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The Mediated Veteran: How News Sources Narrate the Pain and Potential of Returning Soldiers

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The Mediated Veteran: How News Sources Narrate the Pain and Potential of Returning Soldiers

by

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Dedication

To my family for their support, and to all my veteran friends and colleagues for letting this civilian hang out with you.

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It is impossible to write a dissertation without help. So many different elements go into this type of project, it is hard to know just where or whom to begin thanking for all of the assistance. If I were to write down everyone who helped in this process, as well as my educational journey thus far, I am sure the acknowledgements would be far longer than the dissertation itself.

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The Mediated Veteran: How News Sources Narrate the Pain and Potential of Returning Soldiers

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Supervisor: Joshua Gunn

The "global war on terrorism" has pervaded the social scene following the attacks of September 11, 2001. Although the ripple effects of the wars are continuing to spread across the globe in the various political and foreign policy arenas, the aim of this study is to turn attention to the individuals who bore the battle, have returned home, and now face new challenges. The United States veteran population has experienced an unprecedented increase in numbers as a response to troop withdrawals in Iraq and Afghanistan. Although previous research has considered the potential difficulties veterans face when reintegrating into society, this study goes a step further and investigates how news media sources are called to participate in narrating veteran stories of war and specifically their stories documenting post-traumatic stress disorder.

Drawing on a variety of theoretical perspectives and utilizing a multi-methodological approach, this study seeks to answer four central questions: First, how and by what channels do sources enter the news media conversation to comment on the veteran experience? Second, are veterans the main sources narrating their experiences or do other individuals, groups, or organizations speak more often in the news media? Third, what stories circulated and gained traction by narrating the lived experiences of

veterans with PTSD? And fourth, what stories did veterans tell about their experiences, and what stories were told about veterans who suffer from PTSD?

This study is organized in two distinct parts. Part one employs a quantitative content indexing analysis of four veteran related news media events across various newspaper, broadcast television news, and cable television news outlets in order to determine how sources entered the news media landscape, and who the sources were. Part two turns to examine four dominant news narratives that emerged from the direct quotation and paraphrased remarks gathered from part one's analyzed news media texts. The study concludes by illustrating the powerful role news media sources play in the news, as well as the stories that emerge to define the lived experiences of veterans who suffer from PTSD.

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Prologue: My Veteran Stories

When people first learn of my research interests I am often asked a particular series of questions: Why do you study veterans? Are you a veteran yourself? How did you become interested in veterans? Why are you still writing about veterans? When I first began to encounter questions such as these, and an array of related others, I would do what humans naturally do: I respond by telling the following story.

While taking courses in my Masters degree program at the University of North Texas, I enrolled in a course called "war rhetoric." Although the topic itself seemed interesting at the time, my primary motivations for enrolling was the course's international trip component. Although I held great admiration for the course's intended professor, I had a strong desire to travel and visit foreign countries in order to study war memorials around the globe, and this desire for travel motivated my overall interests for enrollment. The course, however, did not unfold the way I had imagined, and when a new professor took over, the trip was cancelled. Although the course syllabus was drastically revised under the purview of the new professor, I decided to stay in the class. Remaining enrolled in the course was the best decision I had made up to that point in graduate school. The course changed my worldview and my life as it set me on the path to pursuing a Ph.D. at the University of Texas at Austin.

Most of the people who initiated the series of questions that begat my narrative response seemed satisfied with this story. Some would ask more detailed follow up questions, while others would either allow the conversation to morph into a new topic or

move on to another person once our conversation had ended. After a few years of telling

and retelling this story at conferences and various other events, I began to notice my own

telling. That is, I began to question myself concerning the "truth" of this narrative. Was

it the war rhetoric course that spurred my interests in veterans? Was it possible that my

veteran research journey had only just begun in the middle of my Masters program? Or

was there *something more* to my deep-rooted interest in veterans? As I allowed myself to

further ponder the origins of my interest in veteran related issues, I realized that two

veterans had played featuring roles in my life. In the pages that follow I present the

stories of my two veterans.

Modern technology has come a long way since 1982; the year I was born. From

sonogram pictures the doctors were convinced that I was a boy, my parents trusting in the

technology's precision, gave me a name before I was born. I would be named Benjamin

Wade Rhidenour. When I was born a girl my mother did not believe the nurses. When

she awoke from anesthesia and was told she had a girl, she demanded that the nurses

immediately fetch me from the nursery. She feared her son had been switched at birth. I

was, indeed, a girl. She and my father had a baby girl, and no idea what to name her. My

mom was so committed to my intended name that she had never considered what to name

a daughter. The first day and a half of my life I was simply known as "Baby Rhidenour."

I was born with no first name.

Why was my mother so committed to naming me Benjamin Wade? I have no

insight as to the selection of Benjamin, but I have always known the significance of

Wade. Wade E. Thackery, Jr. was a childhood friend of my mother's, and to hear her tell

the story he was perhaps even her first love. Wade was a soldier in Vietnam, as were

many men of his generation, and when he was called in for duty he joined the prestigious

101st Airborne.   Wade was killed in action on his first jump into Vietnam. Wade was

killed in action on February 15, 1968. One month prior, on January 15, 1968, he

celebrated his twentieth birthday. Military officials attempted to comfort his parents by

telling them he felt no pain, as he was shot through the heart, but for my mother, that

news made the pain even more unbearable. Wounded with an injury so grave, Wade had

no chance to come home. When she does speak of Wade "all these years later," tears

immediately form in her eyes and it is clear his memory still causes her great pain.

When I was in middle school our family went to see the film *Saving Private Ryan*

in the movie theater. My parents were committed to exposing my brother and me to

films they thought covered a hard time in history, and this was one such film. The

medic's name in the film, as well as in real life, was Wade. His death is captured on

screen, and during that scene my mother had to get up from her seat and leave the movie

theater. She did not return to the theater until the movie was near its end, and I remember

feeling heartbroken for her sadness. *Saving Private Ryan* told the story of a different war

during a different time, yet the death of Wade in the film was too traumatizing for her to

watch on screen, as the death in the movie, mirrored the death of Wade Thackery.

Wade Thackery's name is included on the Vietnam Memorial Wall in

Washington, D.C. The first time I visited D.C. I went to the memorial and found his

name. It was a surreal experience. Etched into the dark marble was the name of the man

whom I would have honored if I were born a boy. I have always felt an odd connection

to him. Each time I travel to D.C. I visit the memorial and make a new rubbing of his name. Visiting him there feels similar to visiting the grave of a beloved family member. The act of visiting the memorial provides a quiet moment and a space to grieve the life he lost, the love my mother lost, and for me to dwell for a moment in the haunting presence he has had on my life. Simultaneously staring at Wade's name on the memorial wall as my own silhouette is mirrored back to me is a surreal experience, and a moment that I will revisit each time I return to Washington, D.C.

My second veteran story is found in the life of the W. G. Walkup, or as we called him, "Granddaddy." My Granddaddy was a hard man. He spent most of his life as a cotton farmer in Lubbock, Texas and his life of laboring in those fields was evident on his face as well as his temperament. My mother always seemed nervous when there was an impending visit with my Granddaddy. The stories of her childhood were told through the lens of a sense of humor that developed as a result of the passing of time. Granddaddy was extremely hard on my mom and her older sister. They were his main farm hands, and as his primary workforce, they spent every day of their summer vacations working up and down the rows of his cotton fields.   Each day their main objective was to remove all of the weeds in the cotton field, and their second objective was to avoid Granddaddy's wrath if they made an error in the fields. Mother was terrified of disappointing him, but it seemed that gaining his approval was an impossible task. Her childhood stories of those long hot summers in the cotton fields of Lubbock had an impact on me while I was growing up, as stories often do.

I have always been an obstinate person, and as a child I was determined to receive Granddaddy's approval and his recognition. My preferred weapon of choice for winning his approval was through my scholastic skills. On each visit I would proudly tell him stories of my achievements at school, always suspecting that my abilities in the classroom would showcase how great I was, or how great I thought I was at the time.

One particular Thanksgiving I was eager to show him a trick I had learned in math class that allowed for calculating the multiplication tables for the number nine on your fingers. I waited for the perfect opportunity. I heard my mother beckon from the kitchen: "Kayla come in the kitchen and show Granddaddy your new math trick." Here was my moment, surely this math trick would impress even Granddaddy, who was the toughest of critics. I showed him how to calculate each of the numbers from zero to nine on the multiplication table by putting down one finger or another. I had performed my math tricks flawlessly and awaited his praise. After I finished he said to me "Kayla Beth people do not get ahead by doing math tricks on their fingers. What would you do if one of your fingers got chopped off? You better just learn those math tables like everyone else." I was defeated.

Many interactions with Granddaddy went like the one at Thanksgiving. He was hard on everyone in our family, and impossible to please. He displayed the qualities of the quintessentially cantankerous grandfather character depicted so often in television and films. Toward the end of his life, however, he began to have a softer tone in his voice during holiday phone calls and he seemed to want to visit more often. In his final visit to our house, Granddaddy morphed from cantankerous grump to a humorous and warm-

hearted man. A man that I had I always suspected was present, yet was not often visible. He morphed into a new man by telling his war stories.

One afternoon I was lying in the floor of our living room watching television while Granddaddy sat on the couch. He began telling me a tall tale from his childhood claiming that he had met Geronimo, the famed leader of the Apache, and that Geronimo had tied him to an ant bed on the plains of Texas. I immediately pointed to the inaccuracies of his story, and quickly called his bluff. "Kayla Beth you are too smart for your own good" he would say. I was beginning to win him over.

"Well I will tell you a true story, then," he continued. He told me that when he was in the Navy during World War II his job was to drive a tiny boat in circles around the much larger warship all while releasing white smoke so that the larger warship was disguised from aerial attacks by enemy warplanes. I told him that job in the Navy seemed less than impressive. After all, my multiplication trick had not impressed him in the previous years, so his war stories were not going to impress me now.

"Well one time" he said, "I got lost in the smoke!" He had released too much smoke circling the larger warship and he had lost himself somewhere between the warship he was hiding and the edge of the smoke he had released. This story seemed more probable and my interest was now piqued. "Well Granddaddy what did you do?" I inquired. He recounted that he had to drive his tiny boat outside of the smoke to find the edge, and from the edge of the smoke he could gauge where the larger ship was in the water. "When I got to the edge of the smoke the bullets started spraying all around my tiny boat. Pa-TING, Pa-TING, Pa-TING, they were shooting all around me!"

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In all my sarcastic teenage glory I replied "How did the bullets sound again Granddaddy? Pa-TING, Pa-TING? Was that right?" Undeterred by my sarcasm he continued his story, which found Granddaddy ultimately returned to the safety of the larger warship. I quickly called for my mother, father, and brother to all come to the living room, "Granddaddy is telling the funniest war stories. You gotta hear him tell you what the bullets sounded like, Pa-TING!" Granddaddy retold the story of his heroics in his tiny boat setting a smoke screen for the larger warship. Each member of my family listened attentively, and each took their turn to comment on the sound of the bullets: Pa-TING, Pa-TING, Pa-TING!

This first story opened the door for more stories about Granddaddy's Naval service. He had never spoken with me before concerning his stint in the Navy or of his time in combat, and I doubt he had shared these stories with many other people. In one story he told us that he was once designated as "the leader of small bodies of men," to which I sincerely inquired, "Were they men with small bodies, or do you mean you had a small body of men as in the number of people you were in charge of?" That garnered a classic "Kayla Beth!" before he clarified that he was referring to the number of men in his charge, not the size of their bodies. After his clarification Granddaddy preceded to tell us more war stories.

When I reflect on this night of Granddaddy sharing his war stories, I think that it was the first time Granddaddy ever intentionally made me laugh. He was not a man who often joked, and although we had surely laughed together before this moment, I do not remember it being because he had intended to be funny. From this night forward, each

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time I spoke with Granddaddy we joked about the sound of the bullets whizzing by in the smoke, Pa-TING, and my question concerning his leadership of the "small bodies of men." We finally had something that was ours to share. These stories formed a bridge to my grandfather. He had told his war stories, and through their telling, he had become kinder, humorous, and sincere. In a word—at least to me—he had become more *human*.

Stories impact our lives every day. Through the telling and retelling of stories individuals become more apparent, and sometimes more hidden, to others and ourselves. The stories we chose to tell function as powerfully in our lives as the stories we hide, unconsciously or otherwise. Now when I am asked the previous series of questions pertaining to my interests in veterans, I tell a different story: a story that includes Wade and Granddaddy. I tell these stories to show how veterans have been a part of my life from it's very beginning. I have had the great fortune of meeting several veterans throughout my time with this project, as well as through my work at the University of Texas at Austin Student Veteran Services Office. Perhaps in the future my research story will include current and future interactions with new veterans, and they will blend to form a new research story. I hope that happens, but one can never be certain how individuals will move in and out of your life to direct its course or change its trajectory. What I am certain of is this: the stories of veterans are powerful, and if we take a moment to listen to them, they just might change our lives.

Introduction: Setting the Theoretical Stage

The "global war on terrorism" has pervaded the social scene following the attacks of September 11, 2001. On September 20th of that year, President George W. Bush delivered a now iconic speech to a joint session of Congress.[1] In the days between September 11, 2001 and September 20, 2001, the President and members of his staff designated the moniker for the missions to come as the "global war on terrorism." Although president Ronald Reagan first used the term "the war against terrorism" in 1984, in the days following 9/11 the haunting phrase was invited to represent the U.S. position in global affairs once more.[2]

In the fourteen years that have followed the declaration of a global war on terrorism, our country has witnessed a marked increase in the export of war. In response to the terrorist attacks on 9/11, U.S. troops were first deployed in Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) to the mountains of Afghanistan on October 7, 2001.[3] Less than two years later on March 20, 2003, additional U.S. troops deployed to Iraq in service of Operation Iraqi Freedom.[4] Each of these operational deployments were conceived and declared under the auspice of the global war on terrorism. The operations in Iraq officially ended with the withdrawal of our last troops in October of 2011. Many soldiers

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[1] George W. Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, September 20, 2011, Whitehouse Archives, accessed October 12, 2014, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html.

[2] Mattia Toaldo, "The Reagan Administration and the Origins of the War on Terror: Lebanon and Libya as Case Studies," *New Middle Eastern Studies* 2 (2012).

[3] "Operation Enduring Freedom Fast Facts," last modified September 4, 2014, http://www.cnn.com/2013/10/28/world/operation-enduring-freedom-fast-facts/.

[4] "Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation New Dawn Fast Facts," last modified September 3, 2014, http://www.cnn.com/2013/10/30/world/meast/operation-iraqi-freedom-and-operation-new-dawn-fast-facts/.

remain in Iraq to guard our embassies there, however, as well as to train soldiers in the

Iraqi military. The war in Afghanistan reached year thirteen in October 2014, despite

multiple campaign and presidential promises to officially end U.S. involvement there.[5]

The presence of battles bound together under the overarching theme of the global

war on terrorism seems endless. At the writing of this dissertation, the news media are

focused on the Middle East region again, as the civil war in Syria rages on, spilling over

into neighboring countries. The news each morning tells the story of new actions taken

by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, a global terrorist group who splintered from Al

Qaeda, who is gaining more ground in the Kurdish areas of Northern Iraq.[6]

Consequently, Turkey now has terrorists on their border. The U.S. engaged in air strikes

against terrorist forces in Syria, joined by countries that are not often equated with war

and conflict. Bombing campaigns over Iraq and Syria have been conducted by the

United Arab Emirates and Qatar. The global war on terrorism is no longer a war waged

solely by the U.S., but several sovereign nations. Despite the participation from allied

nations, the global war on terror shows no signs of slowing as the U.S. continues to

export war.

The foreign policy implications for the global war on terrorism are tangled and

knotted. Although it seems that either side of the political aisle here at home is

convinced of their standpoint, the path toward ending warmongering is not easy to

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[5] "After 13 Years, War in Afghanistan Grinds On," *Washington Post Blog*, October 7, 2014, accessed October 11, 2014, http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2014/10/07/after-13-years-war-in-afghanistan-grinds-on/.

[6] For more information concerning ISIS please see, "ISIS Fast Facts," *CNN*, November 6, 2012, accessed November 12, 2014, http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/08/world/isis-fast-facts/.

discern. As a country we have remained on high alert and quick to the trigger for fourteen years. Have we paused during this time to consider the ramifications of our perpetual war state? Scholars and citizens alike have asked tough questions regarding warmongering and foreign policy, but have they been the right tough questions?

In order to frame better, tough questions concerning the consequences of perpetual warring, perhaps we can focus on the stated official U.S. foreign policy agenda. In the final presidential debate in 2012 between President Obama and former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, the candidates focused primarily on foreign policy and specifically the Middle East.[7] A basic search of terms used in this debate yields unexpected results. The term "diplomacy" was not uttered once during the debate centering on foreign policy.[8] In contrast, the term "military" was used forty-nine times by both of the candidates, while the term "veteran" was only mentioned seven times. I highlight this particular discourse surrounding foreign policy because of its conspicuous absences, particularly the high use of the term "military" in relation to "diplomacy" and "veteran." First, it would seem from this brief word count that the rhetoric regarding diplomacy as an avenue of foreign policy is trailing far behind the use of military force. The high usage of "military" and similarly charged terms suggests that the use of force is the preferred option for handling conflicts overseas; diplomats and veterans connote human beings. Second, the mention of veterans, individuals who have borne the battle

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[7] "Transcript and Audio Third Presidential Debate," *NPR*, October 22, 2012, accessed November 1, 2012, http://www.npr.org/2012/10/22/163436694/transcript-3rd-obama-romney-presidential-debate.

[8] However, "diplomatic" and other slight variations were used six times over the course of the entire debate.

and carried out the militarily minded method of foreign policy, is also notably low

compared to active duty military forces. The imbalance of mentioning those currently

fighting and discussing those who have already served is precisely where I locate a

tension in U.S. foreign policy rhetoric. It is crucial to highlight that the rhetoric our

political leaders are utilizing highlights the "military" with all of its weaponry and war

machines, yet the use of "veteran" as the human face of these wars is far less common.

Although there are times when political leaders pay lip service to veterans in public

speeches such as the president's State of the Union Address, it is rare to hear political

leaders willing to openly discuss the implications for the actual bodies deployed in

missions across the globe in service of our aforementioned foreign policy.[9] The troops

are important when they are in active duty service, but what happens to them once they

return home from serving in operations for which it was their duty to deploy? Does the

nation speak of veterans differently than the presidential candidates in the foreign policy

debate? How does the public at large learn of their war experiences? Who tells the

veteran story? What issues does the veteran community face when returning home from

war, and how are these issues narrated?

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[9] On January 25, 2014, President Barack Obama delivered his fifth State of the Union to a joint session of
Congress. President Obama told the harrowing story of Sgt. First Class Remsburg's return from a
traumatic injury during a deployment in Afghanistan in service of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF).
The moving, emotional, and touching personal story of SFC. Remsburg was felt throughout the House
Chamber, garnering the longest bi-partisan standing ovation of the evening lasting for nearly two minutes.
The ovation given for SFC. Remsburg is the longest in duration since George W. Bush's State of the Union
speech in 2001, after the attacks on 9/11. For more information see "How His Message Was Received,"
The Wall Street Journal Online, January 26, 2014, accessed January 26, 2014,
http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303973704579349971576386940.

In the following pages I will outline my methods for answering these and related questions, as well as review previous research that supports a more robust, public discussion of veteran issues. In this dissertation I will argue that the act of telling a story is necessary for returning war veterans, and consequently, as a result of the global war on terror, the platform for storytelling has been restricted. The array of challenging experiences that our veterans face when transitioning from combat to civilian life is increasingly expanding. While many soldiers experience a smooth transition from the battlefield to "home," others face extreme difficulties. To address each area of the transition home from the theater of war is beyond the scope of this project. I do, however, wish to focus on the one problem that has been discussed in public fora, albeit insufficiently: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder or PTSD. As a consequence of various scandals involving veteran health care, PTSD has been a topic of public concern. Veterans who are transitioning from combat back to civilian life rely on their friends, families, government agencies such as the Department of Veterans Affairs, as well as various organizations in the non-profit sector for assistance. While my project cannot attend to all of the potential troubles in the transition process, I do want to focus on how the national news media provide an outlet for narratives of the wartime experience and particularly how these outlets assist veterans in narrating their traumas. In the dissertation I will focus on news media outlets that highlight the public discourses that are most prominent regarding veterans and PTSD. Let me turn, then, to detailing the urgent exigency of my entire project: veteran suicide.

VETERAN SUICIDE: THE EPIDEMIC

One of the issues facing our nation is the stark rise in the number of suicides among the veteran community. The Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) estimates every day 22 veterans fall victim to suicide. In a given year that number would total near 8,000 individual suicides, and for the first time in 2012 the number of veteran suicides outpaced the number of soldiers killed in combat.[10] It is important to note that the data from the VA is not based on all 50 states. The two largest states with veteran populations are California and Texas. Neither of these states' suicide rates is represented in these numbers, leaving many experts to claim that the number of veteran suicides per day, is in fact, much higher.

By 2012, the number one reason for medical evacuation from Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) and Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) was for mental health disorders.[11] According to the Armed Forces Health Surveillance Center these wounds were labeled as, "adjustment reactions."[12] Adjustment reactions could range from depression and anxiety, to grief and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

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[10] Brian E. Cansella and Raul Perea-Henze, "A Solution to a Growing Military Suicide Problem," *Huffington Post: Invisible Casualties*, September 24, 2013, accessed September 24, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/brian-e-kinsella/a-solution-to-a-growing-m_b_3982069.html?utm_hp_ref=invisible-casualties; David Wood, "Army Chief Ray Odierno Warns Military Suicides 'Not Going to End' After War is Over," *Huffington Post: Invisible Casualties*, September 25, 2013, access September 25, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/25/ray-odierno-military-suicides_n_3984359.html; Veterans Affairs, "2012 Suicide Data Report," in *VHA Response and Executive Summary*, March 2012.

[11] Operation Iraqi Freedom encompasses all deployments to Iraq, while Operation Enduring Freedom includes all deployments to Afghanistan.

[12] Armed Forces Health Surveillance Center, "2012 Suicide Data Report," in *Suicide Report: Executive Summary*, April 2012.

On July 25, 2012, then Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta testified to Congress that the military was experiencing a "suicide epidemic."[13] Secretary Panetta was not alone labeling the suicide crisis as an epidemic. One year later on August 10, 2013, President Barack Obama in remarks made to the Disabled American Veterans Convention, echoed Panetta in identifying the rise in veteran suicides as an epidemic.[14] The Department of Defense estimates that one million soldiers will transition from active duty to veteran status by 2017, which means that the Department of Veterans Affairs is set to experience a growing strain to process the increasing number of veterans' mental health claims.[15] As Panetta noted, "something must be done."

On March 21, 2013, Jacqueline Garrick, Director of the Department of Defense Suicide Prevention Office, and Lt. Gen. Howard Bromberg, Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, testified in front of the House Armed Services Committee.[16] In that testimony Garrick informed Congress that there were currently over 900 suicide prevention programs managed by the Department of Defense.[17] The aim of collecting the suicide prevention data was to utilize "an automated resource management tool" to

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[13]Kathleen Miller, "Military Faces Suicide 'Epidemic' Panetta Tells Congress," *Bloomberg News,* July 25, 2012, accessed July 25, 2012, http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-07-25/military-faces-suicide-epidemic-panetta-tells-u-dot-s-dot-lawmakers.

[14]President Barack Obama, "Remarks by the First Lady and the President at Disabled American Veterans Convention" (speech, Washington, DC, August 10, 2013).

[15] James Dao, "Veterans Wait for Benefits as Claims Pile Up," *New York Times,* September 26, 2012, accessed August 20, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/28/us/veterans-wait-for-us-aid-amid-growing-backlog-of-claims.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

[16]Update on Military Suicide Prevention: Hearing Before Subcommittee on Military Personnel, United States Senate, 113th Congress (2013).

[17] The 900 plus programs managed by the Defense Department do not include many other suicide prevention/intervention strategies that are funded by agencies such as the National Institute of Health, National Institute for Drug Abuse, or Veterans Affairs. Again, the numbers do not actually convey the breadth of programs designated as suicide prevention programs for veterans.

determine the efficiency of the funded programs.[18] The prevention and intervention

strategies and best practices include Cognitive Processing Therapy and Prolonged

Exposure techniques in order to combat suicidal thoughts. Are these approaches enough?

Are they shown to limit suicide attempts? Out of the 900 prevention and intervention

strategies that the VA has documented, how can we characterize the dominant

approaches? Which approaches favor medication? Which utilized talking,

communicating, or sharing stories as a method for handling suicide symptoms? Which

approaches use both?

THE DOMINANT THERAPEUTIC APPROACHES WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

        Owing to the volume of Veterans Affairs (VA) documentation, the answers to

these and related questions is difficult to derive. According to the VA, the dominant

approach for treatment of PTSD and suicide prevention is medicinal with the use of

prescription drugs.[19] Although, research has shown that Cognitive Processing Therapy

(CPT) and Prolonged Exposure (PE) have also been very helpful in limiting suicide

attempts among military troops.[20] In the section that follows I provide an overview to

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[18]Bob Brewin, "Military Suicides Are Up, Despite 900 Prevention Programs," *Next Gov,* March 21, 2013, accessed August 20, 2013, http://www.nextgov.com/defense/2013/03/military-suicides-are-despite-900-prevention-programs/62019/.

[19] "VA Clinician's Guide to Medications for PTSD," last modified July 28, 2014, http://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/treatment/overview/clinicians-guide-to-medications-for-ptsd.asp.

[20] Understanding and Preventing Veteran Suicide: Hearing Before Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs, United States House of Representatives, 113th Congress (2013); Joseph Bobrow, "Military Suicide, Emotional Anguish and Healing," *Huffington Post,* July 20, 2012, accessed July 20, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/joseph-bobrow/military-suicide_b_1691148.html.

each of these therapeutic approaches before providing my rationale to argue how each of

these approaches is insufficient and an increase in a narrative approach is warranted.

Cognitive Processing Therapy (CPT) is a form of therapy derived from Cognitive

Behavioral therapeutic approaches.[21] CPT was initially designed as a form of therapy

that targets the diagnosis of PTSD in individuals following a sexual assault. In an article

detailing points of comparison between Cognitive Processing Therapy and Prolonged

Exposure, psychologist Patricia Resick and colleagues explain that CPT "consists of two

integrated components: cognitive therapy and exposure in the form of writing and reading

about the traumatic event."[22] The client in the CPT therapeutic approach is guided

through the first step of therapy, which focuses on "assimilated-distorted beliefs such as

denial and self-blame" before progressing to the second component where the client

"challenges their beliefs and assumptions through Socratic questioning and the use of

daily worksheets." During the second component of therapy, clients are instructed to

write "detailed accounts" of their traumatic experience and the client, in turn, reads this

account aloud to their therapist during a CPT therapy session. Through the writing and

retelling of the traumatic experience, a therapist can determine "stuck points" where the

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[21] According to the National Alliance on Mental Health, Cognitive Behavioral Therapy as a therapeutic approach examines the "thoughts, feelings and behaviors," of patients and in so doing a therapist can identify self-harming thoughts and redirect those thoughts into a more productive pattern of thinking. The relationship between Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) and the more specific Cognitive Processing Therapy (CPT) is evident. For further information regarding CBT see, "National Alliance of Mental Health: Cognitive Behavioral Therapy," last modified July 2012, http://www.nami.org/Content/NavigationMenu/Inform_Yourself/About_Mental_Illness/About_Treatments_and_Supports/Cognitive_Behavioral_Therapy1.htm.

[22] Patricia A. Resnick, Pallavi Nishith, Terri L. Weaver, Millie C. Astin, and Catherine A. Feuer, "A Comparison of Cognitive-Processing Therapy with Prolonged Exposure and a Waiting Condition for the Treatment of Chronic Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Female Rape Victims," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 70 (2002): 867-879.

client is continuing to experience the psychological traumas of their event.[23] Based on

the assessment of these "stuck points" the therapist provides the client with direct

specifications for his or her next writing assignment. Actively addressing a client's stuck

points provides an opportunity for the client to progress through the two components of

Cognitive Processing Therapy.

Prolonged Exposure (PE) works in a similar manner, and was developed as an

approach for treating PTSD prior to the development of CPT. Like Cognitive Processing

Therapy, Prolonged Exposure therapy is also a measured process that consists of different

steps and components that signal the client's progression through therapy. A client in PE

begins by developing "breath retraining" and "relaxation techniques" as relaxation and

coping tools for the potential stressors that could emerge during the next step of the

therapeutic process.[24] After the client has gained control over these techniques, different

elements of their traumatic "environment" are introduced into the therapy session through

"an imagination of exposure to the trauma memory."[25] That is, the client focuses on a

single traumatic memory or traumatic experience and begins to retell that memory or

experience to the therapist through a piecemeal approach. The PE approach is meant to

be gradual as imaginary elements of the traumatic memory are introduced over time in

order for the patient to re-experience the traumatic scene in the safe environment

provided by the therapeutic session. By retelling the traumatic event in a slow and paced

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[23] Patricia A. Resick, "Cognitive Treatment of a Crime-related PTSD," in *Aggression and Violence Throughout the Life Span*, eds. R.D. Peters, R.J. McMahon, V. L. Quinsey (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992), 171–191.

[24] Resnick et al, "A Comparison of Cognitive-Processing Therapy," 878.

[25] Resnick et al, "A Comparison of Cognitive-Processing Therapy," 878.

environment housed within a safe place, most commonly the therapists office, the client is able to work at his or her own pace. Approaching traumatic memories can be difficult for the client, and PE encourages the client to confront these memories while simultaneously imploring the aforementioned calming techniques of breathing and relaxation, all while narrating their trauma.[26]

On the surface, each of these approaches seems to implore narrative components that act as a vehicle for healing. While there are certainly narrative aspects within CPT and PE, these approaches do not go as far or as deep into storied experiences as an approach that privileges narration in psychoanalysis, the approach that serves as the theoretical foundation for my project. Cognitive Behavioral Therapy—as the foundation for Cognitive Processing Therapy—was formed as a counter-therapy to psychoanalysis, and although the approach may include storytelling aspects, CBT overall must not be misconstrued with psychoanalysis or narrative therapy. Prolonged Exposure is a step closer to the psychoanalytic process, as the client's role of narrating their traumatic experience does resemble some tenants of psychoanalysis, however, Prolonged Exposure therapy falls short due to the therapy's focus on a single traumatic event, memory, or experience. As a result, Prolonged Exposure also does not go far enough into the narrative experiences of clients with PTSD.

Another limitation inherent within these two therapeutic approaches is their short timeframe for delivering therapeutic assistance. The average timeline of Cognitive

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[26] "National Center for PTSD: Prolonged Exposure Therapy," last modified January 3, 2014, http://www.ptsd.va.gov/public/treatment/therapy-med/prolonged-exposure-therapy.asp.

Processing Therapy is between eight to twelve sessions, occurring once or twice per week, with a follow up three months removed from the sessions and another follow up six months from the end of regular therapy sessions.[27] Prolonged Exposure has a similar timeframe, with an average of ten to fifteen initial exposure sessions and a similar follow up schedule of three to six months following exposure sessions.

Timeframes such as these are welcomed by the larger power structures of insurance companies and the Department of Veterans Affairs, because they provide an ending point for therapy. The VA is currently experiencing the largest influx of veterans seeking mental health treatment in its history. Former Secretary of the VA, Eric Shinseki, extended qualifying assistance to veterans of the Vietnam era, as these veterans were not previously covered for PTSD and could not receive mental health care for PTSD or its symptoms from the VA.[28] By opening the diagnosis of PTSD to the greater veteran population, the VA who was already experiencing an overwhelming number of medical requests, is now facing even more delays in mental health care appointments. The promise of a therapy program lasting only eight to ten weeks, which attempts to alleviate the symptoms of PTSD, is alluring under these constraints, and it is no wonder that the VA privileges Cognitive Processing Therapy and Prolonged Exposure over psychoanalytic or narrative therapy approaches in which no timeline is guaranteed.

[27] Patricia A. Resick and Monica K. Schnicke, "Cognitive Processing Therapy for Sexual Assault Victims," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 60 (1992): 748-756.

[28] Eric Shinseki also opened the disability claims at the VA to Vietnam veterans who had been wounded as a result of Agent Orange's use in Vietnam. As a result, the increase in claims pertaining to Vietnam veterans increased with regard to PTSD *and* Agent Orange injuries. For further information see, Eric Shinseki, "Message to Veterans from the Secretary of Veterans Affairs," *Department of Veterans Affairs,* May 22, 2014, http://www.blogs.va.gov/VAntage/14228/message-to-veterans-from-the-secretary-of-veterans-affairs/.

Overall, studies support Cognitive Processing Therapy and Prolonged Exposure therapies' proven abilities to dramatically reduce the number of suicides and symptoms of PTSD among the veteran community *who are actively seeking* mental health treatment.[29] What about veterans who are not going to the VA for assistance, or who might not be experiencing PTSD to such a degree that he or she realizes therapy may be warranted? Although CPT and PE are helpful in the therapeutic setting for some, our veterans are telling us that they *want to talk* about their wartime experiences outside the more traditional therapeutic setting.[30] This is the precise pivot moment to my current project. Therapeutic approaches are helpful for some veterans some of the time, however, veterans are not only speaking of their experiences between the walls of the therapist's office. Veterans are out in their communities, attending universities, applying for new careers in the workforce, and continuing their service to the nation. Stories live in these spaces. Veteran stories are told every day that impacts both the veteran storyteller as well as the national culture reflected by collective experiences. My

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[29] Rallying cries for alternative approaches to treat and monitor PTSD are being heard across our nation. In late September of this year, the U.S. government announced that it would provide $22 million dollars in additional funding for non-drug related therapies for veterans. The Department of Veteran Affairs is working in conjunction with the National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine, National Institute on Drug Abuse, and the larger National Institute of Health in order to fund different projects who focus on various ways to treat chronic pain, PSTD, as well as traumatic brain injury that do not include prescription drugs. Various treatments are under consideration ranging from yoga, training with therapy horses, and bright light therapy. Pertinent to my project, however, is the classification of psychoanalytic treatments as an alternative therapeutic approach. Psychoanalytic approaches, such as those suggested in my dissertation project, are receiving greater national attention, and increase the timeliness of my project. See also, Shirley S. Wang, "U.S. Funds Studies of Nondrug Therapies for Military Personnel," *Wall Street Journal,* September 24, 2015, accessed September 27, 2014, http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2014/09/25/u-s-funds-studies-of-nondrug-therapies-for-military-personnel.

[30] Chris Marvin, "A Thank You Isn't Enough: Young Veterans Want the Public to Listen to Their Needs, Not Worships Them as 'Heroes,'" *U.S. News,* November 11, 2014, accessed November 11, 2014, http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2014/11/11/listen-to-veterans-and-stop-calling-them-heroes.

intention within this project is not to offer an argument that psychoanalysis is a better approach to therapy, as that argument lies outside of my area of expertise. My overall aim in this dissertation is, however, to draw out the valuable lessons psychoanalysis offers through a discussion of the impacts stories—mediated through national news discourses—have on individuals as well as collective societies. Once the theoretical arguments are examined I apply these principles and build a case for analyzing the identities of the sources in the news media that narrate veteran stories, and examine the content of the stories that circulate in our collective society though the discourses of the national news media. Throughout the dissertation I interrogate the claim that many veterans want to share their experiences, yet they perceive that there is no foreseeable outlet to work through pain, suffering, joy, or sorrow via the all-important means of narrating their existence.

Because of my experiences working with veterans and their expressed desire to talk about their experiences, I see a unique space for intervention by communication scholars. Actual therapeutic techniques are only part of reparative discourses for reintegrating veterans into the country; another part is how those techniques inform, and are informed by, media representations. An individual veteran's ability to narrate their experience to a therapist during a session of CPT or PE is only one half of the story. As I illustrate in greater detail below, stories are important at the individual level for working through traumas, but the other side of the same coin is that stories play a crucial role to understanding and interpreting larger cultural components. Not only do veterans need a resource for working through traumas at the individual and therapeutic level, they also

need outlets and symbolic resources—identified here as the national news media—for sharing their story on the cultural level. I contend that it is necessary to understand the therapeutic dimensions of narrative discourses in order to extend those understandings outside of the therapeutic setting to provide insight to the nation's broader cultural context. My project is concerned with this second cultural dimension of narrative storytelling and the implications these finding can, in turn, have for our veterans at the individual and community levels.

GUIDING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

For at least half-century, communication scholars have investigated the power of narratives, personal and otherwise, as a technique of self-fashioning. Although the research on narrative is vast, much of it suggests the importance of storytelling for an individual's psyche—for a sense of coherence—and as a field communication studies has been attuned to the importance of narrative for individual growth and development.[31] Relatedly, the sub-field of political communication offers research that suggests mediated effects—based on how the news media frame public issues—coupled with a consideration of who's voices are quoted, work to shape the public's perception of

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[31] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972); Mark Schorer, *The Necessity of Myth* (New York: Braziller, 1960); Joseph Campbell, *The Mythic Image* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1974); Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Cleveland: Meridian, 1949); Janice H. Rushing and Thomas S. Frentz, "The Rhetoric of 'Rocky': A Social Value Model of Criticism," *Western Journal of Communication Studies* 42 (1978): 63-72; Thomas Frentz and Janice Hocker Rushing, 'The Rhetoric of 'Rocky': Part Two," *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 42 (1978): 231-240; Walter Fisher, "Reaffirmation and Subversions of the American Dream," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59 (1973), 160-167; Janice Hocker Rushing and Thomas Frentz, "The Deer Hunter: Rhetoric of the Warrior," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 66 (1980): 392-407; Walter Fisher, "Narration As a Human Communication Paradigm: The Case of Public Moral Argument," *Communication Monographs* 51 (1984): 1-22.

various issues.[32] Of particular interest to my project is how the research on narrative as a

technique of self-fashioning and the indexing hypothesis as a technique of analysis in

communication studies can inform one another. This is to say, if we acknowledge that

the expression of narrative is vital to individual identity and the formation of cultural

stories, and if the news media holds considerable influence on the narratives that are told,

how do mediated portrayals of PTSD and veterans impact the lived experiences of

returning soldiers? In order to begin unraveling this question, my project will be guided

and supported by four research questions:

> RQ1: How and by what channels do sources enter the news media conversation to
>
> comment on the veteran experience?
>
> RQ2: Are veterans the main sources narrating their experiences or do other
>
> individuals, groups, or organizations speak more often in the news media?
>
> RQ3: What stories circulated and gained traction by narrating the lived
>
> experiences of veterans with PTSD?
>
> RQ4: What stories did veterans tell about their experiences, and what stories
>
> were told about veterans who suffer from PTSD?

CHAPTER PREVIEW

Thus far, I have provided an overview of my project and outlined the exigencies

involved in the underlying curiosities. I began first by situating the project in the current

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[32] Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964); Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaq, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36 (1972): 176-187; J. D. Bass, "The Appeal to Efficiency as narrative closure: Lyndon Johnson and the Dominican Crisis," *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 50 (1987): 103-120; Roderick Hart, *Seducing America: How Television Charms the Modern Voter* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1999).

climate of foreign policy, and the continued global engagement of the U.S. that serves to foreshadow possible future incursions in the Middle East. Incursions that would ultimately, if they occur, produce more veterans. Next, I provided evidence to outline the suicide epidemic facing soldiers returning home, as a way to highlight the continued importance of examining and investigating modes of different therapeutic approaches. Finally, I outlined the basic tenants of the two most prescribed therapies utilized within the Department of Veterans Affairs—Cognitive Processing Therapy and Prolonged Exposure—in an effort to illustrate how and why these approaches fall short for some members of the veteran community and why a continued investigation into the narrative approaches within psychoanalysis are warranted.

The first chapter begins by historically tracing the origins of PTSD as they interact with the beginning moments of Freudian psychoanalysis. Freud was goaded by curiosities resulting from the psychological treatment of soldiers returning from World War I who were diagnosed with "shell shock." By tracing these histories, I show how the study of PTSD is inherently linked with Freud and the psychoanalytic program he came to represent. The second move in chapter one links Freud's original work in psychoanalysis and traumatic memory with his contemporary Roy Schafer. Schafer's work serves as a bridge to connect Freudian psychoanalysis with contemporary explorations within psychoanalysis by focusing on narrative components of the psychoanalytic process. That is, Schafer's use of narrative as a mode of therapeutic discourse, works to highlight the importance for narratives at both the level of individual formative self-stories and how these self-stories circulate to form culturally shared stories

within societies. Schafer both reflects and extends Freud's previous insistence that individual stories affect the collective culture, a claim that is echoed within several academic fields such as: literary criticism, rhetoric, and communication studies. The third section of chapter one focuses on the narrative work conducted across these fields.

Chapter two moves to a consideration of the multi-methodological approaches used across the dissertation. Making an argument concerning the national news media, without first meticulously examining the discourses presented in the news itself, would be irresponsible, and a practice not supported within the academy. Conversely, without a narrative analysis of these indexed discourses, it would not be possible to comment on the narrative components represented in the national news media. As my interests within this project resides at the intersection of narrative analysis as they pertain to national news media discourses, it was necessary that the project occupy two distinct yet interrelated methodological approaches. Chapter two, then, provides a detailed overview of the methodological approaches contained in the dissertation project: first an indexing content analysis, and second a narrative analysis with origins in the fields of narrative theory and rhetoric. As such, I present the remaining chapters of my dissertation in two parts. Part one of the dissertation focuses on an empirical news media analysis by way of an indexing content analysis. Part two of the dissertation utilizes an inductive approach and examines the qualitative data of direct quotations and paraphrased remarks collected during the indexing content analysis to provide the data material through which stories emerged across the dataset.

After establishing the rationale and methodological approaches used in parts one and two of the dissertation, I move on to present the findings of each resulting method. Chapter three and chapter four constitute part one, and each of these chapters presents the results and findings of the quantitative indexing content analysis. Questions of "how" animate the findings and results within chapter three. In chapter three I first provide the rationale for how I chose the four national news media events (Veterans Day 2014, the Cluster of Crimes, the Walter Reed Army Hospital Scandal, and the Department of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal) and subsequently how previous research has examined the increase in news media events. The chapter then moves to an analysis of how the three news media of newspapers, broadcast television news, and cable television news each operate in the dissemination of news regarding the four aforementioned news media events. Finally, chapter three considers how the use of direct quotations versus paraphrased remarks act as vehicles for the delivery of information in the news media coverage of veterans. After the questions of how are presented, chapter four turns to focus on questions of whom.

Chapter four is the second and final chapter in part one of the dissertation. In this chapter, I present the findings of questions pertaining to the identities of the sources that were invited to speak on veteran issues within the news media. The chapter begins by presenting the seven source categories: (1) civilians; (2) professionals; (3) government officials; (4) veterans; (5) organizations; (6) active duty soldiers, and (7) community members. In an effort to compile the data and present it in a clear manner, each of the seven source categories were established by compiling individual identities from the

indexing analysis. I provide a ranking order of the seven source categories based on their appearances in the national news media, ranging from most often used to the least often used. Next, I present the results detailing which of these categories played a prominent role within each of the four news media events. The second element of analysis within this chapter provides a greater examination into the power dynamics involved in acting as a source for a journalist across national news media coverage. The power to speak during certain news events reflects an overall journalistic approach to the inclusion of veteran voices within the news media landscape.

The next two chapters use the findings presented in chapters three and four to inductively examine emergent stories across the dataset, and they combine to form part two. I used the direct quotations and paraphrased remarks qualitatively captured during the indexing analysis to uncover four emergent stories. In an effort to clearly present the narrative findings of part two, the first two stories are analyzed in chapter five and the second two emergent stories are analyzed in chapter six. The two stories analyzed in chapter five represent stories of veterans feeling lonely and abandoned by their communities. I have captured these emergent experience in the story "I am on my own" which details the isolation experienced by veterans who return home with PTSD. The second story in chapter five depicts experiences of systemic dismissal of PTSD by powerful individuals within the military ranks. In the story "You are not ok" the experiences illustrate how members of the military command, as well as larger military and government structures of power, narrate stories that depict individuals suffering from PTSD as isolated cases of misconduct and ultimately the responsibility for treatment

resides with the individual who is suffering. The powerful narratives within the "You are not ok" story work to showcase how structures of power can pervert the rhetoric of therapy and use rhetorical discourses to shift questions of responsibility and blame from the organization itself, and deflect these questions onto individual suffering veterans.

Chapter six begins to offer a ray of hope in the shadowed bleakness of the stories captured in chapter four. The overarching story that begins chapter five is called "I am suffering" and this story exemplifies moments when veterans were granted the narrative space to share their stories and, consequently, begin a narrative healing process. Although the stories bound within "I am suffering" are difficult to process and share, by their telling, they begin to raise awareness within their communities and animate veteran advocacy groups into action. The actions of veteran advocacy groups are highlighted in the final story "We need to help them." The stories told here show how veterans assisting other veterans who are suffering from PTSD are a vital component for continued awareness. Each of the veteran groups discussed in the "We need to help them" story uses the narrative platform of the national news media in order to capture the media's attention and by doing so, these organizations have kept the spotlight on the failures of the mental health care system. By hearing the call of the narrative breakthroughs of their fellow suffering veterans, these organizations respond to the call of stories by continuing to share stories themselves. As such, the final story in chapter six serves as a culmination of the arguments made throughout the dissertation project.

The dissertation concludes in chapter seven, in which I provide an overview of the results and findings presented in the chapters of part one and part two. In my concluding

remarks I offer guidelines and suggestions for the continued engagement between the veteran and civilian communities. I developed these guidelines by combining interviews from veterans in the news media describing how they would prefer to interact with their civilian counterparts, and coupled them with my own personal experience as a civilian working in the Student Veteran Services office here at the University of Texas at Austin.

The fields of psychoanalysis, narrative theory, psychology, and rhetoric are vast fields alone and encompass a breadth of analysis and information. So too are the different methodological approaches of indexing content analysis and narrative inductive analysis that I call upon in order to make this project possible. Given my approach, it would be impractical to assume a mastery of each of these fields and approaches individually, however, it is rare that an approach combines each of these fields of thought and modes of inquiry into a single overarching project. I recognize this project cannot answer every question that animates these distinct fields, but the project can begin to utilize the power of an interdisciplinary approach to consider each of these phenomena in new and complex ways. It is my hope that the multi-method, interdisciplinary approach of this project provides a new way of telling, hearing, and understanding the power of veteran stories.

Chapter One: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Psychoanalysis, and the Narrating News Media

The psychoanalytic technique of free-association, narrative theory, and news media are not often placed together in a single project. This conceptual trio perhaps sounds more like they should be followed by the classic turn of phrase "all walk into a bar together." I urge my readers to pause for the consideration that although these approaches may seem disparately related at first glance, they are actually held together by the thread of storytelling. As I will point out below, the psychoanalytic technique of free association is a type of storytelling; patients who engage in narrative therapies for the treatment of PTSD are also engaged in storytelling. Nightly news anchors "tell us the stories of the day" while approaches in news media analysis, tell us the story of the power dynamics at play in crafting the stories of the day. As a method deployed in content analysis "indexing" allows the critic the chance to examine who is driving the stories of particular issues by examining who is quoted in the news. To more fully explain my deliberately unorthodox approach to criticism, I first turn to unpacking the historical and conceptual relationship between PTSD and Freudian psychoanalysis.

POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER: ONE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS' FOUNDING INTRIGUES

In modernity, several names throughout medical and intellectual history have stood in for what we now know as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The connections between PTSD, psychoanalysis, and narrative began taking form in the late 1890's. Although PTSD did not enter the Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental

Disorders until 1980, it is clear that the interrelated components of each of these major

fields were bound to one another at the origin of what would now be considered a PTSD

diagnosis.[33] "Soldier's heart and irritable heart" were two of the first phrases offered

following the American Civil War to describe symptoms of PTSD in veterans.[34]

Physicians also referred to the collection of symptoms as battle neurosis or battle fatigue.

Historians in the fields of mental health and war often link the origin of research

regarding PTSD to the prevalence of railway accidents in Prussia dating back to 1871.[35]

Documentation dated as early as 1860, however, showed that witnesses to railway

accidents exhibited signs of a type of PTSD. Medical physician John Erichsen first

called the collection of symptoms "railway spine" and used it to diagnose the symptoms

exhibited by individuals who witnessed railway accidents. Erichsen was one of the first

physicians to link the disturbances in the nervous system to symptom manifestations both

psychically *and* psychologically. In his book, *On Railway and Other Injuries of the*

Nervous System, Erichsen described patients who had experienced a shock or a physical

jolt during railway accidents. He described the patient's symptoms as follows:

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[33] American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 2013); Bessel A. van der Kolk, "The History of Trauma in Psychiatry, in *Handbook of PTSD: Science and Practice*, edited by Matthew J. Friedman, Terence M. Keane, and Patricia A. Resick (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007): 19-37, 23.

[34] "A Soldier's Heart," last modified March 1, 2005, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/heart/themes/shellshock.html.

[35] Charles R. Figley, *Trauma And Its Wake*. (New York: Routledge, 2013). The reliance on railway travel was increasing during this time, and as a result, the number of accidents began to rise as well. Documentation shows as early as 1860's showed that witnesses to railway accidents exhibited signs of a type of PTSD. Dr. John Erichsen first called the collection of symptoms "railway spine" and used it to diagnose the symptoms exhibited by witnesses to railway accidents. Later Rigler used railway spine as a diagnosis for "compensation neurosis," and this became one of the first ways to document worker related compensation for psychological stress at work.

On the receipt of a severe injury the sufferer becomes cold, faint, and trembling…there is a great mental depression and disquietude; the disturbed state of mind revealing itself in the countenance, and in the incoherence of speech and thought; the surface becomes covered by a cold sweat; there is a nausea, perhaps vomiting, and relaxation of the sphincters…In extreme cases, the depression of power characterizing shock may be so great as to terminate in death[36]

Edwin Morris continued Erichsen's line of inquiry, and by extension, researched the psychological implications of railroad spine. As Allan Young points out in his book *The Harmony of Illusions*, Morris' interests was rooted in the role fear emotions played before, during, and after surgery.[37] Morris was perplexed by patients who exhibited high levels of fear concerning their surgical procedure, and then consequently, died prior to surgery. For Morris fear acted as a powerful emotion for patients and those psychological emotions held dire consequences. Morris concluded the "puzzle" of the relationship between fear and death "is solved once one accepts that fear is simply an assault, comparable in its action to a physical blow or injury…"[38] The groundwork was thus laid in order for physicians and psychiatrists alike to further research the physical and psychological ailments of witnessing or experiencing traumas. Tracing the medical research into psychological nervous disorders and the possible effects they have on physical ailments leads to the work of groundbreaking physicians working in Paris, France at the *Salpêtrière Hospital*.

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[36] John Erichsen, *On Railway and Other Injuries of the Nervous System* (Philadelphia, PA: Henry C. Lea, 1859), 106.

