advertising purpose, it also takes a closer look at the recruit-specific content on each branch's channel to assess presentations of femininity for more interested audiences. The findings support and elaborate on previous studies which show that militarized gender expressions (masculinities and femininities in the military context) differ across branches and careers. As expected, progress towards a more normalized, militarized femininity, does not far outpace the actual progress women have made, nor does it always match it. In the arena of ground combat, in particular, women's presence is recognized in only about half of the Marine ads produced for public viewing. Where explicit recognition of servicewomen's progress does exist, it is found mostly in the free-standing videos for the Navy and Air Force, which are not as widely publicized. Representation of women in recruiting content does get some support from YouTube viewers in the comment section, but it is more often accompanied by backlash. Resisters speak loudly against the "woke", "weak", "emasculated" faces of the military, especially where femininity and homosexuality intersect. The backlash goes to show that while the pressures of public attitudes and expectations vary for each branch, they are all treading fine lines concerning

how they portray women as valued, competent team members while maintaining that gender does not take precedence over mission focus.

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APPENDIX A

PUBLIC SAMPLE OBSERVATION SCHEME

Ad Details

Title: _____

Channel Posting: _____

Date posted: _____

Branch: _____

Length: _____

Music/sound effects (describe): _____

Voiceover (gender/details of speaker or speakers): _____

Brief summary: _____

Describe the setting(s) (indoor/outdoor, training environment/combat, well-lit/dark, etc.):

Trait Descriptors

If the actors are described specifically, what language/descriptors are used?

Physical Characteristics

Dress/uniform of actors: _____

Actors' gender identities and racial/ethnic identities (count m/f/can't identify;
black/white/Hispanic/Asian/mixed/can't identify; distinguish main from cameo roles):

Cosmetics/jewelry/hair (none/camo/makeup): _____

Other traits (above average fitness, tattoos, etc.): _____

Role Behavior

Relation of actors to/operation of weaponry: _____

Who are the actors cast as team members? (small group dynamics): _____

As subordinates? : _____

As leaders? : _____

(Specify which behaviors signal the above roles)

Emotional expression: _____

Status (occupational/achieved)

Ranks: _____

Jobs: _____

Relation to technology or research: _____

Interactions

Views: _____

Comments: _____

Additional Notes

Text under title:

APPENDIX B

RECRUIT SAMPLE OBSERVATION SCHEME

Ad Details

Title: _____

Date posted: _____

Branch: _____

Length: _____

Type of video (interview, internet guest, etc.): _____

Music/sound effects (describe): _____

Voiceover (gender/details of speaker or speakers): _____

Brief summary: _____

Describe the setting(s) (indoor/outdoor, training environment/combat, well-lit/dark, etc.): _____

Trait Descriptors

If the actors are described specifically, what language/descriptors are used? _____

Physical Characteristics

Dress/uniform of actors: _____

Actors' gender identities and racial/ethnic identities (count m/f/can't identify;
black/white/Hispanic/Asian/mixed/can't identify; distinguish main from cameo roles): _____

Cosmetics/jewelry/hair (none/camo/makeup): _____

Other traits (above average fitness, tattoos, etc.): _____

Role Behavior

Relation of actors to/operation of weaponry: _____

How are the actors cast as team members? (small group dynamics): _____

As subordinates? As leaders? _____

Emotional expression: _____

Status (occupational/achieved)

Ranks: _____

Jobs: _____

Relation to technology or research: _____

Interactions

Views: _____

Comments: _____

Additional Notes

Text under title: _____

Specific messages about diversity? (include quotes): _____

APPENDIX C

PUBLIC VIDEO INFORMATION

*listed in no particular order

Title	Branch	Date Posted	Link
U.S. Army Commercial: Respect	Army	8 May 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zvql-ckI920&list=PLb42DHBijGsQotFfkrwkY6BjhgeFr8gO_&index=2
U.S. Army Commercial: Loyalty	Army	8 May 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IT0Et78dV7w&list=PLb42DHBijGsQotFfkrwkY6BjhgeFr8gO_&index=3
What's Your Warrior? Join Forces GOARMY Commercial	Army	9 Nov 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7TprgnuYfyQ&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=1
What's Your Warrior Dominate GOARMY Commercial	Army	12 Nov 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H6IwwvUSy-c&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=3
What's Your Warrior Explore GOARMY Commercial	Army	13 Nov 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HqekmfW53YM&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=5
What's Your Warrior Calculate GOARMY Commercial	Army	13 Nov 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z2qoKI0Hzec&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=6
What's Your Warrior Achieve GOARMY Commercial	Army	14 Nov 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Alh-z9w6rA4&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=9
What's Your Warrior Predict GOARMY Commercial	Army	14 Nov 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UrqW_FI8UcI&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=10
What's Your Warrior HISTORY NEEDS SOMEONE TO MAKE IT GOARMY	Army	16 Dec 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JhhY_zXwnwc&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=12

What's Your Warrior WHO WILL BUILD TOMORROW? GOARMY	Army	17 Dec 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7fiManEc2Tk&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=13
What's Your Warrior TURNING TALENT INTO EXPERTISE GOARMY	Army	23 Dec 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TVpkSnP6mjU&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=24
What's Your Warrior YOUR EPIC JOURNEY STARTS HERE GOARMY	Army	28 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JueQR0uBHTk&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=27
What's Your Warrior YOUR FUTURE IS AT YOUR COMMAND GOARMY	Army	25 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lz_ak7AVYkg&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=28
What's Your Warrior THE THUNDER MAKER GOARMY	Army	18 Dec 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cfq3aWVAK6c&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=15
What's Your Warrior THE CODE FIGHTER GOARMY	Army	22 Dec 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rgNACkYY_ag&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=23
What's Your Warrior THE UPPER HAND GOARMY	Army	23 Dec 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V-w2i_Ka78M&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=14
What's Your Warrior THE WAVELENGTH GOARMY	Army	8 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a2rNF15l_ks&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=21
What's Your Warrior THE NERVE CENTER GOARMY	Army	30 Dec 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KaRLA1YzgU4&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=19
What's Your Warrior THE VIRUS HUNTER GOARMY	Army	4 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NqkPvxBlpw&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=22
What's Your Warrior THE REPLENISHER GOARMY	Army	5 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h34RuWOscac&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=18
What's Your Warrior THE FORCE MULTIPLIER GOARMY	Army	6 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Sq1VpeWF88&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=16
What's Your Warrior THE GROUND	Army	28 Dec 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4huCUzhrGn4&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSkaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=17

BREAKER GOARMY			
What's Your Warrior THE DRAGON TAMER GOARMY	Army	11 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=akP0peJwNPY&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILToSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=20
What's Your Warrior THE CHAMELEON GOARMY	Army	26 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pIU1WRIZDzc&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILToSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=26
What's Your Warrior THE SHARPENED STEEL GOARMY	Army	31 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GpDlV6HNL7A&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoILT0oSKaSb3cEavG9ZeXcw&index=25
Test – Extended Cut	Navy	14 Mar 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5IfxpQuWRlg&list=PLQuxdMZF513Au-0WxMUPJGA1YR9xQgF2&index=3
Game – Extended Cut	Navy	25 Jul 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0YsfLMhG4cE&list=PLQuxdMZF513Au-0WxMUPJGA1YR9xQgF2&index=7
Audition – Extended Cut	Navy	14 Mar 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vIYJaoXNANg&list=PLQuxdMZF513Au-0WxMUPJGA1YR9xQgF2&index=4
Sea to Stars – Extended Cut	Navy	9 Apr 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nni27PzHV00&list=PLQuxdMZF513Au-0WxMUPJGA1YR9xQgF2&index=1
Any Given Battle: This is Our Pregame	Marine Corps	2 Feb 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BRMaL2KzM2c&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=2
Any Given Battle: This Is Our Halftime	Marine Corps	8 Feb 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UciPIUsmhzU&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=3
Any Given Battle: This Is Our Interception	Marine Corps	8 Feb 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=frq0_o21Yoo&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=4
Any Given Battle: This Is Our Red Zone	Marine Corps	8 Feb 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aX_nmN2RI6U&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=5
Any Given Battle: This Is Our MVP	Marine Corps	9 Feb 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TPhrEiC5hV4&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=6
Any Given Battle: This Is Our Uniform	Marine Corps	8 Feb 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZqbArr8dc&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=7
Any Given Battle: This Is Our Line Of Scrimmage	Marine Corps	8 Feb 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kzPaF93YK5k&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=8