[37] Allan Young, *The Harmony of Illusions: Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[38] Young, *The Harmony of Illusions*, 15.

Early Physicians of Salpêtrière Hospital

       The Salpêtrière hospital in Paris, France played an integral role in the development of therapies and treatments for hysteria, a disorder that has an intimate historical connection to modern day PTSD. During the 1890's, symptoms of what we would recognize today as PTSD were more commonly used to discuss the diagnosis of hysteria in a patient. Pierre Janet, who coined the term "subconscious," was one of the first physicians to trace hysteria to an encounter with trauma.[39] Janet's initial links between hysteria and a traumatic event was prodded along by the patient's inability to form "accurate perceptions" surrounding the traumatic event or to "accurately respond to stress."[40] Janet posited that following a patient's experience with a trauma or traumatic event, the patient was unable to form memories of the event within the context of the event itself with any type of clarity. The patient's memories of the traumatic event become "disassociated" in the patient's mind, or alternatively described as a splintering effect in the mind where one side of the splinter represents the event itself and the other represents the patient's traumatic memory of the event. Janet postulated that the schism of the patient's memory was just as traumatic as the event in question, due to the patient's experience of high levels of distress when they were unable to narrate their traumatic memory. The *Handbook of PTSD: Science and Practice* describes Janet's findings as follows:

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[39] Bessel A. van der Kolk, "The History of Trauma in Psychiatry," in *Handbook of PTSD: Science and Practice*, edited by Matthew J. Friedman, Terence M. Keane, and Patricia A. Resick (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007): 19-37.

[40] van der Kolk, "The History of Trauma in Psychiatry," 23.

This results in a phobia of memory that prevents the integration (synthesis) of traumatic events and splits these traumatic memories off from ordinary consciousness. The memory traces of the trauma linger as unconscious fixed ideas that cannot be liquidated as long as they have been translated into a personal narrative and, instead, continue to intrude as terrifying perceptions, obsessional preoccupations, and somatic experiences such as anxiety reactions.[41]

Disassociation and traumatic memory is taken up by the work of a number of doctors who followed Janet at Salpêtrière hospital. I turn now to the work of Jean-Martin Charcot who played an integral role in the study of hysteria and PTSD with the introduction of hypnosis.

Charcot, and fellow professor Hippolyte Bernheim are both credited with ushering the use of hypnosis from the realm of mystics to the hallways of medicine. Charcot first began developing medical uses for hypnosis in the treatment of hysteria at the Salpêtrière hospital in Paris. Charcot began his internship at the clinic, and was fascinated by the women's wing, which housed female patients suffering from hysteria.[42] Later as the director of the hospital, he continued to focus on the neurological disorder of hysteria that had been so interesting to him during his early years as an intern.

Charcot was interested in the symptoms of hysteria and the physical symptoms that manifested in patients who were suffering from the neurological disorder. In order to treat these patients, Charcot would hypnotize the patients and attempt to return them to the time of their original trauma in an effort for the patient to narrate the trauma back to him while under hypnosis. He was one of the first to posit that a patient's paralysis due

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[41] van der Kolk, "The History of Trauma in Psychiatry," 23.

[42] Peter Gay, "Charcot," in *The Freud Reader*, edited by Peter Gay (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1989), 49.

to their hysteria was a direct result of the thoughts that the patient experienced at the moment of the traumatic event. The physical symptoms that followed from hysteria such as paralysis, tremors, etc. were the direct result of the patient's ongoing re-experience of the traumatic event through nightmares or memory flashbacks. Charcot posited that through hypnosis he could return the patient to a similar state that existed at the time of trauma, and as a result, alter how the trauma was perceived by the hysterical patient.[43] Charcot believed that the psychological symptoms that accompanied patients with the physical injuries from jarring accidents was a type of "self-induced hypnotic state" during which, "the mental spontaneity, the will, or the judgment, is more or less suppressed or obscured, and suggestions become easy."[44] One can see the beginnings of an understanding of free association, championed by psychoanalysis, taking shape through the work of Charcot.

Another key contribution of Charcot's work was breaking down the idea that hysteria was a disease that only impacted women. He claimed that men too could suffer from hysteria, including the physical and psychological symptoms that were associated with the neurological disorder. By doing this, Charcot opened the door to applying his principles on hysteria to studies of male veterans suffering from their service in times of

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[43] Charcot could possibly be considered a pioneer in the treatment of PTSD by way of altering a patient's consciousness in order to return them to the traumatic event. This research is considered in several fields of psychology, but perhaps is most prevalent in conversations about the use of MDMA as a treatment for veterans with PTSD. Researchers make an argument similar to Charcot's that taking through MDMA, therapist can return soldiers to the moment of trauma in order for the soldier to remember, relive, and work through that event. Initial reports indicate that this method, though controversial, is having positive results. For more information see, Wendy Innes, "Studies Reveal Major Breakthroughs in Treating PTSD with Ecstasy," May 5, 2014, http://ivn.us/2014/05/05/studies-reveal-major-breakthroughs-treating-ptsd-ecstasy/.
[44] Young, *The Harmony of Illusions*, 19.

war and conflict. One of Charcot's most promising pupils joined him at Salpêtrière in

1885, and studied under his tutelage until 1890. His name was Sigmund Freud.

Freud and Breuer

At the time of his arrival to Salpêtrière, Freud had been studying hysteria

intensely with Josef Breuer. Freud and Breuer published their seminal work *Studies of

Hysteria* in 1895. However, two years earlier in 1893, in an earlier version of "Physical

Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena" Freud and Breuer described the hysteria in a near

identical match to Janet's earlier findings. Freud and Breuer insist:

> We must point out that we consider it essential for the explanation of hysterical
> phenomena to assume the presence of a dissociation—a splitting of content of
> consciousness…The regular and essential content of a (recurrent) hysterical attack
> is the recurrence of a psychical state, which the patient has experienced earlier.[45]

Extending the work of Janet, Freud designated the first stage of hysteria as "fright

hysteria," and describes this stage's symptom as, "the manifestation of freight,

accompanied by a gap in the psyche."[46] Like Charcot, the trauma or gap in the psyche

distills around the memory of the event. After this initial stage, repression and other

defense mechanisms can begin to form in the patient's psyche surrounding the specific

traumatic memory in question. In response to repression the patient develops what Freud

refers to as a "boundary idea" through which a patient links the trauma to a cathected

idea. For example, if a patient suffering from hysteria develops a boundary idea of a

physical ailment, then the physical ailment serves as symptom of the memory of the

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[45] Sigmund Freud and Joseph Breuer, "Physical Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena," in *Studies on Hysteria*, trans. Nicola Luckhurst (London: Imago Publishing 2004), 30.
[46] Gay, "Charcot," 96.

traumatic event. This idea begins to explain further how physical symptoms manifest in

patients who are suffering from psychological disorders such as hysteria. Again the links

drawn between memory, trauma, and boundary ideas all act as foundational principles for

medical inquiry of veterans returning home from war. Often these men had physical

symptoms such as tremors, an inability to speak, or violent attacks that were a direct

result of psychological traumas.[47]

Freud's work with Breuer centered upon the discourse between analysand and

analyst, and involved the hypnosis of an analysand during the therapeutic session. Under

hypnosis the analysand would freely talk about their traumatic experiences, which

allowed for a type of tension release. Breuer and Freud argued that the free flow of

discourse proved to be cathartic for their patients, and that the nervous disorders were a

direct result of a "damning up of painful affect" in the analysand's psyche.[48] It followed

that analysands could process hysteria and the symptoms presented by the disorder

through free association of discourse during the therapeutic session. Later, Freud came to

believe that the analyst held too much influence and sway over the hypnotized analysand.

Though his use of hypnosis would decline, he remained committed to the importance of

discourse and free association in order to treat the root of traumatic experience bound

within an analysand's mind.

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[47] Recall the early documentary films detailing the tremors of shell shock after World War I. The ability
to diagnose nervous disorders through the observation of their physiological forms continues to be
important for patients diagnosed with PTSD today.

[48] Anthony Bateman and Jeremy Holmes, *Introduction to Psychoanalysis Contemporary Theory and
Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 5.

The collection of work by Breuer and Freud occupies a prominent place in the history of psychoanalysis, and for my purposes here as well. I have highlighted the writings of Breuer and Freud to illustrate the early connections between hysteria and PTSD. Freud and Breuer would part ways soon after their work on hysteria was published, with Freud connecting traumatic memory with sexual abuse in childhood while Breuer continued to view the splintering of consciousness as a result of a traumatic experience that could occur outside of sexual abuse and childhood. Although my dissertation project does not take up early Freudian psychoanalytic claim that all traumas are a result of sexual abuse in childhood (a hypothesis Freud would eventually abandon), I do not propose to throw the baby out with the proverbial bath water. Instead I argue that one of the most valuable takeaways from Freud's writing—developed initially alongside Breuer—is the development of free association as a central tenant of psychoanalytic practice. As a therapeutic technique, free association allows patients to develop avenues for re-narrating their traumatic experiences in an effort to work through the symptoms of PTSD and hysteria.

The Role of Discourse and Narrative via Free Association

The role of discourse and free association was highlighted in Freud's *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, delivered at the University of Vienna from 1915-1917.[49] Although written without the intent of ever being delivered, Freud began his "lectures" describing the psychoanalytic process by rooting the practice in language and discourse.

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[49] Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures in Psycho-Analysis* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1966).

He began explaining his field of inquiry by contrasting the differences between psychoanalysis and medical practice. He describes the process of medical training "in medical training you are accustomed to *see* things. You see the anatomical preparation of the precipitate of a chemical reaction, the shortening of a muscle as a result of the stimulation of its nerves."[50] As such the medical field is predicated on pupils learning surgical procedures and the function of anatomy by directly witnessing the phenomena. Psychoanalysis stands in stark comparison, however. Freud notes, "in psycho-analysis, alas, everything is different," observable phenomena such as muscle contractions are not available. Psychoanalysis is solely concerned with the exchange of language as he emphasizes "nothing takes place in a psycho-analytic treatment but an interchange of words between the patient and the analyst."[51] In the classic psychoanalytic exchange:

> The patient talks, tells of his past experiences and present impressions, complains, confesses to his wishes and his emotional impulses. The doctor listens, tries to direct the patient's processes of thought, exhorts, forces his attention in certain directions, gives him explanations and observes the reactions of understanding or rejection which he in this way provokes in him.[52]

After his description of the therapeutic session, Freud offers a passionate defense of the power of language:

> Words were originally magic and to this day words have retained much of their ancient magical power. By words one person can make another blissfully happy or drive him to despair, by words the teacher conveys his knowledge to his pupils, by words the orator carries his audience with him and determines their judgments and decisions. Words provoke affects and are in general the means of mutual

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[50] Freud, *Introductory Lectures in Psycho-Analysis*, 19.

[51] Freud, *Introductory Lectures in Psycho-Analysis*, 19.

[52] Freud, *Introductory Lectures in Psycho-Analysis*, 19-20.

> influence among men. Thus we shall be pleased if we can listen to the words that pass between the analyst and his patient.[53]

In the 20th century, Freud's passion for language provided the foundation for a space to think about the powerful role narration plays in self-fashioning one's individual identity. Freud outlines two key approaches to narration's relationship to selfhood in *The Interpretation of Dreams* where he posits narrative's importance in two distinct avenues.[54] The first is an individual's ability to narrate their worldview. The narration comes through experience in the waking world, as well as the ability to narrate and interpret the dream world. The self-fashioning through language does not stop at the individual level. The second component is the ability to reconcile one's personal narrative within a larger given cultural context. These two theoretical moves in Freud's early and definite work implicate narrative's importance for self-fashioning at the individual and cultural level. Language provides the vehicle for narrative's mobility from the individual to the cultural. Language itself works to center the field of communication in direct relation to the practice of psychoanalysis. Although communication studies as a field no longer bears the influence of psychoanalysis as it once did in the interwar period, it is clear that psychoanalysis can be understood through the organizing principles of communication studies. For the purposes of my dissertation, however, I would like to focus on Freud's introductory cases pertaining to free

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[53] Freud, *Introductory Lectures in Psycho-Analysis*, 20.

[54] Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* translated by A. A. Brill (New York: McMillian, 1913). Peter Gay, "The Interpretation of Dreams," in *The Freud Reader*, edited by Peter Gay (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1989), 129-142.

association as a method in psychoanalysis, and his positioning of narrative's importance for self-fashioning and cultural understanding.[55]

Free Association Case Studies

Free association is perhaps one of the most notable and lasting techniques associated with Freudian psychoanalysis; while many of Freud's techniques have been critiqued and abandoned, the power of free association remains today in a broad array of therapeutic techniques. Free association is also closely tied with narrative.[56] Through free association an analysand would talk about their experiences with minimal influence from the therapist in the session. Here the importance was placed on how the analysand presented their narrative of events and moments, particularly of childhood, as a guide for the therapeutic process. Freud utilized this technique on several analysands famously referenced in code names: Little Hans, the Ratman, the Wolfman, and most notably Dora.

"Dora" was originally brought to Freud as a young girl because she had slapped her father's friend "Herr K." Dora explained to Freud that she slapped Herr K. because he made an unwanted pass at her, yet Freud was convinced that there was more to the story. Freud diagnosed Dora as a hysteric, a disorder that kept Dora from admitting the true reason she slapped Herr K, which he determined was her secret wish to marry him. Dora eventually left therapy with Freud and was for a time outspoken of her condemnation of his techniques.

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[55] My understanding of these relationships is indebted to Richard Kearney's work in *On Stories* where he brilliantly discusses Freud's case study of Dora.

[56] Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. James Strachey (New York: Avon Books, 1965).

For Freud the results of the Dora case study are not as important as their implications for the techniques of free association.[57] Freud argued in his essay, "Construction in Analysis," that a creative narrative was more important that any factual evidence.[58] This is because the factual objectivity of any narrative found in free association is not as important as the analysand's *experience* of his or her truth. For Freud, then, narratives did not need to be true or even accurate, but the existence of a narrative was itself telling of the analysand's emotional condition. By listening to the analysand's free association, the narrative of the unconscious was revealed, a narrative about how he or she related to the world, and not so much of how the world actually "is." In this respect Richard Kearney notes that through free association analysts work to "serve the story," and as a result the analysand's, "symptoms will dissolve."[59] Dora's symptoms eventually subsided precisely because she was able to narrate the world according to the way she saw it, the way she *experienced* it.[60]

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[57] Dora's sessions with Freud lasted for about eleven weeks of analysis before she eventually left. Historical details show that Dora was initially insulted by Freud's insistence that she was suffering from repressed feelings towards her Father and Herr K. Freud would note in his writings that he felt he failed as an analyst with Dora's case. Years later she reunited with Freud and told him he had been right about her feelings towards Herr K. all along. Dora served as one of Freud's initial investigations into what he would later refer to as "transference."

[58] Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works* (London: Hogarth Press, 1953-1974).

[59] Richard Kearney, *On Stories* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 33.

[60] The subsequent reactions to the Dora case have shaped distinct camps within psychoanalysis from Freud to present. Elaine Showalter and Jeffery Mason argue that Freud was guilty of placing his own narratives onto his patients. Additionally, Freud's claim that the truth of a memory is not as important as uncovering a memory through free association is heavily refuted by a number of memory scholars. I want to focus, however, instead on the positive aspects between narrative and a psychoanalytic approach.

PSYCHOANALYTIC STORYTELLERS: THE BRIDGE FROM FREUD TO CONTEMPORARY ANALYSTS

As Roy Schafer articulates over the course of his book *The Analytic Attitude*,

Freud's outline for psychoanalysis can be conducted, deployed, and utilized in a

multitude of vast and complex applications.[61] Schafer posits that each analyst who

practices psychoanalysis can read Freud differently. He roots his claim in the work of

Freud himself, noting that Freud vacillated between a psychoanalytic practice residing in

the realm of "essentialist and positivist natural science" or as an "interpretive discipline

whose practitioners aim to develop a particular kind of systematic account of human

action."[62] The two approaches position psychoanalysis' overall goal as either

"understanding, and explaining the dialogue between psychoanalyst and analysand" or

"establishing a set of codes to generate psychoanalytic meaning, recognizing this

meaning in each stance to be only one of a number of kinds of meaning that might be

generated."[63] A metaphorical fork in the road is presented with the work of Schafer.[64]

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[61] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude* (New York: Basic Books Inc. Publishers, 1983). Schafer's work is evident in cross-disciplinary fields. Previous versions and iterations of the main arguments found in *The Analytic Attitude* were published in various journals and book projects. For earlier versions of this argument please see, Roy Schafer, "The Psychoanalytic Vision of Reality," *A New Language for Psychoanalysis* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976); Roy Schafer, "On Becoming an Analyst of One Persuasion or Another," *Contemporary* Psychoanalysis 15 (1979): 345-360; Roy Schafer, "Narration in the Psychoanalytic Dialogue," *Critical Inquiry* Autumn (1980): 29-53. Each of the previous publications provided culminated in the publishing of *The Analytic Attitude*, and as such, I provide the moments of direct quotation and citation of sources directly from the single source of this book.

[62] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 212.

[63] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 212.

[64] Schafer is careful to note that Freud himself, at times, was not consistent with his description of the psychoanalytic project. Schafer describes how Freud would be "dogmatic" on one page and "tentative" on the next page. Freud was formulating psychoanalysis across several years of work and experience, and it was clear that he was grappling with the best way to present psychoanalysis to others. He was also training future analysts during these years such as Anna Freud, Carl Jung, Melanie Klein, etc. A plurality of different factions of psychoanalysis emerged while Freud was alive and practicing to say nothing of the multitude of iterations that were present during the 1970-1990s when Schafer was writing his own work.

As Schafer positions his argument, practitioners and scholars can either operate in the

realm of science or narrative. Schafer chose to explore the path of psychoanalysis as a

narrative enterprise, and he "present[s] psychoanalysis in narrational terms," yet he

cautions:

> In order to carry through this project, one must, first of all, accept the proposition
> that there are no objective, autonomous, or pure psychoanalytic data which, [sic]
> as Freud was fond of saying, compel one to draw certain conclusions.
> Specifically, there is no single, necessary, definitive account of a life history and
> psychopathology of biological and social influences on personality or of the
> psychoanalytic method and its results. What have been presented as the plain
> empirical data and techniques of psychoanalysis are inseparable from the
> investigator's precritical and interrelated assumptions concerning the origins,
> coherence, totality, and intelligibility of personal action.[65]

Schafer's narrative interpretation of Freud's psychoanalytic process is vital to my project.

The above description of a narrative approach to psychoanalysis opens the door for a

critical approach that does not portend or claim to have a standard or set definition of the

psychoanalytic experience. Instead, analysand and analyst together articulate the

experience of the psychoanalytic encounter. That is, the act of storytelling between

analysand and analyst is the nucleus when narration is privileged within the exchange of

discourse between an analysand and analyst. The focus on dialogue—first established by

Freud and continued through the work of Schafer and many others—provides a bridge for

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Schafer is careful in his writings not to privilege the narrative approach to psychoanalysis over different
iterations and uses of the practice by claiming that his way is the "right" way. I wish to take a similar
approach. The narrative approach to psychoanalysis provides the foundation for my project here, but it is
not my intention to claim that this approach is the "right" approach for psychoanalytic practice as a whole.
I am not an analyst, nor do I claim to be an expert in that enterprise. What I do claim here is that the branch
of psychoanalytic research that pertains to approaches of narration within psychoanalytic practice is the
most important and useful for my purposes.

[65] Roy Schafer, "The Analytic Attitude," 212-213.

connecting psychoanalysis and communication studies as each discipline focuses on the dialogue between interlocutors.[66]

Stories are the constitutive matter of a narrative approach to psychoanalysis.[67] Stories work as a type of "real-time" account of something that has happened, and as such, stories are the vehicle through which the analysand communicates their sense of identity to the analyst.[68] Schafer defines stories that construct a sense of self-concept as "self-stories" and these are the stories that individuals tell to others as a way to present themselves.[69] Stories are constitutive of identity through the very act of their telling. Schafer notes "in saying [stories]…we also tell them to ourselves" and this practice "encloses one story within another."[70] Self-stories fold one within another and overlap among the several self-stories we tell, and through this process a sense of identity begins to coalesce and define the individual telling the stories. "On this view," Schafer contends, "the self is a telling."[71]

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[66] Schafer himself supports the act of bridging disciplines through a focus on narration. In his more recent book, *Retelling a Life*, Schafer goes to great lengths to illustrate the potential connections between the fields of psychoanalysis, linguistics, and hermeneutics. Specifically Schafer provides three key areas: (1) narrating; (2) giving an account, and (3) presenting a version, as the modes and vocabularies of a narrative approach to psychoanalysis. Later in this section I offer a parallel historical tracing that positions the overarching fields of rhetoric, narratology, and hermeneutics in relation to the very move Schafer makes in this later work. For more information see, Roy Schafer, *Retelling a Life: Narration and Dialogue in Psychoanalysis* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). Schafer's work also features heavily in the work of Arthur Frank, a sociologist who I cover at length over the course of the proceeding chapters.

[67] I utilize the phrase "narrative approach" in an effort to streamline terms. This particular term combination is used throughout Schafer's work, and here I follow his established usage.

[68] Roland Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives," in *Narratology: An Introduction*, eds. S. Onega and J. A. G. Landa (New York: Longman, 1996): 45-60.

[69] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 218.

[70] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 218.

[71] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 219.

Individuals are also constituted by the stories told by the analyst. In psychoanalysis the analysts retells the analysand's stories back to them. The analyst plays an active role in the process of retelling. Schafer describes this retelling as an act where:

> Certain features are accentuated while others are placed in parentheses; certain features are related to others in new ways or for the first time; some features are developed further, perhaps at great length…The analyst's retellings progressively influence the what and how of the stories told by analysands.[72]

In this iteration of narrative psychoanalysis the analysand and analyst coauthor stories. First the analysand provides interwoven and interrelated self-stories to depict their self-identity. Next, through the retelling of these stories—some aspects highlighted and others downplayed—the analyst narrates a new conceptualization of the self-story back to the analysand. Schafer cautions that the telling and retelling do not occur in an "ordinary way" akin with the stories told in everyday contexts. Instead the analyst in this scenario is an "analytic reader" and as such has a higher responsibility and expresses a higher concerted effort than the standard practices enacted when sharing every day stories.[73]

I previewed Freud's development of free association above and positioned the concept as a central component for the beginning stages of psychoanalysis. Within Schafer's narrative approach, free association continues to be an important element. The dialogue between analysand and analyst, within this approach, provides the analysand with more agential power. In Freudian free association, as detailed above, the analysand is instructed to engage in free association and by doing so "holds nothing back that comes

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[72] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 219.
[73] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 227.

to mind."[74] In the narrative approach, however, Schafer depicts the analysand "as agent" or more specifically "as thinker and constructor of emotional action."[75] The invitation for the analysand to engage in Freudian free association depicts an analysand who says everything that comes to the mind. In the narrative approach, however, the analysand is positioned as a curator of his or her own stories. To understand, what I am calling here the invitation to speak in analysis, I quote Schafer at length:

> Let's see what you will do if you just tell me everything you think you feel without my giving you any starting point, any direction or plan, any criteria of selection, coherence, or decorum. You are to continue in this way with no formal beginning, no formal middle or development, and no formal ending except as you introduce these narrative devices. And let's see what sense we can make of what you do under these conditions. That is to say, let's see how we can retell it in a way that allows you to understand the origins, meanings, and significance of your present difficulties and to do so in a way that makes change conceivable and attainable.[76]

Schafer then suggests that the analyst listens and responds through retelling the stories shared by the analysand in two ways. First the analyst organizes the retelling based on themes that emerged throughout the analysand's stories.[77] Schafer gives the example of the theme of envy that might arise as a central organizing theme of the self-stories told by the analysand, yet the themes that emerge are unique to each set of self-stories and the larger psychoanalytic process. The second step taken by the analyst is to position the

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[74] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 226.

[75] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 227.

[76] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 227.

[77] The attention to themes that emerge from the stories of analysands is critical to the narrative methodological approach I conduct in part two of the dissertation. A greater discussion, which details the method, takes place in the next chapter. I would be remiss, however, not to establish the linkages here between narrative psychoanalysis as put forward by Schafer and the methodological implications described later.

self-stories told with themes that emerged and position them within a larger context for the analysand. If we keep Schafer's example of envy as an emergent theme, the second phase of the retelling by the analyst might position the theme of envy in relation to the analysand's conceptions of their parents and being envy of their relationship or perhaps in relation to the analysand's siblings and how the theme of envy from the self-stories is presently impacting the realm of the analysand's present narrative expressions.

It is critical to note here, however, that this example does not represent the extent of the intricacies bound within the analyst's retelling. The retelling is not as simple as the analyst telling the patient "I heard you say this, and as such, you are feeling envy." In fact the retelling is often quite the opposite, in that, the retelling "focuses on the action of telling itself" and the analyst's absence of ascribing exactly what is happening in the telling can breed frustration on the part of the analysand, as they want the analyst to provide them with answers. Instead it is the role of the analyst in the narrative approach to retell and "define the complex rules that the analysand is following in seeming to free associate."[78] Although the analysand can become frustrated due to the denial of answers from the analyst, the practice of free association within the narrative psychoanalytic approach is beneficial for the analysand and analyst as coauthors of the analytic session.

Psychiatrist Robert Coles praises the narrative approach offered by free association as a path to humanize an analysand. If the therapist is clear with the technique, they will first listen to the analysand's story and then articulate to the

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[78] Roy Schafer, *Language and Insight: The Sigmund Freud Memorial Lecture Series 1975-1976* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978).

analysand the simple truth that they are merely representing what was said in the

therapeutic session. Coles argues that by listening to the retold narrative, the analysand

subsequently "is humanized and given a history and a name."[79] For Coles, the

analysand's ability to narrate their experiences positions their symptoms within a larger

narrative of life experiences, and allows the person behind the symptoms to emerge.

Rooted in narrative experience, Coles notes that the ultimate guiding principle for

psychoanalysis is summed this way:

> The people who come to see us bring us their stories. They hope they tell them
> well enough so that we understand the truth of their lives. They hope we know
> how to interpret their stories correctly. We have to remember that what we hear is
> *their* story.[80]

For Coles, identifying an analysand as a mere representation of their mental health

symptoms while ignoring their stories is a problematic marker for other branches of

psychology who he claims treats the symptom and not the analysand by ignoring the

important exchanges of self-stories and discourses that occur between analysand and

analyst. Coles contends if psychotherapists or psychiatrists alike treat the symptoms and

not the narrative, the analysand is less likely to progress in treatment. Coles notes that by

ignoring the centrality of storytelling, not only does the analysand's progress suffer, but

also the denial of stories has an impact on the analyst's ability to lead the analysand

through the reparative process.[81]

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[79] Robert Coles, *The Call of Stories* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989).

[80] Coles, *The Call of Stories*, 7.

[81] Students of Lacan also adhere to the importance of narrative within psychoanalysis. Lacan's approach to therapy was more open-ended than that of Freud. For many Lacanians, the entire therapeutic experience is seen as an ongoing narrative between the patient and therapist, in which Lacan would not allow his

To this point my historical and theoretical tracings of psychoanalytic theory has worked to illustrate the relation between analysand and analyst. The very core and origins of psychoanalysis are bound together in the relationship between these two actors. That is not to say that outside influences—depicted through characters that become animated in therapeutic discourses such as the mother or father—do not play vital roles in the methods of psychoanalysis. It is evident, however, that the work of psychoanalysis to this point privileges the dyad, meant here as two persons engaged in analysis. How then does psychoanalysis as a mode of therapeutic exploration move from the therapist's couch to the realm of the public sphere? Narratology.

Narratology: The Science of Stories

The study of charting narrative's impact on individuals and societies has a storied history. The exploration and analysis of stories and narratives can be found in the fields of literary criticism, sociology, psychoanalysis, psychology, and communication studies just to name a few fields of study. Narrative theory, or as some fields term it "narratology," can trace its roots to Aristotle's analysis of poems.

Before I provide a brief history of the field of narrative studies, however, I pause to offer a note on definitional uses throughout the project. Narrative and stories are often used interchangeably across several fields that explore the impacts narratives have on

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patients to fall into a comfortable rhythm. Lacan's short session serves as one example of this rhythm breaking practice. Certain neo-Lacanians such as Malcolm Bowie, Christopher Bollas and Adam Phillips align themselves with this approach as well. Adam Phillips famously noted, "There is no cure, only ways of talking." See also, Adam Phillips, *On Flirtation* (London: Faber, 1994); Malcom Bowie, *Psychoanalysis and the Future of* Theory (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); Christopher Bollas, *Being a Character: Psychoanalysis* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992).

people and contexts. While some scholars contend that stories are distinct from

narratives, others have gone on scholarly record to claim the opposite.[82] Jerome Bruner,

often cited as a foundational narrative scholar, resides in the latter grouping of scholars

and disagrees with a limiting set of definitions for what counts as a narrative or a story.

Bruner argues "placing limits on the kinds of stories…could mean either that limits are

inherent in the minds of writers and/or reader what one is able to tell or understand." He

continues, "we would do well with as loose fitting a constraint as we can manage

concerning what a story must 'be' to be a story."[83] To this point, my use of narrative and

stories has been consistent with the definitions provided by the psychoanalytic scholars I

have cited. From this point forward, I follow the framework provided by Bruner and

utilize the terms interchangeably.[84]

A Greek Beginning

The roots of narrative, as "rhetoric," are firmly planted in Ancient Greece.

Aristotle is noted in many works as the founding theorist of narrative, and his discussion

of form in *Poetics* is often cited as the origin of narratology within the field of literary

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[82] Yiannis Grabriel, "The Unmanaged Organization: Stories, Fantasies, and Subjectivity," *Organization Studies* 16 (1995): 447-502. See also, Yiannis Gabriel, "Narratives, Stories, and Texts," in *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Discourse,* eds. D. Grant, C Hardy, C. Oswick and L. Putnam (London: Sage Publications, Inc., 2004): 61-78.

[83] Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 16-17.

[84] In future chapters I make note when and if I intend to constrain the uses of narrative and stories as a form of clarification to the reader.

studies.[85] Here the focus on narrative's adherence to structure is heralded, above all else, as the prime concern for narrative inquiry.

Poetics begins with a discussion of poetry. Aristotle's original inquiry in *Poetics* is focused on determining poetry's "essential qualities" and in doing so, he outlines a methodological approach to determining a literary work's classification as poetry or not.[86] Structure is articulated as the essential quality of poetry. In order, however, to understand a poem's structure, a critic must first understand the plot and nature of the poem itself. Books one through six explores the distinctions between poetry's relation to the forms of epic, tragedy, and comedy to explore how these three forms of poetry relate to one another. It is here that Aristotle underscores the importance of structure in determining the differences between each of the three.

Book seven of *Poetics* houses Aristotle's discussion of the three essential parts that a poem must exhibit in order to be considered as a literary work. He writes:

> A whole is that which has a beginning, a middle, and an end. A beginning is that which does not itself follow anything by causal necessity, but after which something naturally is or comes to be. An end, one the contrary, is that which itself naturally follows some other thing, either by necessity, or as a rule, but has nothing following it. A middle is that which follows something as some other thing follows it. A well constructed plot, therefore, must neither begin nor end at haphazard, but conform to these principles.[87]

A clear beginning, middle, and end, following in their distinct order of events, served as the origin for literary criticism's approach to narrative. The structure, form, and plot of a

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[85] Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. S. H. Butcher, in *Poetics and Rhetoric* (New York: Barnes and Noble Press, 2005).

[86] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 3.

[87] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 23.

story are the cornerstones for textual analysis within this field. Therefore, it is not the

characters, or overall message of the narrative that deem it literature, but the structure.

Narrative Scholars: The Contemporaries to Psychoanalytic Storytellers

For twentieth century narrative scholars, the novel became the key text for

analysis. Narrative structuralists such as E. M. Forster, Walter Benjamin, Mikhail

Bakhtin, and Vladimir Propp placed importance on structure and form when analyzing

the novel's relationship to storytelling. Each of these key theoretical figures authored

texts that focused on the elements that constitute narrative such as: time, plot, and

structure.

In 1969 theorist Tsvetan Todorov coined the term "narratology," and generally

described it as "the science of narrative."[88] Born out of a commitment to Russian

formalism, narratology is considered a leading theory in structuralism.[89] At present,

scholars who study narratology remain divided on determining or advocating an exact

definition for narratology. Most agree, however, that at its basic level, narratology seeks

to identify the characteristics that narratives have in common, or more specifically, what

makes a narrative a narrative.

Within the scope of narratology there are three camps of thought: Russian

formalism, French structuralism, and the Anglo-American academy, which consequently

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[88] Tsvetan Todorov, *Introduction to Poetics,* trans. R. Howard (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981).

[89] Russian formalism was influential for literary criticism during the time span between 1910-1930. Vladamir Propp is most known for his work analyzing Russian folk tales in which he devised taxonomy for classifying the function and characters found within these folktales. His formulations of the eight distinct types of character types remain influential in present day literary criticism. His influence is most noted in thinkers such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Tvestan Todorov, and Roland Barthes.

mark the historical track of narratology through time. Two characteristics of narratology

have remained constant throughout these three shifts and undergird the study of

narratology as a whole. The focus on *historie, fibula,* and *story* describe, "what is told";

while *récit, sjuzhet,* and *discourse* describe, "how it is told."[90] The concentration here on

"what" and "how" in narratology illustrates narratology's firm commitment to

structuralism in that the focus is on the text itself.[91] The most common reference to the

study of the story and the discourse is known as narrative dualism.[92] In order to better

understand this notion of narrative dualism, let us consider an example analysis.

A primary example of the utilization of a narrative dualism approach is

exemplified in Claude Lévi-Strauss' analysis of the *Oedipus* myth. In his analysis, Lévi-

Strauss deconstructs the *Oedipus* myth by breaking the components of the myth into

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[90] The terms *historie* pertains to Russian formalism, *fibula* to French Structuralism, and *story* to the Anglo-American academy, and the same order applies to *récit*-Russian formalism, sjuzhet-French Structuralism, and discourse- Anglo-American academy. Thus, you can see the projection of the same concepts throughout history and fields of study.

[91] The movie *Dead Poets Society* contains a classic scene in which Mr. Hunter, played by Robin Williams, has his students rip out the introduction by J. Evans Pritchard. In the scene depicting the removal of the introduction, a student reads a strict methodology for determining a poem's meter, rhyme, and figures of speech. After evaluating these three characteristics the critic than asks how artfully and how importantly a poem meets these objectives. The method is utilized as an X (artfully) and Y (importance) axis, and based upon the plotting of these two points, the critic can accurately respond to a poem's overall relevance. Though Mr. Hunter commands that his students rip out the section of their poetry text, it is the focus on the prescribed method that makes this scene so important for my purposes within this section. The opening scene depicting J. Evans Pritchard's technique is a clear example of the approach to narrative confined within structuralism. As an interesting side note, J. Evans Pritchard is a fictional character that is loosely based on the actual writings of Laurence Perrine, *Sound and Sense: An Introduction to Poetry* (Boston: Harcourt College, 1991).

[92] For a full description of narrative dualism see, Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse* (London: Cornell University Press, 1978). Specifically, for my purposes her, "narrative dualism," is simply the acknowledgement of the importance between the "what" and the "how" as they relate to the characteristics used to define a "narrative."

various columns in order to determine the "correct arrangement" of the myth.[93] The

analysis disperses the myth in four distinct columns that each reports a different aspect

that is central to the interrelatedness of the myth itself. Read from left to right the

columns present the myth's *understanding*, but read from top to bottom the *telling* of the

myth is highlighted.[94] The column approach provides several distinct opportunities for

gauging the arrangement of the *Oedipus* myth. Depending on the ordered reading of the

four columns the critic can separate the "what is told" in the myth from the "how it is

told."

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s played host to a rise of the narrative

approach to psychoanalysis outlined above by Roy Schafer in conjunction with the

pinnacle of narratology's use as the central approach to studying narrative. The scientific

approach to studying narratives privileged by narratology began to give way to the mode

of interpretation offered by psychoanalysis and phenomenology.

Critics were called to acknowledge the relationship between self and other, and

between other and other when the interpretation of meaning was relocated from the all

knowing subject to the space and relationship between interlocutors. The concept of

narrative identity, or self-stories, offered a new avenue to self-conceptualization.

Paul Ricoeur was a phenomenologist and contemporary to Roy Schafer who also

articulated the importance of language, communication, and narrative as the root for

sense making. Ricoeur located the route to self-identity through the relation to the other,

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[93] Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," in *Structural Anthropology,* trans. C. Jocobson
and B. G. Schoepf (London: Allen Lance, 1967) 213-219, 229-30.
[94] Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," 215.

the language within a dialogue, and in the narratives encompassed within that dialogue.

Thus, a subject comes into being through their narratives as Ricoeur writes; "the shortest route from self to self is through the other."[95] In order to gain an insight into the subject, a critic is called to analyze the narratives that occur between interlocutors. Ricoeur's call for a philosophical consideration of hermeneutics "reading the hidden meanings in the text of apparent meanings" is central not only to my overall project, but to the utilization of narrative that will be integral to phenomenology's theoretical foundation.[96]

RETRACING THE PARALLEL PATHS OF NARRATIVE

On the surface it seems redundant to briefly retrace the origins of narratology up to phenomenology, as the two subfields discover and point to the theoretical findings emulated in the previously outlined work of Roy Schafer. Why include work that was occurring in overlapping decades to arrive at a similar conclusion: that narratives are told by individuals to form a self-concept or sense of self-identity? I include these works for two reasons.

First, the theoretical work that supports narratology and the subsequent extensions into phenomenology provide the basis for narrative's explorations in the field of communication studies. The field of communication studies interrogates narrative analysis through an array of methods and areas of inquiry.[97] Organizational

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[95] Kearney, *On* Stories, 8.

[96] Paul Ricoeur, *Conflict of Interpretations: Essays in Hermeneutics* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1974).

[97] Lynn M. Harter, Phyllis M. Japp and Christina S. Beck, "Vital Problematics of Narrative Theorizing About Health and Healing," in *Narratives, Health and Healing Communication Theory, Research and*

communication examines how narratives function in an organization to both

communicate to stakeholders as well as train employees.[98] An area of interests for health

communication research is concerned with the narrative experiences between patients and

physicians and between patients and family members.[99] Critical rhetoric deploys

narrative analysis when interrogating relations of power examining what stories are told

versus stories that are silenced in conjunction with analysis of the role of myth as a form

of narrative storytelling.[100] Political communication, as a field, is interested in examining

the narratives that are shared and circulated in the news media.[101] Each of these

examples is intended to illustrate the basis for narrative explorations in the field, yet they

are not intended to be comprehensive. Narrative as a method, mode of inquiry, or

starting place for consideration plays a diverse role in the field of communication studies.

Acknowledging the history of thought the field of communication studies has

experienced is vital in understanding how narrative operates as a concept within the field.

Only accounting for the psychoanalytic development of narrative would fail to recognize

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Practice, ed. Lynn M. Harter, Phyllis M. Japp and Christina S. Beck (Mahwah: NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005): 7-31

[98] Larry D. Browning and George H. Morris, *Stories of Life in the Workplace: An Open Architecture for Organizational Narratology* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

[99] Erin Donovan-Kicken, Andres C. Tollison, and Elizabeth S. Goins, "The Nature of Communication Work During Cancer: Advancing the Theory of Illness Trajectories," *Health Communication* 27 (2012): 641-652.

[100] Janice Hocker Rushing and Thomas Frentz, "Integrating Ideology and Archetype in Rhetorical Criticism," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 77 (1991): 385-407; Thomas Frentz and Janice Hocker Rushing, "Integrating Ideology and Archetype in Rhetorical Criticism, Part II: A Case Study of Jaws," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 79 (1993): 61-82; Thomas Frentz and Janice Hocker Rushing, "Mother Isn't Quite Herself Today: Myth and Spectacle in The Matrix," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19 (2002): 64-87.

[101] Adam G. Klein, Carolyn M. Byerly, and Tony M. McEachern, "Counterframing Public Dissent: An Analysis of Antiwar Coverage in the U. S. Media," *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 26 (2009): 331-350.

the history within the field of communication studies, and the acknowledgement here illustrates how our fields are connected, as well as how this project is rooted in interdisciplinary notions of narrative.

Second, as communication studies is concerned with the personal and the public and with the individual and the political, the provided historical tracings account for the applications of narrative psychoanalysis (as articulated by Schafer) and narrative theory (as articulated by communication studies) to leave the constraints of the analyst and analysand dyad and consider the effects storytelling and story hearing have at the social level.

From the Couch to Culture

Narratives work to structure our self-concept as articulated by Schafer and Ricoeur and stories also shape our interactions with culture and society. Walter Fisher highlights the implications between individual narrators and society when he labels humans as "homo narrans" in the foundational essay in which he introduces the narrative paradigm to the field of communication studies.[102] Fisher's narrative paradigm is ultimately interested in "how persons come to believe and behave" within society and explorations of adherence within cultural norms.[103] An individual's ability to tell his or

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[102] Walter Fisher, "Narration As a Human Communication Paradigm: The Case of Public Moral Argument," *Communication Monographs* 51 (1984): 1-22. It is important to note here that Walter Fisher was neither the first nor the final scholar to position narrative analysis as a paradigm. For an additional example of narrative as paradigm see also, Charlotte Linde, The Acquisition of a Speaker by a Story: How History Becomes Memory and Identity," *Ethos* 28 (2001): 608-632.

[103] Walter Fisher, "Narration As a Human Communication Paradigm," 3.

her own various self-stories is reliant on the availability of stories from others found in the collective expressions of society.[104]

Audre Lorde articulates that stories form the "speech that has the power to create community" when she wrote about her experience as a patient suffering from breast cancer.[105] Arthur Frank extends Lorde's conception when he writes, "people's ability to have experiences depends on shared cultural resources that provide words, meanings, and the boundaries that segment the flow of time into episodes. Experiences are very much our own, but we don't make up these experiences by ourselves."[106] Individuals are "forever telling stories about ourselves" and simultaneously "we are forever telling stories about others."[107] Stories illustrate the interplay between individuals and society, and as such, stories and narratives act as threads that weave the tapestry of our overall cultural experiences.

What appears crucial to a psychoanalytic and cultural approach to narrative is this: "it takes two to story."[108] Humans are constantly telling their stories to one another. When someone asks, "who are you" you begin to narrate your existence to them through the subsequent stories that you tell in order to answer their question. Who we are is thus defined through the stories we tell *to another*. We see this clearly through the examples offered initially by Freud's psychoanalytic approach to free association, through

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[104] Arthur Frank, *The Wounded Storyteller: Body Illness and Ethics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[105] As cited in, Arthur Frank, *The Wounded Storyteller*, xiii.

[106] Arthur Frank, *The Wounded Storyteller,* xiii-xiv.

[107] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude*, 219.

[108] Kearney, *On Stories*, 45.

Schafer's articulation of narrative psychoanalysis, and by Cole's arguments of the ultimate humanization of analysands through narrative. Structuralism's own Claude Lévi-Strauss once noted that a good psychoanalyst was comprised of two parts, "a *scientist* who takes facts seriously and a *shaman* who knows how to receive and tell stories."[109] Richard Kearney's insistence that "it takes two to story" concretizes the assertion that self-fashioning is found through the relation of narrating one's story to and with another. In the therapeutic approach to psychoanalysis the act of narrating one's experience happens between the analysand and analyst. In the cultural setting the act of narrating occurs between an individual and others through different channels and mediums. In the broader cultural setting we narrate our experiences by talking with friends, watching popular films, the choice of our clothes, as well as our engagement with the national news media apparatus. If a person does not narrate their experiences through socially acceptable avenues such as these, and instead, constantly talks solely to themselves we often consider that individual to be mentally unbalanced; or at the very least, mentally unaware of their individual relation to the larger cultural norm of talking to others instead of talking solely to oneself. The presence of two parties in the self-fashioning process is a central tenant of psychoanalysis, free association, broader cultural integration, and specifically my dissertation project.

Although widespread in many therapeutic approaches today, psychoanalysis pioneered the idea that having others tell stories about their experience (or dreams) can

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[109] Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Psychoanalysis and Shamanism," *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Penguin, 1963). Emphasis is my own.

help them to overcome the suffering of trauma. To this point, the veteran experience has been the haunting specter of the theory section. Breuer and Freud's initial research implicated the veteran experience. Freud's continued work in the field of hysteria and hypnosis extended to the veteran community through developments in the treatment of trauma and early conceptualizations of PTSD. World War I and World War II also haunt the historical context surrounding much of the timeline I have outlined. I argue here that based on the research within narrative and psychoanalysis outlined above, it follows that telling one's narrative is a vital element of mental health.[110]

To that end, I want to be careful with my use of psychoanalysis and narrative in my dissertation because I do not want to suggest that I am doing the clinical work of a practicing psychoanalyst. My engagement with the narrative approach in psychoanalysis is focused on the cultural resources and outlets provided to veterans in order to narrate their experiences. As I have previously noted, Freud was concerned with the individual one-on-one therapeutic narrative setting, as well as how those interactions reflect and interact within a larger cultural consciousness. Specifically, I am interested in investigating the avenues for narrating at the cultural level, hence my analysis of the national news media as outlets for narrating veteran's experience with PTSD.

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[110] Sten Isovarra, Maria Arman, and Arne Rehnsfeldt, "Family Suffering Related to War Experiences: An Interpretative Synopsis Review of the Literature From a Caring Science Perspective," *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Science* 20 (2006): 241-250; Maria Arman, "How Can We Research Human Suffering," *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Science 20* (2006). 239; Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, trans. Kathleen Blamey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Joseph Bobrow, "Military Suicide, Emotional Anguish and Healing," *Huffington Post,* July 20, 2012, accessed July 20, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/joseph-bobrow/military-suicide_b_1691148.html.

In this section I have tried to illustrate why psychoanalysis and narrative serve as the theoretical foundation for my project. First, I illustrated how psychoanalysis pioneered the advancement of narrative's use in therapy, initially with studies in hysteria, and eventually as a way to assist patients who were suffering from a range of traumas. The insights into narrative proffered by psychoanalysis eventually spread far beyond Freud and have been taken up in various therapeutic approaches, still in use today, such as Cognitive Processing Therapy and Prolonged Exposure. As we learned from Freud, stories involving traumas insist on being told, and those stories are comprised of memories of the past traumatic event as well as the self-fashioning avenues and outlets to communicate individual traumas to larger cultural outlets. If we grant that war is hell, and that PTSD sufferers have the story material from a traumatic past experience, the other part we need to examine is an investigation of the cultural representations and symbols that are available for sufferers to use in order to narrate their experiences to the culture at large. What avenues are present for veterans to transport and narrate their stories from the walls of their therapist's office to halls of Congress? I turn to news media analysis in order to investigate the larger cultural implications for a psychoanalytic approach to narrative. Here I examine whether or not our veterans themselves are narrating their experience to our culture, or if other participants are framing veteran stories on their behalf.

NARRATIVE THEORY AND MEDIA ANALYSIS: STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Insofar as we know that narratives have a therapeutic and medical dimension, how does a non-physician or critic explore the dimension of narrative in relation to

PTSD? How does the scholar investigate narratives at the group level and draw

connections to narrative theory? Here I turn to the well-supported field of media framing

to help me address these questions, first, by investigating the literature concerning objects

in culture, and then by outlining "indexing" as my mode of inquiry within news media

analysis. Media framing acts as an organizing structure and provides the opportunity to

wed psychoanalysis and narrative theory together in order to bridge the techniques found

inside the therapeutic contexts with the narrative-producing machine that is our national

news media.

In a broad description news media analysis, as a mode of scholarly criticism,

attends to power and how its different implementations impact and shape news media

stories. In the broader field context of communication studies, previous news media

analyses have drawn from a combination of traditions rooted in media studies and

political communication. Previous scholars have investigated how words are deployed to

shape the rhetoric surrounding current events, while other projects investigate the power

inherent in the images that accompany news media reports.[111] An example of a line of

inquiry in news media analysis is frame analysis. Framing encompasses a breadth of

interest, and the integration of an array of methodological approaches within

communication studies. Some scholars have described the multitude of applications

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[111] Lance Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States" *Journal of Communication,* 40 (1990); S. Bleich, "Is it all in a word? The Effect of Issues Framing on Public Support for U.S. spending on HIV/AIDS in Developing countries," *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12 (2007): 120-132; P. R. Brewer, "Values, Political Knowledge and Public Opinion About Gay Rights: A Framing-Based Account," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 67 (2003): 173-201; J. Devitt, "Framing Gender on the Campaign Trail: Female Gubernatorial Candidate and the Press," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 79 (2002): 445-463; R. J. Donovan and J. Geoffrey, "Positively Versus Negatively Framed Product Attributes: The Influence of Involvement," *Psychology of Marketing* 16 (1999): 613-630.

found in the literature as "both a blessing and a curse," while others have maintained that framing's multitude of applications is precisely why it is valuable. The work of Robert Entman, who is considered to be a pioneer of framing analysis, called for a type of theoretical and methodological consolidation for framing research.[112] Entman contested that a single paradigm, or single way of understanding the research produced by frame analysis would benefit the resulting research. Entman's colleagues swiftly rejected the call for a single operating framing paradigm, however. Paul D'Angelo goes as far to write that a single paradigm for framing is neither "possible nor desirable," and that framing's diversity in method and approach are, in fact, the strength of the paradigm.[113] Additional scholars noted that a single operating paradigm for framing was "laughably naïve."[114]

How, then, might a scholarly approach of framing with its infinite iterations inform my project specifically? How might we place these two seemingly disparate and difficult to accurately define fields of narrative analysis and framing in conversation with one another? It is my argument here that the overall scholarly conversation encompassed in the framing literature blends well with the previous claims of importance of narrative in every day life. As the research above argues, narrative impacts interactions with the world and as such provides a mirror for self-knowledge, it follows that an extension in that understanding to connect with news media analysis is possible. Although there are a

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[112] Robert Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 41 (1993): 51-58.

[113] Paul D'Angelo, "News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program A Response to Entman," *Journal of* Communication (2002): 870-888

[114] Thomas E. Nelson and Elaine A. Willy, "Issue Frames that Strike a Value Balance: A Political Psychology Perspective," in *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World,* edited by S. D. Reese, O. Oh. Gandy, and A. E. Grant (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associations, Inc., Publishers, 2001), 245-266.

large number of various applications and approaches to news media analysis, I can constrain those numbers with the therapeutic function of storytelling. The focus on narrative specifically, provides some self-imposed limits to work within for my dissertation project. The unit of analysis for narrative theory is concentrated at the individual level. I (the narrator) tell you (the audience) a story of experience, and through that discourse unconscious factors may be revealed depending on the training of the audience (psychoanalysts, therapist, etc.). On the other hand, the unit of analysis in news media research literature expands from the individual level to the public level.

When one thinks about the nightly news broadcasts, or the readership audience of the *New York Times*, it would seem that the level of analysis is not at the individual level. I contend, however, that when we conceptualize the journalist as the narrator, and the public as a receptive audience, the individual unit of analysis mirrors the broader public unit of analysis. The investigation of journalists as narrators, and the public sphere as audience, connects these two otherwise disparate bodies of literature. That is to say, in the previous portions of my review of literature the narratives discussed were between patient and therapist. In the following section, however, the narrative sphere grows in participants from narratives that are shared between a journalist and their viewing audience. Though this at first might seem like an incongruous mashing together of theoretical approaches, I suggest this approach is not uncommon; it just goes by a different vocabulary. Both the fields of narrative theory and news media analysis have been lauded for their malleability. News media analysis' openness and ability to speak to multiple theoretical approaches "puts together strange bedfellows that differ in important

philosophical assumptions," and that is why it provides the support and allowance for extension. Narrative psychoanalysis speaks to the realm of the therapeutic, while news media analysis speaks to the realm of the public. Pairing these theories together, as I do in my dissertation, allows for examination of the question, how does a non-physician cultural critic explore the dimension of narrative in relation to PTSD? The answer here is news media analysis broadly speaking, and the indexing hypothesis specifically.

AN OVERVIEW OF NEWS MEDIA ANALYSIS

News media analysis is a field of inquiry whose roots are strongly held within the area of political communication, although versions of it can be found in the fields of media effects and journalism as well. Often times, scholars implore the method of framing analysis to investigate news media effects and/or the impacts mediated representations have on audiences and issues alike. Overall, news media framing analysis are at their root interested in the power dynamics at play in the selection of the news story, the frame through which the story is narrated to an audience, and the impacts those frames have on the cultural reception of framed issues. In the following section I present a brief review of news framing literature, as it works to situate the inherent power bound within the production of news stories and news narratives.[115] The second move I make within this section narrows the scope of news framing analysis to discuss the indexing hypothesis, which is particularly interested in the storytellers of news—the

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[115] Although my project does not employ a strict framing analysis specifically, the subsequent literature outlining the indexing hypothesis is informed and supported alongside framing. As such, a brief inclusion of framing as an example here illustrates the interrelatedness of these sub-fields.

sources and voices of individuals who are called upon to speak in news coverage of various topics.

News Media Framing

As defined by Robert Entman, framing considers "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution."[116] Furthermore, Entman argues that framing "directly promotes interpretations that lead to evaluations [by an audience]."[117] Stephen Reese reminds us that framing works to "set up categories," and by doing so "define some ideas as out and others in."[118] Todd Gitlin defined framing as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion."[119] News media framing can impact how citizens think about the political world that surrounds them, which in turn, has an impact on how individuals view their world.[120] Political pundits, journalists, citizens, and politicians each draw conclusions as a direct result of the way news framing narrates the voices and views of different political issues. Thus, framing research not only seeks to understand how an issue is covered in the media, but also the potential power inherent in the voices that shape various news

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[116] Robert Entman, "Framing: Toward clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43 (1993): 51-58.

[117] Robert Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 26.

[118] Stephen D. Reese, "The Framing Project: A Bridging Mode for Media Research Revisited," *Journal of Communication* 57 (2007): 148-154.

[119] Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

[120] Dietram. A. Scheufele, "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects," *Journal of Communication* 49 (1999): 103-122.

media narratives. News media framing allows for the consideration of what stories are told, what stories are left out, and what power dynamics are at play between the narrator of news (journalists) and their audience.

Erving Goffman, one of the foundational scholars in news media analysis, was interested in how individuals made sense of the world around them. He theorized that in order to make sense of the world, an individual would first need to organize their every day experiences in an effort to interpret or place meaning to those experiences.[121] Frames for understanding, or as Goffman later called "schemata of interpretation," became a foundational piece of research within the area of news media analysis. Goffman was primarily concerned with organizing an array of small seemingly "meaningless" events and placing them side-by-side in such a way that the accumulation of small events shaped the representation of larger meaningful moments.[122] Here we can already draw relationships between his work and the importance of narrative. Goffman argued that frames within news media exist in the overall culture of a society and are a result of the social construction of reality. Various narratives and norms that exist in a culture would produce a range of frames for sense making. The foundation of framing is attributed to Goffman, but the application of framing soon appears in the areas of media analysis and communication studies.

Research on news media framing is vast, and like narrative, is at times hard to contain under a single operating definition. Porismita Borah conducted a meta-analysis

[121] Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).
[122] Goffman, *Frame Analysis*.

of framing literature over the past decade, and highlights the three major areas of research that have each proffered from framing analysis.[123] First, the "cognitive, constructionalist, and critical" approach is represented through the work of Paul D'Angelo, Dhavan Shah, David Domke, and Daniel Wackman.[124] Second, the work of Dietram Scheufele and David Tewksbury represents the, "sociology, economics, psychology, cognitive linguistics, and communication" based research, while the third and final area identified is "political science, sociology and media studies," aligned with the work of James Hertog and Douglas McLeod.[125] While Borah's meta-analysis begins with the aforementioned three categorizations, it is not meant to be a total representative glimpse of framing literature. The line of news media framing I am most interested in considers the power dynamics at play and whose voices and views are invited to speak on veterans, PTSD, and their wartime experiences. As an established approach to examining power dynamics in the curation of news media stories, news media framing moves us closer to that end. In the following section I bridge the aforementioned established mode of inquiry, news framing, and the specific methodological approach used at times within this sub-field, known as the indexing hypothesis.

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[123] Porismita Borah, "Conceptual Issues in Framing Theory: A Systematic Examination of a Decade's Literature," *Journal of Communication* 61 (2011): 246–263.

[124] Paul D'Angelo, "News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic," 870; Dhavan Shah, Kwak Nojin, Mike Schmierbach, and Jessica Zubric, "The Interplay of News Frames on Cognitive Complexity," *Human Communication Research* 30, (2004): 102–20; David Domke, Dhavan Shah, and Daniel B. Wackman, "'Moral Referendums': Values, News Media, and the Process of Candidate Choice," *Political Communication* 15 (1998): 301.

[125] Dietram Scheufele, and David Tewksbury. "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models," *Journal of Communication* 57 (2007): 9–20; James Hertog and Douglas McLeod, "A Multiperspectival Approach to Framing Analysis: A field guide," in *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, edited by S. D. Reese, O. Oh. Gandy, and A. E. Grant (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associations, Inc., Publishers, 2001), 245-266.

THE INDEXING HYPOTHESIS

Indexing refers to a hypothesis originally put forward by Lance Bennett on the mediated relationship between the press and state (official government).[126] Bennett examined the inherent tensions between the press' demands for open access with the state's position of privacy in regard to certain information. Bennett describes the balance of power between the press and the state as follows:

> Culturally speaking, it is generally reasonable for journalists to grant government officials a privileged voice in the news, unless the range of official debate on a given topic excludes or 'marginalizes' stable majority opinion in society, and unless official actions raise doubts about political propriety.[127]

Inherent in his claim here—and confirmed throughout his writings on the indexing method—is the balance between the government's official narratives and holding those narratives accountable to the views and voices of individual citizens and news media elites. In an ideal and well-functioning democracy, government officials would be held accountable to the citizens through the news media apparatus. Indexing specifically speaks to which voices are used to mitigate the balance of power between the press and the state. That is to say, indexing allows scholars and critics to examine whether or not a balance exists between the views and voices represented by the state and those found in positions of dissent. To this end, journalists "index" the views and voices of the government and counterbalance with various representations in the coverage of certain stories. Bennett hypothesized "mass media news professionals, from the boardroom to the beat, tend to 'index' the range of voices and viewpoints in both news and editorials

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[126] Lance Bennett, *News: The Politics of Illusions* (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1998); G. Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1978).
[127] Lance Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations," 104.

according to the range of views expressed in mainstream government debate about a given topic."[128]

For example, when members of Congress are locked in a partisan battle over a bill on the House floor, the press is likely to mirror this dissent by interviewing members of Congress who disagree. The index of views and voices in the coverage of the bill in question mirrors the actual conversations occurring between members of Congress at the "state" level. Taken conversely, if citizens were upset about a bill on the House floor, but there was very little debate within the halls of Congress, Bennett would argue that it is far less likely for the citizens' views and voices to make it into the mainstream media coverage, precisely because all levels of the news media apparatus index (or select) voices and viewpoints that reflect the official state position on a given topic.

Bennett's conceptualization of the indexing method is inherently bound up with marginalized narrative accounts pertaining to issues that are caught between the press and the state relationship. Journalists, news editors, and news producers as the media elite are encouraged to include the views and voices that align with the official government position on a topic while the views and voices that conflict with the official narrative are not quick to be included in the discourse. On the inclusion of marginalized views Bennett writes "…societal voices falling outside the official range of debate are admitted occasionally into journalistic accounts," while the, "circumstances surrounding such inclusions usually involve civil disobedience, protest, or lawless acts that establish

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128 Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations," 106.

negative interpretative contexts for those voices."[129] This illustrates the vast array of

possibilities that pertain to situations in which the larger operating news apparatus index

voices and viewpoints highlighted by who is quoted in any given news story. Bennett's

inclusion of marginalized voices and viewpoints is another crucial reason for the use of

indexing to my dissertation project. Veterans are a small minority of the overall U.S.

population, with less than one percent serving in Iraq or Afghanistan. With that in mind,

indexing as a method is acutely aware of minority influences in the news, and my

project's focus on the minority status of veterans as a population provides another strong

rationale for the inclusion of the indexing hypothesis. What then, are the best avenues for

uncovering which voices and viewpoints are most prevalent in an indexing analysis?

Indexing Hypothesis' Unit of Analysis

Questions concerning the observable facts—who, what, when, how, why—of a

news story can be discerned by examining quotations. David D'Alessio argued that

quotations are "the creations of the sources being cited" and as such influence audience

perceptions of content.[130] Direct quotations of sources by journalists play a vital role in

the connection between a journalist's objectivity and the act of reporting the news to his

or her viewers. As journalists seek to be objective and neutral with regard to the

information they are reporting, direct quotations become the avenues used to illustrate

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[129] Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations," 107. The inclusion of marginalized voices in relation to the state's official narrative is important for my purposes here, as I argue below through the selection of news media events, the conversations surrounding veterans and PTSD often bubble up to a boil when veterans are involved in lawless events.

[130] David D'Alessio, "An Experimental Examination of Readers' Perceptions of Media Bias," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 80 (2003): 282-294.

underlying debates and provide greater contexts for an array of issues. The logic follows

that direct quotations hold a marked rhetorical space within a news story. Objectivity and

impartiality do not strictly adhere to direct quotations, as for the majority of the time; the

source of a direct quotation is not a journalist and does not adhere to objectivity

standards. In other words, direct quotes do not adhere to the objectivity criterion of

journalistic ethics, and because of this, direct quotations provide the location for which to

examine power dynamics of who is invited to speak on certain topics.

Research utilizing the indexing hypothesis is well established in scholarly inquiry,

particularly with regard to the news media coverage of the wars in Iraq and

Afghanistan.[131] An indexing analysis of veterans in the news media, however, has not to

my knowledge, been a topic of research, and in this way my dissertation extends the

research of indexing the news coverage of veterans. Specifically investigating direct

quotations affords scholars—and by extension my dissertation project—the ability to

gauge whether or not powerful institutions coupled with assistance from media elites are

driving the narrative frame surrounding veterans and PTSD.[132]

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[131] Sean Aday, Steven Livingston, and Maeve Hebert, "Embedding the Truth: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Objectivity and Television Coverage of the Iraq War," *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 10 (2005): 3-21; Sean Aday, John Cluverius, and Steven Livingston, "As Goes the Statue, So Goes the War: The Emergency of Victory Frame in Television Coverage of the Iraq War," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 49 (2005): 314-331; Sean Aday, "Chasing the Bad News: An Analysis of 2005 Iraq and Afghanistan War Coverage on NBC and Fox News Channel," *Journal of Communication* 60 (2010): 144-164.

[132] The indexing research of Klein, Byerly, and McEachern was concerned with how the news media framed the voices and faces of Iraq War protestors. The research team conducted a content analysis using direct quotations as their unit of analysis in order to investigate the presentation and perception of Iraq War Protestors in media coverage during the 2006-midterm elections. By analyzing direct quotations the authors were able to identify which actors were presented as antiwar protestors, the ideas that dominated the news discourse pertaining to the protests, as well as how the news media framed these individuals. See Adam G. Klein, Carolyn M. Byerly, and Tony M. McEachern, "Counterframing Public Dissent: An

Framing Mental Illness in the New Media

An area of exploration that has previously combined the theoretical and applied practices of framing analysis and indexing voices is a focus on mental illness in the news. As the mediated representations of veterans and PTSD are impacted by the overarching discussion of mental illness, it follows that a brief contextualization of media analysis examining mental illness specifically is warranted. Below, I briefly highlight previous work that focuses on the news media's framing of mental illness to illustrate how my dissertation project rests under the larger umbrella of mediated representations of mental illnesses.

Elaine Sieff reminds us "negative perceptions of mental illnesses are persistent, despite the advances in treatment and a greater understanding of disease processes."[133] Sieff attributes the continued negative perceptions of mental illness to the ways in which mental illnesses are framed by the news media. Individuals who suffer from any type of mental illness are often presented to the public through negative frames that depict these individuals as people who are markedly different from their mentally healthy counterparts. Kay Jamison goes as far as to argue that news media frames of mental illness play a role in the shunning and shaming of individuals who suffer from mental

Analysis of Antiwar Coverage in the U.S. Media," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 26 (2009): 331-350.

[133] Elaine M. Seiff, "Media Frame of Mental Illness: The Potential Impact of Negative Frames," *Journal of Mental Health* 12 (2003): 259-269.

illness, and because of these negative frames these individuals are stigmatized in society.[134]

The presence of negative and stigmatized frames for mental illness within the news media has spanned several decades. In 1957, Taylor looked at newspapers, magazines, and television coverage of mental illness from the previous forty years. Taylor concluded that individuals with mental illness were depicted quite differently than their mentally healthy counterparts, with individuals diagnosed with mental illness framed as "dangerous, dirty, and unintelligent."[135] The incongruity in depictions of individuals with mental illness has continued. In 2000, Wahl analyzed 107 magazine stories covering the topic of obsessive-compulsive disorder. He found that less than one-third of the depictions of the disorder were accurate.[136] Why is it so important that news media representations of mental illness are framed correctly? Naturally, I would be inclined to argue for proper representations of all topics in the national news media, but it is particularly salient for the case of mental illness. A study conducted in 1991, found the majority of adults in the U.S. credited the mass media as their top source for information regarding mental illness.[137] With the news media occupying the top resource for information to the public it becomes imperative that scholars investigate the mediated representations of mental illness presented to the public.

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[134] Kay R. Jamison, *Touched with Fire: Manic-Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament* (New York: Free Press, 1998).

[135] Sieff, "Media Frame of Mental Illness," 2003.

[136] O. F. Wahl, "Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder in Popular Magazines," *Community Mental Health Journal* 36 (2000): 307-312.

[137] O. F. Wahl, *Media Madness: Public Images of Mental Illness* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995).

Therapeutic discourses animate the ways in which individuals view mental illness and those who are impacted by mental illness. The news frame also has an effect on how we react to calls for more mental health treatment or awareness from an array of sources from advocacy organizations to members of the medical community. Dana Cloud argues therapeutic news frames can work to place the responsibility for mental illness squarely on the shoulders of the individuals who are diagnosed, and consequently, these therapeutic frames eschew the possibility of questioning larger systematic and structural entities. That is to say, the therapeutic news frame allows for the "dislocation of social problems into a private, familial, or psychological frame," as opposed to a communal involvement with mental illness.[138] Cloud writes:

> The therapeutic refers to a set of political and cultural discourses that have adopted psychotherapy's lexicon—the conservative language of healing, coping, adaptation, and restoration of a previously existing order—but in contexts of sociopolitical conflict. The rhetorical function of therapeutic discourses in such contexts is to encourage audiences to focus on themselves and the elaboration of their private lives rather than to address and attempt to reform systems of social power in which they are embedded.[139]

I draw attention to this quote in order to emphasize that frames of therapeutic discourses concerning veterans often align with Cloud's assertion that veterans—once separated from service—are individually responsible for seeking assistance for mental health issues by contacting the Department of Veterans Affairs or navigating the vast pool of non-

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[138] Dana Cloud, *Consolation and Control in American Culture and Politics: Rhetoric of* Therapy (Thousand Oaks: CA, Sage, 1998): 86. See also Kristen Hoerl, Dana Cloud, and Sharon Jarvis, "Therapeutic News Frames of Presidential Assassination Attempts, 1973-2001," *Communication, Culture, and Critique* 2 (2009): 83-109.

[139] Cloud, *Consolation and Control in American Culture*, xvi.

profits who focus on assisting veterans.[140] The therapeutic framing of veteran's mental

healthcare system in a sense, works to dissuade a discussion of larger issues at play

within the public narrative of the veteran community in relation to PTSD, making the

further investigation of news media frames concerning this confluence of events even

more necessary during our perpetual war state.

News media framing plays an important role in deciding what issues will be

highlighted and discussed, what issues will be masked and brushed under the rug, and

how power animates those decisions at various levels throughout the news media

apparatus. Frames not only impact the issues discussed, the research also highlights how

these frames have material effects on an audience's decision-making capacities

concerning certain topics. Media framing also provides the narrative material for

veterans to cathect their stories to larger national narratives about wartime experiences

through the points of cultural connection within circulating narratives pertaining the

PTSD. As Entman reminds us, frames highlight and draw our attention to a political

issue—providing a connection point for individual narratives to graft onto larger cultural

narratives—and in so doing, frames simultaneously mask other narratives making a

connection point for grafting individual experiences onto larger cultural narratives much

more difficult. The research outlined above illustrates the case for further investigation

into news media analysis, particularly with attention to the mediated representations of

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[140] This claim is foundational to the current project, and as such, is further explicated throughout the
proceeding chapters.

the veteran community and PTSD specifically, along with therapeutic frames of discourse

as they operate during times of war.

CONCLUSION

        The central aim of this chapter was to describe the literature and theoretical

underpinnings of my dissertation project. The chapter began with a historical overview

of post-traumatic stress disorder and illustrated the origins of psychoanalytic inquiries,

which align with a general curiosity of PTSD and how it affected veterans returning

home from World War I. The next section of the review of literature outlined the bridge

between Freudian psychoanalysis and its contemporary counterparts through the work of

Roy Schafer. Schafer's highlighting of narration within psychoanalysis works to bridge

Freudian psychoanalysis with a breadth of narrative theory. Because of Schafer's

narrative psychoanalytic approach, the fields of psychoanalysis and communication

studies are bridged together through the common interests and investigation into narrative

phenomena both at the individual and social levels. Finally, the review of literature

linked the narratives told in the therapeutic offices of an analyst with the societal

narratives depicted through the news stories delivered by the national news media. The

indexing hypothesis provides a vehicle for examining how the sources of national news

narratives both impact and comment on the power dynamics held within the narratives

told to the public sphere by narrating journalists.

        In this dissertation I join together theoretical fields and methodological

approaches that are deliberately unorthodox in their pairings. Doing so, I hope, provides

new insights. As I stated in the introduction to this chapter, these bodies of work are not

disparate in their interests in narratives or their claims of narrative power, only in their

vocabularies. In order to answer questions about the narratives circulating in the news, it

is vital that the narratives are first gathered for analysis. Thus, I present the remainder of

the dissertation in two distinct parts.

Part one of the dissertation project answers the empirical questions made possible

through an indexing content analysis of national news narratives. The two chapters

comprising part one of the dissertation attend to these questions by providing the results

of the indexing content analysis. Based on the results of the empirical findings in part

one, part two of the dissertation analyzes the narratives that emerged within the coded

national news texts. I turn now to the discussion of the methodological approaches in the

following chapter.

Chapter Two: A Multi-Methodological Approach to Indexing News Narratives

In this chapter I present the methodological approach conducted in the dissertation to investigate the over-arching research questions presented in the previous chapter. To answer the questions posed for part one's empirical investigation, I conducted a content analysis of national news media coverage which allowed me to interrogate the questions of source selection such as the following: who tells the story of PTSD in the national news media? Who is invited to speak and narrate the story of PTSD for veterans? And finally, is there a distinction between how these stories are narrated in newspaper coverage versus television coverage? Part two of the dissertation project is concerned with the rhetorical and narrative elements of the stories that emerged across the dataset. In order to answer the questions in part two, I utilized an inductive approach common within the fields of narrative analysis, political communication, and communication studies broadly speaking. The questions under investigation in part two pertain to the *content* of stories that emerged through the direct quotations and paraphrased remarks gathered during the indexing content analysis process such as the following: what stories circulate about veterans? What stories coalesce to emerge as dominant narratives across each of the three source mediums, nine source outlets, and four news media events? Part one had to be conducted in order to gather and access the stories analyzed in part two, and as such, this chapter unfolds by first addressing the systematic approach of the indexing content analysis before moving on to discuss the methodological approach conducted in part two.

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PART ONE: INDEXING CONTENT ANALYSIS

Up until now, research that has investigated the links between news media coverage and war has focused on a myriad of approaches that examine different key components of war and conflict. Studies have examined the news media's role leading up to the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq to determine if the news media performed their duties as a state-independent voice or were too quick to support the war effort. Other studies have considered the news media reporting during the war in order to shed light on the second Bush Administration's media tactics in controlling the war's narrative and it's reception on the home front.[141] While still other studies have sought to uncover the presence or absence of the marginalized views of war protestors during the lead up to the invasion, as well as the voices of dissenting foreign news outlets.[142] Research to date, however, has not explored the mediated representations of the soldiers of war when they return home as veterans. As scholars we have focused on the lead up to war, the time of war, and the voices and views allowed to participate during those specific temporal contexts the veteran, however, has been noticeably absent.

News Texts Covering Four News Media Climates

The following sections outline the methodological approach for investigating mediated veteran representations within four news media events: (1) Veterans Day 2014;

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[141] Sean Aday, "Chasing the Bad News: An Analysis of 2005 Iraq and Afghanistan War Coverage on NBC and Fox News Channel," *Journal of Communication* 60 (2010): 144-164; Sean Aday, John Cluverius, and Steven Livingston, "As Goes the Statue, So Goes the War: The Emergency of Victory Frame in Television Coverage of the Iraq War," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 49 (2005): 314-331.

[142] Adam G. Klein, Carolyn M. Byerly and Tony M. McEachern, "Counterframing Public Dissent: Analysis of Antiwar Coverage in the U.S. Media," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 26 (2009): 331-350.

(2) the Cluster of Crimes (comprised of the Kandahar Massacre and the deaths of Chris

Kyle and Chad Littlefield); (3) the Walter Reed Hospital Scandal; and (4) the Department

of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal. I choose these specific news media events in order

to compare the four distinct narrative climates for several reasons.[143] The first two media

events of Veterans Days 2014 and the Cluster of Crimes offer a look at two distinct

moods towards our nation's veterans. I chose Veterans Day 2014, as it was a news event

that would yield positive coverage in support of veterans. On the other hand the two

media events comprising the Cluster of Crimes were chosen because they offer direct

comparisons with one another, and taken together, they yield negative coverage of the

veteran community.

When considering the specific case studies for use in representing the Crimes

Cluster I also wanted to adhere to a contrast for a strong sample of news media coverage.

The Cluster of Crimes is split between two news media events: (1) Robert Bales'

Kandahar Massacre, which occurred in March 2012, and (2) the murder of Navy Seal

Chris Kyle and veteran Chad Littlefield, which occurred in February of 2013. I choose

these two events for several reasons. First, these two events offer an opportunity to learn

if coverage is similar or distinct when an active duty soldier commits a crime—as in the

case of Robert Bales—compared with an event when a veteran who is separated from

service commits the crime—as with the case of veteran Eddie Routh—who was

convicted of murdering of Chris Kyle and Chad Littlefield. The veteran community often

responds in a similar fashion to the reporting of crimes whether or not the perpetrators are

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[143] Rationale for the selection of these media events is further detailed in the following chapters.

soldiers deployed in a combat zone or veterans who have returned home from service.[144]

The veteran community remains vigilant in combating the possible backlash their

community could experience following news reporting regardless of the individual

perpetrator. Despite the concerns among the veteran community, no research to date has

examined news media events where one perpetrator was an active duty soldier in

comparison with a separate crime whose perpetrator was a veteran.

Unlike the stark contrast in subject matter coverage between Veterans Day 2014

and the Cluster of Crimes, the third and fourth news media events examined for my

purposes are more similar to one another. The Walter Reed Hospital Scandal and the

Department of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal each involve news media events that

were deemed as "scandals" in news media coverage. When considered more closely,

however, each of the events offer nuanced coverage of their animating subject. The

Walter Reed Hospital Scandal is a news media event that I identify as having a high

support for the veterans impacted by the conditions of the hospital while simultaneously

condemning the governing elite of the second Bush Administration. Critics of the

conditions and treatment of active duty soldiers as well as veterans housed at Walter

Reed Hospital were overwhelmingly critical of the second Bush Administration officials

for the lack of oversight at the hospital. Examining coverage of this news media event

offers a unique opportunity to explore when support is high for veterans and low for

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144 Alex Horton, "Let's Make the Fort Hood Shooting Ned the Myth of Military PTSD and Violence," *The Guardian*, April 4, 2014, accessed April 4, 2014,
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/04/fort-hood-shooting-military-ptsd-violence; Tim Hudak, "Fighting Stereotypes: Deadly Aftermath of War Right Here at Home," *VA Blogs*, April 10, 2014, accessed April 10, 2014, http://www.blogs.va.gov/VAntage/13703/fighting-stereotypes-deadly-aftermath-of-war-right-here-at-home-is-less-deadly-than-the-general-population/.

governing officials.   The Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) Backlog Scandal of 2014

yielded a second, more nuanced approach to coverage. Though coverage of the VA

Backlog Scandal provides a strong platform for support and advocacy efforts, and like

Walter Reed, it opened a space for criticism. The criticism in the coverage of the VA

Backlog Scandal, however, included criticisms of veterans in addition to government

officials. At the time, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, Eric Shinseki, was heavily

criticized by civilians and veteran advocates alike in the media coverage of the VA

Backlog Scandal. The criticism of Shinseki, a veteran himself, offers a rare opportunity

to examine news media instances were support is low for government officials—this time

the Obama Administration—and support is low for veterans in positions of power. The

criticism of Shinseki and other veterans working in the VA Healthcare System were so

strident and relentless that Shinseki was forced to resign his cabinet position as Secretary

of the Department of Veterans Affairs. Ultimately, Shinseki's resignation ended the

career of one of the nation's leading veteran advocates.

      As I demonstrate in this and succeeding chapters, these four news media events

provide an opportunity to examine how the mediated portrayal of veterans across these

contexts unfolds within the news media landscape. Now that brief context has been

provided for each news media event, I turn to the methodological approach to data

collection, the coding scheme, and an analysis of the data.

Data Collection
      I gathered 281 newspaper articles and television news transcripts in order to

analyze the media climates for the events I outlined above. Using both the Factiva and

LexisNexis databases, I collected newspaper and television messages pertaining to each of my four established news events. I used both Factiva and LexisNexis as a check on each other and for a more complete representation of the news. For example, Factiva is the most reliable database for providing content from *The Wall Street Journal*, and proved to be vital as a search database in order to fully represent that news particular news outlet, whereas LexisNexis only provides abstracts for articles in *The Wall Street Journal*. While researching the Walter Reed Scandal, however, I found that both databases failed to cull all the stories in the initial *Washington Post* investigative series that exposed the mistreatment of patients at Walter Reed Hospital. Knowing that the original exposé was published in the *Washington Post*, it was critical to ensure the original exposé stories were included within the dataset. In order to ensure that the most relevant and circulating stories pertaining to each news media event were available for the dataset, I utilized both the Factiva and LexisNexis databases. I should note here, however, that news reports that appeared in *both* databases were only counted once in the final dataset to ensure that repeating stories were not coded multiple times. For example, if a search of LexisNexis and Factiva covering the *New York Times* produced the same story in the coverage of Veterans Day 2014, the story was only coded once.

My searches within Factiva and LexisNexis were governed by several factors. First, I limited my search to publications in the United States in order to control for cultural differences within the dataset. Second, I limited the search by publication outlet. The dataset for each of the four media events were built upon the same publication sources for newspaper as well as television news coverage. The newspaper section of the

dataset includes news stories from the *New York Times, Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. The television section of the dataset examines a balance of three outlets over two larger areas: broadcast news (*ABC World News Tonight, NBC Nightly News,* and *CBS Evening News*) while cable news (*CNN, MSNBC,* and *Fox News*), were coded in order to encompass the overall television news outlet category.

Including three newspaper sources, three broadcast television stations, as well as three cable news stations allowed me to capture and examine a large cross-section of news media reporting. My sample also allowed me to examine the conceptual pairings of opinionated versus non-opinionated news, so-called conservative versus liberal news outlets, and print versus television news media each side by side with one another.[145] Table 2.1 provides a breakdown of the news outlets used to investigate each of the four news media events.

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[145] The analysis between these conceptual pairings will be further discussed in the following chapters.

Newspapers	Veterans Day 2014	Cluster of Crimes	Walter Reed Hospital Scandal	VA Backlog Scandal
New York Times	X	X	X	X
Washington Post	X	X	X	X
Wall Street Journal	X		X	
Broadcast Television				
NBC Nightly News	X	X	X	X
ABC World New Tonight	X	X	X	X
CBS Evening News	X	X	X	X
Cable News Programs				
Anderson Cooper 360 (CNN)	X	X		X
The Situation Room (CNN)			X	X
The Rachel Maddow Show (MSNBC)	X	X		X
Hardball with Chris Matthews (MSNBC)			X	X
The O'Reilly Factor (Fox News)		X	X	X
The Kelly File (Fox News)	X			X

Table 2.1: News Sources and News Media Events.

After narrowing my search according to identified news outlets, I used key terms to collect the newspaper articles and television transcripts needed for my dataset (see Table 2.2). First, for each event I used two terms as a foundation: (1) veteran and (2) veterans, in order to narrow and focus the news media coverage to my desired population. Second, after gathering stories related to "veteran" and "veterans" I further narrowed the search by adding "post-traumatic stress disorder" to filter stories that were related in part to mental health. For the third level of narrowing I used search terms related to each

news event. For example, when I was searching for news media coverage for Veterans Day 2014, I searched the databases with this line of search terms: "veteran + veterans + post-traumatic stress disorder + Veterans Day 2014." Finally, each of the searches was narrowed according to specific date ranges in accordance with the timing of the news media event. I set date ranges to begin one week prior to the news media event I was investigating, and ended collection of news stories one month following the date of the event. For example, the date range used to gather news media texts for Veterans Day 2014 (November 11, 2014) began one-week prior on November 4, 2014 and ended one month following December 11, 2014.[146] Following this collection method, I coded a total of 281 news media texts comprised of 178 newspaper articles and 103 television transcripts. Table 2.2 provides a detailed breakdown of the key words used for search terms, the dates designated as the date range for each news media event, and the total number of news texts gathered for each news medium.

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[146] Veterans Day is held on November 11th each year. The day's two previous iterations, Remembrance Day and Armistice Day, were both prior names given to this day to honor and remember World War I.

Political Event	Search Dates	Search: All of these words	Search: At least 1 of these words	Total # Newspaper	Total # Broadcast	Total # Cable	Total
Veterans Day 2014	Nov. 4-Nov. 18, 2014	Veteran, Veterans, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder	Veterans Day	26	9	10	45
Cluster of Crimes	Bales: Mar. 4-Aprils 11, 2012 Kyle: Jan. 26-Mar.2, 2013	Veteran, Veterans, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder	Robert Bales, Kandahar Massacre, Chris Kyle, Chad Littlefield	43	25	12	80
Walter Reed Scandal	Fe. 11-Mar. 18, 2007	Veteran, Veterans, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder	Walter Reed Hospital, Walter Reed Scandal	48	10	9	67
VA Backlog Scandal	Apr. 20-May 27, 2014	Veteran, Veterans, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder	Veterans Affairs, VA Backlog	61	12	16	89

Table 2.2: Search Dimensions for Newspapers and Television Transcripts.

Coding Unit and Overall Coding Scheme

The unit of analysis for the project was identified as each direct quotation or

paraphrased remark found within each news media texts (newspaper article or television

news transcripts). Coders identified direct quotations as words that were contained

within quotation marks. Paraphrased remarks were determined by the use of action

speech verbs such as: "she spoke," "he said," or "they announced." Coding each direct

quotation or paraphrased remark housed within a newspaper article or television news

transcript allowed the coders to consider the overall context of each news texts

surrounding the four news media events. If coders had been provided all of the direct quotations and paraphrased remarks as a stand alone dataset without the context of the full article it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to identify the source identity for each direct quotation or paraphrased remark. For example, many newspaper reports begin by explaining the background and military career of the veteran source that serves as the news source through direct quotations or paraphrased remarks. For example, in the introduction of a veteran source, journalists often identified branch of service, military rank, enlistment or officer status, or the country of the veteran source's deployment. Later, in conjunction with the direct quotation or paraphrased remark, journalists would only cite the name of the veteran source without providing the identity markers previously provided in the introduction. By doing this, it increased the possibility that source identity information was located many sentences, if not paragraphs away from the moment of the direct quotation or paraphrased remark. If coders did not read and code the full news text in order to glean the source's identity, subsequent coding of source identity would not have been impossible. The same pattern of identifying sources held true for all larger categories of consideration, such as the source's role in levels of government, as civilian citizens, as leaders of veteran service organizations, or as family members to veterans. Thus, in order to accurately identify multiple source identities within this project, coders read each news text in its entirety. Following this coding scheme, I coded 4,215 units of analysis, including both direct quotations and paraphrased remarks across the four news media events and nine news media outlets.

An extensive codebook was used to identify the various source identity possibilities pertaining to veterans and PTSD discussion in the news.[147] In the following section I provide a detailed overview of source identity variables within the codebook. In an effort to streamline source identities I offer the following seven organizing source identity categories that serve as the guiding source categories for the remainder of the project. The seven categories are: (1) source identity; (2) active duty soldier; (3) role of government; (4) veteran status; (5) organizational assistance; (6) support role in the community, and (7) role in the professional arena.

The overarching curiosity with the question of who tells the story of PTSD among the veteran community guided the development of the codebook for this project. Each of the seven areas identified above provide an overall guideline to the potential views and voices that appeared within the news texts. The seven categories were not represented in each of the news texts within the dataset. The coders did not identify any voice that did not fit within one of the seven categories, however, thus these categories proved to be exhaustive representations of the views and voices cited as sources within the dataset. Below is a description of the individual codes as defined by the codebook, and by whose compilation the above source categories were established.

(1) Source Identity

The first step to coding each news text was to identify the source of the text and the news event the text was covering by assigning a number code that represented each news source and news event.

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[147] See the Appendix for full codebook.

News Outlet

0= *New York Times*

1= *The Washington Post*

2= *Wall Street Journal*

6= *NBC Nightly News*

7= *CBS Evening News*

8= *ABC World News Tonight*

9= *MSNBC*

10= *CNN*

11= *Fox News*

News Event

0= Veterans Day 2014

1= Walter Reed Hospital Scandal

2= Veteran Affairs Backlog Scandal

3= Cluster of Crimes- Robert Bales

4= Cluster of Crime- Chris Kyle

　　　　Coders then qualitatively identified the voice, if available the name, for each direct quotation or paraphrase coded within each news text. If the journalist did not provide the name, or if the source was anonymous "Unknown" was used to represent their identity. The third step was to provide a qualitative description of the source's job or relation to the news text. The fourth step within this category was copying the direct

quotation or paraphrased remark from the news text and entering that information into the

dataset, providing a second level of qualitative data.[148]

Finally in the source identity category, a numeric code was assigned to distinguish

the remark as either a direct quotation or a paraphrase.

Direct Quotation

0=No

1= Yes

Paraphrase

0= No

1= Yes

Take the following excerpt from the dataset as an example of source identity coding:

> In the early days of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, Lane was one of the first
> members of Congress to take on issues like 'post-traumatic stress disorder and
> traumatic brain injury, said Paul Rieckhoff Chief Executive of Iraq and
> Afghanistan Veterans of America. "He helped put our issues on the map.[149]

The above dataset entry would be coded as follows: 0 was assigned to this remark as it

originated from a story in the *New York Times*, followed by a 0 in the column for news

media event as it was in relation to Veteran's Day 2014. Under the column for "voice"

coders entered "Paul Reickhoff," and identified him as the "Chief Executive of Iraq and

Afghanistan Veterans of America," in the column for "description or job." Next, his full

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[148] This qualitative data (source name, job/position identity, and extracting the direct quotations and paraphrased remarks) serve as the data from which the four emergent stories presented in part two were derived.

[149] This sample quote was taken from the dataset, and was a coded during the coverage of Veterans Days 2014. "Lane Evans, 63, Veterans Advocate in Congress," *New York Times,* November 8, 2014, 15. LexisNexis.

quote was copied from the news text and entered into the dataset. Finally, a code of 1 was assigned for quotation, and 0 was assigned for paraphrase. Each step of the coding scheme for source identity was conducted for every instance of a direct quotation or paraphrase coded in the dataset.

(2) Active Duty Soldier

The second category within the coding scheme determined whether the military source was an active duty solider or a veteran. Exploring the differences here is important as active duty sources occupy a distinct position that is separate from veterans. The ability to comment on current events, openly criticize a military operation, or speak freely concerning post-traumatic stress disorder varies greatly between soldiers and veterans. For example, an active duty soldier who criticizes a mission or military action can be held accountable for insubordination and punished accordingly. This includes criticism of government officials and in particular the office of the President, as the President occupies the highest office in the military as Commander in Chief. With regard to post-traumatic stress disorder soldiers are often hesitant to discuss their mental wounds for fear that their official paperwork will reflect a mental illness. Official military records weigh heavily in decisions regarding promotions within the military, as well as decisions for soldiers to remain in ranks or be discharged. Conversely, veterans occupy a different speaking position. Veterans are no longer bound by chain of command in

criticism of ranking officials, nor are they as hesitant to discuss post-traumatic stress disorder.[150]

Within the active duty soldier category coders first identified if a source was active duty or not. If the source was not active duty, no further codes within this area were applied.

Active Duty

0= No

1= Yes

However, if the source was identified as active duty, further detailed information was coded.

Officer

0= No

1= Yes

Officer Rank

Rank was gathered qualitatively as in the source identity section. Coders were provided a chart that designated abbreviations for each officer rank within each branch of military service. For example, "LtCol. Jones says many veterans suffer from PTSD," coders had

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[150] It is important to note that veterans are not as hesitant, but that does not mean that they are freely discussing PTSD either. Many veterans still operate under the fear of discussing PTSD or a possible diagnosis, and believe that having such a diagnosis follows them into the civilian world. They fear that it will prevent them from attaining a job in civilian society, or from applying to government programs such as the FBI or CIA once they separate from service. The direct military ramifications still remain lower for a veteran than an active duty soldier, and examining the difference proved to be fruitful. The following chapters provide further detail.

a chart to instruct them that "LtCol." was an officer rank in the Army, Marine Corps, and

Air Force. In the dataset, "LtCol." was entered qualitatively for officer rank.[151]

Enlisted

0= No

1= Yes

Enlisted Rank

Enlisted rank followed the same process as officer rank. A chart was provided to coders

to designate the abbreviations for each enlisted rank within each branch of military

service. "Sgt. Heart told reports, 'he knew his former roommate suffered from

nightmares,'" would be coded as enlisted and "Sgt" was qualitatively entered for the

enlisted rank of sergeant.[152]

Branch of Service

0= Army

1= Navy

2= Marine Corps

3= Air Force

4= Coast Guard

5= National Guard/Reserves

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[151] This example was written by the author, and thus has no attached citation in the dataset. It is meant to serve as an example to train the coders.

[152] This example was written by the author, and thus has no attached citation in the dataset. It is meant to serve as an example to train the coders.

Branch of service provided an opportunity to code which branch of service was a source in news media. It also allowed the opportunity to determine if specific branches were sources more often or not depending on the news media event. For example, were Army soldiers or veterans more likely to be cited as a source during the Walter Reed Hospital Scandal due to its designation as an "Army Hospital" or were Marines more likely to be cited as a source on Veterans Day 2014? Coding for branch of service allowed for potential military branch comparisons such as these.

Top Military Leadership

0= No

1= Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

2= Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

3= Chief of Staff of the Army

4= Chief of Naval Operations

5= Commandant of the Marine Corps

6= Chief of Staff of the Air Force

7= Chief of the National Guard Bureau

8= Military Spokesperson

Coding for top military leadership officials provides the final layer of source identity within the active duty soldier category. By identifying these positions as source outlets, I was able to identify what news media events garnered a public response from the top levels of military power from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs through the top officers in each branch. The final code for military spokesperson provided a general category

utilized when journalist did not directly identity or quote a top military leader, but cited "top military spokesman reported" or top military officials said" in relation to the news media events.[153]

(3) Role of Government

The third category within the coding scheme focused on the role of government as sources on issues concerning veterans and PTSD. I was particularly interested in the representation of each political party, as well as, the position the source held within the government. Role in government was determined by two areas: (1) political affiliation for either an elected official or political candidate and (2) branch of government service.

Political Affiliation

Democrat (Liberal)

0= No

1= Yes

Republican (Conservative)

0= No

1= Yes

Independent

0= No

1= Yes

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[153] This example was written by the author, and thus has no attached citation in the dataset. It is meant to serve as an example to train the coders.

Branch of government provided more coding possibilities. Coders first determined if the code applied. If no, then a 0 was assigned and the remaining codes were exempt. However, if the source occupied one of these positions, a numeric code was assigned to provide the specific role held within each branch of government.

Branch of Government

<u>Executive Branch</u>

0= No

1= President of the United States

2= Vice President of the United States

3= First Lady of the United States

4= Second Lady of the United States

5= Whitehouse Press Secretary

6= Whitehouse Spokesperson

7= Presidential Cabinet Member

<u>Legislative Branch</u>

0= No

1= U.S. Senator

2= U. S. House of Representatives

3= State Senator

4= State House of Representatives

<u>Judicial</u>

0= No

1= Lawyer

2= Judge

3= Law Consultant

For the judicial branch I did not designate the level of government and judicial

relationship. That is, any lawyer who was cited as a source was given the code of 1 in

this category. Throughout the dataset there were no instances where a lawyer for the

government was cited. Instead all instances of lawyers were civilian lawyers for military

defendants. I elected to leave the category of lawyer under the umbrella of the judicial

branch here for the clarity in determining sources that were government lawyers versus

civilian lawyers.

(4) Veteran Status

This is perhaps the most important coding scheme category for this project. One of the

underlying questions of the project is whether veterans serve as sources of their own

narratives, or if other voices stand in as narrators. In an effort to keep this category as

clear as possible coders identified similar individual codes as the active duty soldier

category, with combat designation serving as a distinction for the veteran status category.

Veteran

0= No

1= Yes

Veteran Officer

0= No

1= Yes

Veteran Officer Rank

Entered qualitatively following the same description of procedure offered in the section

"active duty officer rank."

Veteran Enlisted

0= No

1= Yes

Veteran Enlisted Rank

Entered qualitatively following the same description of procedure offered in the section

"active duty officer rank."

Veteran Branch of Service

0= Army

1= Navy

2= Marine Corps

3= Air Force

4= Coast Guard

5= National Guard/Reserves

As with the active duty solider category, identifying the branch of service for veterans

allows for comparisons among the branch's veterans once they separate from service.

Questions such as, do Marines speak more after separation from service or do National

Guard or Reserve veterans speak at all, are made possible with this coding designation.

Veteran Combat Designation

0= Did not deploy to a combat zone

1= Mission deployed

2= Unknown

Often times, combat designation is the most difficult code to discern. If soldiers or veterans described direct combat scenarios in the news text provided, or if journalist provided descriptions of combat narratives in their contextual paragraphs within the news text when those sources were quoted or paraphrased, they were assigned a 1 code to represent mission deployed. Mission deployment is an interesting factor for this project, due to the increase in research to support that deploying to a combat zone does not necessarily determine PTSD. In fact, a growing area of research suggests that individuals can be diagnosed with PTSD despite having never deployed to a designated combat zone.[154] Therefore I wanted to examine how individuals who were identified as combat deployed were used differently as sources than those who were not designated as combat soldiers or veterans in each news text.

(5) Organizational Assistance

The category of organizational assistance was used in the coding scheme to represent moments when large groups advocated or were used as sources to narrate the veteran experience. In order to provide representation for these organizational voices and views, each coder assigned codes for the individual speaker, as well as the organization they represented as a source. For example, Erik K. Shinseki was the Secretary of the

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[154] James Dao, "Drone Pilots are Found to Get Stress Disorders Much as Those in Combat Do," *New York Times*, February 22, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/23/us/drone-pilots-found-to-get-stress-disorders-much-as-those-in-combat-do.html?_r=0. See also, Pratap Chatterlee, "A Chilling New Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: Why Drone Pilots are Quitting in Record Numbers," *Salon*, March 6, 2015, http://www.salon.com/2015/03/06/a_chilling_new_post_traumatic_stress_disorder_why_drone_pilots_are_quitting_in_record_numbers_partner/.

Department of Veteran Affairs, a veteran officer, and a Presidential cabinet member.

Shinseki would have received codes for each of these individual roles, as well as a code

of 1 within the organizational assistance category under Department of Veteran Affairs to

note his individual identity and his identity as speaker for an organization.

Civilian Organization (Any association without a veteran affiliation, but engaged in

assisting veterans or advocating for veterans)

0= No

1= Yes

Veteran Service Organization (Any association with veteran affiliation or veteran

leadership engaged in assisting or advocating for veterans)

0= No

1= Yes

Non-Governmental Organization (Any organization meeting the qualification as an NGO

which engaged in assisting or advocating for veterans)

0= No

1= Yes

Think-Tank Organization (Think-tanks who engaged in research concerning veterans

such as RAND, Center for American Foreign Policy Council, Foreign Policy Institute,

etc.)

0= No

1= Yes

Department of Veteran Affairs

0= No

1= Yes

Though the Department of Veteran Affairs is a governmental agency (with civilian, military, and veteran employees), and as such, I elected to place them under the organizational assistance category due to their use as a source in news texts. The VA is most often referred to as an organization or agency denoting a group of employees who function under a hierarchical structure of power. Like other major organizations, the VA is most often represented as a group or organization with a leader (in this case the Secretary of the VA) acting as its main voice in news texts.

(6) Support Role in the Community

The sixth area of the coding scheme focused on the different outlets of support for soldiers and veterans. News texts surrounding different news media events often seek to provide context by enlisting community members, family, friends or neighbors to discuss the veteran or soldier subject of a news text. The category of support role in the community also houses the second most pivotal source identity within this project, that of civilian. Coding which sources were civilian allowed for a direct comparison with the soldiers and veterans as sources.

Family Member

0= No

1= Yes

Friend/Neighbor

0= No

1= Yes

Civilian

0= No

1= Yes

2= Unknown

Coders were instructed to code this information based on the information available in the news text. The exception to this coding rule was sources identified in the "role of government" category. If it was unclear if a member of the Executive, Legislative, or Judicial branches of government were a veteran, coders were instructed to perform a quick Google search to determine military status. Identifying members of the government as a veteran or civilian allowed for a deeper analysis of military experience among our elected officials who were cited as elite sources regarding military and veteran affairs.

(7) Role in the Professional Arena

The seventh and final category of the coding schema pertains to sources that represent positions or careers held which provide a platform for discussing veteran issues in the news. Medical professionals were included in order to ascertain how often medical doctors, psychiatrists, psychologist, or counselors are used as sources of information with regard to PTSD. Local law enforcement most often appeared in relation to the Cluster of Crimes. Journalist or correspondents were identified to note how often a journalist cited another journalist as a source. The journalist or correspondent category applied most often in the coding of television news transcripts were journalist often appear as guest on

nightly news shows. Finally, professors, academics, or researchers were placed into their

own category to represent the academic voices and views with regard to soldiers,

veterans, and PTSD.

Medical Professional

0= No

1= Yes

Local Law Enforcement

0= No

1= Yes

Journalist/ Correspondent

0= No

1= Yes

Professor/Academic/Researcher

0= No

1= Yes

Inter-coder Reliability

To ensure that the above coding scheme was applied correctly, and that the results

are both reliable and replicable, two coders coded 15% of the sample dataset to test inter-

coder reliability. Krippendorff's (2004) α was used as the reliability statistic for each

individual code outlined above. The acceptable to strong range (.70 to .90) was reached

for each variable, with the .85 serving as the lowest score and 1.0 representing the highest

score. See Table 2.3 for the Krippendorff's alpha score for each individual variable.

Following the establishment of strong inter-coder reliability, the author coded the

remaining news texts.

Code	Krippendorff's (2000)
Source Identity	*Krippendorff Score*
Quotation	0.94
Paraphrase	0.85
Active Duty Soldier	
Active Duty	1
Active Duty Officer	0.97
Active Duty Enlisted	1
Active Duty Branch of Service	1
Top Military Leadership	1
Role in Government	
Democrat	1
Republican	1
Independent	1
Executive Branch	1
Legislative Branch	1
Judicial Branch	1
Veteran Status	
Veteran	0.98
Veteran Officer	1
Veteran Enlisted	1
Veteran Branch of Service	0.99
Veteran Combat Designation	0.99
Organizational Assistance	
Civilian Organization	0.95
Veteran Service Organization	1
Non-Governmental Organization	0.98
Think-Tank Organization	1
Department of Veteran Affairs	1
Support Role in the Community	
Family Member	0.95
Friend/Neighbor	1
Civilian	0.99
Role in The Professional Arena	
Medical Professional	0.99
Local Law Enforcement	1
Journalist/Correspondent	0.98
Professor/Academic/Researcher	0.99

Table 2.3: Inter-coder Reliability.

The results and findings from the content analysis of news texts outlined within this chapter work to illustrate what voices are selected as sources for news texts, as well as provide an insight into the emergent stories the direction quotations and paraphrased remarks come to represent. The combination of the numeric coding within the content analysis, as well as the added level of analysis afforded by the qualitative data gathering of the direct quotations, paraphrase, voices, jobs, as well as military and veteran rank provide a rich dataset from which to answer the questions put forward within this project. Other scholars might have selected different news outlets as sources for gathering the news texts, or rather still identified different speaking positions of sources quoted or paraphrased within the news. Though a different approach could be implored here, I believe that this coding scheme allows for a strong foundation to examining the news sources used to narrate the soldier, veteran, government, and community encounters with PTSD. To date previous research has not been conducted in this area of inquiry, and as such, the above coding scheme and proposed content analysis framework offers the opportunity to begin this research while carving the pathway for future research to come.