U.S. Marine Corps Commercial: Anthem: 72 (Public Service Announcement)	Marine Corps	28 Mar 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8q5R8cNbYJQ&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=9
U.S. Marine Corps Commercial: A Nation's Call (Extended Cut)	Marine Corps	2 Feb 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wMqmP5C5WHI&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=1
U.S. Marine Corps Commercial: Battle Up: 60	Marine Corps	12 May 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yotXRoLxFdY&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=12
Battles Won: Marines Fight and Win	Marine Corps	17 Mar 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2HLbdkWxe58&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=15
Battle to Belong: U.S. Marine Corps Commercial	Marine Corps	17 Sep 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bCjEV75F2tM&list=PLb42DHBijGsQ2rNfQT3wv0cTvOLUBH1LI&index=13
U.S. Air Force: Future: 30 Commercial	Air Force	13 Jun 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tm4e86NVP1o&list=PLb42DHBijGsSFO1KD6NhH0wDm60tf2Qha&index=1
U.S. Air Force 2018: Letter To A Young Recruit	Air Force	14 Feb 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dO3Szuh-eYY&list=PLb42DHBijGsSFO1KD6NhH0wDm60tf2Qha&index=2
U.S. Air Force Special Warfare: Join the Fight Commercial:30	Air Force	5 Jan 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W0l1TZGA804&list=PLb42DHBijGsSFO1KD6NhH0wDm60tf2Qha&index=3
U.S. Air Force Special Warfare: Calm and the Storm Commercial:60	Air Force	5 Jan 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4oFL1VKPLmI&list=PLb42DHBijGsSFO1KD6NhH0wDm60tf2Qha&index=4
U.S. Air Force: Officer Alma Maters – Women:30 Commercial	Air Force	9 Sep 2016	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TOYK3O4Ixx4&list=PLb42DHBijGsSFO1KD6NhH0wDm60tf2Qha&index=6
U.S. Air Force: Officer Alma Maters:30 Commercial	Air Force	30 Aug 2016	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CbvWCRhg3j0&list=PLb42DHBijGsSFO1KD6NhH0wDm60tf2Qha&index=7
U.S. Air Force: General Brown Commercial:30	Air Force	17 Jul 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SaJN2e3-Utc&list=PLb42DHBijGsSFO1KD6NhH0wDm60tf2Qha&index=9

APPENDIX D

RECRUIT VIDEO INFORMATION

*listed in no particular order

Title	Branch	Date Posted	Link
Straight From Basic Training - Episode 7	Army	21 Apr 2010	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G8msV_am6P8&list=PLE327343E1D76EF24&index=6&t=20s
Is basic training the same from male and females?	Army	16 Jan 2012	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WSNEd50ZKSc&list=PLE327343E1D76EF24&index=20
U.S. Army Cyber Command Course: Defending a New Battlefield	Army	30 Oct 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p0Tf4kaT-tY&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoLb_7qhkh-DbASOaLa9fh5r&index=15
U.S. Army College Leadership Tour	Army	23 May 2016	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7zBcihTnlBw&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoLb_7qhkh-DbASOaLa9fh5r&index=24
Road To Becoming a 66 Hotel, Critical Care Nurse	Army	10 May 2016	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SKtVlwEkWsQ&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoLb_7qhkh-DbASOaLa9fh5r&index=28
Road To Becoming a 31 Bravo, Military Police	Army	5 May 2016	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GX3_cRkbdWQ&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoLb_7qhkh-DbASOaLa9fh5r&index=29
Earn the Tab Preview	Army	27 Nov 2012	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lxj8iV-ScKM&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoJft-lrlW1q0A-2hpIwIXM4&index=1
EARN THE TAB - President's Hundred	Army	27 Nov 2012	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gk5NsXx9YBI&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoJft-lrlW1q0A-2hpIwIXM4&index=7
Internal Medicine Physician Major Nouansy Wilton, M.D.	Army	29 Jun 2011	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RrHMIqfvFCw&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoJ2yQiBFVUxu4MAn2u26179&index=23&t=13s
Soldiers' Advice to Their Younger Selves	Army	1 Jan 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MYPYu7xQzCc&list=PL197D440813094683&index=7&t=5s