PART TWO: NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

The previous chapter illustrated the difficulties a scholar and critic faces when attempting to definitively define the terms "narrative" and "story" as each of these terms traces different pathways through research literature that would demand certain rules for their uses be closely followed. Methodological approaches to narrative analysis follow a similar tradition, with strong arguments for a multitude of approaches. It is not my intention to outline each of the competing methodological modes of narrative analysis, or

more broadly, to position one method over the other facilitating an argument for one approaches' superiority to the next. Instead, I will offer an overview of the methodological approach to inductive narrative analysis and provide an argument for my choice to use it in my dissertation. After the method and defense of its use, I will then outline how I performed my analysis for part two of the dissertation project.

Grounded theory is a methodological approach that is utilized in qualitative research and narrative research as a way to recognize and analyze emergent stories.[155] Grounded theory is premised on inductive research which seeks to examine "the daily realities of what is actually going on" within societal discourse.[156] This approach is useful for examining stories, as stories are bound one within the other and through each telling and retelling shift and change overtime. In order to accurately examine these shifting stories and narratives, it is vital that researchers step back in order to see the "patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data" as these stories "emerge out of the data rather than being imposed upon them prior to data collection and analysis."[157]

As an inductive process, analyzing emergent themes and patterns can be difficult, as the researcher is essential combing through the qualitative data line by line with a critical microscope yet with no map to guide the process. Each and every instance of

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[155] Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publication Inc., 1990).

[156] Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago, IL: Aldine, 1967), 238.

[157] Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation Methods* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publication, Inc., 1980), 306.

dialogue must be considered carefully as the researcher encounters them. The described unit of analysis for inductive research is the emergent concepts themselves or "the incidents, events, and happenings" that arise and begin to bind together to form themes.[158] Once the initial patterns begin to emerge across the dataset, the thematic search begins anew. The emergent themes are examined once again to determine higher levels of themes and the level of analysis increases in abstraction with each round of close reading.

Overall this is the descriptive process for conducting inductive research with texts. The process of inductive research itself is used as a methical approach to textual analysis across different fields of study. Broadly speaking, qualitative research refers to this process as grounded theory while rhetorical scholars are perhaps more familiar with a description of close textual reading or genre analysis.[159] In political communication and journalism this process is akin to inductive framing analysis where frames are allowed to emerge across the news data as opposed to predetermine frames being measured through a quantitative coding scheme similar to the approach utilized in part one.[160] Narrative critic Arthur Frank argues for an approach he defines as "socio-narratology" where the

[158] Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research*, 7.

[159] Aristotle, *The Rhetoric,* trans. Lane Cooper (Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932); Edwin Black, *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965); Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, "Form and Genre in Rhetorical Criticism: An Introduction," in *Readings in Rhetorical Criticism,* ed. Carl R. Burgchardt (State College: Strata Publishing, Inc., 2005).

[160] Adam G. Klein, Carolyn M. Byerly and Tony M. McEachern, "Counterframing Public Dissent: An Analysis of Antiwar Coverage in the U.S. Media," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 4 (2009): 331-350.

scientific constrains of narratology is forsaken for an inductive approach to stories.[161]

Frank provides a rigorous methodological explanation across his book *Letting Stories Breathe: A Socio-Narratology* in which he privileges what he calls "dialectic narrative" as the unit of analysis for the socio-narratology method.[162]

Why This Way?

As discussed in the previous chapter, this dissertation project is an interdisciplinary exercise and utilizes a multi-methodological approach. As evident in the previous paragraph, even within the larger cannons of methodology this project merges and blends various techniques that are implemented (though perhaps with different discursive vocabularies) across several related fields. It was important to allow the stories presented by the direct quotations and paraphrased remarks coded within the dataset to emerge organically within and across the project. It is vital to note that the direct quotations and paraphrased remarks coded in the dataset have already been exposed to an act of curating by the journalists, editors, and executives who govern and conduct forms of gatekeeping in the news media. I do not intend to claim that the direct quotations and paraphrased remarks coded in part two of the dissertation represent "the official veteran story" representing all veterans in general and specifically all veterans with PTSD.[163] What I do emphatically argue over the course of the project is the importance of critical investigation of the power held within the storied and mediated

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[161] Arthur W. Frank, *Letting Stories Breathe: A Socio-Narratology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).

[162] Frank, *Letting Stories Breathe: A Socio-Narratology*, 87.

[163] Conducting an analysis of the stories of veterans told by veterans themselves within a qualitative interview setting would be an area for future research exploration.

representations of veterans that do emerge, the stories that are allowed to be told by the national news media gatekeepers, and the powerful representations these stories paint of veterans with PTSD.

CODING THE EMERGENT STORIES

I first began to prepare for the narrative analysis conducted in part two during the coding of part one. Each direct quotation and paraphrased remark were copied directly from each news story text and preserved in a spreadsheet. The identity markers of the source were then coded using the indexing method as described above in the discussion of part one. During the coding process, the coders noted two additional qualitative data markers for each quotation and paraphrased remark. The qualitative coding of voice and occupation proved to be extremely helpful during the narrative analysis, and served as a touchstone to relate back to the news story itself. Having these identity markers also provided qualitative examination of power as they occupied the role of storyteller in part two. In part one the sources are coded and those codes were combined and enveloped within one another to form the seven source categories. In part two, however, these individual identity markers were once again present and allowed me to see not only what source category was speaking in the news, but the specific identity of individuals narrating the experiences of veterans with PTSD.

After the coding was conducted for part one's analysis, I began to comb through the database of quotations and paraphrased remarks line by line. I did not take any predetermined organizational patterns when performing the close-textual analysis of the data. That is, I did not approach the data looking for predetermined themes to emerge

within each of the four news media events (Vets Day 2014, the Cluster of Crimes, the

Walter Reed Hospital Scandal, or the VA Backlog) nor did I approach the data with the

intention to categorize emergent themes based on the news medium (newspaper,

broadcast television, or cable television news) or by news media outlet (*New York

Times*/*Washington Post* versus *MSNBC*/*Fox News*) for comparison points. Instead, I

approached the data with the initial goal of allowing the stories to emerge across the

entire dataset.

I performed six rounds of inductive close textual analysis on the direct quotations

and paraphrased remarks across the dataset. After each of the rounds of analysis the

stories and themes increased in levels of abstraction, as is indicative of an inductive

approach. Keeping with my initial goal, the four stories that emerged represent each of

the four news media events, told across all three news media, had a presence in each of

the nine news media outlets, and contained voices from each of the seven source

categories. Again, the stories and emergent themes were not intentionally shaped by me

in order to make that cross representation occur. The four stories' diversity across the

dataset, instead, speaks to the strength of the stories that are being circulated; as they are

representative of a cross-section of this particular project.

CONCLUSION

In order to inductively analyze the emergent stories depicting veterans and

veterans with PTSD in the news media, I first needed to answer empirical questions

pertaining to the news sources contained within news stories. As such the dissertation

project is presented in two parts. Part one adhered to an empirical method and utilizes an

indexing content analysis in order to responsibly identity the voices of sources that are invited to speak in the national news media. Part two explored the opposite approach by using inductive narrative analysis to account for the content and context of the stories being circulated in the national news. Thus, the project demanded a multi-methodological approach, and each of the methods used are presented in this chapter. Joining these two approaches allowed for the most robust methodological approach to the dissertation project. In order to understand the stories, it is imperative to first answer some key questions concerning empirical data. I now turn to part one of the dissertation project to present the findings of the indexing content analysis.

PART ONE: THE EMPIRICAL DESCRIPTION

Chapter Three: How and by What Means Do Sources Enter the News Landscape?

Sources play a defining role in the shape and contours of news. As scholars have pointed out previously "news-making begins with sources."[164] Sources have been studied in a variety of ways. Some research focuses on source identity and argues that the identity of sources has an impact on both the version of the news stories that appear in the media, as well as the perceived credibility bestowed on each article by individual citizen readers.[165] Another avenue of source investigation focuses on the position of power sources hold and contends that elite sources are invited to speak as a source in the news far more often than the ordinary citizens.[166] A third area of research investigates the entry points for which sources are credited in the news, such as direct quotations and paraphrased remarks. The ways in which sources enter the news conversation is the focus of the present chapter. More specifically, in what follows I advance three areas of consideration that coalesce around one overarching question: How and by what channels do sources enter the news media conversation to comment on the veteran experience?

I approached this question with three modes of investigation. The first line of inquiry focuses on news media events. Specifically, I trace how previous scholarship has

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[164] Michael Schudson, *Discovering News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).

[165] W. Lance Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States," *Journal of Communications* 40 (1990): 103-125.

[166] Jane D. Brown, Carl R. Bybee, Stanley T. Wearden, and Dulcie M. Straughan, "Invisible Power: News Sources and the Limitations of Diversity," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (1987): 45-54. See also, Leon V. Sigal, "Sources Make the News," in *Reading the News*, ed. Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 9-37.

defined news media events, and why the context of media events is important to my overall project. I then offer a brief overview of each of the four news media events (Vets Day; Crimes; Walter Reed; and VA Backlog) examined in the dataset in order to provide the overall contexts for analysis. The second mode of investigation considers the medium through which the stories of the news media events emerged. As previously discussed in chapter two, the dataset for this project offers a comparison of three mediums: newspapers, broadcast television news, and cable television news. Research suggests that news media affect the focus of news itself.[167] Where newspaper coverage purports to cover factual hard news, television news has been cited as a medium for depicting more drama and human-interest stories. The chapter's second section of analysis investigates the potential differences in medium coverage. Finally the third section explores the use of quotations versus paraphrased remarks and their presence in overall coverage. Audience perceptions of credibility and the quality of news stories have been shown to correspond with the presence or absence of source attribution through the use of direct quotations.[168] As such, I investigated the presence of direct quotations and paraphrased remarks to determine the way they have been used in news coverage of the veteran experience. I begin with the overall context of the news media event.

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[167] Hugh M. Culbertson and Nancy Somerick, "Variables Affect How Persons View Unnamed News Sources," *Journalism Quarterly* 54 (1977): 58-69.

[168] Shyam Sundar, "Effect of Source Attribution on Perception of Online News Sources," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75 (1998): 55-68.

DEFINING A NEWS MEDIA EVENT

Examinations of news media events offer a rich setting for media analysis, but how have scholars previously defined the concept of a news media event? Herbet Gans offers a discussion of news media events in his book *Deciding What's News*, where he likens a news media event to "activities that exist solely, or mainly, to be covered by the news media."[169] Under this definition, media events are at times "staged" akin to a campaign rally from a political candidate on the campaign trail. Other examples of politically staged news events would be when George W. Bush landed on the aircraft carrier and declared that the war in Iraq was over, or the toppling of the Sadam Hussein statue in Iraq.[170] Gans reminds us that often these types of media events are not designed for the needs of the audience that is present for the media event itself, but instead are structured and presented for the viewing audience that is absent who will encounter news of the event through newspaper articles or television news programming.[171] The fabrication of news media events has drawn criticism from journalists and scholarly critics alike. The lack of authenticity that drives the proliferation of news media events, which in turn become news stories, was particularly troublesome for media scholar Daniel Boorstin.[172] Boorstin was the first scholar to define staged media events as "pseudo-events" articulating the growing similarities between news reporting and the

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[169] Herbert Gans, "Sources and Journalist," in *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*, 25th Anniversary Edition (Evanston, IL: Northwestern Press, 2004), 122.

[170] Sean Aday, John Cluverius, and Steven Livingston, "As Goes the Statue, So Goes the War: The Emergency of Victory Frame in Television Coverage of the Iraq War," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 49 (2005): 314-331

[171] Gans, "Sources and Journalist," 123.

[172] Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Vintage Press, 1992).

field of public relations. For Boorstin, media events should never be confused with actual news stories, contending that staged events' reach for authenticity will always fall short of its goal to be considered "hard" news. Gans and Boorstin each illustrate how staged news media events can be deceiving in their presentation, and problematic for the news cycle.

I pause to question if this line of research ultimately purports to label all news media events as staged events, or can a media event occur in the absence of the fabricated political stage? Subsequent literature would answer that "yes," not all news media events are staged, and a newsworthy event or string of events can also be defined as a media event without premeditated presentation. The definition of a news media event subsequently expands to include spontaneous events or happenings that are deemed newsworthy. Gans himself notes, "all activities that become news stories are news media events" and though there are inherent differences between staged events and spontaneous ones, "the moment both types become news, they can affect the subsequent course of events."[173]

So why turn to the news media events as an organizing structure as opposed to analyzing veterans as the appear in day to day news coverage? News media events provide an opening for news to coalesce and bubble up to the surface of public consciousness. Discussion of veterans overall often percolates in conjunction with a news media event, that is, news stories pertaining to veterans grow and gain traction with regard to event temporality. Veterans Day celebrations are an obvious choice as it is a

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[173] Gans, "Sources and Journalist," 124.

holiday set aside each year to mark the nation's appreciation for its veterans. It follows

normative news assumptions that the news media coverage of veterans and their stories

would increase during the days and weeks surrounding November 11th each year.

Furthermore, research also bears precedent to support that news coverage increases

during times when "dramatic and troubling events" occur.[174] Though at first

consideration Veterans Day coverage might not seem dramatic and troubling, I found that

the stories covering Veterans Day often provided context and background on the

struggles that veterans face. The three news media events of the Cluster of Crimes, the

Walter Reed Hospital Scandal, and the Department of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal

adhere to times of "dramatic and troubling events" and thus work well to extend

considerations of news events research within this area.

Event-Driven News

Research of news media events, conversely labeled event-driven news, illustrates

how these specific temporal moments allow for heightened occurrences of dissenting

voices and views. Lance Bennett, Regina Lawrence, and Steven Livingston assert that an

increase of dissent during times of trouble or drama happens because these events

"provide legitimizing pegs to support relatively independent and critical news narratives"

while also "allowing the news media to set the agenda more proactively than usual."[175]

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[174] W. Lance Bennett, Regina G. Lawrence, and Steven Livingston, "None Dare Call it Torture: Indexing and the Limits of Press Independence in the Abu Ghraib Scandal," *Journal of Communication* 56 (2006): 467-485.

[175] Bennett, Lawrence, and Livingston, "None Dare Call it Torture," 468. See also, W. Lance Bennett and Regina G. Lawrence, "News Icons and the Mainstreaming of Social Change," *Journal of Communication* 45 (1995): 20-39.

Regina Lawrence further examined how event-driven coverage of troublesome news impacts the style and possibility of news coverage. Lawrence demonstrates the interconnectedness of news media coverage, American public policy, and the power alliances between journalists and policy makers through the lens of police brutality.[176] Throughout her book Lawrence lays out the intricate webs that are weaved between forces within society and how event-driven news coverage allows the public a rare glimpse at underlying issues and how they interact with one another on a daily basis. Deep underlying issues of power that blanket an entire society are hard to glimpse, discuss, and name.[177] Despite these difficulties, news media events remain foundational as a pathway for conversation, consideration, and a common rallying point for parties most affected by a lack of common understanding. Media events are vital for my purposes here examining the difficulties veterans have in gaining access to the news media landscape precisely due to their ability to briefly peel back the vale of disguise surrounding difficult issues and for a brief moment to shine a light on issues and experiences that are often ignored or eschewed from view.

Veterans Day 2014

The first news media event I analyze is Veterans Day 2014. Veterans Day occurs each year on November 11th. Historically, this date was set aside to recognize

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176 Regina G. Lawrence, *The Politics of Force* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

177 Regina G. Lawrence and Thomas A. Birkland, "Guns, Hollywood, and Criminal Justice: Defining the School Shootings Problem Across Public Arenas," *Social Science Quarterly* 85 (2005): 1193-1207.

Remembrance Day and Armistice Day, each marking the end of World War I.[178]

Armistice Day was first observed by President Wilson in 1919. Nineteen years later in

1938, Congress passed an act that marked November 11th as a "legal holiday" and sixteen

years after becoming an official holiday, President Dwight D. Eisenhower replaced

"armistice" with "veterans." The first observance of veterans' day occurred later in the

same year of 1954.[179]

      Why did I choose Veterans Day 2014 as a news media event for the dissertation?

Veterans Day, I contend, serves as the primary binding moment for the highest support

for veterans across our nation. Unlike any other holiday pertaining to war related

remembrance (Memorial Day, Marine Corps Birthday, etc.), this holiday marks the one

time per year set aside for the nation to show it's support and gratitude for citizens who

offered their service within each branch of the Armed Forces. The 2014 celebration of

Veterans Day marked the 60th anniversary of President Eisenhower's decision to directly

focus celebration, honor, and attention on the veteran community. As a consequence of

the recognition of Veterans Day, coupled with the nation's current involvement in two

recent wars, coverage of the holiday has steadily grown. Researchers also equate the

increased attention to Veterans Day with the public's natural attention increase when

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[178] Department of Veterans Affairs, "History of Veterans Day," accessed March 1, 2015,
http://www.va.gov/opa/vetsday/vetdayhistory.asp.

[179] As a reminder the collection of news texts for Veterans Day 2014, like each of the news media events,
began collection one-week prior on November 4, 2014 and ended one month after on December 11, 2014.

media coverage depicts traumatic events or traumatic news.[180] Though news celebrating

Veterans Day receives both praise and criticism, for my purposes here, it was the ideal

opportunity to examine news media coverage of a time when discussion-surrounding

veterans is often centered on praising their efforts and honoring their service.[181]

The Cluster of Crimes

The second news media event under investigation within this chapter is the

Cluster of Crimes. The Cluster of Crimes is just that, a cluster of two distinct moments

of criminal activity concerning or involving veterans. The first and second crimes are

distinct in location, perpetrator, branch of service, and relation to and with the veteran

community. The first crime I analyzed was the Kandahar Massacre, perpetrated by Army

Staff Sergeant Robert Bales. On the night of March 11, 2012, Bales left his base and

entered the villages of Balandi and Alkozai. In these two villages, Bales shot and killed

sixteen Afghani civilians. As the Kandahar Massacre occurred on March 11th, the

starting date for data collection was one-week prior, March 4, 2012, and concluded April

11, 2012. The second crime I analyzed was the deaths of Chris Kyle and Chad Littlefield

at the hand of Marine veteran Eddie Ray Routh.[182] On February 2, 2013, Chris Kyle and

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[180] Jessica Hamblen, "Media Coverage of Traumatic Events: Research on Effects," *Department of Veteran Affairs Blog*, last modified January 3, 2014, http://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/trauma/basics/media-coverage-traumatic-events.asp.

[181] Chris Marvin, "A Thank You Isn't Enough: Young Veterans Want the Public to Listen to Their Needs, Not Worships Them as 'Heroes,'" *U.S. News*, November 11, 2014, accessed November 11, 2014, http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2014/11/11/listen-to-veterans-and-stop-calling-them-heroes.

[182] It is important to note here that both Chris Kyle and Chad Littlefield were killed in the shootings that day. The news coverage of the shooting death of these two veterans tends to focus on Chris Kyle. The possible reasons for this focus are limitless, and outside the scope of my project. It is important to me, however, to take this space and time to commemorate Chad Littlefield. Though I have no analysis to

Chad Littlefield took Eddie Ray Routh to the Rough Creek Ranch Lodge Resort, a shooting range in central Texas. Here, Routh shot and killed both Kyle and Littlefield before fleeing the scene in Kyle's truck, and later arrested by local law enforcement. The news texts dates for collection began January 26, 2013 and concluded March 2, 2013.

The Walter Reed Hospital Scandal

The Walter Reed Hospital Scandal offers an opportunity to span temporal and political moments in the news coverage of veterans. The stories of mistreatment of soldiers and veterans at the hospital first broke in an exposé series written by Dana Priest and Anne Hull on February 18, 2007 on the pages of the *Washington Post*. The series of articles chronicled the decaying conditions of a specific area of the hospital, building 18, which served as a long-term care facility where patients and some family members lived during treatment. The conditions of building 18 were deplorable, with stories of dead roaches, leaky ceilings, and severe neglect all depicted as the norm.

The scandal at the Army hospital warrants scholarly attention for the purposes of further investigating the news climate leading up to the scandal and the subsequent reactions from government officials to soldiers and family members involved. It's inclusion here rests on that logic, and furthers the potential for scholarly intervention. The Walter Reed Scandal offers the opportunity to consider how source participation and entry into the news cycle compared between political parties and presidential

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suggest why he is often removed from conversation and commemoration, I nevertheless find it extremely problematic, if not quite sad. Perhaps his absence in coverage provides a moment for future research and investigation, but this is a clear microcosm of the impact the press has in erasing veteran bodies. His name does not resonate as often on the pages of print, but it will not be a dismissal that is repeated here.

administrations. George W. Bush, a Republican, was President at the time of the Walter Reed Scandal, while the fourth and final news event covering the Department of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal is the direct comparison point as it occurred during a time when Democrats controlled the White House under Barack Obama's Administration.

The Department of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal

The Department of Veterans Affairs found itself at the center of a firestorm of controversy in late spring leading into the summer of 2014. News originally broke that veterans at the VA Hospital in Phoenix, Arizona were experiencing a longer than average wait time for medical treatment. VA Hospitals have notoriously long wait times for medical appointments, yet the story of the Phoenix VA added an additional layer of controversy. A VA employee acted as a whistleblower and alleged that up to forty veterans had possibly died as a direct result of wait times for medical appointments.[183] Timelines leading up to the first reports of a problem at the Phoenix VA Hospital offer different origin dates, documenting different concerns and complaints that were logged dating as early as December 2014. The inclusion of the VA Backlog offers not only a direct comparison with the handling of a scandal between administrations and political parties in relation to Walter Reed; it is also the sole news media event of the four that continues to garner media attention. Each of the previous three news media events discussed in the dissertation (Veterans Day; Cluster of Crimes; and Walter Reed) have had a clear ending point. Advocacy work from veteran service organizations continues to

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[183] Katie Zezima, "Everything You Need to Known About the VA- and the Scandals Engulfing It," *The Washington Post*, May 30, 2014, accessed December 14, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/wp/2014/05/21/a-guide-to-the-va-and-the-scandals-engulfing-it/.

keep the VA Backlog issue at the forefront of political discussion and media stories. I

will discuss more on the ongoing nature of this news media event at the conclusion of this

chapter. Now I turn to the findings.

The Three News Media

I pause here to offer a brief aside on terminology. Following the example of

scholarship published in the fields of political communication, media effects, and

journalism I define "news media" as the overarching news media apparatus. The news

media denotes the entire operation of industries, networks, television stations,

newspapers, and news magazines that publish what is commonly referred to as "news."

The method of the news delivery is defined as "news medium" or if plural "news

media."[184] My use of the term "news media" throughout the remainder of this chapter

and the dissertation project is meant to follow this previous conceptualization of terms

and news media specifically denote the three channels of news delivery under analysis

which are: (1) newspapers; (2) broadcast television news, and (3) cable television news.

News media are the foundation for our current news apparatus. Matthew Baum

and Phillip Potter contend that news media outlets across different mediums possess the

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[184] There are different sources that use "news mediums" as a form of describing the plural of "news media." I chose here to use news media as the plural form. For examples of the use of news mediums as a circulating research term please see, Jeffrey J. Mondak, "Newspapers and Political Awareness," *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (1995): 513-527; Burn W. Roper, *Trends in Attitudes Towards Television and Other Media: A Twenty-Four Year Review* (New York: Roper Organization, 1983); Mark Harmon and Robert Muenchen, "Semantic Framing in the Build-Up to the Iraq War: Fox v. CNN and Other U.S. Broadcast News Programs," *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 66 (2009): 12-25; Jabbar Al-A Obaidi, Christopher Lamb-Williams, and Victoria Mordas, "The King of All Mediums: A Field Study of College Students Use of Mediums for News," *International Journal of Instructional Media* 31 (2004): 289-307.

power to influence and shape an array of issues from public opinion to foreign policy.[185]

Extensive research has been conducted dating back to the 1960s seeking distinctions

between print news versus television news.[186] Scholars have been interested in a news

medium's ability to impact knowledge acquisition as well as the types of content most

likely to appear based on the news medium.

Political communication serves as the scene for the majority of research depicting

differences between news medium outlets, with the majority of these inquiries concerned

with the amount of knowledge gained via print media compared with television news.

That is common research questions centered upon whether or not citizens who read the

newspaper as their main source of political information were more and or better informed

than citizens who gained their knowledge of politics via television news programs.[187]

The discipline finds itself is divided on this question. As James Druckman outlines in an

exhaustive literature review detailing various scholarly arguments ultimately concludes

there are just as many proponents in support of newspaper's enhanced ability to provide

knowledge, as there are supporters for the medium of television.[188]

Proponents of newspaper's power, Steven Chaffee and Stacey Frank, confirm

"newspapers are highly informative to their readers and that reading them is a strong

[185] Matthew A. Baum and Phillip Potter, "The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 39-65.

[186] Roper, *Trends in Attitudes Towards Television and Other Media*.

[187] Steven Chaffee and Stacey Frank, "How American Get Political Information: Print Versus Broadcast News," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 546 (1996): 48-58.

[188] James N. Druckman, "Media Matter: How Newspapers and Television News Cover Campaigns and Influence Voters," *Political Communication* 22 (2005): 463-481.

predictor of political knowledge…"[189] With regard to political campaigns, voter

knowledge, and civic participation many scholars were left to contend that newspaper

held sway as the most influential source for political information.[190] Television might

have gained a presence in the homes of citizens, but the pages of print news continue its

dominance as the preferred news medium for the informed electorate.[191] The

overwhelming support for newspaper's dominance over that of television experienced a

shift in scholarly perceptions beginning in the early 1990s.

As television's overall prevalence in households and increased programming

developments, scholars began to test the previous assumptions concerning newspaper's

purported position over television news coverage. In their book *Common Knowledge:

News and the Construction of Political Meaning* Russell Neuman, Marion Just, and Ann

Crigler began to chip away at the heralded distinctions between newspaper and television

news.[192] Instead of painting the public as a wayward sheep whose attention is pulled in

multiple directions within the mass mediated news landscape, the authors here dispose of

this view of the public's inability to construct meaning from the daily barrage of news

messages. They contend that the public's engagement with television is not as passive as

it was once considered, and that individuals can piece together news fragments to

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[189] Chaffee and Frank, "How American Get Political Information: Print Versus Broadcast News," 52.

[190] Thomas E. Patterson and Robert McClure, *The Unseeing Eye: The Myth of Television Power in National Elections* (New York: Putnam, 1976).

[191] Garrett J. O'Keefe and L. Erwin Atwood, "Communication and Election Campaigns," in *Handbook of Political Communication,* ed. Dan D. Nimmo and Keith R. Sanders (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981), 329-357.

[192] W. Russell Neuman, Marion R. Just and Ann N. Crigler, *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

understand the interrelated meanings of news stories. Extending this initial reversal with regard to print versus television news, Vincent Price and John Zaller contend that the differences between political knowledge gained between newspaper and television is nominal.[193]

Though a majority of the research examining the similarities and differences between the two major news media of newspaper and television have been conducted within the field of political communication, the research's implications hold true during times of war. The ability to control the war narrative becomes of great importance to governmental officials, and the upper echelon of the Armed Forces. News media in general are critical to the ability to control various narratives, and become particularly heightened in importance when the nation is at war.

NEWS MEDIA DURING TIMES OF WAR

Terrence Chapman and Dan Reiter remind us "during times of war and national crisis, citizens 'rally around the flag' and tend to support their leaders" further casting mainstream media as the "central agents…by giving voice to the administration in power and ultimately aligning publics with elites."[194] Failure to control the news narrative during Vietnam by leaders in the military and political leaders alike exposes the importance of public perception during times of conflict.[195] Volumes of research have been published in support of acknowledging the enhanced gatekeeping media protocols

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[193] Vincent Price and John Zaller, "Who Gets the News: Alternative Measures of News Reception and their Implications for Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 57 (1993): 133-154.

[194] Terrence L. Chapman and Dan Reiter, "The United Nations Security Council and the Rally 'Round the Flag Effect,'" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (2004): 886-909.

[195] Harmon and Muenchen, "Semantic Framing in the Build-Up to the Iraq War," 12-25.

during times of war, with many focusing on the news medium itself. For example, Vietnam is often depicted as "television's first war" and television's impact on the Persian Gulf War was meticulously examined in Jean Baudrillard's collection of essays *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*.[196] The ability of television as a medium to influence foreign policy and U.S. humanitarian interventions is best encompassed in the breadth of research of the CNN effect. The overall focus of arguments defined by the "CNN effect" document the increased presence of news when the 24-hour news cycle was launched.[197] The increase in time to cover the news combined with advancements in communication technology made it possible to show "real time" events impacting foreign policy, war, conflicts, and humanitarian crisis. Scholars attributed the increased television coverage of the humanitarian crises, most centrally focused in the 1990s, to the power vacuum that was opened following the Cold War.[198] Investigations of television's ability to contour and shape not only foreign policy but also the medium's ability to shape the public's reception of news are an ongoing interest within the academy.[199] The interest in controlling the news narratives does not begin and end with scholars however. Government and military officials are cogently aware of the medium's influence.

In our nation's heightened war state there is a shift in the rhetorical power of the presidency. Politicians in the executive branch understand that it is increasingly more

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[196] Michael Mandelbaum, "Vietnam: The Television War," *Daedalus* 111 (1982): 157-169; Jean Baudrillard, *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995).

[197] Piers Robinson, *The CNN Effect: The Myth of News, Foreign Policy and Intervention* (London: Routledge, 2002).

[198] James Schlesinger, "Quest for Post-Cold War Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* Winter (1992).

[199] Steven Livingston, "Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention," *Public Policy* (1997): 1-18.

difficult for the president to hold sway over news media contents during times of war. In *War Stories: The Causes and Consequences of Public Views of War*, Matthew Baum and Tim Groeling, detail how the press is more apt to cover criticism of a war president than the popular support of U.S. citizens. They predict "future presidents will find the American public, other than their fellow partisans, less willing than in prior decades to rally…when he or she sends the nation to war."[200]

Possibly in response to the decreased power of presidential rhetoric and the power of a president to control the news narrative, the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan played host to a dynamic increase in the presence of "embedded reporters." Supported and trained in conjunction with the Pentagon, embedded reporters are attached to a unit of soldiers and go wherever the unit is deployed. The role of embedded journalists was to observe the war during the day and provide firsthand witness accounts to the public each night through television reporting. Despite the increased number of embedded journalist during these wars, their reporting was ultimately labeled "propaganda for the Bush Administration" and admonished by critics.[201]

It is evident that news media overall act as an important barometer for news coverage. Mediums impact not only how an issue is covered, but they also speak to the effects the chosen outlets have on their audience's knowledge of the given issue. Military conflicts are often considered in research of news media, yet little attention has

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[200] Matthew A. Baum and Tim J. Groeling, *War Stories: The Causes and Consequences of Public Views of War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 132.

[201] Douglas Kellner, "War Correspondents, the Military, and Propaganda: Some Critical Reflections," *International Journal of Communication* 2 (2008): 297-330.

focused on the impacts following war. That is, scholars have examined foreign policy and war through a news medium lens, but not the soldiers and veterans who fight in those wars. A news medium's influence on how individual citizens engage with, remember, and act in response to encountering news is an important element for my purposes within this chapter. In order for future research to investigate the levels of knowledge citizens glean from news stories pertaining to veterans, it is critical to first examine which mediums present veterans stories. Do newspapers print more stories pertaining to the veteran experience or does television news cover more stories of veterans during their nightly news broadcast? Below I present the findings in order to illustrate which news media were most prominent overall and within each news media event in particular.

Thus far I have explained how the news media, or channels of news delivery, impact the reception of national news. I have also showed that attention to their persuasive powers is inherent as these news media increase during times of war and conflict. In what follows I describe the results of the indexing content analysis of news texts around the four news media events, and analyze the specific role of the three news media: newspaper, broadcast television news, and cable television news.

Results

In total, 281 news texts comprised the dataset for the dissertation. Newspapers were the lead news medium with 178 total news stories coded. Television coverage of the four news media events totaled 103 total news segments, with broadcast news totaling 56 news segments and cable television news programs totaling 47. The literature above documents the ever-increasing presence of television as the central medium for news

dispersion. The findings here surprisingly dispute that assertion with respect to news stories depicting the veteran community. Overall, newspapers remain the dominant medium for veteran coverage within each of the four news media events analyzed. Figure 3.1 illustrates how each of the three mediums performed within each of the news events.

Forty-five news texts were coded for Veteran's Day 2014. Newspaper coverage of Veterans Day 2014 contained 26 news articles. In total cable news aired 10 stories while broadcast channels aired 9 news stories. The Cluster of Crimes accounted for 80 news texts. Newspaper coverage totaled 43 news articles. In total cable news aired 12 stories while broadcast channels aired 25 news stories. The Walter Reed Hospital Scandal hosted a total of 67 news stories. Of those, newspaper coverage accounted for 48 news stories. Cable television news aired 9 stories while broadcast channels aired 10 news stories. The final news media event was VA Backlog which overall received the highest amount of media attention. Eighty-nine articles were coded across the three mediums of newspaper, broadcast, and cable television coverage. Newspapers dominated coverage of the scandal with 61 stories, while cable accounted for 16 news segments, and broadcast television only aired 12 news segments.
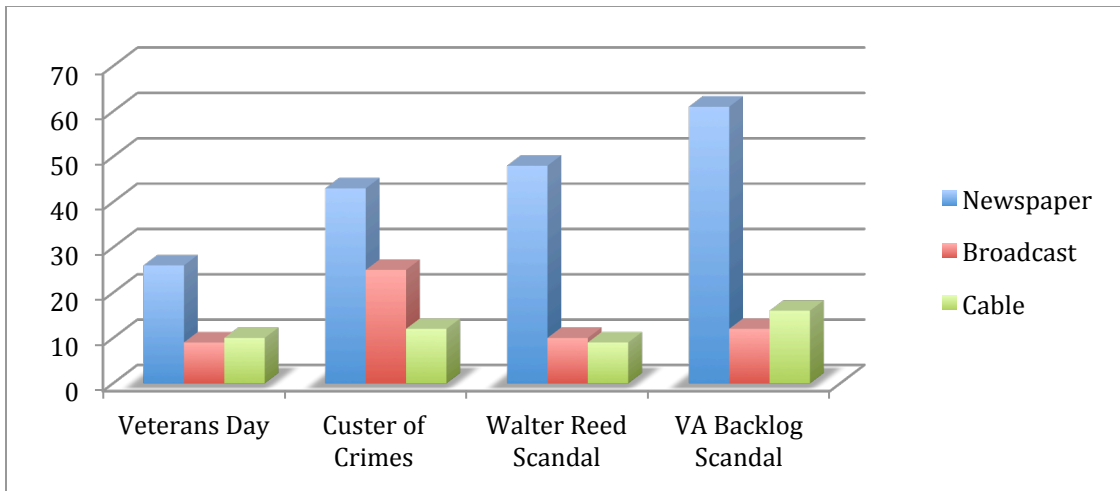
Figure 3.1: Number of news texts coded according to news medium and news media
    event.

DISCUSSION OF MEDIUM DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS STORIES

It is clear to see from the figure above that newspapers were the lead medium for

each of the four news media events. While perhaps surprising to some, this finding is

somewhat expected, as scholarship has long held the position that nightly news broadcast

are often dependent on and contoured by the lead stories of the morning newspapers.[202]

The dependency between the mediums would suggest that the same is true for veteran

news stories, and the findings confirm that assumption.

The temporal nature of the four news media events also is important to consider

here. The timeline for the dataset spans seven years with the earliest event (Walter Reed)

occurring in 2007 and the most recent (VA Backlog) occurring in 2014.[203] Why is that

important? Recent literature has focused on the growing influence of online news media

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[202] Maxwell E. McCombs, *Setting the Agenda* (New York: Polity, 2004).

[203] It could be argued that the VA Backlog scandal is on going and would be indicative of media coverage
in 2015. However, the dataset collection time frame ends in 2014, and thus the ten-year timeline.

outlets. The proliferation of news blogs, Internet news, and social media as a news platform continue to illustrate the increasing speed and influence of online news. The increase in newspaper coverage in the most recent news media of the VA Backlog Scandal, however, suggest that newspapers remain relevant in covering veteran related stories. Though a direct comparison between the coverage of new media and newspapers remains outside this particular analysis, the implications for newspapers staying power as a medium remains evident.

The implications for the medium of television also follow expected patterns. Television as a news medium is most often attributed with being the medium that focuses on dramatic coverage and human interests stories.[204] Criminal activity is a prominent fixture of television news, and this pattern extended to the Cluster of Crimes. Criminal behavior by an active duty soldier and a veteran received the greatest number of television segments with a total of thirty-seven.

The total of coverage follows expectations, but the outlets hosting the coverage of crimes are even more fascinating. Broadcast news accounted for 25 total news texts compared with cable news' coverage of 12 news texts of the crimes analyzed. Broadcast news segments are thirty minutes in length each evening, and the cable programs analyzed each ran nightly for one hour in duration. It would follow that broadcast news programs must cover multiple stories in a brief amount of time, while cable news

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[204] Matthew A. Baum, "Soft News and Foreign Policy: How Expanding the Audience Changes the Policies," *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 8 (2006): 115-145; Matthew A. Baum, "Soft News and Political Knowledge: Evidence of Absence or Absence of Evidence?" *Political Communication* 20 (2003): 173-190.

programs can increase the depth of analysis. Taking all variables into consideration, it is noteworthy that broadcast news hosted such extensive coverage of the Cluster of Crimes. Despite limited airtime and a need for issue consolidation, the maxims depicting television news as the choice outlet for drama are true in this case.

Human-interest stories are also prominent features of television news coverage, and these types of news narratives often focus on the personal lives of their subjects.[205] The Department of Veteran Affairs Backlog illustrates the human-interest story angle within this project. The VA Backlog received the second highest number of combined television coverage with 28 total news texts coded. Cable television news coverage was highest in the VA Backlog compared with the remaining news media events, further influencing the medium's reliance as a human-interest outlet.

News media have distinct impact on the presentation of issues as well as how audiences receive their news. The findings presented within this section illustrate how the realm of veteran news followed established patterns of news medium research. Newspapers were the more dominant medium for stories of the veteran experience, while television news coverage hosted stories of drama and human-interest. The section of news media illuminates which mediums hosted news about veterans. In the next section I turn my attention to examine source entry points described for my purposes as how sources enter the dialogue of conversation within the news medium itself.

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[205] Roderick P. Hart, *Seducing America: How Television Charms the Modern Voter* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1999).

NEWS SOURCE: DIRECT QUOTATIONS VERSUS PARAPHRASED REMARKS

The definition of the term "source" is fluid within communication research depending on the focus of scholarly investigation. Elizabeth Wilson and Daniel Sherrell's work on source effects deals with the concept of sources as gatekeepers of news media content, while for others "source" can pertain to the medium of the news message.[206] For my purposes here "source" has been used to identify the speaker of the direct quotations or paraphrased remarks identified in the news. Sources enter the news discussion through quotations and paraphrased remarks, and the mode of source entry can have multiple impacts on the news story itself. Michael Salwen describes quotations as "the unfiltered comment of sources" and thus they serve to shape the first lines of news coverage.[207] As such, the quotation serves as the first binding connection between journalists and the public sphere. This relationship then extends to create the foundation for our overall news apparatus, and as such a root of democracy. As Shyam Sundar suggests:

> Editors constantly demand that reporters get quotes for their stories. 'Quotes' are the quotations from the right sources, from sources that would not only be relevant but also credible given the context. Getting quotes and attributing them to credible sources are essential aspects of journalistic practice, regardless of the medium of the news delivery.[208]

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[206] Elizabeth J. Wilson and Daniel L. Sherrell, "Source Effects in Communication and Persuasion Research: A Meta-Analysis of Effects Size," *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science* 21 (1993): 101-112; Richard F. Carter and Bradley S. Greenberg, "Newspaper or Television" Which do you Believe?" *Journalism Quarterly* 42 (1965): 29-34.

[207] Michael B. Salwen, "News of Hurricane Andrew: The Agenda of Sources and the Sources' Agendas," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 72 (1995): 827.

[208] Shyam Sundar, "Effect of Source Attribution on Perception of Online News Stories," *Journal and Mass Communication Quarterly* 7 (1998): 56.

The importance of quotes persists when consulting the foundational texts of journalistic practice. The two books *Fundamentals of News Reporting* and *Writing the News: Print Journalism in the Electronic Age* each focus on the integral appearance of quotations in the news.[209] Serving as training manuals for journalist each of these texts advocate the importance of quotations by tying the responsibility of a journalist to the democratic process. That is, journalists overall must use quotations in order serve as the connection point to disseminate the voice of the people to the public sphere at large. If a journalist were to stop acting as the "conduit passing along information from sources to receivers" they would abdicate their democratic responsibilities.[210] It follows, then, that a journalist's ultimately responsibility is to use to any means necessary to obtain a direct quotation from a source and then provide that direct quotation to the public in their news stories.

The duty of journalists to seek quotations is well understood, but what effects do quotations have on the news audience? The research here is divided. On the one hand researchers posit that the presence of direct quotations to paraphrased remarks has no impact on audience perceptions of credibility, or even the accuracy of the news itself.[211] There remains, however, a strong contingent of scholars who cite that the presence of

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[209] Ralph S. Izard, Hugh M. Culbertson, and Donald A. Lambert, *Fundamentals of News Reporting* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1971); W. Fox, *Writing the News: Print Journalism in the Electronic Age* (NY: Hastings House, 1977).

[210] Sundar, "Effect of Source Attribution on Perception of Online News Stories," 56.

[211] David H. Weaver, W. Wat Hopkins, William H. Billings, and Richard R. Cole, "Quotes vs. Paraphrases in Writing: Does it make a Difference to Readers?" *Journalism Quarterly* 51 (1974): 400-404; F. Dennis Hale, "Unnamed News Sources: Their Impact on the Perceptions of Stories," *Newspaper Research Journal* 5 (1984): 49-56; Hugh M. Culbertson and Nancy Somerick, "Cloaked Attribution: What Does it Mean to News Readers?" *Washington DC: American Newspaper Publishers Association News Research Bulletin*, 1976.

quotations and paraphrases of attributed sources continues to have a vital impact on the

news audience. With due diligence to both sides of the debate, I align with the wing of

researchers who insist that the presence of quotations and paraphrases are vital to

audience perceptions.

Hugh Culbertson and Nancy Somerick are two researchers who have written in

agreement supporting each side of the aforementioned source attribution debate. Their

latter research, however, aligns with the notion that source attribution does have a

measurable impact on audience receptions of news, by pointing out that different

variables should be considered when determining the importance of source attribution.

They found that individuals who read newspapers gave more consideration to the sources

provided along with quotations, and as such, these readers paid more attention to the

sources that were used as outlets.[212] In a more recent example, Rhonda Gibson and Dolf

Zillman extend the assumption that the audience of print news is more dependent on

source attributions.[213] They performed an experiment in which readers were given

information on safety concerns at amusement parks to determine if participants would

credit the information found in quotations of safety experts would outweigh the

credibility of paraphrased information that was not attributed to any source outlet. The

findings suggests that participants equated a greater level of credibility to the direct

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[212] Hugh M. Culbertson and Nancy Somerick, "Variable Affect How Persons View Unnamed News Sources," *Journalism Quarterly* 54 (1977): 58-69.

[213] Rhonda Gibson and Dolf Zillman. "The Impact of Quotation in New Reports on Issues Perception," *Journalism Quarterly* 70 (1993): 793-800.

quotations who had safety experts as the attributed source compared with paraphrased information that did not provide any identifying source information.

Michael Salwen's work also contends that the presence of quotations has an impact on audience perceptions. Salwen argued that previous research in the field of journalism was split over the impacts quotations had on readers because scholars too often focused on attempting to explain different dependent variables. His research, instead, used psychological measures to determine the impacts of source attribution, and found that the data overwhelmingly showed a measured impact with regard to determined credibility of the news story and the perceived quality of the news story. When psychological factors are measured, it is clear that the presence, of quotations in conjunction with source identities impacts how individuals perceive aspects of news reporting.

Source attribution as measured by the entrance of quotations and paraphrased remarks is a key component in determining the viewing audience's perception of a news story. Research supports the claim that audiences who encounter more quotations in news stories will judge the news story to be credible and written at a higher quality than subsequent news stories that do not feature as many direct quotations. Thus an investigation of how veterans were portrayed through news media stories requires an examination of the presence of quotations and paraphrased remarks overall. In the following section I present the results of a portion of the dataset coding that outlines the overall appearance of quotations and paraphrased remarks within each news medium (newspaper, broadcast television, and cable television) and the documented use of

quotations and paraphrased remarks across each of the nine news outlets in an effort to determine how often direct quotations and paraphrased remarks were utilized through each component of news coverage.

Results

As the entry points for sources, quotations outpaced the use of paraphrased remarks in total coverage. Quotations added up to 2,901 source entrances and paraphrased remarks totaled 1,314 source entrance points. Each of the three news media overwhelmingly used quotations to paraphrased remarks—newspaper 208 quotations to 89 paraphrases, broadcast television quotations 115 to paraphrases 7, and cable television quotations 125 to paraphrases 8—as a method of entry into the news coverage. Figure 3.2 graphically depicts quotation's one-sided use. The influence of quotations carries on as depicted in each of the four news media events.
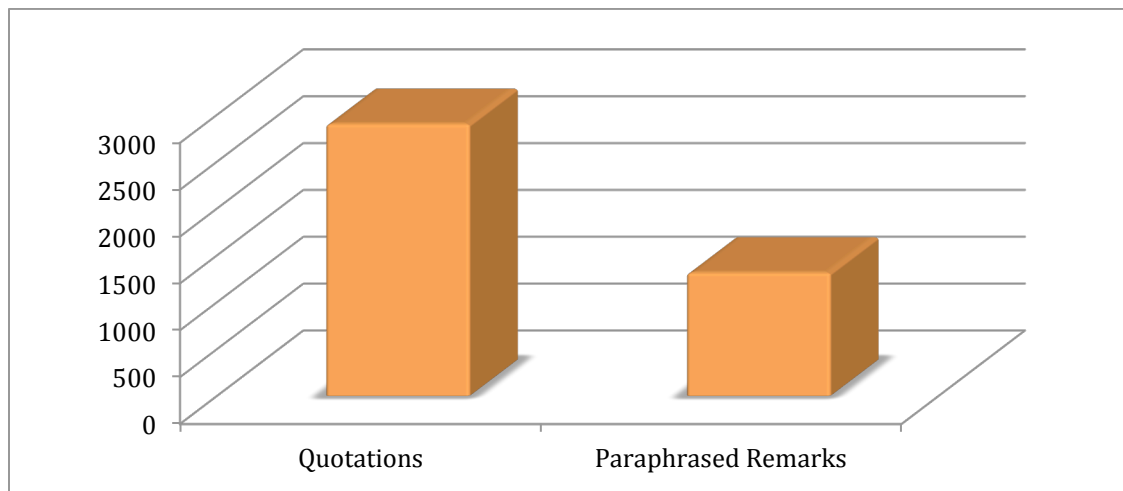
Figure 3.2: Overall numbers of quotations compared with paraphrased remarks.

Veterans Day 2014

Broadcast news coverage of Veterans Days 2014 cited sources with a quotation 25% while cable news used quotations 28% for source representation. Newspaper coverage was more one sided with regard to the method of source entrances in each news story. Quotations comprised 46% of the sourced commentary in newspapers. On the whole each of the three mediums were on pace with one another with respect to the use of quotations.

The use of quotations held a clear advantage over paraphrased remarks as a method for sources to enter the news coverage of Veterans Day 2014. Newspapers served as the optimal medium for sources to use paraphrased remarks to enter the news dialogue. Of the overall total use of paraphrased remarks in the coverage of Veterans Day 2014, overwhelming majorities of 85% for 89 total instances in newspapers while television lagged far behind. Broadcast news only used paraphrased remarks during 7% accounting for 7 total instances of their coverage, and cable news mirrored their use citing sources through paraphrased remarks only 8% representing 8 moments in their coverage. Figure 3.3 illustrates this point even further by depicting the number of quotations cited within each of the nine source outlets.
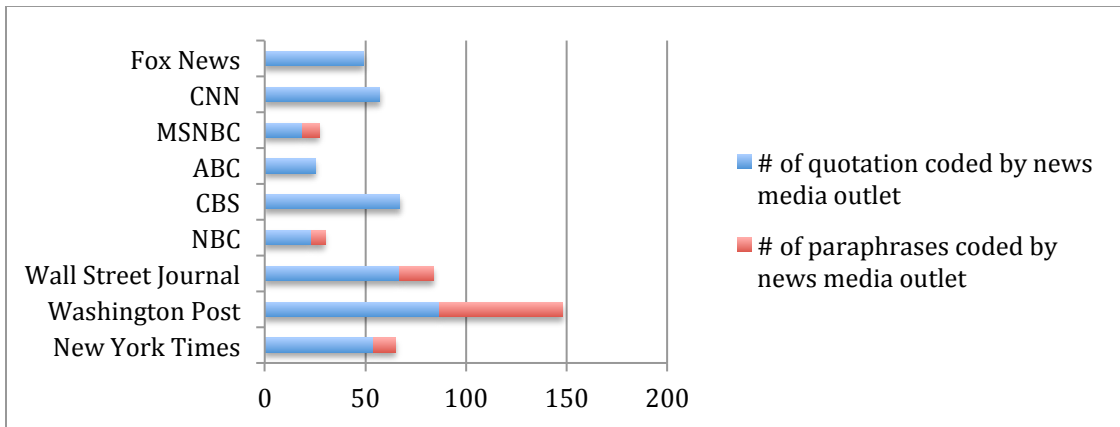
Figure 3.3: Total Number of Quotes and Paraphrases Across all Mediums for Veterans Day 2014.

The Cluster of Crimes

In the Cluster of Crimes, broadcast news coverage cited sources with a quotation 36%—270 instances to cable news used quotations 19% for 148 instances—for source representation. Similar to Veterans Day 2014, here in the Cluster of Crimes newspaper coverage was more one sided with regard to the method of source entrances in each news story. Quotations comprised 45% of the sourced commentary in newspapers. Unlike Veterans Day 2014, however, the Cluster of Crimes did not see an even distribution of quotations across the three news media. It is clear that newspaper coverage, followed closely by broadcast news coverage utilized quotations as an entry point for sources far more often than cable news programs.

As cable news fell behind both broadcast and television news with its use of quotations, I anticipated that cable news would significantly outpace the other mediums with regard to the use of paraphrased remarks. This assumption did not hold true. Broadcast news lead the way in the use of paraphrased remarks, which accounted for

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60% for a total of 407 instances as a source entry points. Newspapers held the second

ranking with paraphrased remarks accounting for 38% representing 262 paraphrased

remarks of the source entry points for coverage. Cable television again ranked below

these two mediums with only 2% with 11 instances coded as paraphrased remarks

accounting for source entry points. Overall the percentage of quotations versus

paraphrased remarks used as source entry points are relatively close to one another, with

quotations accounting for 53% and paraphrased remarks accounting for 47% of source

entries.
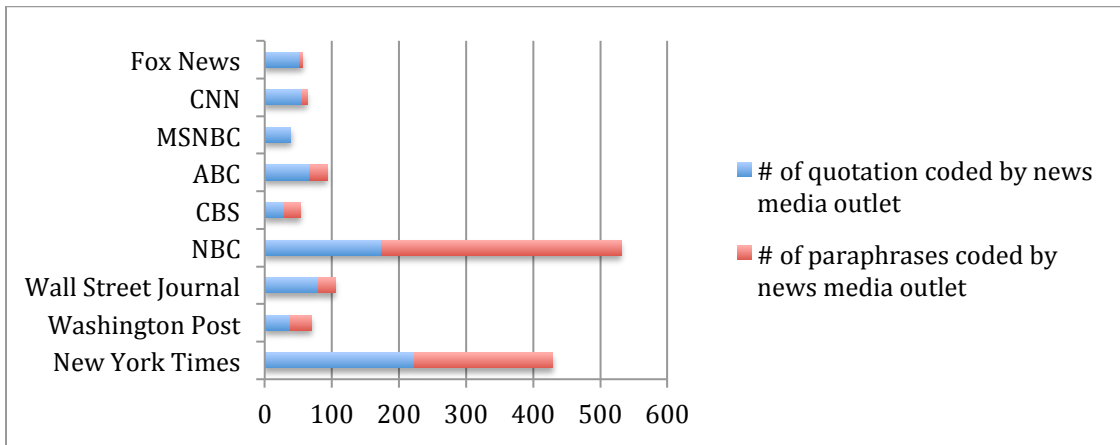
Figure 3.4: Total Number of Quotes and Paraphrases Across all Mediums for Cluster of
        Crimes.

The Walter Reed Hospital Scandal

Broadcast news coverage of the Walter Reed Hospital Scandal highlighted

sources with a quotation 26% (n=189) while cable news used quotations 21% (n=153) for

source representation. Quotations comprised 53% (n=339) of the sourced commentary in

newspapers. The use of quotations as the entry point for sources in news media coverage

is fairly consistent across all three mediums when newspaper's use of quotations at 53% is compared with the combined television percentage of 47%.

The three mediums were consistent across their use of quotations, but paraphrased remarks offers a clear distinction between the mediums. Newspaper coverage dominated both broadcast and cable television coverage with their use of paraphrased remarks. Newspaper coverage used accounted for 79%—146 paraphrased remarks used in coverage documenting the Walter Reed Hospital Scandal—while broadcast television only used 21% accounting for 38 instances. Cable television recorded zero paraphrased remarks.
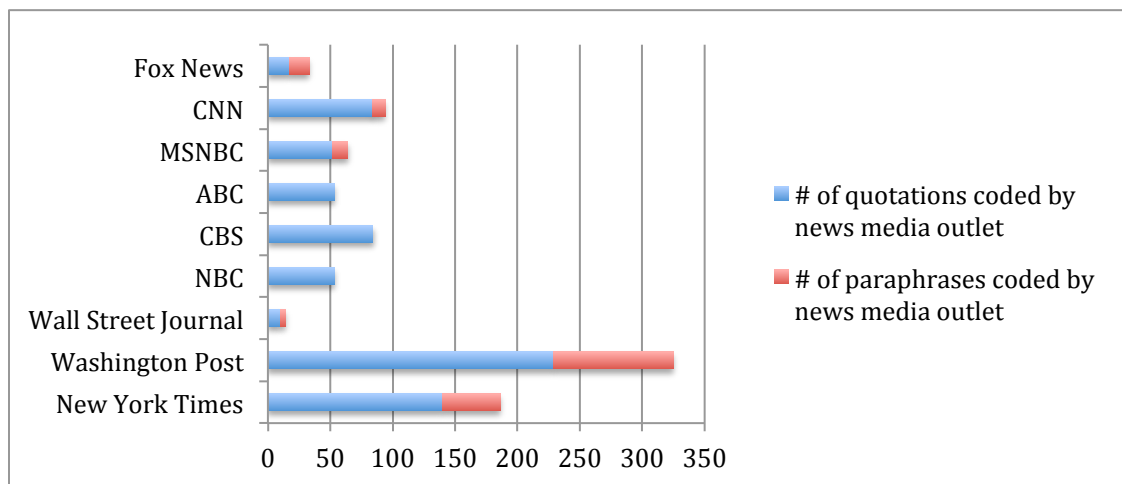
Figure 3.5: Total Number of Quotes and Paraphrases Across all Mediums for Walter Reed Hospital Scandal.

The Department of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal

With regard to the VA Backlog Scandal, cable television dominated the use of quotations as the entry point for sources, accounting for 52%—507 quotations—covered in the VA Backlog Scandal coverage. Newspaper coverage interrupts the rankings of

combined television coverage by ranking second with 33% with 316 instances of quotation use. Broadcast television saw the lowest use of quotations in this news media event with 15% representing 15 instances of quotations.

Paraphrased remarks presented fairly balanced across the coverage of the VA Backlog. Newspaper coverage topped both broadcast and cable television coverage with their use of paraphrased remarks, but by a smaller margin that with the coverage of Walter Reed. Newspaper coverage used accounted for 38%—133 paraphrased remarks—used in coverage documenting the VA Backlog, while cable television comprised 34% (n=118) and broadcast coverage came in just below with 28% (n=95).
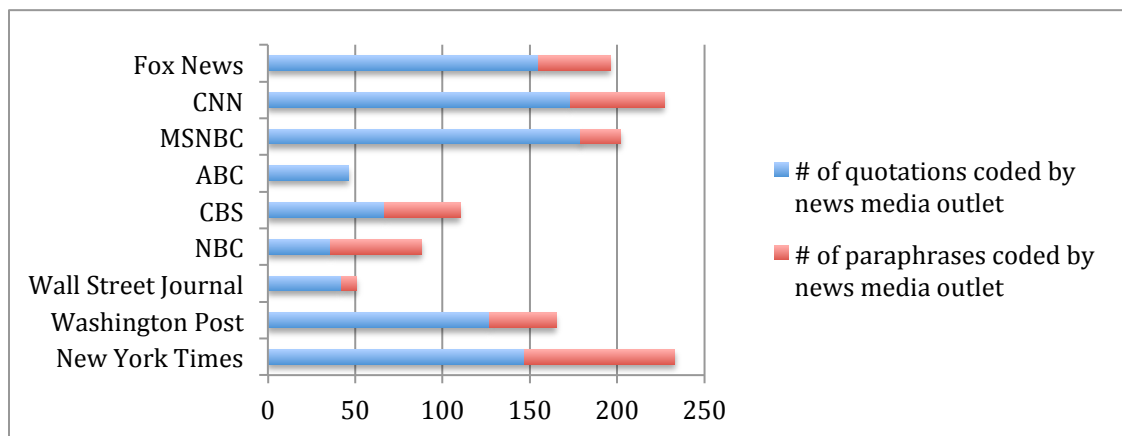
Figure 3.6: Total Number of Quotes and Paraphrases Across all Mediums for Walter Reed Hospital Scandal.

A DISCUSSION OF QUOTES VERSUS PARAPHRASED REMARKS

Figure 3.7 displays the number of quotations and paraphrased remarks according to news media event in one location. Again it is clear that quotations outpaced the use of paraphrased remarks, but when the news media event is taken into consideration, the dominance of quotations seems to diminish. The Cluster of Crimes provides the starkest

example of this diminished dominance. What might account for the nearly even

distribution of quotations and paraphrased remarks within that particular news media
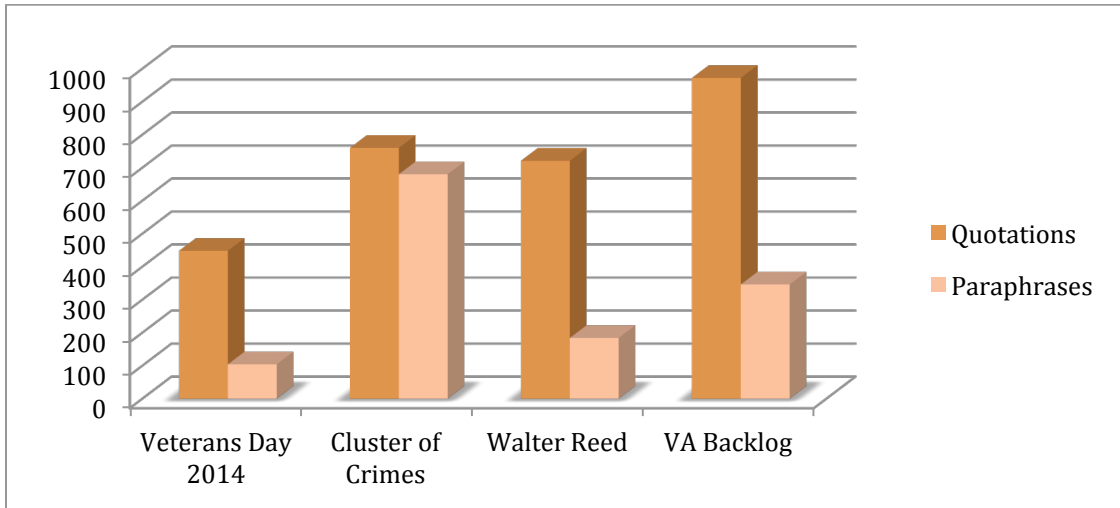
event?

Figure 3.7: Total numbers of quotations and paraphrased remarks pertaining to each news
          media event.

The most probable answer lies in the consideration of the source identity of the

speaker who is quoted or paraphrased. Although source identity is the main concern of

the next chapter, it is helpful to preview the role of a particular source identity here. The

increased presence of spokespersons for the military and government agencies played a

determining role in the emergence of paraphrased remarks within this media event.

Recall that the Kandahar Massacre perpetrated by Robert Bales occurred while Bales was

an active duty soldier deployed in Afghanistan. As such, much of the news following his

criminal behavior was provided during daily press briefings where unidentified sources

provided the latest news to journalists for their news stories. Across each medium these

spokespersons were simply identified as "military officials" or more specifically as

"Army spokesman" or "Army officials." Recall that research posits that quotations serve as the benchmark of hard news and are most often attached to an identified source, which in turn, increases the credibility and quality of the news story itself. As such, unidentified spokespersons were attributed to paraphrased remarks more so than direct quotations. This was not the case for each instance a spokesperson was cited as the source identity, however, it did hold true for the vast majority of instances accounting for the clear marked increase in the use of paraphrased remarks in the cluster of crimes event.

A close analysis of quotations and paraphrased remarks also reveals what news events played host to the highest inclusion of news sources. Where as the overall number of news media texts provides an understanding of what stories garner the most media attention, the overall number of quotations and paraphrased remarks in news coverage illuminates the types of stories located within news coverage. That is to say, stories with a great volume of quotations and paraphrased remarks are assumed to have more voices and viewpoints determining the story as opposed with stories with fewer quotations and paraphrased remarks, which might indicate that the news stories were simply providing context or relaying content from a journalist. The two media events that had the highest use of quotations and paraphrased remarks were Cluster of Crimes and Walter Reed Hospital Scandals.

Crimes have already shown to be an active news media event with regard to fascinating findings. Walter Reed has also figured prominently within the results section. Each of the news events here outpaced the others in the shear volume of discussion and

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source attribution within the news stories that comprised their portrayals. In the case of the Cluster of Crimes two media outlets stood out in their depictions of source attribution.

The coverage of the two crimes on the *NBC Nightly News* was a drastic departure from the network's coverage of the other news events. In total *NBC* coverage contained 531 quotations and paraphrased remarks. The number of news media texts coded was higher for this network than the other broadcast outlets, yet this was not due to more inclusion of available sources in the dataset. *NBC* as an outlet focused on these stories more than their television counterparts. The research questions and data analysis cannot account for the attributed reasons *NBC Nightly News* coverage was so much more exhaustive in comparison. The results can and do indicate, however, that when *NBC* covered the two crimes in the cluster, they were much more amenable to source attributions through quotations and paraphrased remarks.

The second outlet to play a role within this media event is the *New York Times*, which hosted 429 total quotations and paraphrased remarks. This number far surpasses the appearance of quotations or paraphrased remarks within any of the remaining news events, with the closest comparison being the VA Backlog with 233 total quotations and paraphrased remarks. Again the specific parameters of the current project's research interest cannot account for the reason behind the *New York Time's* overall increase. It is clear, however, that these two outlets had a measured impact on the increase of source attributions through quotations and paraphrased remarks.

The Walter Reed Scandal serves as another news media event where a news media outlet seemed to skew the number of quotations and paraphrased remarks. The

Washington Post hosted 325 source attributions through quotations and paraphrases. The VA Backlog is once again the closest comparison point with 165 attributed source entry points. The *Washington Post's* increase in source entry points can be more easily accounted for. The initial exposé of the mistreatment of patients at Walter Reed Army Hospital was documented in series within the pages of the *Washington Post*. It follows that the paper would lead the coverage of this particular news media event, as well as, lead the number of instances for source attributes through quotations and paraphrases. The obviousness of the results, however, should not overshadow their significance. In each of these cases we see how delicate the balance of source entry opportunities can be as they rely both on the news media event itself as well as the role the news media outlet plays in constructing the news stories.

CONCLUSION

The three primary areas of focus for this chapter surrounded discussions of the following: (1) news media events and their impacts on the news of the day; (2) the vital role mediums have in contouring and relating news to their audience, and (3) an accounting of source entry points through the use of quotations and paraphrased remarks. Several key findings were discussed. First, following the previous definitions of news media events, I argued for the inclusion of each of the four news media events analyzed in the dissertation dataset. I detailed the selection criteria for each of these events and provided a brief description of their contexts. As previous scholarship suggests all events that are covered in the news can be considered news media events. As such, each of the

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events selected here provided both stark and nuanced platforms from which to extend the understanding of the narratives that are often circulated in the news concerning veterans.

In addition to news events, I provided an in-depth analysis of the news media of newspaper and television. The aim of this section was to ask: through what platforms did news concerning veterans occur? My findings contend that newspaper coverage continues to be a strong news medium for depicting the veteran experience. Newspaper coverage leads television coverage across each of the four news media events.

Finally my analysis turned to a consideration of source entry points, more commonly referred to in the literature as source attribution. The results indicate that quotations were the overwhelming choice for source entry into the news cycle. Differing factors such as news media events and the news medium must also be taken into consideration when accounting for the source attributions found in quotations and paraphrased remarks.

Overall this chapter was constructed in the service of providing a foundation for inquiries. Similar lines of research in the field often document the areas within this chapter as a starting point to conduct further research through experimental analysis. Take for instance the area of political knowledge discussed at length in the news medium section. Much of the cited research determined the media landscape (as I have done here) and then continues investigating by conducting an experiment that directly tests these gathered observations on sample audiences. The experimental phases are both a limitation and a guiding point for future research for my project here. Making determinations on the audience reception of the news coded within the dataset was not

possible given the scope of the indexing analysis performed. In the future, however, I can take the findings here and develop future experiment conditions to test aspects of knowledge acquisition on veteran issues, what medium is perceived by participants to be the most credible in telling the veteran experience, or whether or not audiences deem a news story has higher quality if it includes the voices of veterans in the reporting. Future research into these potential realms is possible, however, it is key to acknowledge the work that is required before those inquiries could be conducted. The three areas of analysis in this chapter make that future research possible, and thus greatly inform the overall understanding of mediated veteran representations in the news.

Finally, this chapter provides a platform for the continuance of the dissertation project itself. In this chapter I have outlined and answered "how" questions: how news media events impact veteran narratives, how each news medium hosted these stories, and finally how sources make their entrances into the new conversations. The logical next step for this investigation is concerned with "whom" questions: who are the source identities that tell these stories?

Chapter Four: Who Narrates the Veteran Story?

At first glance this is a simple question. One might recall his or her own experience of seeing a story depicting a local war hero during the nightly television news coverage. Perhaps the image of a soldier surprising his or her family as they return home from deployment stirs in our collective minds. The record-breaking success of the recent film *American Sniper* offers a critical example of the public's encounter with veterans and the lives they lead.[214] It is perhaps understandably plausible for a citizen observer to answer the overarching question presented in this chapter by saying: veterans tell their own stories of their past military experiences of war, the stories of their transition home, and tales of what life is like living with a diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder. After all citizens read newspaper stories of veteran experiences, various television news channels have segments covering veterans and the military, and the wheel producing fictional war related movies continues to churn. Although popular sentiment might cite veterans as the primary contributor in relaying stories about their experiences, does this assumption hold true after an analysis of popular, mainstream news reports? Are veterans the main sources narrating their experiences or do other individuals, groups, or organizations speak more often in the news media? Overall, who spoke the most in the news about veterans? Who was called upon to act as a source in each specific news event? Did these source identities change and evolve based on the topic of the news coverage?

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[214] Bryan Alexander, "American Sniper Crowned 2014 Box Office King," *USA Today*, March 9, 2015, http://www.usatoday.com/story/life/movies/2015/03/08/american-sniper-top-box-office/24619843/.

The analyses described in this chapter begins to answer these and related

questions. Before that, however, I begin with a brief overview of the major theories

within news media criticism, specifically the indexing hypothesis, a method used in

political communication to account for the voices and views portrayed in the news media.

Although I recognize that the indexing hypothesis received detailed attention in the

earlier chapters, I think it is helpful at this juncture to provide a brief overview before I

detail how each of the source categories I analyze below interacts to support and contest

the current project's theoretical underpinnings.[215] Next, I provide an overview of the

seven main source identity categories and rank them in order of appearance across the

dataset. The ranking of the seven source categories allows me to paint an overall picture

of the identities at play within each source category. Finally, following the overview of

source category appearances in the news, I provide an analysis that situates each of the

source identity categories in relation to the four news media events. Examining the lead

voices within each news media event extends the findings of the first section by not only

accounting for which source categories spoke most often, it also provides insights on

which individual source identities controlled the conversation within each source and

overall within each news media event.

THEORETICAL PARAMETERS

The indexing hypothesis contends that journalists index voices in their coverage

in accordance with the "voices and viewpoints of government debate about a given

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[215] Note "source category" refers to the variable under analysis, namely, "who" tells a given story.

topic."[216]   Government debate within indexing literature primarily focuses on the

debates within the branches of government. An example would be how members of

different political parties are included in the news landscape when a debate occurs over

legislation. Indexing argues that when Democrats in Congress are in disagreement with

Republicans in the Executive branch the news coverage of their government debate will

be indexed to mirror the official debate within each of the branches of government.

Some scholars have critiqued the indexing hypothesis and argue that journalists practice a

greater level of discretion in choosing their sources than the indexing hypothesis

allows.[217]

Where indexing's focus is official governmental debate and voices of elite media

sources, the cascading activation model postulates that the "ability to promote the spread

of frames is stratified."[218] The cascading activation model does yield that frames, voices,

and views in the news media are "most likely activated at the top and spread down the

ladder" to the levels of public discourse, but where indexing focuses on the top of the

ladder cascading activation allows for scholars to examine occurrences of counter frames

that are established at the bottom of this ladder and roll like waves back up to the top of

the ladder.

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[216] W. Lance Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States," *Journal of Communications* 40 (1990): 103-125.

[217] Scott L. Althaus, "When News Norms Collide, Follow the Lead: New Evidence for Press Independence," *Political Communication* 20 (2003): 381-414.

[218] Robert Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 11.

The indexing hypothesis and cascading activation share some similarities but remain distinct in focus. The shared emphasis focus on power exhibited within each of these approaches is important to my purposes here. The role of power is a key component to news media analysis. Who speaks in a news story and how that story is framed are ultimately questions of power. Power in this way serves as a platform for a source to establish him or herself as an outlet the journalist relies on, and as such, gives the sources the power to control what stories will be told. Traditionally in scholarship, analyses using the indexing hypothesis and the cascading activation approach have been conducted separately from one another. There is, however, a growing body of research that combines these two approaches. In their article "None Dare Call it Torture," Bennett, Lawrence, and Livingston combined indexing and cascading activation to analyze news coverage of the Abu Ghraib prison photos.[219] The authors established their commitment to a combined theoretical approach in the early introduction of their article. They contend that these approaches "are not diametrically opposed models of the news" and they "coexist and are often intertwined" with one another.[220] Following their lead, this chapter considers both approaches, which I suggest, yields a more robust account of who possessed the power to speak as a source in the news.

Until now, very little research has been conducted on the presence of veterans in the news media sharing their war experiences. Herbert Gans reminds us that the source

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[219] W. Lance Bennett, Regina G. Lawrence, and Steven Livingston, "None Dare Call it Torture: Indexing and the Limits of Press Independence in the Abu Ghraib Scandal," *Journal of Communication* 56 (2006): 467-485.

[220] Bennett, Lawrence, and Livingston, "None Dare Call it Torture," 469.

"do the leading" in news media coverage while Dave D'Alessio contends that quotations

"are the creations of the sources being cited."[221] Thus in order to determine who leads

the reporting on certain topics, an in-depth examination of source identity is needed.

Here I report the results of a content analysis of 281 news media texts, which yielded

4,215 individual units to code pertaining to the four news media events (1) Veterans Day

2014, (2) the Crimes Cluster, (3) the Walter Reed Hospital Scandal, and (4) the VA

Backlog Scandal. As reported in chapter two, the unit of analysis for this project consists

of direct quotations and paraphrased remarks.[222]

OVERALL, WHO WERE THE SOURCES?

An overview of the seven source categories demonstrates direct quotations

outpacing paraphrased remarks in both newspaper coverage as well as television

coverage. The findings here are in accordance with those previously detailed in chapter

three, and offer an extension into the particularly identities of the speakers. Of the total

instances of attributed quotations or paraphrased remarks (n= 7,354), quotations

comprised 75% (n= 5,478) of total coverage across all media outlets, while attributed

paraphrased remarks accounted for 25% (n= 1,876) of the total coverage across all media

[221] Herbert Gans, "Sources and Journalist," in *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*, 25th Anniversary Edition (Evanston, IL Northwestern Press, 2004), 116-145; Dave D'Alessio, "An Experimental Examination of Readers' Perceptions of Media Bias," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 80 (2003): 292-294.

[222] Keep in mind that the seven source categories were established by collapsing several individual identity characteristics into manageable identity groups. For the full range of possible source identities please see the Appendix A. It is important to note here that the source categories were not mutually exclusive unless otherwise specified. Therefore, totals in the chart may exceed individual unit totals, as it was possible for individuals to occupy more than one identity within the coding scheme. I have noted in the analysis when identities were exclusively coded, and thus the findings represent that particular identity and no other.

outlets. As illustrated in Table 4.1, no source identity category out of the seven had an

inverse wherein paraphrased remarks outpaced direct quotations.

Source Categories	Quotations	Paraphrases	Totals	Percentage
Active Duty	236	209	445	6%
Gov. Representatives	720	372	1,092	15%
Veterans	679	189	868	12%
Organizations	373	132	505	7%
Community Members	168	55	223	3%
Civilians	2,049	640	2,689	37%
Professionals	1,253	279	1,532	20%
Totals	5,478	1,876	7,354	100%

Table 4.1: Total Newspaper and TV Quotations and Paraphrases According to Source
Category.

Overall the seven source categories provide in-depth insight into what voices are

most represented as the narrators of the veteran experience. The order of the seven

source categories listed from most often cited to least often cited based on the occurrence

of attributed quotations or paraphrased remarks are as follows: (1) civilians, (2)

professionals, (3) government representatives, (4) veterans, (5) organizations, (6) active

duty soldiers, and (7) community members.
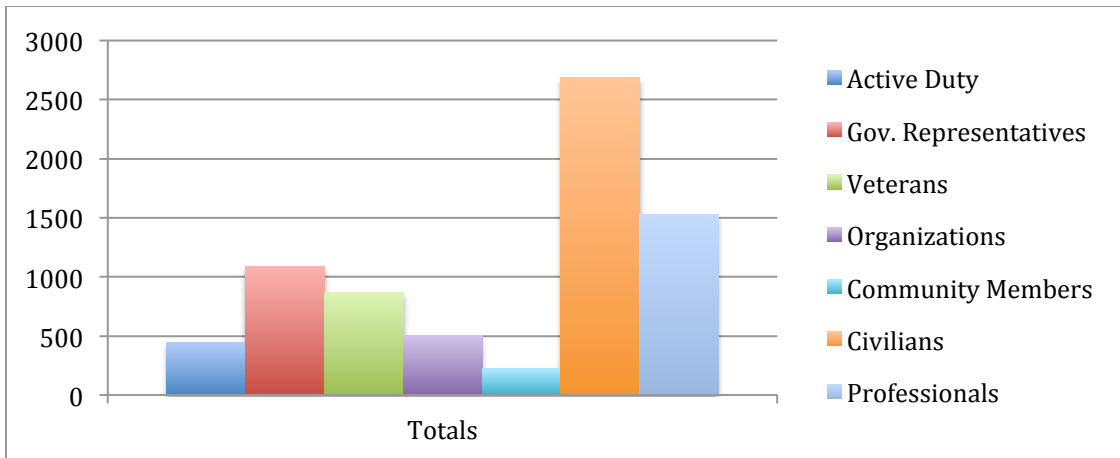
Figure 4.1: Ranking of source category based on overall appearances as sources in the news.

The findings here are jarring. While veterans do occupy a smaller percentage of our current citizen population here in the United States—discussed at length later in this chapter—it is remains a stunning revelation how far down the list they fell as sources cited via attributed quotations or paraphrased remarks. The results were unexpected, and surprisingly so, the revelation brought to light here is the participation of professionals within the discourse concerning veterans. In subsequent discussion in the analysis sections, I provide a detailed description of what careers and professions were accounted for within this source category, but even as a group it is somewhat surprising that they occupied such a pronounced position as a source.

The placement of veterans in the list of source categories, and the somewhat surprising pronounced position of professionals are two examples of several interesting points of analysis and discussion provided in this chapter. In order to highlight these findings in the clearest organizational manner possible, I will take each of the seven

source categories and present them separately through detailed discussion. In keeping with the motif of appearance order, the analysis begins with a deeper look at the civilian source category and proceeds in order of attributed quotes and paraphrased remarks. The analysis ultimately concludes with a discussion of the role community members played in news media coverage.

Civilians

Across each of the four news media events civilians received the largest voice representation cited in the news media. As a reminder, civilians were defined as any individual source that was not identified as an active duty soldier currently serving in the armed forces, or anyone who was identified as a veteran of any military branch during any time in service. Each of the three mediums (newspaper, broadcast television, and cable television) were consistently clear when identifying sources as veterans or active duty service members by providing their rank, branch or service, and identifying the war or conflict where the source had previously served. Sources across each of the seven source categories were coded as a civilian if there was no information provided to connect them with military service in any way.

Civilians were coded as the source identity for quotations and paraphrased remarks across 37% of the total dataset—2,049 direct quotes and 640 paraphrased remarks—across all news media outlets. Civilians comprised 29%—658 direct quotations and 356 paraphrased remarks—on the pages of newspapers. On the other hand, television coverage utilizing civilians as a source dramatically increased to 44%—1,391 direct quotations and 284 paraphrased remarks—of total television coverage. In

direct comparison between the mediums, civilians appeared on television screens 15%

more often than on the pages of newspapers. The shading of the bars in Figure 4.2

illustrates the rate for which newspaper coverage overshadowed television. It is also

clear from the figure that when civilians were included as a source for news coverage,

they were more often quoted than mentioned passively through a paraphrased remark.
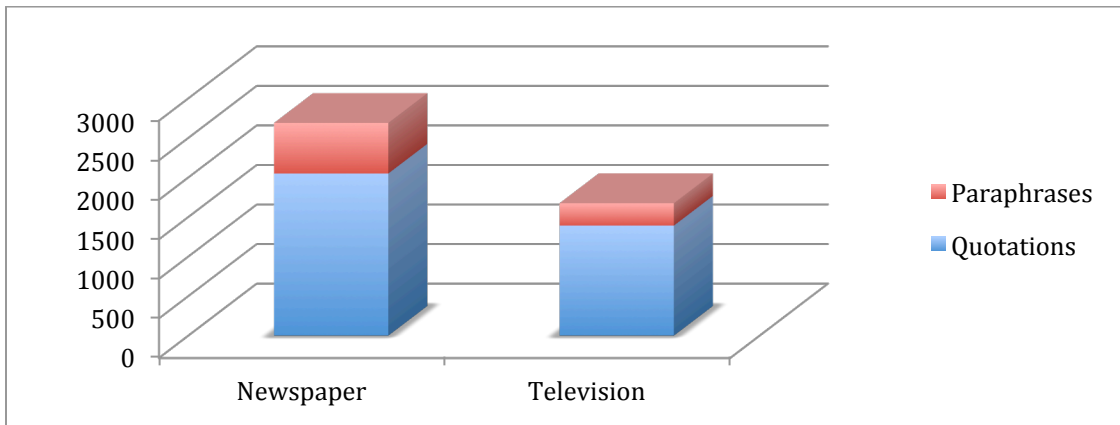
Figure 4.2: Total numbers of quotations and paraphrased remarks by civilians across each
of the four news media events.

Professionals

Taken as a whole, the professional source category placed second overall in the

source category rankings. The label "professionals" encompasses four source identities:

(1) medical professionals, (2) law enforcement, (3) journalist/correspondent/writer, and

(4) professor/academic/writer. I grouped these four separate source identities together to

form the label of professionals, because each of these identities required specialized

training. It was also important to track the occurrence of different professional voices

across the dataset. I wanted to know how often doctors spoke about veterans' mental

health concerns, or if law enforcement officials were a prominent source during coverage of criminal activity.

Overall, professionals accounted for 20%—1,253 quotations and 279 paraphrased remarks—of total news media coverage. The story of the professional label is found when newspaper coverage is compared with television coverage. In newspapers, professionals comprised 14%—353 quotations and 134 paraphrased remarks—while television coverage saw a stark increase in source representation at 28%—900 quotations and 145 paraphrased remarks. What accounted for the dramatic increase in professionals in television news coverage over newspaper coverage is highlighted in Figure 4.3.
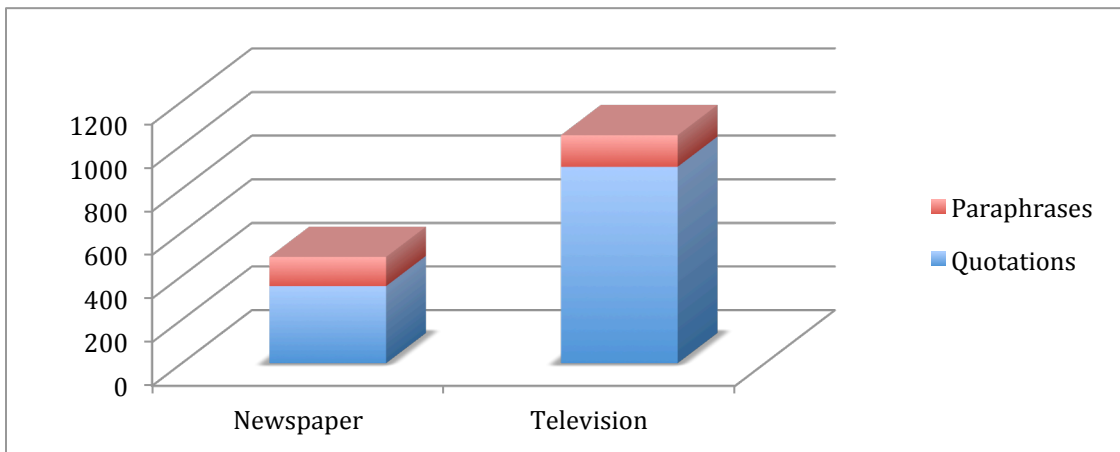
Figure 4.3: Total numbers of quotations and paraphrased remarks by professionals across each of the four news media events.

Medical professionals—comprised of physicians, nurses, psychologists, or psychiatrists—were the primary source identity within the professional source category across newspaper coverage. Medical professionals accounted for 5%—a total of 203 quotations and paraphrased remarks— of the overall 14% total representation for professionals. It was often the case that medical professionals were used as sources to

offer expert analysis and information regarding the mental health of veterans, particularly post-traumatic stress disorder. The remaining 9% of the professional category was distributed among professors and academic researchers who were also sought as source outlets to provide expert knowledge regarding mental health treatments. The cited researchers and professors often offered insights into new research and treatment developments pertinent to the veteran community. Overall, the depiction of the professional source category in newspaper distributed rather evenly among various professional identities.

Professional representation on television did not follow the same pattern. Journalists themselves occupied the overwhelming identity of the professional source category for television news coverage. Direct quotations for the professional source category totaled 900, yet 885 of the direct quotations were attributed to journalists. The data indicates that the voices of journalists comprised 98% of the total professional source category in television. The overwhelming voices of journalists in television coverage blocked the emergence of any other professional voices, leaving virtually no room for voices of medical professionals, academics, professors or researchers to emerge. The outlook for participation completely disappears in paraphrased remarks, as journalists account for 145 of the 145 paraphrased remarks. In total, journalists accounted for 27.13% of the total 28% representation of the professional source category in television coverage. The findings here strongly indicate that television journalists interview other journalists or news anchors from their own networks, and it is a rare

exception and not the rule, for other source identities within the professional sources

category to appear in coverage as expert sources.

Government Representatives

Government officials ranked third overall on the list of source category

appearances. Government officials were coded 15%—720 direct quotations and 372

paraphrased remarks—across all media outlets. The breakdown of representation

between newspaper and television coverage between these two source categories yields

fascinating results. The extent of coverage for government officials across newspaper

and television news media held consistent. Government officials occupied 15%—388

quotations and 193 paraphrased remarks—while television coverage held at 14%—332

quotations and 179 paraphrased remarks.

Figure 4.4: Total numbers of quotations and paraphrased remarks by government
representatives across each of the four news media events.

Government representatives are the source category that is most related to

previous research with regard to the indexing hypothesis. The expectation that journalists

will mirror the voices and views of official government sources is well defined in the

literature. Livingston and Bennett's previous research examining stories on *CNN* argued that even the advent of greater technology used to gather and disperse news stores did not lead to a decrease in the participation of "officials" in news stories. They contend that officials "seem to be as much a part of the news as ever" and my findings here extend the support of their original claim.[223]

More specifically, the executive and legislative branches of government were nearly equal in their representation as a source across all four news media events.[224] The executive branch had 239 attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks while the legislative branch accounted for 295 instances as a cited source identity. The Democrats with 284 source moments far outpaced the Republicans with 166 appearances as a source. Independents were virtually absent from the dataset contributing as a source identity 32 instances and only within two of the four news media events (Walter Reed Hospital and VA Backlog Scandals). Government officials followed expectations established in previous research with the indexing hypothesis, illustrating that their willingness to serve as a source is often met with an ease of facilitation by journalists and news networks alike.

Veterans

Veterans were called upon to speak as a source 12%—679 direct quotations and 189 paraphrased remarks—across all media texts, placing them fourth in the list of

[223] Steven Livingston and W. Lance Bennett, "Gatekeeping, Indexing, and Live Event News: Is Technology Altering the construction of news?" *Political Communication* 20 (2003): 376.

[224] Note, the administrations of both George W. Bush and Barack Obama are represented in the overall tally of executive branch attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks here in this section.

appearance. As a manner of comparison with the earlier discussion of the civilian category, these findings show that civilians overwhelmingly outpaced veterans by a margin of 25% overall as sources outlets in news media coverage.

Newspaper outlets bore witness to a greater percentage of veteran voices than that of television, however, there is not an overwhelming distinction between the two mediums. Veterans were cited as sources within newspaper coverage 15%—398 quotations and 122 paraphrased remarks—while television coverage accounted for 9% of coverage—281 quotations and 67 paraphrased remarks.
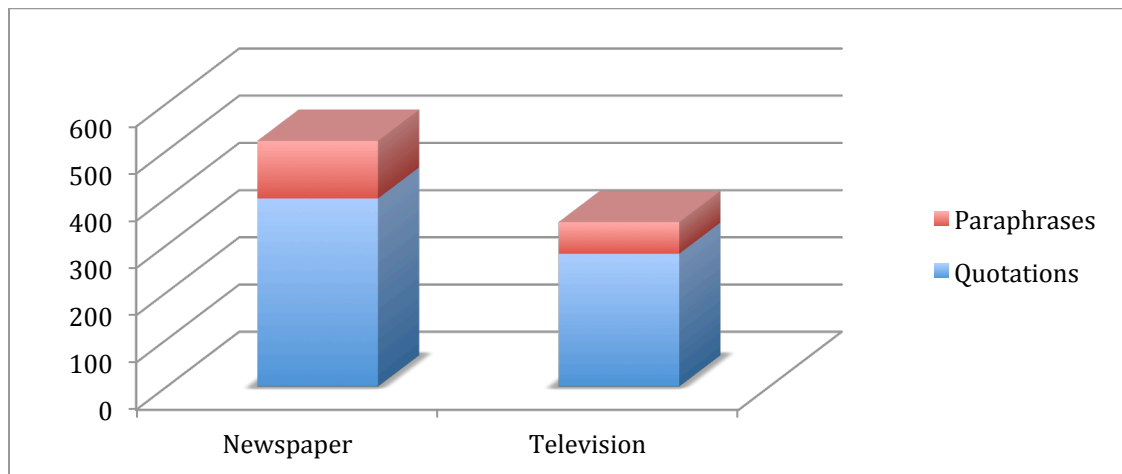
Figure 4.5: Total numbers of quotations and paraphrased remarks by veterans across each of the four news media events.

Veterans were coded by branch of service, enlisted versus officer rank, and by combat designation. The Army took the lead as the branch of service with the most participation as a source in the news media. Army officers and enlisted veterans comprised 384 of the attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks. The remaining three branches combined for 191 attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks—Air

Force 68, Navy 66, and Marine Corps 57—were not enough to keep pace with the

Army's use as a source. Enlisted veterans were also more likely to appear as a source

versus their officer counterparts. Enlisted veterans accounted for 389 mentions, while

officers followed with 201 total appearances as sources. Overall the overwhelming

majority of veterans who served as source in the news media had the designation as

combat veterans with 467 total source appearances.

Organizations

Organizations offering a form of assistance to veterans were comprised of civilian

non-profits organizations, veteran service organizations, non-governmental organizations,

think tanks, and the Department of Veteran Affairs.[225] Overall organizations offering

assistance ranked fifth in the list of source category representation. In total organizations

offering assistance were cited as sources 7%—373 quotations and 132 paraphrased

remarks. Organizations made up 11%—270 quotations and 107 paraphrased remarks—

across newspaper coverage. Organizations dropped to 3%—103 quotations and 25

paraphrased remarks—across television coverage.

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[225] The Department of Veteran Affairs will play a key role in the next chapters when I discuss the four media events in relation to what sources spoke concerning different events. I ultimately chose to include the VA within the veteran service organization category, because that is the ultimate mission statement of the VA. The VA is comprised of civilian and veteran employees, and thus it would be impossible to categorize the VA as a whole organization under the designation of "civilian" or "veteran" respectively. In addition, the VA Secretary is a Presidential appointment position, yet when called upon to address the media, the VA Secretary speaks on behalf of the organization more often than on behalf of the Presidential administration through which he/she was appointed. Thus, it made the most sense for me to allow the VA to be a stand-alone organization, and be coded here as such.
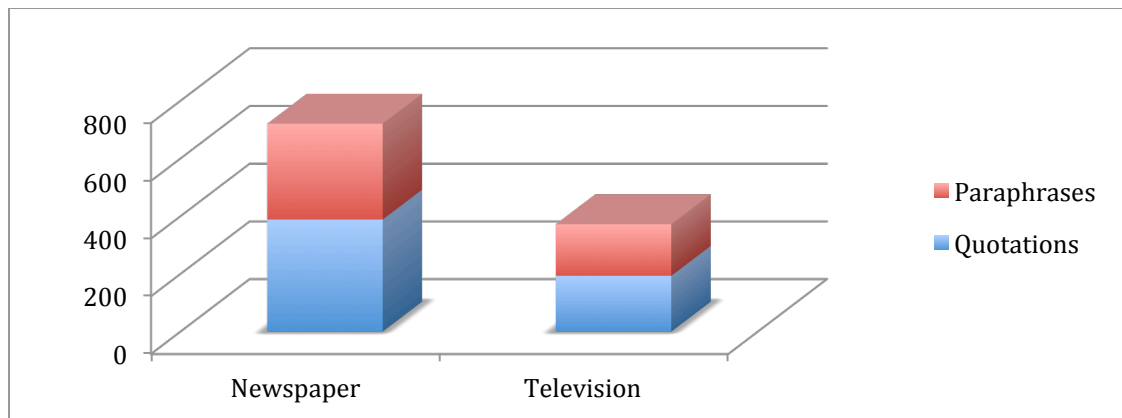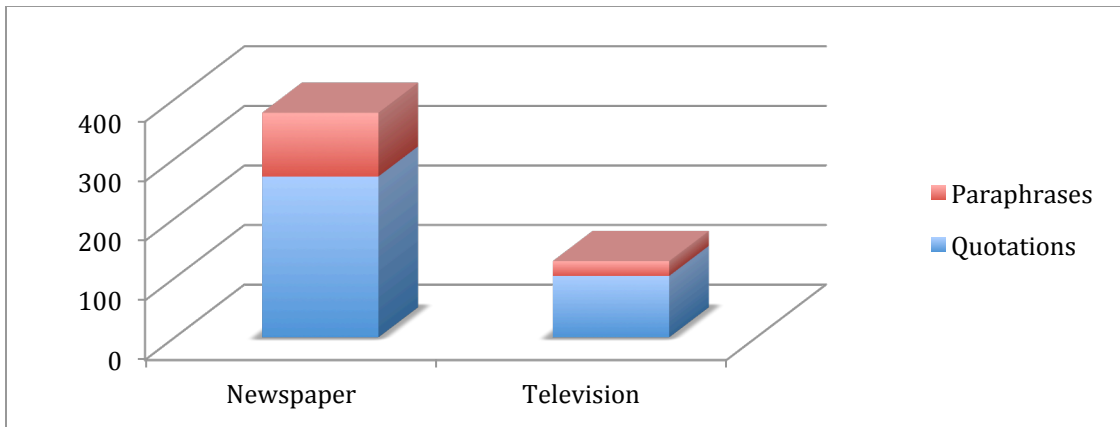
Figure 4.6: Total numbers of quotations and paraphrased remarks by organizations across each of the four news media events.

The Department of Veteran Affairs and various veteran service organizations dominated this category. The VA comprised the most coverage within this category with 257 attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks, and a compilation of veteran service organizations accounted for 172 attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks across the category. Though the VA is linked with the executive branch through presidential appointment of leadership, and with the legislative branch through Congressional oversight, as an agency it is allowed some autonomy to function as an organization to assist veterans. I would argue that the VA is the most recognizable site for veterans' assistance in the country, and as such, it is important to see how often the VA is advocating for veterans' issues in the news media. The data here illustrates the VA's continued dominance as the organization that is most often used as a source for veterans' issues.[226]

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[226] I do, however, yield that the increase of VA views and voices within the dataset could also be due to the VA's prominence in the Walter Reed Hospital Scandal as well as the VA Backlog Scandal.

Two prominent veteran service organizations emerged as the leading voices for veteran lead advocacy. Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America is the largest veteran non-profit specifically designed for veterans who deployed in service of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) and Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). The presence of IAVA has served to stoke the flames of advocacy specifically in regard to gaining more attention for veterans' issues in the news media. Chief Executive Officer for IAVA, Paul Reickhoff, was the sole veteran advocate to be cited as a source in newspapers, broadcast television, as well as cable television news coverage. Mr. Reickhoff spanned the partisan divide in cable news programming by appearing on both *Fox News* and *MSNBC* in order to draw greater attention to veteran causes. The second veteran organization that was prominent in the news media was the American Legion. In contrast with IAVA's approach, the American Legion utilized several different veterans as outlets across the news media in order to spread their message of advocacy and awareness. Though these two organizations implemented different media tactics, their combined efforts ensured that across each of the four news media events and within each of the news medium the public's attention remained attuned to the needs of our veterans.

Active Duty Soldiers

Active duty soldiers were ranked sixth as a source category, with only 6%—236 quotations and 209 paraphrased remarks—across all media outlets. Coverage with regard to medium had a drastic impact on the presence of active duty soldiers. Newspaper coverage citing active duty soldiers was comparable with government officials at 12%— 232 quotations and 205 paraphrased remarks. Television coverage saw a drastic decline

with active duty soldiers comprising 0.2%—4 quotations and 4 paraphrased remarks—

total across all news media sources.
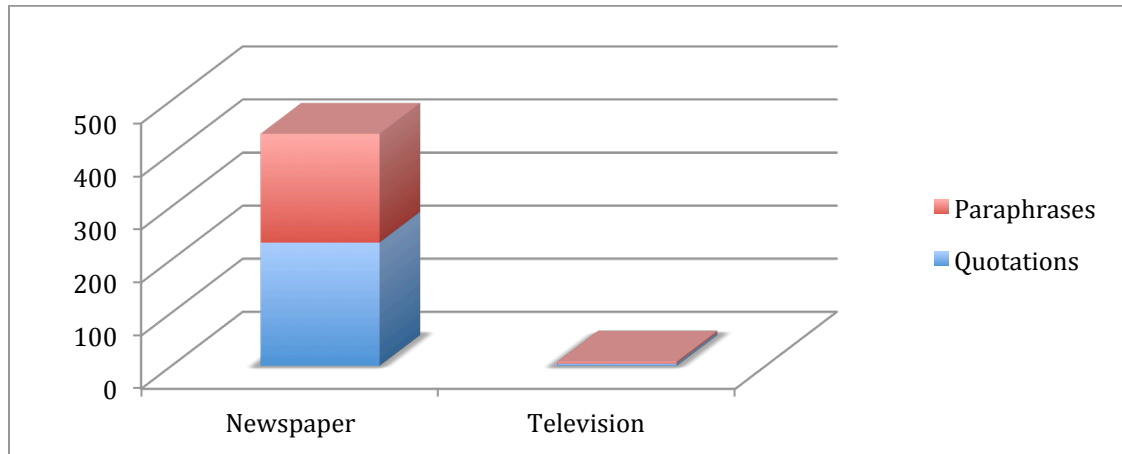
Figure 4.7: Total numbers of quotations and paraphrased remarks by active duty soldiers
across each of the four news media events.

Active duty soldiers do not often appear in the news media as sources or

otherwise. My findings here depicting their low participation rates among the seven

source categories extend previous research that argued the same position. The practice of

restricting press access to members of the military has a long history here in the United

States. During Vietnam journalists were kept away from soldiers fighting on the front

lines, often in order to constrain and control the victory narrative for as long as possible

on the home front.[227] More recently, the George W. Bush administration enacted stricter

rules and regulations pertaining to journalistic coverage of deceased soldiers returning

home in caskets. The restrictions regarding photographing caskets returning from war

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[227] D. C. Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media," in *We Keep American on Top of the World: Television Journalism and the Public Sphere*, ed. D. C. Hallin (New York: Routledge, 1994), 40-57; J. E. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (New York: Wiley, 1973).

was lifted within the first two years of President Obama's first term.[228] The historically

tenuous relationship between the press and the military has deep roots.[229]

The military often discourages its members to speak with the press.[230] Britt Hume

and Mark McIntyre conducted research of source appearance in *Newsweek* magazine

during the late 1960's. They found that when active duty soldiers were quoted or

paraphrased in *Newsweek* the identity of the sources were predominately officers instead

of enlisted soldiers.[231] Similarly, the Pentagon press corps overwhelmingly cites "senior

military officials or their spokesmen" over enlisted soldiers.[232] It follows that the results

showing the large drop off between newspaper coverage and television coverage would

impact the active duty soldier community more than other groups due to the power

constraints placed upon active duty soldiers. Where newspaper coverage can offer

anonymity if needed or desired through the use of paraphrased remarks attributed to

anonymous spokesperson television coverage does not lend itself to those protections.

As active duty responses necessitate strict adherence to official talking points and

responses, television as an outlet would naturally be a less desirable medium for

communication among this population. Despite these press restrictions, active duty

[228] Elisabeth Bumiller, "U.S. Lifts Photo Ban on Military Coffins," *New York Times*, December 7, 2009, accessed February 27, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/27/world/americas/27iht-photos.1.20479953.html?_r=0.

[229] C. Murray, K. Parry, P. Robinson, and P. Goddard, "Reporting Dissent in Wartime: British Press, the Anti-War Movement and the 2003 Iraq War," *European Journal of Communication* 23 (2008): 7-27; J. R. Zaller, "Government's Little Helper: U.S. Press Coverage of Foreign Policy Crisis," *Political Communication* 13 (1996): 385-405.

[230] Gans, "Sources and Journalist,"120.

[231] Britt Hume and Mark McIntyre, "Polishing Up the Brass," *More* May (1972): 6-8.

[232] Gans, "Sources and Journalist," 343.

soldiers remained a prominent source outlet for journalists on the printed pages of

newspapers.

Community Members

Community members were coded as any individuals who were identified as a

family member, neighbor, or friend in each news text.[233] Overall, community members

comprised 3%—168 quotations and 55 paraphrased remarks—across all media outlets.

Community members decreased to 2%—77 quotations and 5 paraphrased remarks—

across television coverage.
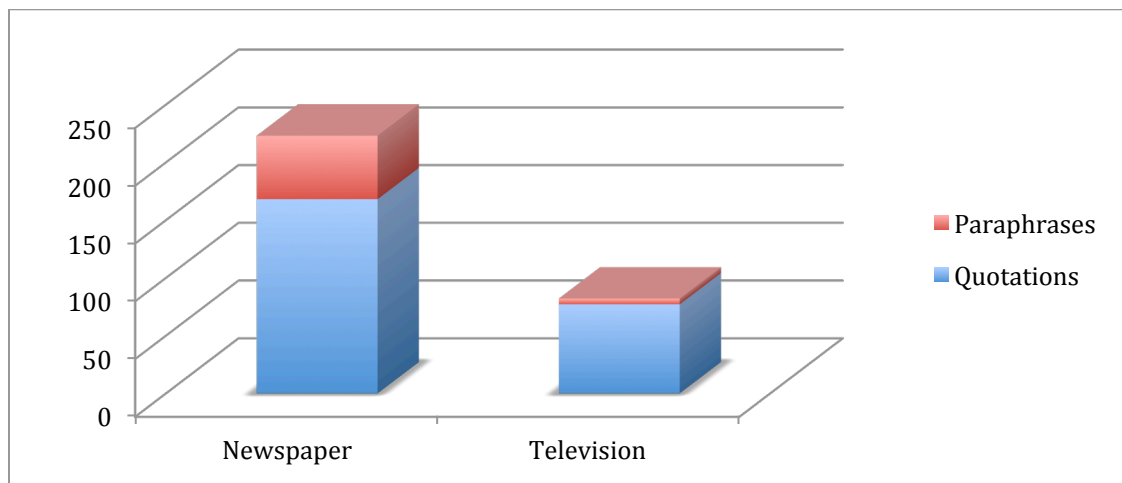
Figure 4.8: Total numbers of quotations and paraphrased remarks by community
            members across each of the four news media events.