Army Alaska Adventures GOARMY	Army	10 May 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s5mEx2CeMhI&list=PLb42DHBijGsQVMC Bztp7tcKCfHyiUrdb&index=10
Building Physical and Mental Strength in the BOSS Program GOARMY	Army	1 Apr 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X-962CBjjq4&list=PLb42DHBijGsQVMC Bztp7tcKCfHyiUrdb&index=11
How to Gain Confidence in the Army GOARMY	Army	3 Mar 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bMZ_hABdwKU&list=PLb42DHBijGsQVM CBztp7tcKCfHyiUrdb&index=12
Army Captain Discusses Journey to Infantry Career	Army	13 Aug 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAVFy7OWK78&list=PLb42DHBijGsQVM CBztp7tcKCfHyiUrdb&index=13
The Calling (Playlist)	Army	4 May 2021	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLNXKHTQhFUoL6G4rzv16uI9G3JakhTxiv
WARRIOR WEEKS The Sharpened Steel GOARMY	Army	26 Mar 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lahYTlcsQKw&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoIYnQ_Q51MzzdfYVFaqXsXM&index=4
WARRIOR WEEKS The Nerve Center GOARMY	Army	12 Mar 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JfshagOVcuc&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoIYnQ_Q51MzzdfYVFaqXsXM&index=6
WARRIOR WEEKS The Wavelength GOARMY	Army	29 Jan 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cYBF5ij7MkY&list=PLNXKHTQhFUoIYnQ_Q51MzzdfYVFaqXsXM&index=12
America's Navy - Female Leadership (Playlist)	Navy	26 Nov 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DGdFwZVfzT4&list=PLQuxdMZFa513K88M36p5VmpRy68JrUPrD
Navy Women	Navy	18 Aug 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yU6HMo0hcvA&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=1&t=14s
#AskASailor -- Advice for Women	Navy	19 Mar 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ziLFT4FFTKk&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=9
Navy Women Redefined – Running Out of Firsts	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XtBM8XW5XiQ&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=28
Navy Women Redefined – Miranda Ayers	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1p mx405AHc&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=29
Navy Women Redefined – Transformation	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z7P1T3Zapwg&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=31
Navy Women Redefined – Unconventional Roles	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sb9ctuHJZE&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=34

Navy Women Redefined – Off Duty	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=whRX41DhXUA&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=39
Navy Women Redefined – Kim Pressley	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPeROdQ04qQ&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=41
Navy Women Redefined – Being Feminine	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8lqOY5Z3Uv4&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=42
Navy Women Redefined – Kenessa Galloway	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wmZoOGZ9bmM&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=45
Navy Women Redefined – Professionalism	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=biPwypjv1_w&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=46
#AskASailor -- Women Considering Joining the Navy	Navy	29 Sep 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d3X8lR5rOP4&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=48
Aviation Rescue Swimmer - Melissa A. Dixon	Navy	1 Feb 2012	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XWV477zH-uc&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=82
EOD Women	Navy	7 Aug 2013	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ptexjZA-Ypo&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=88
EOD Women Tough	Navy	7 Aug 2013	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_8qDcP4U_OA&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=89
women (re)defined	Navy	5 Aug 2009	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F0DBqz07yg4&list=PLF4E2295885A4C5EE&index=116
Ep. 19: Patch Wearers: The Real TOPGUN	Navy	23 June 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00aHvkKj7Bs&list=PLQuxdMZFa511Np5TpZLn4iB58srft0Hjx&index=6&t=393s
Ep. 18: Homecoming: Nehkonti Adams	Navy	6 Apr 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-sAdYz5dEeM&list=PLQuxdMZFa511Np5TpZLn4iB58srft0Hjx&index=7
Ep. 15: The Wallflower: Rachel Higuera	Navy	30 Oct 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DezlIUea-Ls&list=PLQuxdMZFa511Np5TpZLn4iB58srft0Hjx&index=10
Ep. 14: Stuntwoman: Brie Coger	Navy	9 Sep 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TPVm_8wr45Q&list=PLQuxdMZFa511Np5TpZLn4iB58srft0Hjx&index=11