As a sources category, community members were comprised of family members,

friends, and neighbors. These three source identities were most often used in news media

coverage to provide context concerning a particular news media event or an individual

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[233] Professions or any other distinguishing characteristics were not identified for individuals who were
coded as community members. If, however, a neighbor or friend was identified as a fellow veteran they
were coded as a veteran and excluded from the community member category.

veteran who was being profiled in a given news story. Of the three potential source

identities, family members accounted for the source most often within this category.

Family members combined as the source outlet 162 times. Community members were

able to provide details of the mistreatment during the Walter Reed Hospital Scandal, and

they also featured prominently in the coverage of the VA Backlog. In each of these

instances family members told the stories of the painstaking wait times for veterans who

were trying to get appointments with the VA and were repeatedly told that their

paperwork was being processed. Family members were also the prime source for

contextualization during the Cluster of Crimes. Robert Bales' wife Karilyn Bales was

often cited as a source for news describing her husband's mental state. In interviews she

attempted to bring the narrative back to focus on her husband and his dedication to his

family, rather than the framing of the soldier who massacred Afghan civilians.

Lance Bennett would qualify the use of family members to provide contextual

information around a news story as personalization bias. Personalization bias argues that

news becomes more palatable and remains a force in the news cycle when personal

elements to that story are prioritized. Bennett writes that personalization bias is "the

single most important flaw in the American news style."[234] That is, news outlets often

seek to incorporate views from family members, friends, relatives, and neighbors in order

to humanize a news event, but by focusing news on the personal elements journalist

allows views to negate the underlying importance of the story. Personalization biases

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[234] W. Lance Bennett, "New Content: Four Information Biases That Matter," in *News: The Politics of Illusion* (New York: Longman, 2005), 40.

"encourages a passive spectator attitude" toward the news that is being consumed.[235] Family members, friends, and neighbors are often unwittingly participating in efforts that are undermines their attempts to bring attention to the needs of their veteran family members and friends. Community members as a whole were the least called upon source category, but their presence in particular news media events to provide the humanizing context for veteran stories remains essential for analysis.

LEAD SOURCES WITHIN EACH NEWS MEDIA EVENT

Understanding the overall distribution of voices within each source category is vital in answering the overarching question of this chapter: who speaks in the news media pertaining to veteran focused news coverage? To my knowledge, an analysis of this kind has not been undertaken, and while the presentation of the findings above answer the driving question of this chapter, I wanted to take the analysis one step further by investigating which source categories were most prominent during each of the four news media events. To this end, I start with Veterans Day 2014, followed by the Cluster of Crimes, the Walter Reed Hospital Scandal, and finally the Depart of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal.

Veterans Day 2014

Veterans Day 2014 holds a unique distinction over each of the remaining three news media events, as it is the only news media event where veterans hold the lead source identity distinction. Within this news media event, veterans lead the coverage on

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235 Bennett, "New Content: Four Information Biases That Matter," 40.

the pages of newspapers, but are again outpaced on the screens of television news. Although their lead only appears in one medium, it shines a light on the single occurrence were veteran voices are represented more than any other source identity.

Table 4.2 illustrates the representation of each of the seven source categories and their distribution in coverage of Veterans Day 2014. Drawing specific attention to the veteran numbers, it is clear that veterans lead the source count of coverage. Veterans' voices accounted for 25%—98 quotations and 41 paraphrased remarks, across the three newspaper outlets. Pay close attention to the slim margin of source citations veterans had over civilians and professionals. Civilians were a very close second in number of source citations with 23%—95 quotations and 37 paraphrased remarks—while professionals ranked a close third with 21%—95 quotations and 24 paraphrased remarks. The percentage difference between veterans and civilians is slight, at only 2%, but it is mighty.

Source Category	Quotations	Paraphrases	Totals	Percentage
Active Duty	23	19	42	8%
Gov. Representatives	30	23	53	9%
Veterans	98	41	139	25%
Organizations	45	13	58	10%
Community Members	16	6	22	4%
Civilians	95	37	132	23%
Professionals	95	34	119	21%
Totals	163	402	565	100%

Table 4.2: Number of Attributed Quotations and Paraphrased Remarks in Newspapers-
Veterans Day 2014.

The findings for combined television coverage of Veterans Day 2014 tell a different story. Table 4.3 provides the breakdown of each of the seven source categories. Veteran participation as a source drastically decreased in television coverage as compared with newspaper coverage. Across broadcast and cable television news coverage, veterans only accounted for 14%—63 quotations and 3 paraphrased remarks. Veterans who comprised 25% or one in four source codes in newspapers, saw their participation decrease by 11% overall on television screens. Civilians and professionals were on the heels of veterans in newspaper coverage, and they are the group identities that overtook veterans as sources within the television medium. Civilians occupied source coverage 37%—177 quotations and 2 paraphrased remarks—while professionals followed closely with 36%—170 quotations and 7 paraphrased remarks—of source identity representation. Why do civilians and professional out pace veterans on television?

Source Category	Quotations	Paraphrases	Totals	Percentage
Active Duty	1	0	1	0.20%
Gov. Representatives	36	10	4	8.80%
Veterans	63	3	66	14%
Organizations	18	2	20	5%
Community Members	0	0	0	0%
Civilians	177	2	179	37%
Professionals	170	7	177	36%
Totals	465	24	489	100%

Table 4.3: Number of Attributed Quotations and Paraphrased Remarks in Television-Veterans Day 2014.

The findings here provide indications that the news media overall appear to be more comfortable accessing veterans as sources for stories that highlight veterans when coverage is documenting our public support and veterans' success. This is to say, when the public wants to laud veterans for their service, veterans appear more in the news to narrate their experiences. The findings here cannot answer whether journalists actively seek veterans more during this time period, nor can they argue that veterans are more likely to seek media attention near Veterans Day. What is clear from these findings is that this is the only media event coded for in the dissertation project where veterans broke through to lead the discussion of issues that pertain directly to their communities.   The findings here suggest that the public is comfortable with hearing from veterans in the newspaper when we are inviting them to come forward for acknowledgement, but on the other hand, television news outlets prove to be a less accommodating host for veterans to voice their narratives over the airwaves in general.

The coverage documenting Veterans Day 2014 is the smallest in the overall dataset, as the event is one day and did not prove to have much discussion in the news in the week leading up to its celebration, nor in the weeks following. I argue that because to Veterans Day is the smaller news category it is even more important to showcase that veterans were allowed to serve as sources in only one half of the smallest news event of the total dataset. Again, only via the news medium of newspapers did veterans lead the source count, and that was only by 2% points overall. If the news media landscape were imagined to be just that, a rolling prairie of news coverage, civilians and professionals

would occupy the vast majority of speaking space, leaving the veterans an acre of speaking space compared with their full range ranch of rolling hills from which is express their gratitude. It is clear that in the overall total coverage of Veterans Day 2014 it is far more likely to hear the voice of someone who has never served, than from the service members themselves. It is important to acknowledge and confirm that veterans lead the coverage in one medium of one news media event, but it is the one and only time that will occur. Conversely, veterans fall further down the list as a source outlet in discussions of criminal activity.

The Cluster of Crimes

The Cluster of Crimes news media event provides the counterpoint to Veterans Day 2014. Where Veterans Day 2014 saw veterans lead the source coverage in newspapers and overall offers a platform for praise, the Cluster of Crimes plays host to the lowest point of praise for veterans. The number of news texts coded in the Cluster of Crimes increased over the five-week time frame for data collection. The three newspaper outlets combined for 43 stories.

Table 4.4 details the number of quotations and paraphrased remarks in newspaper coverage. Civilians, once again, took the lead source category outlet for newspaper coverage within this media event. Professionals and veterans were second and third, and the date mirrors aspects of the sources' involvement in Veterans Day 2014 coverage. Overall civilians encompassed 33% of total newspaper coverage while professionals were 20% of coverage and veterans were 14% of coverage.

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Source Category	Quotations	Paraphrases	Totals	Percentage
Active Duty	72	89	161	15%
Gov. Representatives	24	45	69	6%
Veterans	117	35	152	14%
Organizations	41	28	69	6%
Community Members	41	28	69	6%
Civilians	173	173	346	33%
Professionals	119	85	204	20%
Totals	587	483	1070	100%

Table 4.4: Number of Attributed Quotations and Paraphrased Remarks in Newspapers-Cluster of Crimes.

Television on the other hand saw a greater increase in the share of coverage between civilians and professionals. In television civilians were nearly half of all coverage at 46% and professionals accounted for 34%. All told in television coverage civilians and professional comprised 70% of all attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks. Television coverage contains an even more impressive phenomenon. The data here presents the dramatic drop in the presence of active duty soldiers between newspaper and combined television coverage. Active duty soldiers comprised 15% of the attributed source identities in newspapers, while dropping to 0.6% through television coverage. It is vital here to note the important role anonymity plays in the emergence of active duty soldier voices that newspaper provides that television cannot. In newspapers active duty officers and enlisted service members can remain anonymous in their commentary. Television as a medium, however, does not provide such protections. With restrictions already at play in active duty soldiers' participation, the findings illustrate how and why newspaper remains the outlet of choice for these individuals.

Source Category	Quotations	Paraphrases	Total	Percentage
Active Duty	2	4	6	0.60%
Gov. Representatives	24	13	37	4%
Veterans	51	20	71	7.40%
Organizations	19	0	19	2%
Community Members	56	2	58	6%
Civilians	365	73	438	46%
Professionals	267	55	322	34%
Totals	784	167	951	100%

Table 4.5: Number of Attributed Quotations and Paraphrased Remarks in Television-
Cluster of Crimes.

Two particular source identities played a prominent role in specific coverage in the Cluster of Crimes. This particular news event represented the highest participations among civilian family members and active duty soldiers than any other. As previously discussed, family members are often used as context providers for news stories about veteran issues. In total family members were cited as sources 36 times in coverage documenting the Kandahar Massacre, and 21 times in coverage pertaining to the deaths of Chris Kyle and Chad Littlefield. The sum total of family member participation in the cluster of crimes exceeds the participation of family members within other news media events.

Active duty soldiers are not prone to news media participation, yet the Cluster of Crimes is the topic that engaged active duty soldiers at the highest rate. Though active duty soldiers participated in this news media event the most, their appearance as sources did not evenly distribute between the two crimes analyzed for this event. Active duty soldiers serving in the Army commented on the Kandahar Massacre far and away more

often than the deaths of Chris Kyle and Chad Littlefield. The Army accounted for 81 of the total attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks discussing Robert Bales, of that total 53 sources were active duty officers. The Navy and the National Guard were the only other two branches with sources attributed to their branch and they each had only three mentions each. On the other hand active duty soldiers were sources 12 times during the coverage of the death of Chris Kyle and Chad Littlefield, with the Marine Corps comprising 10 of those total mentions. Not a single individual serving in the Army on active duty was cited as a source commenting on the second crimes in this cluster. What factors could account for the source distributions between the two different crimes?

First, I note Robert Bales was currently serving and deployed when the Kandahar Massacre occurred, thus immediately linking Bales' active duty deployment with the military community. Bales was also serving in the Army, no doubt accounting for the overwhelming participation among Army officers as sources for news media outlets. Indeed the lead Army spokesperson was often cited as a source of information concerning the Kandahar Massacre while providing the media with context and information concerning the night of the attack. The deaths of Chris Kyle and Chad Littlefield occurred however, at the hands of another veteran and after each of the three men involved were all separated from military service. It follows that active duty soldiers would not be in a position to comment on this particular crime, as it did not directly impact their community. As my previous discussion above detailed the parameters for active duty soldiers to participate in the news media are already restricted, and as such, logic would follow that their commentary regarding crimes perpetrated by a

veteran against other veterans remained outside their boundaries of discussion. The duality of military experience between active duty soldiers and veterans continues to be apparent in the discussions of Walter Reed and the VA Backlog Scandals.

The Walter Reed Hospital Scandal

An analysis of news about the scandal at the Walter Reed Army Hospital indicates it caused a massive public outrage. In 2007, the United States was in the middle of fighting two wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, with the first wave of veterans returning home for extended care. The most common weapon used by the insurgency against the U.S. military were improvised explosive devices (IEDs). U.S. soldiers were wounded in a myriad of circumstances by IEDs, from trucks in a convey driving over one resulting in an explosion, or soldiers on patrol stepping on an IED akin to land mines in previous wars. IEDs have served as a signataure weapon in each of the battle fronts for Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom, and their use has resulted in an increase of wounded soldiers returning home at a greater pace than in previous wars. Advancements in battlefield emergency medicine as well as a technological advancemnts in body armor have played a large role in keeping soldier alive who would have been severaly wounded by IEDs and who would have died in previous wars. The increase in wounded soldiers returning home for care, opposed to returning home in coffins, put a severe strain on the military hospitals. Walter Reed Army Hospital served as a flash point for the failure to account for the number of wounded soldiers returning home. The news of the scandal initially broke on the pages of *The Washington Post*, and the findings below illustrate the active role newspapers played in depicting this scandal.

Overall newspapers accounted for 1145 attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks for the Walter Reed Scandal. The diffusion of different voices represented on the pages of newspapers is account for in Table 4.6 and Table 4.7 aptly illustrates that the converstaion was spread among a variety of source outlets. Some familiar voices are present in this news media event. Active duty soldiers spoke the most in this news media event over the other three accoutning for 20% (137 quotations and 89 paraphrased remarks). Following the patterns of appearance in the Cluster of Crimes, the participation of active duty soldiers dramatically decreases between newspaper and television coverage. Civilians also took and active role in source participation in this news media event. They lead all other source categories once again with 32% (189 quotations and 173 paraphrased remarks). Television news coverage is also dominated by civilians with 49% of the total media coverage coming through their voice. Though these source categories seems to follow previous patterns, an interesting rise in participation occurs in the government representatives category.

Source Category	Quotations	Paraphrases	Totals	Percentage
Active Duty	137	89	226	20%
Gov. Representatives	102	45	147	13%
Veterans	67	35	102	9%
Organizations	36	28	64	5%
Community Members	27	28	55	4%
Civilians	189	173	362	32%
Professionals	104	85	189	17%
Totals	662	483	1145	100%

Table 4.6: Number of Attributed Quotations and Paraphrased Remarks in Newspapers-Walter Reed Hospital Scandal.

Source Category	Quotations	Paraphrases	Totals	Percentage
Active Duty	1	0	1	0.1%
Gov. Representatives	68	25	93	15%
Veterans	85	15	100	16%
Organizations	65	3	68	11%
Community Members	20	0	20	2.9%
Civilians	274	25	299	49%
Professionals	35	0	35	6%
Totals	548	68	616	100%

Table 4.7: Number of Attributed Quotations and Paraphrased Remarks in Television-Walter Reed Hospital Scandal.

In television coverage as well as newspaper coverage the government representatives source category reaches into the double digits for the first time here discussing Walter Reed. In the discussion of the overall source categories, the government representatives ranked third in the overall list of seven, yet in the first two

news media events they were relatively quiet. Walter Reed provides the first platform for politics to emerge.

When we pause to consider dominant theories in political communication media analysis, it would make sense to conclude that as the Walter Reed Scandal occurred under a Republican president (George W. Bush) that this would serve as a prime opportunity for the Democrats to attack their political counterparts in the news. After all, the Democrats controlled both chambers of Congress for the first time since 1995, and President Bush was in the middle of his second term when news of the scandal broke. The timing of the Walter Reed Hospital Scandal paired with the fact that it was a military issue—a topic far more often by the Republican Party than the Democrats—would seem to be ideal fodder for a political attack. The attack did not come as ferociously from the Democrats as basic assumptions suggest.

The Republican party was more visible in the news media during the scandal than the Democrats. Repulicans were cited in the news 71 instances to Democrats 38. Republicans in the news offered support for President Bush in 52% of their total statements. Active criticism from Republicans in Congress was forcsed on individuals directly responsible for overseeing the hospital. Furthermore, the Executive branch kept pace with Congress. All told the Executive accounted for 65 source citations and the Congress comprised 69 total with 53 attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks from the Senate chamber and the remaining 16 from the House of Representatives. It is plausive to expact the Republican lead Executive would have a firm presence in the news, as the Commander in Chief the President and his or her administration would be

politicall requirred to update the public on their lack of oversight at a hospital of wounded service men and women. The surprising finding is the presencce, or lack thereof, for Democrats who held a majorirty to their Republican counterparts in both chamber of Congress. Would the same commitment to political party hold true for a similar scandal when the Democrats were in control of the Executive and the Senate, while Republican controlled the House of Represesntatives? In short, the findings show that the same pattern did not hold true for the Obama Administration during the Department of Veteran Affairs Backlog Scandal of 2014.

The Department of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal

The VA Backlog Scandal continues to make the news as of the writing of this project. The Obama Administration found itself in a whirlwind of controversy amidst reports that veterans were facing long wait times to see a physician at VA Hospitals and clinics around the country, and a whistleblower's account in Phoenix alleging that up to forty veterans died while awaiting care. Results of an independent investigation showed that the allegations of veteran deaths proved to be false, but the news media's attention remained affixed to the scandal.

Government representatives lead the coverage in newspapers, making this news media event the second and final instance where civilians were outpaced as an attributed source. Government officials were cited as a source 31% to the civilian population's 29%, and though 3% does not constitute an overwhelming majority, the findings are clear that it takes effort to outpace civilians in the news through any medium or outlet. Unlike

the Walter Reed Scandal, the politics of the VA Backlog played out differently across the news.

Source Category	Quotations	Paraphrases	Totals	Percentage
Active Duty	0	1	1	0.90%
Gov. Representatives	232	86	318	31%
Veterans	116	30	146	14%
Organizations	147	65	212	20%
Community Members	7	4	11	1.10%
Civilians	201	102	303	29%
Professionals	35	11	46	4%
Totals	738	299	1037	100%

Table 4.8: Number of Attributed Quotations and Paraphrased Remarks in Newspapers-VA Backlog Scandal.

Democrats were directly critical of the Obama Administration's oversight of the VA Hospitals and specifically critical of Secretary of Defense Eric Shinseki. Of the 221 attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks from members of the Democratic Party, 43% were directly critical of either Secretary Shinseki or of President Obama by way of criticizing his failings of VA oversight and appointment of Shinseki as Secretary of Veteran Affairs. The Republicans joined in criticism of President Obama, Secretary Shinseki, and overall the Democratic Party throughout their appearances on the news. Of the 111 attributed quotations and paraphrased remarks across newspapers and television broadcasts, Republicans were critical of Democrats 78% of the time, and the remaining percentage focused entirely on criticisms of the Department of Veteran Affairs as a whole. The voices of Congress outpaced the Executive branch once again, with Congress

accounting for 167 attributed mentions to the Executive's 133 attributed mentions. In

sum, the Democratic Obama Administration sustained criticism in the news from fellow

Democrats and Republicans alike, findings no safe harbor across news coverage.

Source Category	Quotations	Paraphrases	Totals	Percentage
Active Duty	0	0	0	0
Gov. Representatives	204	131	335	19%
Veterans	82	29	111	6%
Organizations	1	20	21	1.2%
Community Members	1	3	4	0.8%
Civilians	575	184	759	44%
Professionals	428	83	511	29%
Totals	1291	450	1741	100%

Table 4.9: Number of Attributed Quotations and Paraphrased Remarks in Television- VA
        Backlog Scandal.

DISCUSSION

The underlying tenants of the indexing hypothesis and the cascading activation

model are concerned with the power to speak in the press. Indexing, as a theoretical

practice, has most often been accessed in situations involving political actors. Despite

the concentration on veteran subjects, this project provides an astute opportunity to

extend these political considerations to a new community not yet analyzed using this

approach. Similarly, those who have used the cascading activation model have been

implored to investigate war related issues such as the presence of Iraq war protestors in

the news, and analysis of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal.[236] For my purposes here I have

utilized previous research in order to contend that these theories and methods of media

analysis would benefit the body of scholarship devoted to war rhetoric and power

influences in the news media when applied to the veteran community, and as such, have

extended previous scholarship by exploring a community that had not yet previously been

examined through these two lens.

Time and time again research has shown that the voices of the powerful are

represented far more often than the voices of the ordinary citizen. The findings here

extend that claim. There are two source categories that most aptly align with previous

research: government officials and journalists presence in the professionals source

category. Research suggests that it is to be expected that these two powerful entities

would join together to form the most powerful block of voice representation, especially in

relation to military affairs.[237] The free press's strong relationship to democracy and

representation might lead one to expect that the voices and views represented are a

reflection of the audience demographics with regard to a given topic. It is evident once

again here that this assumption is false.

Government officials were the second largest voice representation of voices

across the dataset, but as I illustrated in the previous section, those representations were

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236 Adam G. Klein, Carolyn M. Byerly and Tony M. McEachern, "Counterframing Public Dissent: An
Analysis of Antiwar Coverage in the U.S. Media," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 26 (2009):
331- 350; W. Lance Bennett, Regina G. Lawrence and Steven Livingston, "None Dare Call it Torture:
Indexing and the Limits of Press Independence in the Abu Ghraib Scandal," *Journal of Communication* 56
(2006): 467-485.

237 Serena Carpenter, "U.S. Elite and Non-Elite Newspapers' Portrayal of the Iraq War: A Comparison of
Frame and Source Use," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 84 (2007): 761-776.

most often heralded in conjunction with military scandals, each providing fodder for partisan politics. The absence of political debate in the Walter Reed scandal played a determining factor of the presence of voices in the news. When there is an absence of debate, as there was in the Walter Reed Scandal, the news coverage is typically one-sided. Active duty soldiers and veterans who were mistreated at Walter Reed played a prominent role in breaking the news story on the pages of the *Washington Post*, however, in the coverage that followed the presence of their voices diminished by 62% leaving a vacuum for the emergence of government elites. Subsequent coverage of the Congressional hearings on Walter Reed and the information stories providing updates on the scandal played host to a chorus of government officials' voices. Army officials, Pentagon officials, military officials, members of the President's cabinet, and President George W. Bush himself experienced heightened levels of time in the news. The lack of a firm presence by Democrats in the news cycle debating Republicans for the lack of oversight at the hospital provided an ideal opportunity for the press' one-sided reporting on this issue. Let me be clear; I am not contending that the Republican Party was ultimately at fault or responsible for the scandal at Walter Reed. I am emphatically arguing, however, that the lack of debate concerning their culpability and the overall diminished presence of Democrats voicing concerns in the media created fertile ground for confirmation of indexing hypothesis. As Leon Sigal reminds us, sources make the news, and "who the sources are bear a close relationship to who is news."[238] The Walter

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[238] Leon Sigal, "Source Make the News," in *Reading the News*, ed. Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson (London: Routledge 1986), 236.

Reed scandal provides a case study for this very point: soldiers and veterans were the sources when the exposé was published, but two weeks later government officials were the sources and government oversight was the story. The voices of those actually impacted by the heinous conditions of building 18 were quickly swept from the pages of newspapers and the screens of televisions.

The second source identity that impacted veterans' voices across coverage was the rising dominance of journalists as leading sources within news coverage. Television journalists were the main culprits of this phenomenon. It is evident by the findings that television journalists often interviewed other journalists, news anchors, special unit investigative reporters, etc. each of whom worked for the network of the lead news anchor. Journalists' power as news curators is housed within several aspects of the news making process. The gatekeeping power of determining which voices and views are going to be heard is one facet, but journalists themselves are powerful framers of news stories for their audiences. The power of a journalist to shape the news his or herself is heightened during times of war and conflict.[239] During conflicts the discourse of journalists can perpetuate one perspective while marginalizing another.[240] The increased presence of embedded journalists during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan expounded on

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[239] Shahira Fahmy and Thomas J. Johnson, "How We Performed: Embedded Journalists' Attitudes and Perceptions Toward Covering the Iraq War," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 82 (2005): 301-317.

[240] Laura C. Prividera and John W. Howard III, Masculinity, Whiteness and the Warrior Hero: Perpetuating the Strategic Rhetoric of U.S. Nationalism and the Marginalization of Women," *Women and Language* 29 (2006): 29-37.

the influence journalists had with their viewing audience, as these journalists were viewed as the witnesses of the wars for the public on the home front.[241]

Unlike the example of government officials, the prevalence of journalists' voices was pervasive through the television medium as opposed to a specific news media event. Recall that journalists comprised 27.13% of the 28% total for the professional source category in the overall medium of television. Journalists dominated the television news coverage for this source category meaning that the voices of other professionals such as the voices of mental health professionals to provide contexts for post-traumatic stress disorder, and the voices of professors and researcher to provide evidence for human behaviors within each of these news contexts were excluded from television news coverage.

The responsibility for the prominent presence of journalists in television news coverage lies with several parties. It is not my argument here that journalists alone are responsible for their increasing presence as sources on television news. Instead, these findings provide a strong indication that all participants who are involved in the television news making process must be more attuned to the dominance of journalists' voices. News producers, nightly news anchors, journalists, and news managing editors must all work to open the airwaves each night to more diverse populations to discuss issues. The presence of veterans in each of the news media events was low, and it is clear that they would profit from increased opportunities to narrate their experiences. Perhaps

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[241] Fahmy and Johnson, "How We Performed," 302.

then, journalists could speak with one another less often and speak to the individuals most impacted by the stories they are covering each night.

Government officials and journalists featured prominently in the news coverage when their efforts combined. Perhaps more than any other combination, government officials and journalists illustrated the underlying assumptions of the indexing hypothesis. I turn now to consider how the voices of veterans and ordinary citizens fared in coverage. As these populations were furthest from the powerful voices of elites, the cascading activation model helps to show whether or not their voices were able to climb up the ladder of influence to affect the discourse of those in power.

As previous research suggests, government officials and ranking military officials go to great lengths to control the narrative surrounding war and conflict. The results above clearly indicate that the wartime practices of powerful elites continue in the same manner concerning the veteran community. As go the powerful, so went the marginalized.

Overall as a source category the veteran community ranked fourth in overall appearance in the news across the dataset. Civilians as an overall source category lead coverage of the four news media events. That means that individuals who have never been to war, never signed up for military service, never deployed to a war overseas were the leading voices in news stories that directly impacted the veteran community. Knowledge of statics and probability would suggest that as civilians greatly outnumber the veteran community it would follow that they would be in the news more often than veterans in general. Yet, the news texts analyzed here specifically pertained to veterans.

Are we to expect that civilians would remain the lead source even within stories about veterans? The findings are clear on this point, even within stories specifically concerning veterans, civilians remained the lead source outlet. With regard to the voices of veterans, there was not enough of a presence for a counter frame to cascade up the ladder of influence. There was, however, a beacon of promise found within the dataset to support the initial stages of the emergence of a counter frame that has the potential to continue to gain influence.

Organizations dedicated to helping veterans played a leading role in the sustained news media attention of the VA Backlog. Organizations overall comprised 20% of source outlets on the pages of newspaper, and while their presence dropped in television coverage, the VA Backlog as a whole saw the highest participation of veteran advocacy groups. As I noted earlier, Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America through their CEO Paul Reickhoff, were vital to the effort to bring this scandal to the public's attention. Reickhoff and other members of IAVA constituted a staggering 76% of the total organization source appearances across all news media outlets, far exceeding other advocacy groups such as the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and a myriad of smaller advocacy non-profits. IAVA was the lead advocacy organization during the news coverage of the VA Backlog, and they remain vigilant in their goal to keep the Department of Veterans Affairs accountable to the veteran community they serve.

The VA Backlog and related veteran healthcare issues continue to be a forceful presence in the news cycle at the writing of this chapter. IAVA recently launched an interactive program that provides real time information on VA Hospital wait times by

incorporating immediate feedback from veterans within their communities. Veterans are

encouraged to upload their interactions with their local VA hospital or clinic in real time,

and these reporters are automatically generated in the program deemed "The Wait We

Carry."[242] The program was developed in response to members of Congress and the

Presidential cabinet who claimed ignorance of the wait times for veterans. Following the

introduction of this program, IAVA contends that powerful elites will now have as much

information for veterans across the country, as well as, within their own constituencies

available any time governing officials need it. Organizations across the nation, from

IAVA to the American Legion, continually step up to support their fellow veterans.

Although the voices of veterans overall did not provide enough presence to form a

counter frame according to the cascading activation model, the presence of IAVA and

similar veteran service organizations continue to impact the lives of veterans every day.

IAVA is creating programs to assist veterans, but their greatest assistance could prove to

be their commitment to relentlessly circulating veteran narratives across all news media

outlets.

CONCLUSION

The main goal of this chapter was to answer the question of "who" speaks

concerning the veteran experience. In order to provide the answers to that question I

provided an overview of each of the seven source categories that represented the

individual source identities coded across the dataset. The results showed civilians as the

lead source across all news outlets followed in order by professionals, government

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[242] "IAVA: The Wait We Carry," last modified March 29, 2015, http://www.thewaitwecarry.org.

officials, veterans, organizations, active duty soldiers, and community members. The second section of the chapter considered the four news media events and which voices played a prominent role within each of those contexts.

Veterans Day 2014 was the only news media event where veteran voices outnumbered the remaining source categories. The Cluster of Crimes saw the highest participation from active duty soldiers and family members. Though neither of those source identities led the news coverage, each of the categories had a clear influence on the news coverage of the two crimes that comprised the cluster. Walter Reed and the VA Backlog Scandal each played host to an increase in the presence of government officials and the coordinated effects of journalists' own voices in the news cycle. More than others, these two media events served as exemplars for the presence of the driving assumptions of the indexing hypothesis.

Previous research has focused on the impacts of powerful views and voices within the news media landscape. Times of war and conflict have also received a great amount of attention in scholarly circles. To my knowledge the veteran community, however, has not been examined as actors during times of war and conflict. As scholars continue to be curious of the practices of the press and powerful elites during times of war, we must attune to the experiences of the bodies that are deployed to fight various wars and conflicts. Foreign policy, diplomacy, and overall political communication are each vital components to consider when investigating how powerful elites influence media coverage during times of war, but we cannot ignore the lives of those who fight in these wars. If more veterans were on the news speaking about their issues perhaps the public

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would be less cavalier to deploy "boots on the ground" in various foreign conflicts. It is impossible to gauge the influence of veteran narratives on issues such as foreign policy and the nation's willingness to deploy troops if those voices are not included in the news cycle to begin with.

To this point I have provided in-depth analysis and findings to illustrate how sources enter the news cycle and the influence of news media, as well as findings that describe the identities of sources overall and within each of the four news media events. The next chapter builds on this data to analyze the various contents of those stories. What stories emerged to narrate the veteran experience across the dataset?

PART TWO: THE STORY CONTENT

Chapter Five: "I am on my own" and "You are not ok"

If Rockwall had illustrated a Marine from Vietnam he would have had to show a crowd turning away. And if he had been alive to capture a Marine upon his return from Afghanistan or Iraq, he probably would have portrayed people too caught up in their own lives to listen to the veteran's story.
                    -General Martin Dempsey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff[243]

It's far too easy for people at home, particularly those not directly affected by war to shed a disingenuous tear for the veterans, donate a few bucks and whisk them off to the closest shrink. Out of sight and out of mind leaving no incentive in the community or in the household to engage them.
                    -Tyler Boudreau, Marine Corps Veteran[244]

In the introduction of the dissertation, I cited Richard Kearney's key assertion that "it takes two to story."[245] The primary aim of the second part of the dissertation project is to describe the content of the storytelling moments that emerged across the dataset. The aim of part one of the project is to provide an empirical account of stories by examining: how sources gained access to journalists and were used as a source: how quotations and paraphrased remarks functioned in the news discourse, the identity of sources categories, and determined the identity of the person who told the story of the veterans experience. I investigated how stories entered the news dialogue followed by an in-depth analysis of who voiced the stories that were presented. Now it is time to turn to the stories themselves and ask: what stories circulated and gained traction by narrating

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[243] Howard Schultz and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Want to Support Veterans? Stop Pitying Them," *Washington Post*, November 9, 2014. LexisNexis.

[244] Pauline Jelinek, "For Some Combat Veterans, the Lingering Wounds are Soul-Deep," *Washington Post,* February 25, 2013, A13. LexisNexis.

[245] Richard Kearney, *On Stories* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 45.

the lived experiences of veterans with PTSD? What stories did veterans tell about their experiences, and what stories were told about veterans who suffer from PTSD?

After reviewing the extant research on the therapeutic character of storytelling, in the first two chapters I took the theoretical position that the act of telling stories assists in the healing process. Previous scholarship confirms that individuals who are suffering with mental illness show profound improvements when they are able to narrate their experiences. As part one concluded, however, veterans are not often a source for their own stories in the national news media. A closer investigation is warranted to examine what stories veterans tell to describe their feelings when they are called upon as a source, and conversely what stories individuals in positions of power tell about veterans with PTSD.

The second part of the dissertation, comprised of chapters five and six, examines four stories that emerged throughout the dataset; each of these stories encompassed the most dominant and telling discourses. To help make the analysis easier to follow, this chapter examines only the first two of the four stories series, and the next chapter will examine the last two. I have labeled the first story "I am on my own" and this story represents the moments within veteran discourses when veterans narrate their feelings of abandonment, isolation, and loneliness. The second story to emerge from the dataset works as a response to the first. Powerful individuals representing structural institutions of government and the Armed Forces circulated to form what I have labeled the "You are not ok" story. In these examples, stories were told whose purpose was to isolate and individualize veterans suffering from PTSD and depict them as anomalies of the system.

Within the second story, the responsibility for mental health concerns was placed squarely on the shoulders of the individual suffering veteran, and by doing so, disallowed conversations questioning the structure's role in the plight of veterans. Overall the two overarching stories described in this chapter demonstrate how individual veterans are attempting to narrate their experiences with PTSD, but they are ultimately opposed if not silenced by stories that represent larger, governing structures of power.

BRIEF COMMENT ON METHOD

In the following analysis I will offer answers through the use of narrative and rhetorical analysis. The methodological approach I utilized for the remaining two chapters of the project was organic in nature. Previous work in narrative has been hesitant, if not all together recalcitrant, to experiment with alternative methodological approaches. By that I mean to point out that many scholars do not support the concept that there is a method to narrative analysis, specifically in the sense that methods provide definitive and exact rules to govern how one conducts narrative analysis.[246] As Catherine Riessman offers in her book's introduction "there is no cannon, that is formal rules or standardized technical procedure for validation" when conducting narrative analysis.[247] Various methodological approaches to narrative analysis are, however, utilized by many scholars such as the examples that I supplied in previous chapters. Though narrative analysis is difficult to define, and by the admission of the field's experts might not be

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[246] Arthur W. Frank, *Letting Stories Breath: A Socio-Narratology* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2010). See also Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences* (Boston, MA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2008); Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein, *Analyzing Narrative Reality* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2008).

[247] Riessman, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*, 53.

definable, for the purposes of the dissertation I have provided a brief synopsis detailing the collection of stories below.

As I have argued throughout the project, applying the theories and methods from indexing, source attribution, and political communication to the veteran experience is not only an extension of previous research, but also an important investigation of power as a form of representation. As this project is a new foray extending this political communication research to the new subject position of veterans, applying existing frames, narratives, or story lines to the veteran experiences described in part two could limit the potentiality for stories to emerge. For example, if I had applied the existing frame of control—often use to analyze military news—then that would have been reading veterans through a military application instead of a veteran specific application. As the findings below will indicate, the veteran experience is often at odds with overall conceptions of the military as well as with soldiers serving on active duty. Applying previously constructed news frames would have been a disservice, as the analysis would have needed to be decided on and executed prior to a close-reading of the direct quotations and paraphrased remarks.

In order to see which stories gained significance through their repeated appearance and expression, I conducted a close-text reading of all direct quotations and paraphrased remarks culled from the dataset. This process allowed for themes to emerge and stories to coalesce around one another. The organic process of examining narratives through close-textual analysis is a hallmark of grounded theory. Grounded theory allows

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for the researcher to dwell with the texts in order to see what themes, stories, and narratives emerge.

Consider the distinctions between a well-manicured garden and a field of wild flowers. The garden is precise and meticulous while the field of wild flowers is scattered, some flowers growing taller and brighter than others. The gardener knows precisely what will emerge from the ground to bloom in spring, because they planted the garden and predetermined the design. There is no way to tell ahead of time which flowers will bloom in the field of wild flowers, as they are unpredictable. The meticulous gardener curates the position of the flowers in the garden before they bloom; yet the wild flowers must first emerge before they can be examined and appreciated. The garden versus wild flower field is an apt metaphor for the narrative analysis I conducted for the second portion on the dissertation project. I did not curate the stories presented in part two before I planted their seeds, instead, the stories have been told and identities of the veterans have grown from the stories. It is after the stories have emerged that they were identified and the opportunity to examine and analyze their existence in the field become a possibility. I turn the attention now to the first of our blooms.

STORY ONE: "I AM ON MY OWN"

Stories are critical in the development of individual identity.[248] Yet, in order to comment on the identities that are formed by these stories it is imperative to first

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[248] For the sake of clarity I am labeling these four emergent moments as stories instead of narratives. Scholars across fields such as psychology, sociology, communication studies, and others use the terms stories and narratives interchangeably. Within each of the fields the use of stories versus narratives not only changes from scholar to scholar, but the interweaving exchanging of the two terms occurs within

determine what stories are in circulation.[249] It is important to note that not all stories and

narratives are consciously available for consideration. As I addressed in previous

chapters, stories are not always known to the individual who is constituted by them, nor

are stories a one-way street.[250] Individuals tell stories about themselves to form a notion

of identity, just as stories are told about us that we internalize to form our self-concept.[251]

Feelings of isolation and loneliness were pervasive across the dataset by a range

of veterans, from previous officers to enlisted soldiers alike. The four news media events

did not distinguish between these feelings and stories either, as each of them contained

painful accounts of veterans who were lonely. Overall, veterans powerfully expressed

their feelings of loneliness in their communities.

A sense of community and belonging is important for individuals. Imagine for a

moment when you have taken a trip, either for recreation or business, and you return

home. Is someone there awaiting your return? Perhaps you have a pet that is eager to see

you when you walk through your front door. Consider how lifted you have felt when you

drag yourself through your front door, even when you are the most exhausted, and the

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individual paraphrases. Here I am following the example established through the writings of Arthur Frank where he uses the term "stories" to as equipment for furnishing our self-concept. Individuals encounter a multitude of stories throughout their daily lives. Stories of being a student, being a certain age, or being from a particular state. Narratives then are the collection of multiple stories that solidify self-concept. Narratives are larger and compiled of multiple stories. Though I do not contend, nor does Frank, that these terms cannot be used interchangeably. I use the term "story" here in an effort in consistency across the chapters in part two.

[249] Hilde Lindemann Nelson, *Damaged Identities: Narrative Repair* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

[250] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982).

[251] Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); Jerome Bruner, "The 'Remembered' Self," in *The Remembering Self,* eds. U. Neisser and R. Fivush (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

brief moment of happiness seeing the smiling face of a friend or loved one. There is a

pleasure in the knowledge that you were missed. Now imagine coming home from the

worst trip you have ever been on, full of stress, and there is no one to greet your return.

Perhaps your loved ones missed you, but your neighbor had no idea that you had even

left, and the community at large does not stop to say welcome home. The second

scenario more aptly describes the experiences from a portion of the veteran community,

more specifically, to the growing number of veterans diagnosed with PTSD.

Community Turns a Blind Eye

AJ Czubai is an enlisted Marine combat veteran who served in Afghanistan.

During coverage of Veterans Day 2014 he spoke with a reporter from the *New York

Times* about his wartime experiences. In the story AJ described the path that lead him to

enlisting with the Marine Corps, a path like many others that began by associating with

the wrong people and getting into trouble. AJ anticipated his return home from

Afghanistan, but when he finally arrived on American soil, he felt differently than what

he had anticipated. "When I was in Afghanistan," he told the reporter, "all I wanted to do

was come back to America. But when I got home to America, there was this empty

feeling, and I just wanted to go back to Afghanistan."[252]

Other veterans echoed AJ's feelings of emptiness. Michael Crawford was a

patient in Walter Reed Army Hospital during the exposé of the mistreatment and abuse.

He described his feelings of isolation while he was in the Warrior Transition Unit as a

"dark place" that was "worse than being in Iraq." Crawford continued, "In combat you

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[252] David Rohde, "The Invisible Front," *New York Times,* November 16, 2014, 1. LexisNexis.

rely on people and you come out of it feeling good about everything. Here, you're just

floating. You're not doing much. You feel worthless."[253] The two journalists who

initially broke the news about the conditions at Walter Reed Hospital, Dana Priest and

Anne Hull, also described the feelings of abandonment soldiers felt in the hallways of

building 18. They wrote, "This world is invisible to outsiders."[254]

Feeling ignored and isolated is not always the result from a lack of trying to

engage with the community. It is true that some veterans who suffer from PTSD prefer

to be isolated and withdraw from family members, friends, and society as a direct result

of their condition. That is not always the case, however, and the stories of attempts to

combat this isolation circulated in the news media as well. Sergeant Jeffrey Beltran is an

Army enlisted combat veteran. Sgt. Beltran was interviewed during the Cluster of

Crimes coverage, and he spoke about a PTSD treatment program that had been helpful

for him and other soldiers. He was clear in his testimony, "I want to share my

experience. Whatever knowledge or wisdom I have."[255] The opportunity to share

wartime experiences is important for veterans like Sergeant Beltran. The audience,

though, is not always present.

Eric Greitens is a former Navy Seal who understands the importance of veterans

arriving home to a welcoming community. In his interview Greitens stated, "We want

[253] Anne Hull and Dana Priest, "It Is Just Not Walter Reed," *Washington Post*, March 5, 2007. LexisNexis.

[254] Dana Priest and Anne Hull, "Walter Reed: Soldiers Face Neglect, Frustration at Army's Top Medical Facility." *Washington Post*, February 18, 2007. LexisNexis.

[255] Charles Isherwood, "Tours of Duty and the Price Paid at Home," *New York Times,* November 13, 2014, 1. Factiva.

the legacy of this generation of veterans to be serving with courage when the country

called on them to serve overseas and then, when they come back, making the country

stronger through continued service here at home."[256] One of the potential avenues for

continued service is community engagement and volunteering at local schools. In

perhaps the most painful example of community isolation, Greitens recounts a story of a

fellow veteran who went to a local school to speak with the students. Before speaking

with them, however, the veteran had a meeting with the school's administration. Greitens

recounts, "They asked him kind of elliptically, 'Did you serve in Afghanistan?'" to which

the veteran responded yes. The administrators followed up with a second question "Did

you serve in Iraq?" to which the veteran responded yes. After asking the first two

questions about service in Iraq and Afghanistan the administrators told the veteran "Well,

thank you for your service, but we're concerned about post-traumatic stress disorder,"

and the veteran was dismissed. "The message [from the administrators] was clear,"

Greitens stated, "We don't want you to talk to our kids."[257] In this case it was not made

clear in the interview if the veteran who wanted to speak with the students as a form of

community engagement at the local school was even diagnosed with PTSD, or if he or

she had any symptoms of the condition. The administrators at the school determined that

the veteran was damaged goods, and thus, could not offer their students anything.

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[256] Neil Genzlinger, "For Old Trauma, Fresh Sensitivity," *New York Times*, November 8, 2014, 5.
LexisNexis.
[257] Neil Genzlinger, "For Old Trauma, Fresh Sensitivity," *New York Times*, November 8, 2014, 5.
LexisNexis.

Feelings of isolation from the local community often resulted in feelings of frustration. The feelings of abandonment, isolation, and loneliness by the community take their toll on veterans. The next segment of isolation and loneliness explores how veterans narrate their feelings of emotions concerning their feelings. It is one thing to describe the events and situations that constitute why you feel alone, and quiet another to narrate how these situations make you feel.

Veterans' Frustrations

Ian Welch is a Marine combat veteran. During his deployment he suffered a traumatic brain injury that severely affected his memory. Welch was interviewed in the *Washington Post* with Katy, his girlfriend at the time of the interview. The story focused on their daily lives and the difficulties they experience day in and day out due to Welch's brain injury and resulting PTSD diagnosis. Welch kept a diary of his time during Iraq, which became a pathway for him to access the memories he had before and after his injuries. In the interview Welch read a segment from his diary detailing his frustrations with his failed memory capabilities and longing for his life before his Humvee drove over an improvised explosive device along a road in Iraq. The entry was succinct and read, "I am filled with rage and hate. Today is my 21st birthday."[258]

Frustration is a theme that continues throughout most of the stories I analyzed across the dataset. Sergeant Clayton expressed his frustration with his community of fellow students and the campus environment in an interview with NYU students. Student

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[258] David Brown, "Weak, Murky Links Found Between PTSD and Violence," *Washington Post,* April 1, 2012, A04. Factiva.

at NYU were given an assignment to find a veteran and discuss their views on war and veterans related issues. When students found Sgt. Clayton he was quick to share his stances on a variety of issues. Clayton explained to his fellow students, "No matter how many people come up and shake your hand and say thank you for serving, hardly any of them ever comprehend even a drop of what we have been through."[259]

Combat Marine veteran Peter Munson echoes the frustration with the general public. "Since I returned home," he states, "a darkness has grown in me as both I and our nation have failed to live up to the sacrifices of these young men and women." Munson recounts moments when he was privy to a conversation among civilians who were engaged in debating and arguing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. After overhearing their conversation he was disappointed. He expected more from the community "I just found I could not square the negativity, pettiness, and paranoia in the discourse of our country's elders with the nobility and dedication of the men and women I had seen and served with in Afghanistan." Munson ultimately concluded, "Over times, as I listened to the squabbling, I realized that about the only thing Americans agree on these days is gratitude bordering on reverence for our military. It troubled me that the sum total of consensus is deference towards the defenders of our nation."[260] Timothy Kudo echoes

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[259] Martha Raddatz, "Band of Brothers: Veterans of Iraq War Remember," *ABC News*, May 25, 2014. LexisNexis.
[260] Scott Pelley, "Segment on Veterans," *CBS Evening News*. November 17, 2014. LexisNexis.

Clayton and Munson when he described the hardest part about the transition home from

war. Kudo simply wrote, "The hardest part is that nobody talks about it."[261]

Abandoned by the Government

The final segment of the isolation and loneliness story is the particular role the

government played in these feelings. It remains true that overall the feelings of isolation,

loneliness and abandonment spanned each of the news media events, however, this

particular segment was primarily derived from the coverage of the Walter Reed Hospital

Scandal and the Department of Veteran Affairs Backlog scandals. It follows that because

these two events were governed, overseen, and directed by government entities that

dissatisfaction with the government would coalesce within these particulars contexts.

An anonymous veteran spoke with a journalist concerning his treatment at Walter

Reed. He told them that "at a deeper level, soldiers feel alone and frustrated" with the

government's handling of the conditions at the hospital.[262] Another veteran who received

care at the hospital sounded a similar note when he described the government's oversight

of Walter Reed Hospital. The second soldier confirmed his feelings of abandonment, as

"They don't even know you exist."[263]

Ray Olivia was a prominently featured veteran source in the Walter Reed exposé.

He spoke often with Dana Priest and Anne Hull, describing the conditions of building 18

as well as different events and circumstances veterans faced across the hospital's

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[261] Scott Pelley, "I Can't Forgive Myself: U.S. Veterans Suffering Alone in Guilt," *CBS Evening News,* February 22, 2013. LexisNexis.

[262] Anne Hull and Dana Priest, "The Hotel Aftermath," *Washington Post*, February 19, 2007. LexisNexis.

[263] Dana Priest and Anne Hull, "Walter Reed: Soldiers Face Neglect," LexisNexis.

bureaucracy. Ray is a Vietnam era veteran who tried to advocate and look after his fellow veterans at Walter Reed Hospital. He grew frustrated with the lack of response from government officials. Ray told Priest and Hull:

> I wrote a letter to Senators Feinstein and Boxer a few years ago asking why I had to wear hospital gowns that had holes in them and [were] torn, and why some of the vets had to ask for beds that had good mattresses instead of broken and old. Wheel chairs old and tired and the list goes on and on. I never did get a response.[264]

During the Congressional hearings that followed the exposé, some members of Congress suggested that they were unaware of the conditions. Annette McCloud, the wife of a veteran who was a patient at Walter Reed Hospital, responded "I have one question: Were they deaf? Because I worked the chain. I went anywhere they would listen. So if you don't want to hear it, you don't want to hear it."[265] Senators did not respond to Ray or Annette concerning the conditions at Walter Reed, but the government officials did have an impact on the daily lives of veterans at Walter Reed.

David Thomas, a veteran, was receiving treatment at Walter Reed after the loss of his leg in combat. Thomas is a Mexican national who received citizenship through service in the Army. During his time at Walter Reed Thomas learned that President Bush himself was participating in a special ceremony being held at the hospital at which the President was granting a fellow Mexican national his American citizenship for his service in the Army. Thomas recounted his experience when he visited his case manager and

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264 Dana Priest and Anne Hull, "Walter Reed: Soldiers Face Neglect," LexisNexis.
265 Anne Hull and Dana Priest, "The Hotel Aftermath," *Washington Post*, February 19, 2007. LexisNexis.

expressed his interest in attending the ceremony to honor his fellow soldier. Instead of receiving permission to attend he was met with resistance.

The case manager instructed Thomas that it would be inappropriate for him to wear shorts to the ceremony, as he would be seated on the front row, and an amputee in shorts on the front row at the ceremony of this magnitude in the presence of President Bush would be poor optics for the event. Thomas asked pointedly "Are you telling me that I can't go to the ceremony 'cause I'm an amputee?" to which his case manager answered no, as long as he wore paints. The ceremony was being held in the summer, and pants were not issued to the patients. Ultimately, Thomas was not permitted to attend. He was clear in his frustration with the case manager and the overall system itself noting, "I'm not ashamed of what I did, and y'all shouldn't be neither."[266] Government officials did not respond to Ray Olivia, but the perceived poor optics of an amputee wearing shorts in the summer to attend an official ceremony garnered an official response on behalf of the hospital administration.

The frustration with the government and the larger veteran heath care system continued within the coverage of the VA Backlog Scandal. Derek Bennett is the Chief of Staff at IAVA and he expressed concern that the government would continue to ignore veterans after the wars ended. "My concern" he said "is that when Afghanistan ends in 2014, as it is currently projected, they will really stop paying any further attention."[267]

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[266] Steve Vogel, "Administrative Issues Cited at Walter Reed," *Washington Post*, February 25, 2007. Factiva.

[267] Jonathan Raab, "Guide to a Few Nonprofit Groups Providing Care to Veterans," *New York Times* July 10, 2013, 4. LexisNexis.

Much of the tension surrounding the VA Backlog pertained to the department's inability to implement technology that would enhance the processing of paperwork. Younger veterans who were returning home failed to see how the government could be so far behind in their uses of technology outlets in service to the veteran community. Paul Reickhoff was the mouthpiece for these concerns when he said, "For people in their 20s, the idea that we can't get this technology updated seems ridiculous." In the same article Pete Hegseth, executive director of Concerned Veterans for Americans, echoed these criticisms. Hegseth aimed his criticism for these failures at the top leadership officials of Secretary of the VA Eric Shinseki and President Barack Obama. When asked if he supported fellow veteran, Shinseki, Hegseth responded, "Why should we reflexively defend a leader who hasn't gotten it done?"[268] Another anonymous veteran provided the ultimate comment on the backlog when he or she likened their treatment with the overall dysfunction of the government. The veteran said "No wonder our government has such problems. It seems you get lost in this bureaucratic paperwork."[269]

The feelings of loneliness, isolation and ultimately abandonment played a prominent role in the stories that veterans told about themselves across news coverage. The stories that we narrate to ourselves about ourselves have a direct impact on our self-concept and self-identity. It is evident through these examples that veterans who suffer from PTSD or its symptoms have internalized stories of being on the outside of their communities. Ultimately these veterans expressed their feelings through frustration

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[268] Jonathan Raab, "Guide to a Few Nonprofit Groups Providing Care to Veterans," 4.
[269] Bill O'Reilly, "VA Backlog," *The O'Reilly Factor*, May 14, 2014. LexisNexis.

aimed at their communities and their government. These stories, as told by veterans, lead me to pause and question where veterans gathered this self-script? How did the feelings of isolation and loneliness occur, and was there another aspect of these stories that was derived from other narrating sources? That is, were other sources using stories of isolation to categorize and label veterans as lone agents who were ultimately on their own with regard to handling their PTSD? I turn now to consider how the stories told about veterans with PTSD played a definitive role in subjecting suffers to the margins.

STORY TWO: "YOU ARE NOT OK"

Recall that stories told about individuals, depicting and describing markers of their identity, have as much of an impact as the stories individuals tell about themselves. Stories create characters, and as such, these characters become equipment for sense making.[270] That is, I can better understand the normative script for interacting with the characters—or people—I encounter on a day-by-day basis if I understand how these characters have been previously presented to me through shared stories. For example, children are often told stories by their parents about their first day of school. Perhaps the parents retell stories about their first day of school in order to prepare the child for what lies ahead. An inherent quality of these stories is the need for the story to include the different characters the child will encounter at school. Picture the parents describing the teacher as a character/person of authority who is to be respected and obeyed throughout the day. The parents might remind the child through story of an instance when he or she misbehaved and was subsequently punished by the parents. This story of the first day of

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[270] Frank, *Letting Stories Breathe: A Socio-Narratology*.

school becomes an exemplar of preferred modeled interaction with the characters the child is likely to encounter at school. A similar process holds true when organizations and powerful structures narrate about individuals in society. The organizations become the parent in this metaphor and narrate the roles each character will play by first defining the characters.

Structures and organizations within society—particular to my purposes here government agencies and the whole of the armed services—are powerful narrators.[271] Narratives have proved to be vital to the overall functioning of an organization, and researchers have argued that without narratives organizations would decrease in their ability to influence stakeholders.[272] Organizations and institutional structures use stories to construct their internal organizational identities among the ranks of their employees, and by doing so, individuals who take on the narratives provided by the overall organization incorporate organizational and structural identities. The bond between organizations and individuals—be the employees or outside stakeholders—is solidified through the practice of incorporating the organization's stories and folding them into an individual's self-concept.[273] The second story in this chapter "You are not ok" provides a clear example of moments when an organization consistently narrates to veterans and the

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[271] Larry D. Browning, "Organizational narratives and Organizational Structure," *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 4 (1991): 59-67. See also Barbara Czarniawska, *A Narrative Approach to Organization Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1998).

[272] Ben F. Barton and Marthalee S. Barton, "Narration in Technical Communication," *Journal of Business and Technical Communication* 2 (1988): 36-48.

[273] Jim Taylor and Watts Wacker, *The 500 Year Delta What Happens After What Comes Next* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997).

public that individuals who suffer from PTSD are anomalies, that is, they exist outside the mainstream.

The "You are not ok" story is reminiscent of the classic chicken or egg dilemma. It is unclear in this case whether the stories veterans tell themselves depicting their loneliness and isolation came first, or whether these stories are a response to the stories told about them from government organizations and individuals within the armed services. Although "origins" for cultural narratives are often impossible to discern, in the case of veterans I suspect the source is a little bit of both: the veterans themselves and the institutions with which they interact. What is clear, however, is that stories told by powerful organizations about veterans with PTSD often focus on the individual veteran as the agent for their mental health issues. These stories promote the individualization of PTSD and work to eschew questions of systemic, structural, and collective responsibility to and for veterans. Instances of narration depicting the "You are not ok" story tended to arrange themselves around the themes of outside influences on behavior, such as alcohol, as the causal agent for actions. The second theme within this story circulated around instances when individuals serving on active duty deployments told stories that depicted soldiers and veterans suffering from PTSD as the weak and pathetic counterparts to otherwise strong and masculine soldiers.

Outside Influences

The most prominent culprit used to explain the actions of veterans who were suffering from PTSD centered on alcohol and drug abuse. Addiction discourse is highly individualized, often placing the agency for both a change in addictive behaviors as well

as the ability to heal squarely on the shoulders of the addict.[274] In a similar way, drugs

and alcohol are labeled as the preferred vices for individuals who suffer from PTSD.

Questions of systemic forces such as long deployments, a greater time away from family

members, or the conditions of each deployment do not often receive as much attention

when questions are raised concerning the behavior of veterans who suffer with PTSD.

Instead, stories become individualized and focus on the particular veteran in question,

and often these stories include an interrogation into the existing substance abuse

problems. Substance abuse is an indicator of PTSD and research has shown that it is

within reason to equate the two with one another.[275] The existence of a link between

substance abuse and PTSD is not in question here, however, I contend that the causal

links between substance abuse and PTSD allows a space for powerful elites to dismiss

large structural concerns by casting veterans as substance abusers.

Journalists Yochi Dreazen wrote a piece in the *New York Times* documenting the

growing rise in suicides among active duty soldiers and veterans. He recounted the story

of Kevin, an Army soldier who had committed suicide, and his family's experiences with

their community and Kevin's commanding officers following his death. Military reports

indicated that Kevin had communicated with his commanding officers expressing a

growing concern that he was not feeling well and he "had gotten drink, nearly killed

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[274] Heidi Marie Rimke, "Governing Citizens Through Self-Help Literature," *Cultural Studies* 14 (2000): 61-78.

[275] Dean G. Kilpatrick, Kenneth J. Ruggiero, Ron Aceirno, Benjamin E. Sauders, Heidi S Resnik, and Connie L. Best, "Violence and Risk of PTSD, Major Depression, Substance Abuse/Dependence, and Comorbidity: Results from the National Survey of Adolescents," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 71 (2003): 692-700.

himself, and needed psychiatric treatment."[276] Kevin's parents contend that his officers

did not take his concerns seriously.[277] Following his suicide, official reports indicated

that drinking at Fort Carson, where Kevin was stationed, was deemed an example of

"patterns of misconduct." Soldiers who were drinking too much were in violation of the

military code of conduct, and reports of drinking would be handled through channels of

discipline instead of reported through the channels of command that would lead to mental

health screenings. In short, soldiers who were caught drinking were breaking the rules,

and as such, their drinking was the problem, not their mental health.

Alcohol abuse was heavily underscored in the news stories that circulated during

the time of the Kandahar Massacre. The news reports immediately following the

shootings naturally asked questions of motive for the crimes. This is a natural

progression of inquiry and it happens with many types of criminal behaviors, especially

within stories of murder. The public was curious why Bales might have left his post on

base and gone on this shooting rampage. To their credit, the media did attempt to

question the length of deployments coupled with time spent away from his family as

possible motives for Bales' behavior.[278] Instead of discussing the inherent strains

multiple deployments can have on our soldiers, military and government officials quickly

dismissed any links between Bales' behavior and the operation of the military system.

Officials focused on the reports that Bales' drinking was the primary motivation for his

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[276] Yochi Dreazen, *The Invisible Frontline: Love and Loss in an Era of Endless War* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2013).

[277] Yochi Dreazen, "The Invisible Frontline: Love and Loss in an Era of Endless War."

[278] Joby Warrick, Carol Morello, Krissah Thompson, "Accused Soldier Faced Pressure of Deployments," *Washington Post*, March 18, 2012, A18. Factiva.

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shooting rampage. For example here is one longer excerpt from a Pentagon Official

distancing the idea that deployments played a role in the shootings:

> Army officials said over the weekend that Sergeant Bales' combat tours were
> hardly unusual in a force that has had an unprecedented pace of repeat
> deployments in two grinding ground wars, among the longest in the nation's
> history. Lots of soldiers have four deployments, and they're not accused of things
> like this.[279]

Speaking about the system's role in the shootings, General Martin Rodriguez reassured

journalists and the public when he stated in regard to deployments, "There's nothing

different here than most places." Appearing on television he said, "Again these things

happen. Everybody knows that doesn't reflect our standards and our values."[280] Bales in

this case was an outlier and the stories told about him which lay upon him as an identity

marker, depicted a rogue soldier: a member of the often described "few bad apples"

coalition.

The conversation returned to focus on alcohol after the criticism of multiple

deployments and length of deployments was shuttered by officials. In the weeks

following the night of the shootings, investigations reported that Bales had been drinking

the night he left his post. One report indicated, "A senior government official said that on

the night of the killings, Sergeant Bales had been drinking."[281] An additional news story

confirmed, "But one senior government official said Thursday that Sergeant bales had

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[279] James Dao, "U.S. Identifies Army Sergeant in Killing of 16," *New York Times*, March 17, 2012, 1.
LexisNexis.
[280] Chris Matthews, "Segment on Robert Bales," *Hardball With Chris Matthews*, March 28, 2012.
LexisNexis.
[281] Rachel Maddow, "Segment on Veterans," *The Rachel Maddow Show*, April 4, 2012. LexisNexis.

been drinking alcohol before the killings and that he might have had marital

problems."[282]

Pentagon officials also portrayed Bales as a soldier that may have had alcohol

abuse problems. In the report the unnamed officials were careful never to report that

Bales was an alcoholic, just that he had been drinking on the night of the shootings. It is

curious that no other sources ever mentioned Bales' and alcohol. There were no accounts

from his neighbors, friends, family, or his wife that ever mentioned that Bales' drank

alcohol at all leaving no indication that any sort of alcohol abuse was a possible

consideration. Stories of Bales' alleged alcohol problems were also absent in news

stories where the sources interviewed were Bales' fellow soldiers each of whom knew

him personally and had served with him overseas.

That said the stories by government officials and military officials were relentless

with their connections to alcohol as a prime motive indicator. Toward the end of the

news coverage about the massacre officials were resolute in their reliance on alcohol as

the explanation for Bales' behavior. One report described their efforts like this,

"Pentagon officials, who have been scouring the sergeant's military and health records

for clues, have said little about what they think motivated the killings."[283] Yet in the

same article the journalist cites anonymous Pentagon Officials again who concluded,

"When it all comes out, it will be a combination of stress, alcohol and domestic issues.

He just snapped." In the beginning of this particular article the motive for the killings

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[282] Brian Williams, "Kandahar Massacre," *NBC Nightly News*, March 31, 2012. LexisNexis.

[283] James Dao, "Defense Team for U.S. Soldier Seeks Evidence," *New York Times*, March 31, 2014, 10. LexisNexis.

remained unclear, but by the end of the article alcohol—along with other factors—is the central motive.

Alcohol and other substances are heralded as motivations and reasons for bad behavior perpetrated by soldiers and veterans alike. Alcohol has been cited as the driving force in veteran suicides as well as the elixir that drove Bales to murder sixteen Afghan civilians. Individuals within the ranks of power often position the focus on outside factors impacting veterans with PTSD and this allows for a quick dismissal of systemic forces. Pentagon officials, U.S. governmental officials, as well as commanding officers at Fort Carson were all cited here to illustrate this phenomena, but the stories told by those in power within the military ranks does not stop at alcohol. Problematic stories about PTSD and the depictions of suffering begin to take root when soldiers are still serving on active duty.

Strong Soldiers, Weak Sufferers

One might expect that active duty soldiers and veterans are cordial to and with one another, and that these men and women share a type of binding kinship. Though connections such as these exist, they are at times more contentious than an outsider might expect. The second case study depicting the "You are not ok" story addresses these tensions. Soldiers, who in turn become veterans, are told early in their careers that PTSD is not something that happens to strong soldiers. PTSD is a character flaw of weak individuals, not strong U.S. soldiers.

Sergeants spoke with reporters on the condition of anonymity in a news report during Veterans Day 2014. One sergeant, who was still serving, relayed his thoughts

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about PTSD. He said, "I think some people are just weak. You know, you just have to buck up and be a man and face it."[284] Soldiers at Fort Carson—discussed above as the sight of a Kevin's suicide—also spoke about the treatment of wounded soldiers who were made to feel "as if they were viewed as fakers or weaklings."[285] In a third example, soldiers in a unit created a "Hurt Feelings Report" which was meant to mock a new mental health self-report list. Military officials have praised the self-report form as an important step in creating awareness of mental health problems among the ranks of active duty soldiers. The form is purported to offer an opportunity for veterans to voice their concerns. The mock form, however, conveys a different perspective. The mock form was found hanging next to the official self-report form. In lieu of descriptions of PTSD, the mock checklist described PTSD as follows, "I have woman like hormones. I am queer. I am a little bitch. I am a crybaby. I want my mommy. Or all of the above."[286]

What motivated individual soldiers to portray PTSD or mental health counseling in these terms? The answer to that question is found at every level of the military. Commanding officers overseeing the Warrior Transition Unit at Walter Reed were often cited in the mistreatment of wounded veterans. An Army specialist described being forced to perform 24-hour guard duty by his commanding officer. The specialist said he had to repeatedly perform this duty despite informing his officer that his doctor "repeatedly ordered him not to do this type of work," as it aggravated his traumatic brain

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[284] Petula Dvorak, "On Veterans Day, Bridging the Gulf Between the Civilian and Military Worlds," *Washington Post*, November 11, 2015, 3. Factiva.
[285] William Yardley, Serge F. Kovalski and James Dao, "Home Base of Accused Soldier has Faced Scrutiny," *New York Times*, March 14, 2012, 6. LexisNexis.
[286] Charles Gibson, "Segment on Walter Reed," *ABC World News*, February 21, 2007. LexisNexis.

injury and PTSD.[287] Another soldier from building 18 reported that the commanding

officers often talk loudly with one another about the veterans with PTSD and TBI

recounting that they often would say, "These guys can't do this because they are crazy."

The veteran said, "It would make you feel like you were inferior."[288] Commanding

officers in the unit even "concluded that that a majority of the soldiers were faking post-

traumatic stress or exaggerating their symptoms."[289] Inspection reports that questioned

why the platoon officers treated wounded soldiers and veterans with such disdain

concluded that the officers felt that their presence in the unit was "taking a knee" in a

post that was not prestigious within the military.[290] Caring for wounded soldiers and

veterans was not the story of military glory these officers had told themselves, and

because of their disappointment, they in turn, poorly treated the wounded in their charge.

The palpable disdain for the physically and mentally wounded soldiers and

veterans did not stop at the mid-level ranks of platoon officers and unit commanders.

The castigation of blame and individualization for veterans suffering from PTSD went as

high as the Army Inspector General. In an official report, the Army Inspector General

himself "suggested that too many soldiers were staying longer in the units than was

necessary, either because they were trying to 'game' the system to improve their

disability benefits or because a slow and understaffed medical bureaucracy had delayed

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[287] Brian Williams, "Segment on Walter Reed," *NBC Nightly News*, March 9, 2007. LexisNexis.
[288] "The Wider Shame of Walter Reed," *New York Times*, March 7, 2007. LexisNexis.
[289] "Is This 'Supporting Our Troops'," *New York Times*, March 12, 2007. LexisNexis.
[290] David S. Cloud, "Army Secretary is Ousted in Furor Over Hospital Care," *New York Times*, March 3, 2007. LexisNexis.

treatment."[291] Additional coverage of the Inspector General's report indicated that the findings showed "a sense of entitlement among some warriors in the transition units."[292]

Ranking physician officers have also called upon the stories of veterans misusing the system, instead of the system abusing the veterans, to negatively narrate the presence of mental wounds. Army doctors act as the first check in a series of steps to determine the level of disability a veteran receives once they separate from service. Dell McCloud, an army infantry veteran who sustained a traumatic brain injury while deployed, also suffers from severe PTSD. Dell struggled with his memory problems. The combination of his TBI and PTSD made it impossible for him to work. In order to receive compensation for his injuries, Dell began the disability claims process while he was still recovering at Walter Reed. Army physicians first determine the extent of Dell's injuries and then award Dell with a percentage of disability, which directly effects the monthly compensation he would receive from the military.[293]

In the case of Dell McCloud the Army denied that his memory deficiencies, problems with cognitive processing, and PTSD were sustained as a result of his injuries while deployed. In their research of all his health and service records, physicians discovered that in high school Dell was placed in some remedial academic courses. As a result of the discussion of remedial courses in his official records the physicians determined that Dell was "slow" prior to his enlistment with the Army. As such, the

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[291] David S. Cloud, "Army Secretary is Ousted in Furor Over Hospital Care," *New York Times*, March 3, 2007. LexisNexis.

[292] Steve Vogel, "Review at Walter Reed is Ordered," *Washington Post*, February 24, 2007. Factiva.

[293] This is representative of the common practice that all veterans encounter when they separate from service.

physicians denied that his current mental health issues were related to his injuries. As one news story stated, "One report says that he was slow in high school and that his cognitive problems could be linked to his native intelligence rather than to his injury."[294] When asked about this determining process and Dell's results specifically a physician remarked, "Too often, it [disability claims] is misused by veterans who have adequate health care, removing needed resources from those who do not."[295] The physician concluded that if Dell had been awarded a disability percentage that reflected diminished mental capacity that might be unfair because his injuries were not sustained while deployed. Dell and his family were left to conclude that remedial mathematics was the reason for his memory problems and PTSD, and not the sustained brain damage that resulted when his armored caravan drove over an improvised explosive device. As a reader and a person of conscience, one can imagine how well the physician's dismissive explanation went over with Dell and his family.

CONCLUSION

The two dominant stories that emerged in this chapter dealt with veterans voicing feelings of isolation, loneliness, and abandonment all due to their relegation to the margins as a mentally wounded soldier with PTSD. Story one, "I am on my own," serves as an opportunity to see into the lives of veterans who experience the impacts of PTSD each day. The reactions from their community, and the airing of their frustrations with the public are important to the individual veteran as well as society at large.

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[294] Vogel, "Review at Walter Reed is Ordered."
[295] Vogel, "Review at Walter Reed is Ordered."

Similarly, in the second story "You are not ok," I illustrated how the dismissal of veterans is a systemic issue. Individuals in seats of power give voice as sources in news stories and these stories often link veterans with alcohol as a means to explain mental health issues. It is also evident that the military system as a whole, and members in the chain of command specifically, tell stories that paint the suffering soldier or veteran with PTSD as a weak outsider. Veterans internalize these stories and depictions of PTSD, and these internalizations could have a drastic impact on how or even if wounded veterans seek treatment.

Throughout the project I have argued that the ability to tell, share, and narrate your own story is vital to aspects of mental health and healing. The great majority of this claim is rooted within the foundations of psychoanalysis and narrative theory, both of which provide significant evidence to support narrative's healing properties. It is, however, important to note that moments arise where the rhetoric involved in therapy and self-conceptualization become problematic, as they offer a platform for organizations or institutions of power to misuse the focus these approaches place on individual healing and instead powerful entities pervert the focus on the individual to shield criticisms of the structure itself.

In her book *Control and Consolation in the American Culture and Politics: Rhetoric of Therapy*, Dana Cloud provides exhaustive examples of how the rhetoric of therapy and self-help is deployed by structures of power to condition society to recognize issues of mental health as individual problems. When activated these rhetorics—or in Cloud's terms, "therapeutic persuasions"—shield powerful entities from criticism and

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questions of culpability during times of crisis that might otherwise illicit an indictment of an organization's responsibility.[296] As Cloud notes in her introduction:

> The rhetorical function of therapeutic discourses in such contexts is to encourage audiences to focus on themselves and the elaboration of their private lives rather than to address and attempt to reform systems of social power in which they are embedded.[297]

The two stories within this chapter are examples of the disciplining that Cloud describes.   Veterans were attempting to begin the narrative and therapeutic work of expressing their stories in the news media. These veterans and their stories were instead, quickly squashed by structures of power, organizations, and individuals who were intent on perpetuating the rhetoric of individualization. Individualizing the stories of suffering veterans who are attempting to narrate their experiences with PTSD and their wartime experiences will not lead to the reparative healing that is possible through narrative outlets and therapeutic avenues.

This chapter primarily serves as an exemplar of what *not to do* from a structural standpoint, highlighting the harms of perverting the therapeutic dimensions of storytelling. As participants in the U.S. collective society, I think it is vital to recognize when structures of power are dismissing the lived experiences of our veterans. Stories told by us are equal in power with the stories told about our lives. Stories call both the storyteller and the audience into existence, and as such, individual veterans as well as individuals within society share in the inherent responsibilities bound within the acts of

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[296] Dana L. Cloud, *Control and Consolation in American Culture and Politics: Rhetoric of Therapy* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1998).
[297] Cloud, "Control and Consolation in American Culture and Politics," xiv.

telling and hearing veterans' stories. The voices of veterans were marginal within the

dataset, yet when they did speak on their experience, they were stifled by powerful

structures. In the next chapter I turn to the rare examples when veterans spoke and

shared their experiences and the reparative work of narration was met with support

through advocacy. Where this chapter illustrated the actions that are not helpful for

healing, the next chapter provides a blueprint for genuinely supporting our veterans by

hearing their stories and responding with healing action.

Chapter Six: "I am suffering" and "We need to help them"

I can only answer the question, "What am I to do?" if I can answer the prior
question "Of what story or stories do I find myself a part?"

-Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue*[298]

Up to this point, I have discussed many issues and concerns facing the veteran

community. Part one of the project took an empirical approach to examine how our

nation's storytellers—journalists and the general news media apparatus—narrates and

invites sources to participate in the national conversations about veterans and veterans

with PTSD. As evidenced by those results, veterans are not frequently the narrator of

their own experiences (ranking fourth overall as a source category) and as such, they

were not as visible in the news media as groups of civilians, professionals, and

government officials. Chapter five laid out the two most dominant stories that were told

both by veterans suffering from PTSD and about veterans who have PTSD. Obviously

these two dominant stories are negative and paint a poor picture of the daily experiences

of veterans who suffer from PTSD and other injuries. In chapter five, story one focused

on isolation, loneliness, and abandonment while story two illustrated the cruel, and at

times, abusive stories these systems attach to veterans with PTSD. If the dominant

representations of veterans in the news media were the only measure for the plight of

wounded veterans or those suffering from PTSD, the prospects seem bleak.

Given the findings thus far, I could end the project here. At this point I confirmed

the hypotheses of the initial stages of this research: veterans do not tell their own stories

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[298] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral* Theory (New York: Oxford University Press,
1984).

through the national storytelling platforms of newspaper and television news broadcasts. The stories that do bubble up and seep through the cracks reinforce previous notions of mental health narratives and therapeutic discourses in the news which in sum work to individualize suffering veterans and castigates them to the far margins of society.[299] These stories contend that it is the veteran's responsibility to handle PTSD, not the military or U.S. government.

Ending here, however, would not complete nor address what I understand as positive and progressive media representations that indicate some good work is also happening: the perspective is simply a question of scale. In fact, not discussing the small moments of narrative breakthroughs—moments when journalists and veterans work together to complete the larger narrative by telling the stories that are often hard to hear but vital to healing—would ultimately replicate the same disservice to the veteran community that I have leveled against the national news media throughout this project. The moments of narrative breakthrough occur less often than the larger stories I have previously analyzed, and the larger master narratives that circulate in our public sphere often eclipsed them. Master narratives portray veterans and soldiers as strong, confident, unbreakable warriors. Yet it is clear that this is not the case for every soldier or veteran.

The stories beginning to emerge challenge the dominant master narrative and allow veterans to express vulnerability in discussing their PTSD. While often overlooked, these moments are significant when considered from a narrative-therapeutic

[299] Dana Cloud, *Control and Consolation in American Culture and Politics: Rhetoric of Therapy* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998).

perspective. The final two stories I describe in this chapter begin to shape, mold, and contour dominant stories—perhaps the overall master narrative—in a new direction. In what follows, I argue that calling attention to the stories of suffering and assistance illuminate the potentialities that exists when veterans share their own stories, which are complicated and messy, and point to the kinds of assistance that can be provided once these stories are heard and responded to.

THE POWER OF STORIES

Known for his work on narrative in sociology, Arthur Frank's research has informed the theoretical foundation of this dissertation. His work in the fields of narrative identity and health communication has become commonplace in the study of narrative as it relates to patient identity and investigations of illness narratives. His work is particularly relevant in this chapter because he illustrates how stories not only define the subjects of narratives, but also explains how storytelling affects storytellers as well. I quote him here at length:

> Stories animate human life; that is their work. Stories work with people, for people, and always stories work *on* people, affecting what people are able to see as real, as possible, and as worth doing or best avoided. What is it about stories— what are their particularities—that enables them to work as they do? More than mere curiosity is at stake in this question, because human life depends on the stories we tell: the sense of self those stories impart, the relationships constructed around shared stories, and the sense of purpose that stories both propose and foreclose. Stories breathe life not only into individuals, but also into groups that assemble around telling and believing certain stories. After stories animate, they instigate.[300]

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[300] Arthur W. Frank *Letting Stories Breathe: A Socio-Narratology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 3.

Frank underscores that it is vital to note that stories have a dual impact, both on the storyteller and on the society that organizes itself around the stories that are heard.

Rhetorical theorist Wayne Booth is another scholar interested in the intersections of narratives and societies. He defines "ethical criticism" as "any effort to show how the virtues of narratives relate to the virtues of the selves and societies, or how the ethos of any story affects or is affected by the ethos—the collection of virtues—of any given reader." Booth notes here the important narrative space stories represent for individuals and to the overall conceptualization of society at large.[301] Narrative scholars liken the social fabric of society to a dynamic tapestry woven and bound together with stories. In order to access societal beliefs an investigator must adhere to the stories that are shared within a society. Philosopher Bruno Latour posits that the social is a "process and not a state" and a "collection of practices," and these practices include the telling and hearing of societal stories.[302] It follows that stories must be shared and circulated in order for narratives to construct societies and vice versa. Thus, narratives constitute dialogue writ large.

Anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss called the shared phenomenon that occurs between individuals and society a "bricolage" a kind of hodgepodge of assembled and collectively shared stories that individuals construct and use to understand their identity

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[301] Wayne Booth, *The Company We Keep: An Ethics of Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 11.

[302] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

in relation to the larger society.[303] The collection of the assembled stories occurs by the act of storytelling (speaking) coupled with story receptions (hearing). The bricolage does not reside solely in the act of storytelling or story hearing, but in the combination of the exchange as roles as speaker and audience. Speaking and hearing are inherent in the societal exchange of mutually created and shared stories, but as communication scholar William K. Rawlins notes, hearing is not always an easy process. He argues that, "[h]earing others is not a passive enactment of being-in-conversation…speaking constituted by your listening matters only if you actually do hear, only if you allow the other person's voice and stories to reach you, to change you."[304] Inherent in Rawlins' definition of the exchange between storyteller and story hearer (or audience) is the connection between the speaker and the audience. Rawlins reminds us that in order to hear a speaker it is vital that the message is allowed to reach us, to change us. Rawlins implies that identification between speaker and audience is a key element in the exchange of stories. What happens to this exchange between speaking and hearing if the storyteller and story hearer cannot form an identity connection? As Rawlins notes hearing becomes even more difficult when the perceived storyteller speaks from a place of marginalization, or embodies an identity marker that lies outside of the societal mainstream. Although various factors can impact the levels of identification between speaker and audience, Arthur Frank privileges the presence of illness in the body of the

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[303] Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

[304] William K. Rawlins, "Hearing Voices/Learning Questions," in *Expressions of Ethnography: Novel Approaches to Qualitative Methods,* ed. R. P. Clair (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003): 119-125.

storyteller as one of the primary restrictions in the identification bond between a storyteller and his or her intended audience.

Illness, in particular, works to separate and delineate individuals who are healthy from those who are sick, strong from weak, and able from disabled. In the *Wounded Storyteller: Body Illness and Ethics* Arthur Frank contends that illness itself serves as a platform from which patients are called to tell their stories and narrate their illness. Individuals who have fallen ill are often constrained by their illness and forced to tell particular stories about their illness and how it has impacted their lives. A seriously ill individual becomes a "wounded storyteller" who is controlled by their illness and their wounded bodies. Along with others, Frank contends that stories are told through the body and when illness takes hold, individuals are forced to create new stories to compensate for their embodied illness.[305] An individual who is suffering from an illness has limited narrative options and opportunities. Due to these limitations, Frank determined that there are three prominent narratives that are available to be expressed through the body of a wounded storyteller.

The first is the "restitution narrative" which mirrors a traditional beginning, middle, and end representing a temporal arc. The patient narrates the beginning stages of health that reflect stories of "I was once healthy" before progressing to their current stage of illness describing their disease as "I now am sick." The final stage of the restitution

[305] Arthur Frank, *The Wounded Storyteller: Body Illness and Ethics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); K. Charmaz, "The Body, Identity and the Self: Adapting to Impairment," *Sociological Quarterly* 36 (1995): 657-680; C. Ellis and A. Bochner, "Writing From the Periphery," in *What's Wrong with Sociology?,* ed. S. Cole (Princeton, NJ: Transactions Press, 2001): 341-372.

narrative is the future narrativizing of restored health, "I will recover from this illness." The "chaos narrative" is reflective of psychoanalytic aspects found in the Lacanian real. The patient in a chaos narrative looses all sense of temporality, meaning, and the narrative fabrics that hold together their perceptions of their lived experience. The chaos narrative is described precisely as it sounds: the inability to narrate as the individual looses any and all semblance of time.

The most therapeutic narrative, according to Frank, is the "quest narrative." The quest narrative takes suffering at face value, and the patient accepts their illness by narrating their suffering to others. The quest narrative is a type of "testimony or witness" to the patient's suffering and Frank argues that by inhabiting these narratives the patient is able to control how their stories of illness are shaped and molded by others. The quest narrative reflects a central premise of psychoanalysis, that narrating your individual experiences through dialogue can have reparative and healing effects.[306] The quest narrative works to update and extend a similar claim even further in relation to narrative breakthroughs as told and shared by individual veterans themselves.

JOURNALISTS, EDITORS, AND THE ROLE OF NEWS MEDIA'S STORYTELLERS

Journalists play a vital role as the narrators to a nation. Whether their work appears on the pages of the nation's leading newspapers, or as their voices are welcomed into the living rooms on television sets across the country, these interactions with the national news narrators mold, shape, and provide the first interactions with the events of

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[306] It is not my intention, nor would I assume it was Frank's, to argue that by simply telling stories all mental illnesses could be cured. The inherent power in sharing stories for mental illness, are however, strategies that I have gone to great lengths to support in the earlier chapters of this dissertation.

the day. In chapter four I detailed the increasing prominence of television journalists in

the news regarding veterans and PTSD. The interactions between journalists and their

sources have become more pronounced in the recognition of its rarity as journalists

function less as a conduit for news and feature more, as an active producer of news.

Herbert Gans reminds us that a journalist's role is often to "help maintain order, warn

against disorder, and act as moral guardians…" He continues that journalists "function as

agents of social control."[307] Journalists often function as gatekeepers because of their

news guardian role, and at times, this control over the narrative is difficult to detect.

Sociologist Todd Gitlin argues that journalists function in the realm of "everyday

thought," and this can make it more difficult to realize when they suppress views and

voices that do not fit within the taken for granted news narrative.[308]

I agree with Gitlin and Gans' assessments of the power journalists have in

shaping our national stories and narratives. I would, however, caution that the move to

suppress marginal voices and solely focus on voices of those in power does not apply to

all journalists all of the time. That is, there are moments when a story that is counter to

dominant narratives is covered in news articles, when voices from the margins are heard,

and when the public is exposed to stories that are not what we would consider

"mainstream" in their telling. I suggest that these moments of narrative breakthrough are

rare and fleeting, but when counter stories do appear they make an impact. It is critical to

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[307] Herbert Gans, "Sources and Journalist," in *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*, 25th Anniversary Edition (Evanston, IL: Northwestern Press), 295.

[308] Todd Gitlin, "News as Ideology and Contested Arena: Toward a Theory of Hegemony, Crisis, and Opposition," *Socialist Review* 9 (1979): 11-54.

recognize these moments of narrative breakthrough for the reparative work that they contain for the speaker, the potential advocacy effect they have on their audience, but such breakthroughs cannot happen without a journalist asking the right questions, with editors willing in turn to print breakthrough stories. Journalists and editors working together illustrate narrative breakthroughs and offer a new way of seeing.

Narrative breakthroughs about the plight of veterans are also less common because war is messy, and PTSD is misunderstood and remains a stigma in the military. Yet, in the brief moments found in the dialogues between journalists and veterans, it is clear that veterans are fighting a war of the mind here at home with just as much labor— different in quality, of course—than the ground war they left in the mountains of Afghanistan and the deserts of Iraq. The telling of their suffering begins the process of therapeutic healing that can be found through discourse. The third and fourth stories to emerge in the dataset represent the rare moments when veterans speak about their wartime experiences in relation to PTSD, and the emerging responses from a community of advocates who are heeding the calls of these wounded storytellers. The first story in this chapter is the "I am suffering story" and the second story represents the response "We need to help them." In each instance the calls from the wounded illuminate the dark reality some veterans face, while also illustrating that the tireless work of veteran advocates is beginning to take root in news media representations.

MASTER NARRATIVES AND COUNTER STORIES
Stories that portray the ugly side of war rarely make it into news media coverage, but when they do they often leave a significant mark. Vietnam is perhaps the most

salient example of images and stories breaking through the national news media to affect

the home front's support for the war effort. The massacre at Mai Lai continues to be a

touchstone for discussions of Vietnam. The horrific nature of war was portrayed through

photographs as well: the most iconic of these was the photo depicting Vietnamese

children running down the streets naked and trying to escape the firebombing napalm

campaign. Discourses blended with photographic evidence through the voices of

veterans protesting Vietnam. John Kerry's protest through Congressional testimony is

one of the central factors that cost him the presidency in his campaign against George W.

Bush.[309] Vietnam has been the haunting specter of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. As

a response to Vietnam, there has been an increase in censorship of war journalists, war

photographers, and the overall reporting of the wars has been carefully curated for public

consumption.[310] It is no surprise, then, that veterans of these wars have found it difficult

to break into news media coverage, and share their stories of the pain war causes.

Veterans who suffer from PTSD already find themselves at the margins of

experience. The stories I examine below work as counter stories to the dominant master

narratives that are shared in our society, narratives which depict soldiers as strong and

veterans as resilient, brave heroes. Master narratives assist individuals in making sense

[309] John E. O'Neill and Jerome R. Corsi, *Unfit For Command: Swift Boat Veterans Speak out Against John Kerry,* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2004); Frank Rich, "How Kerry Became a Girlie-Man," *New York Times,* September 5, 2004; George N. Dionisopoulus, "Incident on the Bay Hap River and the Guns of August: The 'Swift Boat Drama' and Counter-Narrative in the 2004 Election," *Communication Quarterly* 57 (2009): 487-511; M. A. Ball, "The Role of Vietnam in the 2004 Presidential Election," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 8 (2005): 689-693.
[310] Judith Raine Baroody, *Media Access and the Military: The Case of the Gulf War* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 1998).

of their everyday experiences as well as support what we do in our everyday lives.[311]

The "brave soldier" is a master narrative in our society. As previous research has argued, the stories of soldiers returning home from war follow a mythic orientation with the soldier first leaving their home, going to war, and returning home with the knowledge that improves the lives of the society which he left and fought for.[312] The two stories in the previous chapter ("I am on my own" and "You are not ok") uphold this perspective because the stories told by those in power clearly define a soldier as one who fits the mold of strength and fortitude, while the voices of veterans share their battle with loneliness as they are cast out of the public they once belonged to. This cycle of "strong soldier/weak veteran" is hard to contest, but the two stories described in this chapter illustrate the power and potential for counter stories to emerge.

Hilde Lindemann Nelson defines a counter story as "a story that resists an oppressive identity and attempts to replace it with one that commands respect."[313] According to Nelson, counter stories challenge and complicate master narratives defined as "stories found lying about in our culture that serve as summaries of socially shared understandings."[314] Nelson contends that counter stories emerge in two steps. The first step in identifying a counter story is to determine the narrative fragments that float

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[311] Richard Nissbet and Lee Ross, "Judgmental Heuristics and Knowledge Structures," in *Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Epistemology* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 190; Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral* Theory (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

[312] Janice Hocker Rushing and Thomas Frentz, "The Deer Hunter: Rhetoric of the Warrior," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 66 (1980): 392-407.

[313] Hilde Lindemann Nelson, "Resistance and Insubordination," *Hypatia* 10 (1995): 23-40.

[314] Hilde Lindemann Nelson, *Damaged Identities: Narrative Repair* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 6.

around in society through various stories, whose narrative presence is meant to marginalize an individual or a collective group. The second step in forming a counter story concerns itself with the oppressed individuals or collective reclaiming the power over the oppressive narrative fragments by retelling their stories in a way that recaptures the personal identity of the oppressed individuals, calling attention to the details of the master narrative that were oppressive. I turn now to a discussion of two types of stories in the data that provide a space for veteran voices to emerge, as well as an opportunity to witness the advocacy those voices call for, advocacy from a broader public as well as health care professionals. As my favorite radio icon, the late, Paul Harvey, might say: "now here's the rest of the stories."

STORY THREE: "I AM SUFFERING"

As a begin to lay out the experience that form the "I am suffering" story, I want to recall your attention to the small percentage of space these stories occupied in the overall news media landscape. The experiences in the next two stories of "I am suffering" and "We need to help them" are born from the voices of veterans who ranked fourth overall as a source category and organizations which ranked fifth overall out of the total seven source categories. As such, these stories are from the margins of source categories, and as such, their importance as counter stories is fulfilled.

I begin with the story of Amy Rising, a Senior Airman in the Air Force who now works in veteran advocacy. She shared with a journalist, "What was really hard about working in command was never being able to see the damage you did on the ground." The conversation continued in the news article with the journalist asking specific

questions about the veterans command and where she deployed, yet the Rising once again

returned to her painful reality. When asked about what she thinks of when she reflects on

her time while deployed she responded, "You start to think about all the orphans and

widows you created, and that you did hit civilians."[315] This was the final cited response

from the veteran in this particular news story. It is impossible to know whether or not the

journalist felt compelled to end the story there, when the conversation turned to civilian

deaths, or if the opposite occurred and this is a brave moment between veteran, journalist,

and editor to keep this powerful quotation in the final printed story. In either scenario,

we begin to see the story of suffering emerge from news discourse.

Across the total interview Senior Airman Rising offers a succinct description of

civilian deaths, witnessing war, and how that can affect a person's psyche when returning

home. Other times, however, suffering is not told over the entire breadth of the news

story but appears in small bursts before the veteran moves on to discuss another topic. In

the coverage of the Kandahar Massacre one veteran noted, "I heard something on

Facebook about a soldier killing civilians. It's horrible, but I guess I've almost become

numb to it."[316] Veteran David Hardt discussed how his expectations of fighting in the

war and his actual war experience began to infuriate himself as well as the other veterans

in his unit. He described his experience as such, "You sort of got used to seeing dead

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[315] Alyssa Rosenberg, "Intermission: Veterans Day," *Washington Post*, November 11, 2014, 4. Factiva.
[316] Chris Matthews, "Segment on Robert Bales," *Harball with Chris Matthews*, March 22, 2012. LexisNexis.

bodies, seeing things blow up in front of you."[317] Another veteran stated, "This wears on

you. As much as you want to avoid it, death is always in front of you."[318]

A particularly poignant piece in the *Washington Post* focused on veterans who

had served as interrogators. Serving as an interrogator is a difficult assignment within the

military. Interrogators are highly intelligent individuals who often possess foreign

language skills and demonstrate the ability to use high-level critical thinking. It is rare

that interrogators are interviewed as they often have top-secret security clearance, and as

such, are not open to discussing their practices with the news media. The three veterans

in this interview recounted vivid accounts of their mistreatment of prisoners and how

those actions affect their lives back at home.

Daniel Keller is clear that he believes the casual agent of his PTSD is the torture

he perpetrated while deployed. He admitted to torturing prisons for information by

"dragging prisoners through concertina wire on the floor," and he told the reporter

writing his story that he "would have no reintegration problems if he hadn't taken part in

the cruelty." In Keller's own words he describes his PTSD here, "If I hadn't actually hurt

anybody, I'd be sitting pretty. I'd be happy as could be. I wouldn't have any problems.

I wouldn't be on [expletive] medication. I wouldn't be sitting here doing an interview

because I wouldn't know anything, and I would be [expletive] living out there."[319]

Veteran Tony Lagouranis was also any Army interrogator who told the reporter

that he engaged in torments such as "giving them hypothermia and staging

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[317] Kate Wenner, "War is Brain Damaging," *New York Times,* March 18, 2012. LexisNexis.

[318] Jim Rendon, "The Postwar Attitude Adjustment," *New York Times*, March 25, 2012, 38. LexisNexis.

[319] Lydia DePillis, "This is How it Feels to Torture," *Washington Post,* December 11, 2014, 6. Factiva.

executions…and [gave them] feeling of permanently [being] disoriented." Lagouranis centered his struggles at home with his sense of identity and fear. "It feels like fear. Of what? I'm not sure." He also told the journalist that he was struggling with regaining a sense of who he was, and specifically in relation to his wife Amy. Of his identity he said, "You know what I think it is? You don't know if you'll ever regain a sense of self…I used to have a strong sense of morals. I was on the side of good. I don't even understand the sides anymore." He questioned, "How could Amy love me?"[320]

Eric Fair was the third veteran interviewed in this news story. He spoke far less than the other two veterans, and there was no specific mention of the torture that he admitted to perpetrating while deployed. Fair alludes to a prisoner that he tortured in a powerful quotation, "His memory harasses me, as I once harassed him."[321] It is this slight glimpse into his suffering that portrays his story. He tortured, and now he himself is tortured. The news story itself was simultaneously powerful and haunting. These three soldiers admitted to cruelties that were perhaps just under the surface and actions that the public at large is less keen to hear. As the professor who provided research context to the news story stated so eloquently, "Never say yes to torture. Your country will never thank you for it."[322] Keller, Laouranis, and Fair are three veterans who admitted to unspeakable acts of violence, and by speaking about their experiences they provide another instance where we see that our veterans are being affected by their wartime experiences.

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[320] DePillis, "This is How it Feels to Torture," 6.
[321] DePillis, "This is How it Feels to Torture," 6.
[322] DePillis, "This is How it Feels to Torture" 6.

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Structural Stressors

The decrease in military involvement with foreign deployments over the last few years coupled with budget cuts has lead to a "draw down" in the number of active duty soldiers the nation needs at its disposal. The reduction in force has created a class of veterans who had expected to remain in service until retirement, and now face the new challenge of finding employment after service. An abrupt change in identity can be difficult, and the onset of mental health struggles has become palpable for this unique class of soldiers. Army Captain Nathan Allen was one of these veterans. He shared his struggles over his forced retirement. "I am a mess right now," he told the journalist, "they took away who I am. I'm a soldier." Captain Allen also stated that he "fell into a deep despair."[323] Captain Saintjuste faced the same reduction in force protocols. He responded by describing the importance the Army had for him. "It's our cultures, it's our family, it's our language." Captain Saintjuste continued, "I worked, I sacrificed, I risked my life, and they took it away like it didn't matter…We feel like we've given everything, our families have given everything, and they just give us a handshake and say thank you for your service."[324] Captain Tawanna Jamison is suffering as well with the reduction in the military forces. She was forced to retire at a lower rank than she had achieved in the Army, affecting her retirement pension and benefits. Her forced retirement at a lower rank impacted her ability to continue paying for her home and her monthly bills. Captain Jamison's problems have grown and now she fears, "I could be facing bankruptcy." The

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[323] Dave Phillips, "Cuts in Military Mean Job Losses for Career Staff," *New York Times,* November 13, 2014, A1. LexisNexis.

[324] Dave Phillips, "Cuts in Military Mean Job Losses for Career Staff," 13.

forced retirement has also impacted her ability to help her children. "I was helping my daughter pay for college," she said, "Now she's on her own. I couldn't have planned for this. Its' hard not to feel like the Army isn't trying to save money on our backs."[325]

When Telling Your Story Begins to Help

The theme of forgiveness emerges as a complimentary pair with the stories of suffering and struggle. Some veterans continue to struggle with the notion of forgiveness. Timothy Kudo, a Marine veteran, commented on his struggles with forgiveness in which he stated, "I can't forgive myself. And those who can forgive me are dead."[326] Forgiveness eludes Kudo, but other veterans have found that sharing their stories has been vital in their ability to manage their PTSD. It is unclear whether journalists prompt veterans to discuss their ability to forgive themselves for actions taken during wartime, or if veterans initiate the discussion of the various attempts they have made to forgive themselves and others.

Travis Martin is a veteran who leads a warrior's writing workshop to assist veterans who are suffering from PTSD. Martin himself deployed and suffers from PTSD. One of the veterans who currently work with Martin's program described the "powerful sense of isolation that greets most veterans once [they return] home."[327] Martin's group specifically deals with these feelings of isolation and encourages veterans to tell their stories of PTSD or to write them down if they cannot speak about them.

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[325] Dave Phillips, "Cuts in Military Mean Job Losses for Career Staff," 13.

[326] Scott Pelley, "I Can't Forgive Myself: U.S. Veterans Suffering Alone in Guilt," *CBS Evening News,* February 22, 2013. LexisNexis.

[327] "Veterans in College: Share Your Stories," *New York Times*, February 2, 2013, A9. LexisNexis.

Martin reports, "Most of the stories are about trauma, trauma, trauma. A Marine whose friend is killed by a sniper; a convey ambushed in Iraq; the smell of burning bodies in a firebombed bus; a mass grave site in Bosnia a girl from it who makes recurring appearances in a veteran's dreams," all of these traumas are explored during the writing workshops. Micah Owen has attended the writing workshops and they have helped him explore his PTSD. Owen details his struggles with discussing his PTSD, but he also reports, "he knew he needed to share his stories or they would overcome him." Writing his stories detailing his wartime experiences and struggles with PTSD has brought him closer to his family. "I hardly ever spoke about it with them. This was a way for my family to know what I had done."

Travis Martin's own experiences mirror Owen's. Martin recounts his thoughts and views on sharing his traumatic memories as follows:

> My experience is that traumatic memories are fragmented. They appear in flashes of intensity, but not always in order. If you can put these emotions and the traumatic event in a narrative that makes sense to you it makes the trauma tangible. If it is tangible, it is malleable. And if it is malleable, you can do something with it.[328]

Research in the fields of psychoanalysis, communication studies, and narrative studies would each support Martin's understanding of traumatic memory as well as the power that narrating one's experiences can provide to those who are suffering with PTSD. Katie Hoit is another veteran who has participated in veteran writing workshops. Hoit contends, "We write to bear witness. We have a responsibility to bring back a report to those who have sent us out." Hoit also expressed anger with the "media-shaped portrayal

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[328] "Veterans in College: Share Your Stories," A9.

of the wars," in Iraq and Afghanistan and by writing and speaking on her experiences in war and with PTSD Hoit feels that she and others can begin to "reshape the picture and ground it into truth."[329]

The stories of veterans describing their suffering and the weight of battle that they carry is palpable in the examples above. These examples illustrate brief glimpses of pain and suffering that emerge in the news media discourse. Sometimes these stories of struggling is the main topic of the news story, while other times these windows into the veteran experience only appear briefly in the forms of sentences before a shift in topic closes the window once again. Other instances of suffering emerge in tandem with multiple veterans discussing their common struggles with PTSD, as was the case with the Army interrogators. Finally, stories emerged detailing the systemic struggles that veterans are experiencing with forced retirements and the mental and financial burdens that practice is creating for new veterans who expected to remain in the military until retirement. Across each of these arenas it is evident that *some* veterans are beginning to breakthrough in media coverage and articulate moments of struggle, moments of suffering, and the moments that define their lived experiences with PTSD.

In the final section the stories begin to pivot to re-narrativizing the veteran narratives with PTSD through writing workshops, the aim of which, is to begin the healing process through sharing stories through dialogue and writing. The story examples provided by Travis Martin, Micah Owen, and Katie Hoit mark the beginning of an effort to reclaim the veteran narrative in our time. Yes, veterans are struggling with

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[329] "Veterans in College: Share Your Stories," A9.

PTSD, and throughout the dissertation I have argued that we are not hearing their stories or heeding their calls for recognition. The fourth and final story in part two of the dissertation examines the growing movement to advocate for better health care policies and acknowledge the veterans who are suffering. The fourth story illustrates examples of advocacy as well as moments when the structural systems of the government and military at large are called into question. The story demonstrates a beginning shift from the individual suffering veteran to the large power entities that govern the lives of veterans.

STORY FOUR: "WE NEED TO HELP THEM"

Owning to the proliferation of media venues over the last decades, representations of advocacy efforts seem to be on the rise. As I noted in part one, organizations who are assisting veterans are increasing their visibility as well as the visibility of veteran issues such as access to quality health care and employment concerns. In chapter four I highlighted the sustained efforts of Paul Reickhoff and his non-profit organization Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of American (IAVA) along with the continued efforts by the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. The stories of advocacy seem to work across temporality by looking back and recognizing the calls of suffering illustrated above in story three while recasting the gaze to look forward by acting as the mouthpiece for stories of support. No one individual, organization, political party, or government agency has escaped the criticism of these organizations and individual voices of concern.

Criticism of the Military

       The stories of PTSD and the veterans who suffer from the illness are for the most part individualized. Chapter five illustrated this point by showing how the stories that veterans tell about their own isolation work in conjunction with the stories that individuals who represent organizational power tell about them as well. Although these stories represent the dominant paradigm, there are moments when organizations and individuals step forward to criticize the government and military apparatuses. For example the military's overall handling of veterans with PTSD was held to account in Yochi Drezan's book *The Invisible Frontline: Love and Loss in an Era of Endless War*. He articulates that reform lies within the powerful hands of commanders. He writes, "It should begin by making the ways commanders and enlisted personnel handle mental health issues within their units a formal part of the written evaluations that help determine whether they're [commanders] promoted."[330] Tasking commanders with the oversight of mental health among their troops in this way would become a pivotal task at the forefront of their duties instead of an increasing phenomenon that many in power would be more comfortable brushing under the rug.