Ep. 09: Selfless: Natalie Tardif	Navy	7 Nov 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jzbFM8EAA4E&list=PLQuxdMZF5a11Np5TpZLn4iB58srft0Hjx&index=16
Ep. 08: Lifeline: Ashley Flynn	Navy	28 Sep 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GcTaNmxy24&list=PLQuxdMZF5a11Np5TpZLn4iB58srft0Hjx&index=17
Ep. 03: Momma Bear: Cindy Huratiak	Navy	12 Mar 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ji8SIZ1cQuM&list=PLQuxdMZF5a11Np5TpZLn4iB58srft0Hjx&index=22
Ep. 02: Miss Congeniality: Kellie Hall	Navy	12 Feb 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VIJY6B1pXT0&list=PLQuxdMZF5a11Np5TpZLn4iB58srft0Hjx&index=23
Ep. 24: Snipe: Desirae Martinez	Navy	26 Aug 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Znnmz5iafOs&list=PLQuxdMZF5a11Np5TpZLn4iB58srft0Hjx&index=1
Make Your Name (Playlist)	Navy	24 Aug 2021	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLQuxdMZF5a11mtXmHudKh8BB-1AfjC4l
A Marine's Cut: Corporal Karissa Tanguay-Jones (A Nation's Call)	Marine Corps	5 Mar 2018	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VktXM5oLqMI&list=PLWpwWlwHUQMzC4l7D_Os-u2qlm8PEKI_y&index=2
Following the Eagle, Globe, and Anchor: The Legacy	Marine Corps	11 Jan 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mYNffSbklmQ&list=PLWpwWlwHUQMz5dbu1YabUMMPmOpwc1Q0H
A Look Inside Female Engagement Teams (FET)	Marine Corps	2 Mar 2012	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C3JfGOhiWak&list=PLWpwWlwHUQMz235cwjm1gyqQxy-9Wk8Ju
The Bond Between Marines	Marine Corps	8 Oct 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-nLnVdM1918&list=PLWpwWlwHUQMz235cwjm1gyqQxy-9Wk8Ju&index=10
Marines Take Down Somali Pirates	Marine Corps	26 Mar 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0T4TiAa2Ux8&list=PLb42DHBijGsSDMHrFcMcFBa5GS5uJk9d&index=3
United States Marine Corps: America's Few	Marine Corps	18 Sep 2009	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6xWA1rp50rs&list=PLb42DHBijGsSDMHrFcMcFBa5GS5uJk9d&index=8
Ask A Marine: Boot Camp Advice	Marine Corps	23 Jan 2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llBcnBoGVeU&list=PLb42DHBijGsSDMHrFcMcFBa5GS5uJk9d&index=4
244th Marine Corps Birthday Cadence	Marine Corps	10 Nov 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ycMT0l4dOiA&list=PLb42DHBijGsSDMHrFcMcFBa5GS5uJk9d&index=2
Officer Ranks in the Marine Corps	Marine Corps	16 Oct 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=edm mupCj4f8

U.S. Air Force: Born to Fly	Air Force	20 May 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_qViaoFdqNM&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=1
U.S. Air Force: Defenders	Air Force	11 Apr 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sq0OA0kk1z4&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=2
U.S. Air Force: Women's History Month	Air Force	19 Mar 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4UmEQ8Aw4qw&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=3
First Woman to Command LRAFB takes initial flight	Air Force	17 Jul 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nn8AFdUljag&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=4
U.S. Air Force: Female Pilot Call Signs	Air Force	6 Mar 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gvChkjGyP9k&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=5
U.S. Air Force: Origin Story	Air Force	28 Jun 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FwsdwvgxLpE&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=6
U.S. Air Force: The Enlisted	Air Force	30 Sep 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SFkxxKYrr4o&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=7
U.S. Air Force: Officer Training School (OTS) Overview	Air Force	29 Dec 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LAEqN3ky8Kk&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=8
U.S. Air Force: Security Forces—Training Pipeline	Air Force	16 May 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3TuqRIEfrZ8&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=9
U.S. Air Force: Capt Susan Finch, C-17 Pilot	Air Force	6 Dec 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NU_stjhrc_8&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=11
U.S. Air Force: An Idea That Matters	Air Force	19 Sep 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3e8YochGMQ&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=12
Women's Equality Day	Air Force	26 Aug 2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6JmD8N_KK3s&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=13
U.S. Air Force: Breaking Barriers	Air Force	2 Aug 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VsliFX5D-Jw&list=PLb42DHBijGsToawpIGQOA2fvBzTxipF3N&index=14
Air Force Special Warfare Training	Air Force	11 Dec 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8A4UQtDvbQE&list=PLjZy4fJwp5HADKKSJFMlcsjFf7S02bhg1&index=8
U.S. Air Force: Special Ops Challenge – Bethany Shadburne	Air Force	23 Jan 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iaLiTdsaChk&list=PLjZy4fJwp5HADKKSJFMlcsjFf7S02bhg1&index=23

U.S. Air Force: Combat Search and Rescue:30 Commercial	Air Force	18 Dec 2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yY2kdlk4zps&list=PLjZy4fJwp5HAdKKSJFMlcsjFf7S02bhg1&index=44
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