       Criticism of the military played a role in the coverage of the Cluster of Crimes as well. A lawyer linked to the case expressed his view that that Army's "failure to diagnose PTSD" illustrated their failure and by extension culpability in the crime. "If he cracked," the lawyer stated, "it is because he wasn't properly diagnosed. The Army

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[330] Yochi Dreazen, *The Invisible Frontline: Love and Loss in an Era of Endless War* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2013).

failed him."[331] Fellow veteran Dennis Robins also linked the failure of the military with the actions taken by some veterans once they returned home from war. He spoke of a VA facility were veterans were supposed to go for assistance with their mental health screening, yet the facility itself was in disrepair. Robins recounted seeing a friend in the facility, "When I saw him, my heart just sank. This is supposed to be a safe place where a vet can get help. They've failed him."[332] Echoing the concern with the military's overall failure to care for veterans, a spokesperson for Concerned Veterans of America simply stated, "It's time for new leadership."[333]

Criticism of the Government

Criticism of the government itself was particularly high during the two scandals at Walter Reed Army Hospital and the Department of Veteran Affairs Backlog Scandal. In an article addressing the overall increasing concerns veterans face on the home front, Stephen Reinhardt directed the blame at the government. Reinhardt said, "No more veterans should be compelled to agonize and perish while the government fails to perform its obligations."[334] Craig Phillips is a citizen who was interviewed and asked his thoughts on the VA Backlog. He criticized the government and society as a whole when he said, "Apparently, we as a society have not learned from history. It is criminal for them [the government] to treat our troops so badly once again."[335] The theme of

331 Carol D. Leonnig, "Lawyer Says Accused Soldier Tells of PTSD-like Symptoms," *Washington Post,* March 29, 2012, A07. Factiva.

332 Brian Williams, "Veterans Facing PTSD Struggle," *NBC Nightly News*, March 26, 2012. LexisNexis.

333 Charles Gibson, "Segment on Walter Reed," *ABC World News*, February 19, 2007. LexisNexis.

334 "War's Critics Seize on Massacre," *Washington Post,* March 19, 2012, A02. LexisNexis.

335 Brian Williams, "Segment on Walter Reed," *NBC Nightly News,* March 9, 2007. LexisNexis.

government responsibility continues in the remarks of Garry Augustine a member of Disabled Veterans of America. Garry expressed his frustration with the way he perceived veterans were passed around like a political football. Garry implored elected officials to, "understand that posturing and playing politics with veterans is unacceptable."[336]

Veterans continued to be a voice of dissent and direct critics of the Bush administration during Walter Reed. Veteran Chris Harris reported that he believed that the impact of the Republicans loosing the midterm elections was an underlying reason that Walter Reed received media coverage at all. Harris contended, "I strongly suspect that if the Republicans had not lost the midterm election, Donald Rumsfeld would still be secretary of defense and the Walter Reed scandal would have been quietly swept under the carpet." Harris continued, "Most Americans are unaware of the complacency and malaise that permeate many areas of our government including places where any reasonable person would not expect to find them."

An anonymous soldier told the *Washington Post* "If you are really sick or injured, Army medical care is OK. But if you are hurting only a little, especially if it isn't visible, you're in big trouble." Veteran Paul Eaton mirrored the first veteran's concern. He told reporters, "The military health system is seriously undermanned and underfinanced for the number of casualties coming home. Also, there has been little preparation for identifying and treatment for post-traumatic stress injuries."

Walter Reed proved to be a lightening rod of criticism for the military and the Bush administration. The Army Inspector General report specifically named the second

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[336] Rachel Maddow, "Segment on Veterans," *The Rachel Maddow Show*, April 4, 2012. LexisNexis.

Bush administration as a responsible party for the conditions at Walter Reed. The report

concluded, "Decrying an 'almost palpable disdain' toward outpatients, investigators

found treatment had been hobbled by personnel shortages that were compounded by the

Bush administrations' use of privatization as a cost cutter." Army investigators

ultimately, "concluded that the scandal of the shamefully neglected outpatients at the

Walter Reed Army Medical Center is likely a systemic problem afflicting wounded

veterans at other military hospitals."[337]

Journalists also proved to be robust voices in criticizing the Bush Administration

in "We need to help them" stories. Paul Krugman wrote a scathing report of the Walter

Reed Scandal in which he lays the sole responsibility for the condition of the hospital at

the feet of the Bush administration. Krugman wrote:

> For all its cries of 'support the troops,' the Bush administration has treated
> veterans' medical care the same way it treats everything else: nickel-and-diming
> the needy, protecting the incompetent and privatizing everything it can…So when
> you hear stories of veterans who spend months or years fighting to get the care
> they deserve, trying to prove that their injuries are service-related, remember this:
> all this red tape was created not by the inherent inefficiency of government
> bureaucracy, but by the Bush administration's penny-pinching.[338]

Paul Krugman was not the only journalist who took the Bush administration to task for

the mistreatment at Walter Reed. Frank Rich penned that President Bush, "…assumes

the role of mourner in chief on a selective basis, and, as usual with the decider, the

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[337] Steve Vogel, "Review at Walter Reed is Ordered," *Washington Post,* February 24, 2007. Factiva.
[338] Paul Krugman, "Valor and Squalor," *New York Times,* March 2, 2007, A19. LexisNexis.

decisive factor is politics. Let Walter Reed erupt in scandal, and he'll take six weeks to show his face—and on a Friday at that, to hide the story in the Saturday papers."[339]

The Department of Veterans Affairs Backlog Scandal

Similar to the voices of criticism in Walter Reed, the VA Backlog scandal played host to a large chorus of voices and perspectives. Criticism of the Obama administration's handling of VA oversight mirrored the criticisms of the Bush administration during Walter Reed. Advocates and veterans alike were resolute in calling on those in power to be held responsible for improving the care and service offered at the nation's VA medical hospitals.

Bob Wallace is the director of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. He was careful to address the VA backlog when the news first broke about the hospital in Phoenix. Wallace commented, "The backlog has been a problem for years. I hate to say this as an advocate, but fixing it is not going to happen overnight."[340] Albert Perna is a veteran who suffered from PTSD symptoms, so he went to file a disability claim with the VA. After his claim was filed the VA told him to, "Go home and go to work. Nobody told us anything else." At the time of the news story Mr. Perna had not received any treatment for PTSD from his VA hospital.

The Department of Veteran Affairs bore the brunt of criticism by veterans and advocates alike. Multiple veteran groups were paraphrased in one report noting, "Critics say it is an entrenched, sclerotic bureaucracy that suffers from a lack of innovation and a

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[339] Frank Rich, "Bring Back the Politics of Personal Destruction," *New York Times,* March 3, 2007. LexisNexis.

[340] Rachel Maddow, "Segment on Veterans," *The Rachel Maddow Show,* April 4, 2012. LexisNexis.

structure in which the health care and disability divisions are often working at cross

purposes."[341] Mickel Withers is a veteran who has become disillusioned with the VA

system. Of the VA he said, "I think they are so overwhelmed over there, they just glance

at things. It doesn't make me feel good about the system." Daniel Dellinger, a

spokesperson for the American Legion, issued a statement in which he highlighted the

incompetence of the VA:

> Our country's veterans are suffering more with each passing day. Now we've
> reached the point where the VA can't even process benefits claims for our men
> and women who served in uniform. Our nation's leaders need a reality check.
> Do they really think they are serving the best interests of our veterans?[342]

Theodore Jarvi repeated the concerns raised by Dellinger. As the spokesperson for the

National Organization for Veteran Advocates he called for continued veteran pressure on

the VA administration. Jarvi claimed, "Vets are dying while waiting for the VA to do

this job [cutting the backlog]." Pete Hegseth of Concerned Veterans for America

expressed his outrage with the VA in handling the backlog. Hegseth wrote, "America's

veterans deserve the best possible care and services when utilizing the VA facilities and

processes."[343] Paul Reickhoff reminded advocates that progress with regard to the

backlog was possible, yet the issues were both "predictable and preventable." Reickhoff

stated "the hundreds of thousands of remaining cases prove that we are a long way from

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[341] James Dao, "Criticism of Veterans Affairs secretary Mounts Over Backlog in Claims," *New York Times,* May 19, 2013. LexisNexis.

[342] Steve Vogel, "VA Speeds Claims, but Vets Warn of Errors, " *Washington Post,* September 11, 2013, A21. Factiva.

[343] "The Grim Backlog at Veterans Affairs," *New York Times,* March 12, 2013, 22. LexisNexis.

declaring victory," and encouraged advocates to continue pushing the VA and their

elected officials towards reforms.[344]

The Obama administration did not escape criticism during the on-going VA

Backlog Scandal. President Obama was quick to appear on national news media outlets

discussing the state of the Department of Veteran Affairs and the steps his administration

was taking to ensure that the backlog was addressed and never repeated. In a press

conference President Obama said:

> We launched an all-out war on the disability claims backlog, and just in the last
> year we've slashed that backlog by half. Today I can report that we are not where
> we need to be, but we're making progress. In the last five months alone, it is
> down nearly 20 percent. We are turning the tide. There is a need for change in
> culture within the Veteran Health Administration and perhaps the V.A. as a whole
> that makes sure that bad news gets surfaced quickly so that things cab be fixed.[345]

Although President Obama may have spoken sooner on the issue at the VA faster than

President Bush did during Walter Reed, he was not met with open arms from the

advocacy community. The President's support for Secretary of Veterans Affairs Eric

Shinseki did little to win support from advocates. Paul Reickhoff was highly critical of

Shinseki calling for "…a change in leadership. For a leader who will stand up for

veterans."[346] IAVA as an organization called on members of Congress to sign a petition

for higher quality services offered at VA facilities across the nation. The petition directly

calls on President Obama to "take direct action" in handling the backlog and the

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[344] James Dao, "Veterans' Program Are Set for Raise in Spending Plan," *New York Times*, April 6, 2013, 10. LexisNexis.

[345] Steve Vogel, "Progress is Reported on VA Claims Backlog," *Washington Post*, May 28, 2013, B04. Factiva.

[346] Steve Vogel, "Lawmaker See 'Leadership Void' at VA," *Washington Post*, March 17, 2014, B04. Factiva.

leadership within the VA. Comedian Jon Stewart has also been an ardent defender of veteran advocates' work with the backlog. He was cited in a news source by a veteran advocate for the work he had done on his show, particularly "deriding the Obama administration for breaking promises on veterans' benefits, calling the backlog criminal."[347] Reickhoff welcomed proposed changes laid about by the president, but was cautious in his support. When the president announced more funding for the VA Reickhoff noted, "no one has said this is a money problem. Really what we're talking about is execution."

Voices of criticism towards sitting presidents and their administration, the armed services, and government agencies coalesce to represent a marginalized perspective. Here I have illustrated how some marginalized voices have gained traction in recent news media, and how advocates of all identities have experienced an increased amount of coverage. Criticism can be perceived as a negative news moment, where finger pointing at those in power is the desired method of entering the news conversation as opposed to moments that illustrate the support and camaraderie of the veteran community. I would caution not to dismiss these moments of criticism as reflecting anything but camaraderie. Veteran leaders are showing solidarity and support for their fellow veterans who are suffering from health care issues and issues of mental health such as PTSD through sustained criticisms of powerful organization and government entities. It is evident that

347 Richard Oppel Jr. and Michael D. Shear, "Severe Report Finds V.A. Hid Waiting Lists," *New York Times,* May 29, 2014, 1. LexisNexis.

each of these advocates are taking the charge to leave no soldier behind on the battlefield, and applying it to the home front.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have described how two counter stories of the veteran experience with PTSD emerged in contemporary news coverage. Taken together, these counter stories reinforce each other, perhaps providing strength to other veterans who may be suffering in silence. Soldiers are seen as strong individuals, and it is often the case that we view veterans in a similar manner. Previous work by Patrice Buzzanell and Laura Ellingson challenges the very notion of master narratives in health communication that portrays individuals as being "ill versus well," which leaves no space or ambiguity between these polar states.[348] They assert that one of the keys to breaking down preconceived narratives and beliefs about health in society is the proliferation of counter narratives. Counter narratives should be told and repeated in society as much as possible in order to "impact cultural and organizational delusions of ideal bodies and perpetuation of the sick/well dichotomy."[349] Hence, narratives offer a foothold for the voices of dissent to arise from the dominant master narratives, leading some scholars to label narratives as "contested terrains."[350]

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[348] Patrice M. Buzzanell and Laura L. Ellingson, "Contesting Narratives of Workplace Maternity," in *Narratives, Health and Healing Communication Theory, Research and Practice*, ed. Lynn M. Harter, Phyllis M. Japp and Christina S. Beck (Mahwah: NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005), 277-295.

[349] Patrice M. Buzzanell and Laura L. Ellingson, "Contesting Narratives of Workplace Maternity," 279.

[350] Lynn M. Harter, Phyllis M. Japp and Christina S. Beck, "Vital Problematics of Narrative Theorizing About Health and Healing," in *Narratives, Health and Healing Communication Theory, Research and Practice*, ed. Lynn M. Harter, Phyllis M. Japp and Christina S. Beck (Mahwah: NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005): 7-31.

Counter stories that are circulated and shared can begin to change the perceptions of the public who engages with the damaging master narratives.[351] Once a counter story emerges in circulation, communities can chose to either "endorse" the counter story provided by the oppressed group or to "develop" additional counter stories. Nelson writes, "if the dominant group, moved by the counter story, sees subordinates as developed moral agents, it may be less inclined to deprive them…"[352] Before any repair can happen, however, it is vital that the counter story is circulated, told, repeated, and heard within the public sphere.

I argue "circulation" is what is beginning to occur within the first story of veteran suffering. The stories of veterans are taking on new storytellers: the veterans themselves. Charlotte Linde discusses the inherent power found when narratives employ new speakers. She argues, "If a story can acquire new tellers, it can break free of a lifetime of its participants and witnesses and develop what is potentially an indefinitely long lifetime."[353] Journalists and veterans are combining to undermine the existing narrators (as evidenced in part one to be members of the powerful elite) and expanding the story possibilities by imploring veterans to share their stories. Here the master narrative of strong, silent, sufferers is beginning to be replaced with veterans narrating moments of weakness and moral dilemmas, which are now emerging in the national news. The moments here illustrate narrative ruptures where the master narrative of the "good war"

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[351] Nelson, *Damaged Identities: Narrative Repair*, 21.

[352] Nelson, *Damaged Identities: Narrative Repair*, 6.

[353] Charlotte Linde, "The Acquisition of a Speaker by a Story: How History Becomes Memory and Identity," *Ethos* 28 (2001): 608-632.

and "strong soldiers" may be beginning, however slowly, to break down. Regardless, the counter story of veterans who are resilient but in need of help should continue to grow.

Counter stories are important not only to the society as a whole, but to the individual storyteller as well. It is in the relation between the act of telling and the healing effects bound within the act of narrating personal experience where narrative theory returns to its psychoanalytic roots. The use of personal narratives can be used to assert an individual's right to "proclaim publicly one's identity and the need to define one's experience as relevant."[354] The beginnings of narrative repair through the use of personal reclamation narratives is evident in the final story where advocates are reclaiming their voice through criticism and calls to action. Veterans fought tirelessly on the war front, and when they return home they have found that the battle for the services promised to them is the new front line of war. Instead of accepting the master narrative of "support our troops" and a "grateful nation," veteran and civilian advocates alike are taking to the airways, screens, and pages to demand better care. Veterans who need mental health services and extended health care for sustained injuries are speaking up and fighting back. By retelling their stories and not accepting the poor treatment at facilities such as Walter Reed Army Hospital or the massive VA disability claims backlog, veterans are challenging prominent leaders in positions of power to stop the rhetoric of appreciation and start serving the nation's veterans. Veteran advocacy groups such as IAVA, Concerned Veterans for America, and the American Legion are leading the charge

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[354] Harter, Japp and Beck, "Vital Problematics of Narrative Theorizing About Health and Healing," 14.

in sharing their stories and challenging the news media to tell the true experiences of

suffering veterans.

Chapter Seven: Final Thoughts, Guidelines, and a Path Toward Engagement

If you're ready you'll get it. If not, then it will just be a story.

Robert Matthew, Indigenous storyteller [355]

The trouble with much familiar talk about the lyric glory of war is that it comes from people who never saw any soldiers except the American troops, fresh, resilient, who had time to go over the parapet about once…Did you look, as I have looked, into the faces of young men who had been over the top…four, five, six times? Never talk to a man who has seen that about the lyric glory of war…Did Sir Walter Scott, Maculay, or Tennyson ever see war? I should say not. That is where the glory of war comes from. We have heard very little about it from the real soldiers…

Harry Emerson Fosdick, Pastor and Veteran[356]

When I began the dissertation journey I had an underlying assumption that

veterans were not a primary source across the national news media, especially on issues

and topics that have a direct impact on veterans facing a diagnosis of PTSD. The central

goal for the project was to provide an academic space in which I could investigate

whether or not these assumptions held true, and if they did, advance findings that would

support a call for an increased engagement with individual veteran stories while

illustrating the inherent place of power veteran stories hold at the societal and cultural

level if their stories were allowed to circulate. In this respect, the epigraphs represent my

conclusions and I hope, the arc of the project overall. The first quote represents the

underlying tension between storyteller and audience by highlighting the potentiality of

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[355] As quoted by Jo-ann Archibald in, Arthur W. Frank *Letting Stories Breathe: A Socio-Narratology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

[356] Harry Emerson Fosdick, "The Unknown Soldier," (sermon, Riverside Church, New York, NY, November 12, 1933).

stories, while cautioning that a responsibility exists for both the storyteller and his or her audience. Both positions require bravery, effort, and understanding. The second quotation too works as a cautionary tale. The quotation serves as a reminder that the most powerful war stories comes from the voices of veterans—for the storyteller *and* for the hearer. It is my conviction that the U.S. public should hear about war and its effects from those who bore the battle.

In the introduction of the project I positioned the veteran suicide epidemic as an undergirding exigency for the continued examination of narrative psychoanalysis, news media framing techniques, indexing content analysis, as well as the overall approach that stories impact the lives of veterans. An interesting cultural moment occurred while I was writing the project—spurred forward by the veteran advocacy group Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America—in relation to the veteran suicide epidemic through the platform of the national news media. Recall that IAVA has been discussed over the course of the dissertation and highlighted as an exemplar of the potential for advocacy when veterans are allowed to speak on their own behalf in the news media landscape.

Over an eighteen-month period IAVA campaigned and lobbied the nation's representatives to pass a law called the "Clay Hunt SAV Act," whose aim was to combat the growing veteran suicide epidemic. The campaign to increase awareness of the veteran suicide epidemic was introduced in March of 2014, during IAVA's annual lobbying campaign "Storm the Hill," where veterans from the wars of Iraq and Afghanistan converge on Washington, D.C. and meet with various political leaders in order to increase the awareness of veteran issues across the nation. Each year "Storm the

Hill" is dedicate to an overarching veteran issue, and in 2014, the central issue of the campaign was raising awareness of the veteran suicide epidemic and calling for legislation that would require changes in public policy regarding the issue.

On March 27, 2014, Senator John Walsh of Montana first introduced the Clay Hunt SAV Act on the floor of the Senate.[357] In an effort to increase public awareness of veteran suicides, IAVA partnered with several pop culture icons, various organizations, professional athletes, top musicians, NASCAR, and continued a sustained presence across various news media outlets. In July, Susan Selke—the mother of veteran advocate Clay Hunt who committed suicide and the bill's namesake—gave an emotional testimony before the House Veterans Affairs Committee in an effort to share Clay's story and humanize this growing epidemic.[358] Senators John McCain, Richard Blumenthal, Richard Burr, Roy Blunt, Lisa Murkowski, and Joe Manchin reintroduced the bill on the floor of the Senate on November 17, 2014. On December 4, 2014 members of IAVA—joined by the civilian support that had exponentially grown due to their public advocacy—delivered a petition to Senator Harry Reid with over 59,000 signatures in support of the Clay Hunt SAV Act. Senator Tom Colburn of Oklahoma, however, in his final act in Congress, blocked the bill from coming to the floor for a vote prior to the

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[357] For a detailed timeline of the Clay Hunt SAV Act please see, "Clay Hunt SAV Act Timeline," IAVA, accessed April 20, 2015, http://iava.org/clay-hunt-sav-act-timeline/.

[358] John Barned-Smith, "After Son's Suicide, Marine Mom Urges Lawmakers to Help Veterans," *Houston Chronicle* November 19, 2014, accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/After-son-s-suicide-Marine-mom-urges-lawmakers-5905007.php.

ending of the legislative session. He cited budgetary concerns as his underlying

hesitation and rationale for blocking a vote.[359]

IAVA and the public were disappointed but not disheartened. Following

sustained advocacy efforts and an increased presence in the national news, the Clay Hunt

SAV Act was unanimously passed by both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

On February 12, 2015, President Barack Obama hosted a public signing ceremony to

officially sign the Clay Hunt SAV Act into law. Various members of IAVA and other

veteran advocacy groups were invited to the White House to participate in the signing of

the historic legislation. The Clay Hunt SAV Act, perhaps more than any other, illustrates

the power and the potential of veterans' voices when they are invited to tell their story

through the national news media.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Scholarly critiques demand a full investigation into assumptions, arguments, and

claims as a method forward toward discovery. Although my underlying assumptions and

ultimate interests for this project were grounded in the narrative healing components of

storytelling, it was critical that I first tested my assumptions that veterans were not being

cited and utilized as a vocal source across the national news media's discourse. If my

project were to articulate that veterans were not primary sources offering direct

quotations and paraphrased remarks to frame, shape, and mold their stories in the news

yet I, however, did not perform an analysis to substantiate my claims, the validity of the

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[359] Leo Shane III, "GOP Senator Blocks Vets' Suicide Prevention Bill," *USA Today*, December 16, 2014, accessed December 16, 2014, http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2014/12/16/veteran-suicide-prevention-bill-blocked/20474973/.

overall project would be precarious. Thus, my dissertation included a combination of methodologies and theoretical approaches presented over the course of two parts.

Part one of the project consisted of empirical research to answer the guiding questions: How and by what channels do sources enter the news media conversation to comment on the veteran experience? Are veterans the main sources narrating their experiences or do other individuals, groups, or organizations speak more often in the news media? Overall, who spoke the most in the news about veterans? Who was called upon to act as a source in each specific news event? Did these source identities change and evolve based on the topic of the news coverage?

The results of these questions were presented and discussed over the course of two chapters: chapter three answered the questions of how sources entered the news while chapter four answered the questions of who the sources were that were represented the most in news media discourses. The results presented in chapter three show that newspapers were the dominant medium for telling the veteran stories. Although some research suggests the increasing importance of television news and alternative modes of news engagement, my results indicate that newspapers as a news medium sustained their place as the preferred medium for the delivery of veteran news stories.[360]

Chapter three also investigated source attribution by analyzing the journalistic uses of direct quotations as compared to paraphrased remarks. My results showed that direct quotations outpaced the use of paraphrased remarks as the leading mode of source

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[360] Shyam Sundar, "Effect of Source Attribution on Perception of Online News Stories," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75 (1998): 55-68.

attribution. This is to say, when various sources were called upon to speak during the

news coverage of one of the four news media events (Veterans Day 2014, the Cluster of

Crimes, the Walter Reed Army Hospital Scandal, and the Department of Veterans Affairs

Backlog Scandal), the sources were quoted more often than paraphrased. The use of

direct quotations represents a journalistic practice that many researchers link to

journalism's original function as a conduit of democracy.[361] Using a direct quotation is a

sacred practice for many journalists who regard the use of the quotation as the primary

method to represent the voice of the people.[362] Through the preferred use of the direct

quotations as a mode of source attribution more often than paraphrased remarks, it is

evident that journalists are handling veteran stories with care and with an eye towards

their importance. For this reason, whereas chapter three focused on questions of how, it

was important in chapter four to discern source identity.

The main goal of chapter four was to answer the question: who speaks in the

national news media concerning the veteran experience? The results were compiled from

the indexing content analysis and presented according to the order of appearance of the

seven identified source categories.[363] The order was presented by beginning with the

source category that appeared most often to least often in news coverage. The results

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[361] Rhonda Gibson and Dolf Zillman. "The Impact of Quotation in New Reports on Issues Perception," *Journalism Quarterly* 70 (1993): 793-800.

[362] David H. Weaver, W. Wat Hopkins, William H. Billings, and Richard R. Cole, "Quotes vs. Paraphrases in Writing: Does it make a Difference to Readers?" *Journalism Quarterly* 51 (1974): 400-404; F. Dennis Hale, "Unnamed News Sources: Their Impact on the Perceptions of Stories," *Newspaper Research Journal* 5 (1984): 49-56; Hugh M. Culbertson and Nancy Somerick, "Cloaked Attribution: What Does it Mean to News Readers?" *Washington DC: American Newspaper Publishers Association News Research Bulletin* (1976).

[363] Recall that a source category is the compilation of the individual source identity markers coded and detailed in the codebook. Please see Appendix for the full codebook.

indicated that the order was as follows: (1) civilians; (2) professionals; (3) government officials; (4) veterans; (5) organizations; (6) active duty soldiers, and (7) community members. Although the demographics of the general U.S. citizenry suggest that the ratio of civilians compared with the number of veterans is greatly tilted toward civilians, the overwhelming number of civilians cited as news sources compared with the number of veterans was startling. Based on the empirical evidence, the common assumption that veterans are the primary source identity depicted during coverage of veteran specific news media events is incorrect. Civilians, professionals, and government officials each outpaced veterans in their appearance in the media as a source of information.

The different source categories also fluctuated with regard to their appearance in the national news media in accordance with each of the four news media events analyzed in the dissertation. Veterans Day 2014 served as the only news media event where the voice of veterans outpaced any other source category, yet this achievement was only found in newspaper coverage. Broadcast television news and cable television news coverage of Veterans Day 2014 hosted professionals and government officials as the top two source categories, with a combined total representing each of these source categories at 76% of the overall source identity for news coverage of Veterans Day 2014.

The two news media events of the Walter Reed Army Hospital Scandal and the VA Backlog Scandal hosted the greatest presence of government officials, and by extension, political rhetoric within the dissertation dataset. Within each of these two news media events, the political discourses of the U.S.'s two primary political parties had a direct impact on the presence of government officials. In the case of the Walter Reed

Army Hospital Scandal the premise of the indexing hypothesis was supported: when there is an absence of political debate, the news media will move its focus to cover one side of an issue.[364] With the case of the Walter Reed Army Hospital Scandal, the rapid decrease in partisan political debate between Republicans and Democrats provided the opportunity for news coverage to abandon the debate of responsibility for the deplorable conditions of the hospital and the subsequent mistreatment of the veteran patients and shift focus to the various voices of government and military officials representing the call for action authored by the second Bush Administration. The indexing content analysis indicated a rapid decrease in the presence of veterans' voices from the initial two weeks of the Walter Reed Scandal, during which veterans were relied upon as sources to narrate the stories of their mistreatment. Following the first two weeks of coverage, however, the voices of veterans were replaced by the elite voices of government and military officials, each of whom engaged in discourses to determine individuals who was responsible for the failures of the medical facility while pledging that this type of mistreatment would never happen again.

The news coverage of the more recent VA Backlog Scandal followed a similar pattern. The voices of veterans were overshadowed across this news media event by the voices of civilians and government officials. The coverage of the VA Backlog Scandal did, however, provide a glimpse of the emerging voices of veteran advocacy organizations across the nation. Organizations such as Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of

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[364] W. Lance Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States," *Journal of Communication* 40 (1990): 103-125.

America, the American Legion, and Veterans of Foreign Wars each continue to play an important role in the consistent presence of veteran voices in the national news media—as evidenced above—as well as advocating for the coverage of various issues that face the veteran community. The voices of these organizations are not yet strong enough to substantiate what Robert Entman calls cascading activation or what other scholars name as a counter frame or counter story, but the presence of these organizational voices have greatly impacted the actions of government officials.[365] The continued presence of these voices illustrates the possibility for changes in policy that can occur when veterans are provided with a platform to speak in the national news media concerning their own experiences. Each of these organizations offers a glimpse of hope for the increased representation of veterans throughout the national news media landscape.

Overall, then, part one of the dissertation provides the empirical evidence to support my guiding assumptions: veterans are not the primary sources called upon to narrate their stories in the national news media. Instead, the voices of civilians, professionals, and government officials are most prominent in the pages of newspapers and on the screens of televisions. The next step in my investigation focused on content: what stories were circulated by individuals who represented the seven source categories across the four news media events, throughout the three new mediums and spanning the nine news media outlets analyzed in part one of the dissertation.

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[365] Robert Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 11; Hilde Lindemann Nelson, *Damaged Identities: Narrative Repair* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).
[365] Roy Schafer, *The Analytic Attitude* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982).

Whereas part one focused on empirical questions, part two of the dissertation was concerned with narrative analysis. That is to say, my the mode of inquiry switched from an approach evidenced by the use of indexing content analysis, to a more inductive approach of narrative analysis, which helped me to determine the most prominent kinds of stories in the dataset. Moving between the two distinct approaches of methodological analysis opened the possibility for a different set of questions to be explored. In the second part of the dissertation I asked questions such as: what stories circulated and gained traction by narrating the lived experiences of veterans with PTSD? What kinds of stories did veterans tell about their experiences? What kinds of stories were told about veterans who suffer from PTSD?

In order to answer these questions, I turned to the use of narrative analysis—an analytic approach supported across many disciplines—in order to further investigate the organic emergence of veteran stories. Within the analysis I did not give deference to the particular news media event, the news medium, or the news media outlet. Through a systematic "close" reading and rereading of the direct quotations and paraphrased remarks I was able to determine the prevalence of four emergent stores: (1) "I am on my own"; (2) "You are not ok"; (3) "I am suffering"; and (4) "We need to help them." The first two stories ("I am on my own" and "You are not ok") were analyzed and discussed in chapter five, while the second two stories ("I am suffering" and "We need to help them") were discussed in chapter six.

Several key elements arose from the analysis and discussion of each of the four emergent stories. First, it was evident throughout the stories that veterans are at times

hesitant to tell their stories while also exhibiting great strength through the act of storytelling in the news media. The stories depicted in the "I am on my own" examples showcase the struggles that individual veterans face when they return home from war and are met by a reluctant community.

Although there is a call from a collection of veteran voices encouraging their fellow veterans to remain active and engaged within their communities through service, it is clear through the veterans' stories that community engagement remains difficult for some veterans struggling with PTSD. Yet, in their hesitancy to engage, their bravery shines through.

Recall the stories in "I am suffering" of the three veteran interrogators, and how the act of narrating their traumatic experiences during their deployment served as an opportunity to reclaim the narrative of what it is that they did "over there" in the war. Another example of narrative healing moments was evidenced through the work of veteran Travis Martin, who leads writing workshops to assist his fellow veterans suffering from PTSD. The intention of the workshops is clear through Martin's interviews. His commitment to helping his fellow veterans by talking or writing through their traumatic memories and moments when they feel at their most vulnerable is palpably felt through each of his quotations and paraphrased remarks.

Another positive aspect that emerged across the four stories was the continued presence of veteran service organizations. Part one of the dissertation provided evidence for the emerging impact these organizations were having on the veteran community, and in part two's narrative analysis, these initial claims were once again supported. The

importance of organizations was most apparent through the narrative discourses in the "We need to help them" stories. Time and again these stories showed that veterans were committed to helping other veterans, and that the primary tool for these advocacy groups resided in the power of the veteran voice. Advocates across the "We need to help them" story worked tirelessly to keep the focus of the news media attuned to the various issues that face the veteran community. From the Walter Reed Scandal to the ongoing VA Backlog Scandal, veteran advocacy groups used their voices to ensure that the media did not move on to another story and leave the veterans behind to continue their fight for the benefits they were promised. At the time of writing, these veteran service organizations are continuing to make an impact in the national news media discourse concerning the overall veteran community.[366]

Veteran advocacy organizations also highlighted the importance of sustained criticism as a mode of discourse that served to illuminate instances when governing elites—government, military, or otherwise—made an effort to marginalize the voices of veterans. The experiences presented in the "You are not ok" story along with the "I am suffering" story worked to portray the systemic factors involved in suppressing the voices of veterans who suffer from PTSD. The dismissal of PTSD is rampant throughout the ranks of the active duty military as seen in the various stories of commanding officers mistreating veterans with mental wounds at Walter Reed to the stories of the mocking "hurt-feelings" mental health report. In each of these instances it is clear that the

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[366] Roman Baca, "An Open Letter to NYC Commissioner of Veterans Affairs General Loree Sutton," *IAVA Blog*, April 13, 2015, accessed April 15, 2015, http://iava.org/blogs/an-open-letter-to-nyc-commissioner-of-veterans-affairs-general-loree-sutton/.

individual and collective actions of military officials worked in combination to deter the perceptions of PTSD and to constrain the outlets of assistance for suffering veterans. The operating story within each of these cases was clear: PTSD—if it was even an issue to begin with—was the problem of a single individual veteran and should be handled at the individual level.

Stories of organized structural dismissal were captured in the "You are not ok" story analysis, yet the veteran service organizations found resilience through sustained criticism of the systematic dismissal circulated by stories through the military rank and file. Through this sustained criticism, the stories of "We need to help them" offer a ray of hope at the end of an otherwise bleak outlook of the overall system of veteran care.

The four emergent stories told in part two of the dissertation answered the inductive questions of what stories were being told and by whom. It is, perhaps, easy to begin to feel a sense of sadness and defeat, as three of the four emergent stories ("I am on my own," "You are not ok," and "I am suffering') were not positive in tone. The final story of "We need to help them" goes a long way in quelling the feelings of sadness and defeat. By analyzing these stories, I was able to illustrate the dominant discourses from the voices of veterans as well and from outside sources. Each of these stories reflected the therapeutic power stories have for the storyteller as well as the society in which the storytellers resides. That is, each of the four emergent stories showcased how an individual is constituted by the stories they tell, as well as how societies are shaped and molded by the stories that are woven within the social fabric of culture.

The dissertation thus has answered the questions of "how?" "who?" and "what?" as each of those areas pertain to the stories told from and about veterans in general and veterans suffering with PTSD specifically. What are the potential implications for these findings? What does an engagement with the veteran community look like? What are best practices for incorporating the voices of veterans more often in the national news as well as in daily personal interactions? There is no easy answer, one singular approach toward engaging with the veteran community, in the same way that there is not a single script for engaging with any individual or collective group. Veterans have, however, provided some guidelines and suggestions for how they would prefer to be approached by their civilian counterparts. In the section that follows I offer a blend of best practices for veteran engagement that, I hope, could contribute to institutional and government policies designed to help veterans suffering from PTSD. This advice is primarily based on the news media stories in which veterans share their common frustrations, but it is also informed by my personal experiences with my interactions as a civilian in the veteran community. At the time of this writing, I currently work as the Graduate Assistant at the Student Veteran Services office at the University of Texas at Austin. Again, although there is no singular solution to end the neglect of our suffering veterans, I argue that following these guidelines of engagement is a sound beginning for a more robust and supportive response to veterans traumatized by their experiences in war.

"THANK YOU FOR YOUR SERVICE"

On November 11, 2014, Veterans Day, the *U.S. News and World Report* featured an article by Chris Marvin in which the retired Army Black Hawk pilot articulated a simple plea to the U.S. citizenry: listen and engage with veterans who are returning home from Iraq and Afghanistan.[367] Throughout the article, Marvin shares the experiences he and his fellow veterans have encountered when they returned home from war. Marvin describes the relationship between civilians and veterans as a conversation that "consisted mostly of 'I support he troops…and Thank you for your service.' That's typically where it ends. There is a lack of connection; as a country, we are too busy telling veterans what we think of them and not taking the time to listen."[368] Marvin describes what I have often found to be true in my own interactions with veterans: veterans feel "uncomfortable being thanked for our service" and these veterans would "prefer that people carry the conversation beyond the thank you—which is rare."[369] Marvin calls citizens to move beyond a thank you and mailing a check to the most visible veteran support organizations. Instead, he contends that if the nation's citizens were to take the time to listen to the veterans who were returning home from war "it might change the destination of their next check."[370]

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[367] Chris Marvin, "A Thank You Isn't Enough: Young Veterans Want the Public to Listen to Their Needs, Not Worships Them as 'Heroes,'" *U.S. News,* November 11, 2014, accessed November 11, 2014, http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2014/11/11/listen-to-veterans-and-stop-calling-them-heroes.

[368] Chris Marvin, "A 'Thank You' Isn't Enough," 1.

[369] Chris Marvin, "A 'Thank You' Isn't Enough," 1.

[370] Chris Marvin, "A 'Thank You' Isn't Enough," 1.

What Veterans Need from Civilians

On February 21, 2015, Matt Richtel of the *New York Times* sat down to interview Marine combat veteran Hunter Garth.[371] The story was not intended to focus on Garth's status as a Marine combat veteran, in fact, Richtel was interviewing Garth because he was part of security team in Colorado who had been hired to provide protection for the newly legalized marijuana industry. Garth began the interview by sharing a story from Afghanistan in which Garth and seven other Marines were ambushed. Following the harrowing story of survival, Richtel recounts that he did what "seemed natural: I thanked him for his service."[372] Garth responded in two short words, providing all the sentiment Richtel needed to realize he had made a civilian misstep by thanking Garth for his service as Garth simply responded, "No problem."[373]

As the interview continued to progress, Richtel realized "there was a problem" as he described Garth's face of awkward acquiescence to the receipt of praise for his military service. Richtel noticed that he received the same reaction "on the faces of some of the other vets who worked with Mr. Garth when I thanked them too."[374] The focus of the conversation between Richtel and Garth shifted away from the security services Garth and his team provide for the marijuana industry to a discussion of how veterans would

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[371] Matt Richtel, "Please Don't Thank Me for My Service," *New York Times*, February 21, 2015, accessed February 21, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/22/sunday-review/please-dont-thank-me-for-my-service.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=c-column-top-span-region&region=c-column-top-span-region&WT.nav=c-column-top-span-region&_r=0.

[372] Matt Richtel, "Please Don't Thank Me for My Service," SR6.

[373] Matt Richtel, "Please Don't Thank Me for My Service," SR6.

[374] Matt Richtel, "Please Don't Thank Me for My Service," SR6.

prefer to be engaged with concerning their military service. Richtel described in his

article how Garth feels when civilians thank him for his service. Richtel notes:

> Mr. Garth, 26 said that when he gets thanked it can feel self-serving for the
> thankers, suggesting that he did it for them, and that they somehow understand the
> sacrifice, night terrors, feelings of loss and bewilderment. Or don't think about it
> at all. 'I pulled the trigger," he [Garth] said. 'You didn't. Don't take that away
> from me.'[375]

The interaction between Richtel as a civilian journalist and Garth as a Marine combat

veteran is quite common. In my time working at the Student Veteran Center I have heard

story after story of veterans recounting awkward experiences they have had when a

civilian thanks them for their service. Some of the encounters produced frustration on the

part of the veteran retelling their story to the other veterans in the office, while other

stories were told as a joke with a jovial tone. The "thank you for your service"

phenomenon has grown to such an extent that it has transformed into a joke within the

veteran community.[376]

The height of the thank you for your service phenomenon typically centers on the

marking of Veterans Day each year. My former boss even went as far as to recreate a

popular Internet meme to share on our social media during the weeks leading up to

Veterans Day. The meme depicts the character of Ned Stark from the HBO series *Game

of Thrones*, where he is knelt down with his head bowed. The line from the books and

television show is "winter is coming" and the meme has taken on a new life where users

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[375] Richtel, "Please Don't Thank Me for My Service," SR6.

[376] Richtel's piece cites Mr. Freedman a 33-year-old Green Beret describing what has become a joking
script of veterans getting "misty-eyed" and thanking other veterans for their service. Here I recount my
direct own experiences, but the depiction in the article is faithful to the phenomenon as well.

use the phrase "brace yourself" and then enter a specific line to highlight their joke, such as "exams are coming" during finals week. My boss created a similar meme using this template in order to jokingly mock the "thank you for your service" phenomenon and in his meme he wrote "brace yourself" because all of the "thank you for your service comments are coming." The meme proved to be the focal point for many of the office discussions in the week leading up to Veterans Day, and the office even used the social media hashtag "#thankyouforyourservice" as often as possible to perpetuate the joke. For veterans across the nation, reclaiming the "thank you for your service" phenomenon through mocking disapproval allows for a sense of reclaiming their coopted war experiences. Although the most common way for civilians to express gratitude has been to tell a veteran "thank you for your service," below I offer guidelines to approaching veterans is a different way.

What Civilians Need from Veterans

How are citizens to respond to the resistance and frustrations veterans feel toward the thank you's delivered by their civilian counter parts? After all, would this not be the exact moment of emergence for the veteran engagement I have called for throughout the dissertation project? Had I not been privy to the feelings of the veterans in my office I would not have known how a growing number of veterans feel when civilians thank them for their service. Thus, if well intending civilians are met with mocking dismissal when they are attempting to engage with veterans, how is a discourse of engagement possible? To answer these questions, I return to veteran Chris Marvin's recommendations, and quote him here at length:

So, if you want to help—that is, if you want our help—listen. Understand that we will take on the challenges that our communities face. Know that we excel at community service, disaster relief and working with children. Believe that we solved problems for you overseas, and we can solve them for your back yard as well. My generation of veterans is not down at the local post telling war stories. Look around: we're improving the parts of your community that you don't like to drive through. We're teaching at your children's schools. We're inside nonprofits, local governments and small businesses solving pressing national problems. Today is the day that you can pivot. The day that you can change your view on a group of young Americans who volunteered to fight our nation's longest war. Start listening, and we'll help you make this country a better place.[377]

Take careful notice of the language that Marvin uses in this quotation, and how he engages the civilian citizenry through the use of collected pronouns. The use of "we" and "our" points to the sense of shared responsibility for the listening project he is advocating within this news text. As I have argued throughout the dissertation, stories impact individuals as well as the community, and that sentiment is reflected here through Marvin's call to listening as an action of advocacy. The responsibility to engage with veterans is as much the responsibility of the veterans to make themselves available to their communities through service, as well as the civilian's responsibility to "look around" and see the work veterans are continuing to perform in their communities. Recall Eric Greitens' similar call for veterans to return home to continued service, previously discussed as part of the "I am on my own" story when Greitens stated "We want the legacy of this generation of veterans to be serving with courage when the country called on them to serve overseas and then, when they come back, making the

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[377] Chris Marvin, "A 'Thank You' Isn't Enough," 2.

country stronger through continued service here at home."[378] As veterans make themselves visible through stories and continued service, the sense of duty now shifts to the civilians who are called to seek and engage with veterans in their communities.

LIMITATIONS: TELL ME THE GOOD STORY AGAIN, AND AGAIN, AND AGAIN

As thorough as I have tried to be with my analyses, limitations are inevitable. Over the course of this dissertation I have argued for the importance of storytelling and for an increased space within the public sphere for veterans to share their own experiences through their own voices. The two emergent stories in chapter five of "I am on my own" and "You are suffering" offered a view of the problems that arise when powerful structures pervert the rhetoric of therapy and deploy these the rhetorics as a tool for suppression and control. When powerful structures utilize the rhetoric of therapy to cause harm to individuals who are suffering, and when the discourse deployed by powerful structures seeks to individualize suffering, the act of storytelling can morph from a tool of healing into a harmful weapon. Cultures and societies are formed through stories, but from time to time these cultures can collectively demand that "good stories" be told to reflect the ideologies and ideals that bind the disparate elements of culture with and to one another.[379] The persistent yearning of the "good" war story can become dangerous. It is, then, very important that scholars and health care professionals

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[378] Neil Genzlinger, "For Old Trauma, Fresh Sensitivity," *New York Times*, November 8, 2014, 5. LexisNexis.

[379] Jerome Bruner, *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

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recognize instances when the power to story becomes a tool of pain, as reflected in the case of Marine veteran David Morris.

Former Marine infantry officer, David Morris penned an opinion article in the *New York Times* on January 17, 2015.[380] The opinion piece opens with Morris describing the incident that lead him to seek treatment for PTSD from his local VA hospital. He had been in a movie theater watching a movie with his girlfriend when Morris says "the world went black" and when he regained consciousness he reports that he was "pacing around the theater, looking at people's hands to make sure they weren't carrying weapons."[381] Later he asked his girlfriend what happened and she told him "There was an explosion in the movie. You got up and ran out."[382] Morris writes that he waited just over a year after the incident at the movie theater before contacting his local VA hospital for help.

Morris confirms in his article the information I highlighted in the dissertation's introductory chapter concerning the VA's use of two prominent psychological treatments for PTSD: cognitive processing therapy and prolonged exposure therapy.[383] The intake

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[380] David Morris, "After PTSD, More Trauma," *New York Times*, January 17, 2015, accessed January 17, 2015, http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/01/17/after-ptsd-more-trauma/?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=c-column-top-span-region&region=c-column-top-span-region&WT.nav=c-column-top-span-region.

[381] David Morris, "After PTSD, More Trauma," SR1.

[382] David Morris, "After PTSD, More Trauma," SR1.

[383] It is important to note here, that I believe the Department of Veteran Affairs provides exceptional care for our nations veterans. I personally know wonderful psychologists who work within the VA system and they provide the highest levels of care to returning veterans. Their work is to be commended and praised. My critique here is aimed at the system itself, similarly to the systematic curtailing of stories I provided in previous chapters, detailing the military's systemic disavowal of PTSD and the veterans who suffer from the disorder. As such this critique is not meant to be a criticism of individuals working in the system who

coordinator at the VA recommended that Morris should begin prolonged exposure (PE) therapy, ensuring Morris of the therapy's efficiency by telling him "the treatment worked for about 85 percent of people."[384] Morris thought that those were "some pretty darn high odds if you ask me," but he began PE therapy with his appointed VA psychologist.

In the article Morris details how his PE sessions progressed with his therapist. The PE program utilized most often at VA hospital consists of an eight-week treatment period, and Morris attended two sessions per week. Morris' therapist instructed him to picture a single traumatic event and to focus on this single event over the course of his scheduled sessions. Prolonged Exposure is premised on the act of narrating a single traumatic event over and over again in therapy. The approach, along with psychologists who practice PE, contends that the act of retelling the traumatic narrative over and over again allows for the patient to access the event and through the retelling the patient begins to reconceptualize the trauma itself. In Morris' words "Given enough time and enough story 'reps,' when I opened my eyes again, I wouldn't feel forever perched on the precipice of smoke-wreathe eternity. I wouldn't feel scared anymore."[385]

Prolonged Exposure did not work for David Morris. He describes various symptoms and bouts with his increased levels of anxiety. Morris described his symptoms as "nausea…[I] felt sick inside, the blood hot in my veins."[386] His temper grew short, and he was increasingly frustrated with individuals in his life and with his therapist in

are committed to helping veterans struggling with wounds both physical and mental. Instead, I levy this critique at the system itself.

[384] David Morris, "After PTSD, More Trauma," SR2.

[385] David Morris, "After PTSD, More Trauma," SR2.

[386] David Morris, "After PTSD, More Trauma," SR2.

particular.[387] Morris made the decision to end his PE treatment, and when he informed

his therapist during what would be their final session, they had a heated exchange.

Morris reports that his therapist "declared" that he was "insane and dangerous" before

warning him that "P.E. has worked for many, many people, so I would be *careful* about

saying that it doesn't work just because it didn't work for *you*."[388]

 The VA therapist was not alone in his caution to Morris on speaking out and

sharing his failed experiences with prolonged exposure. The Society for a Science of

Clinical Psychology responded to Morris' opinion piece through a statement on their

website, which they open by praising Morris for how "courageously [he] shares his

struggles in overcoming PTSD and describes his negative experiences with prolonged

exposure (PE) treatment."[389] Although the statement opens with an acknowledgement of

the courage it took to come forward and share his therapeutic experiences, the article

moves to individualize his experience. The authors of the statement, Dean McKay and

Scott Lilienfeld, divert the attention away from the VA healthcare system when they

write:

> Although treatment *may* have been delivered improperly in Mr. Morris' case, it is
> at *the least equally plausible* that *he* is in the minority of clients who experience a
> short-term symptom worsening following PE. Studies have shown that such

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[387] Frustration with a therapist or analyst is not something that psychologist who practices PE alone experience. Frustration and displaced anger—or other avenues of transference—serve as critical indicators in psychoanalytic practice as well as other forms of psychological therapeutic approaches. Here I am presenting the reactions of Morris himself, and how we must be careful that any system does not impede on the storied experiences of individuals. I would not claim, however, that simply due to his frustration with his therapist, Morris was justified in his choice to leave prolonged exposure therapy. Through his recounting, it is clear, that there were additional factors which lead to his leaving this therapeutic approach.

[388] David Morris, "After PTSD, More Trauma," SR2. Emphasis is my own.

[389] Dean McKay and Scott O. Lilienfled, "Response to 'After PTSD, More Trauma,'" *Society for a Science of Clinical Psychology*, http://www.sscpweb.org/Media-Posts/3204702.

exacerbation is unrelated to negative treatment outcomes, and that *most clients who experience this worsening improve soon afterwards*.[390]

The VA also published a response in the *New York Times* the week following the publication of Morris' opinion piece.[391] Dr. McGuire, chief consultant of mental health standards of care at the VA, and Dr. Schnurr, the VA's acting executive director, were the two authors of the short letter to the editor. In their response McGuire and Schnurr indicated that they read Morris' piece "with concern" as "Veterans Affairs has long recognized access to care as a top priority for improving veteran services."[392]

McGuire and Schnurr continue to exhibit their concern by cautioning that Morris's opinion piece narrating his experiences with prolonged exposure therapy could decrease the likelihood that other veterans who are suffering will come to the VA for mental health assistance. The authors write, "An increasingly broad range of effective treatment options are now available to veterans, *but we fear that Mr. Morris' account* will make some veterans reluctant to seek help for post-traumatic stress disorder."[393] Not only is Morris telling the "wrong story" about his treatment, the mere existence of his story is also now being implicated as a deterrent for other veterans who may seek help with their PTSD.

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[390] Dean McKay and Scott O. Lilienfled, "Response to 'After PTSD, More Trauma,'" 1. Emphasis is my own.

[391] Marsden McGuire and Paula Schnurr, "V.A.'s Treatment of Veterans' Trauma," *New York Times*, January 23, 2015, accessed January 24, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/24/opinion/vas-treatment-of-veterans-trauma.html.

[392] McGuire and Schnurr, "V.A.'s Treatment of Veterans' Trauma,"

[393] McGuire and Schnurr, "V.A.'s Treatment of Veterans' Trauma," Emphasis is my own.

Toward the conclusion to the article the authors once again work to frame Morris as an anomaly case study for the overwhelming success of PE therapies. McGuire and Schnurr remind their audience "Although feeling worse in therapy can happen, a standard VA protocol for prolonged exposure informs patients of this and the option to discontinue," which implies that Morris would have been informed that he might have an adverse reaction to PE, and should have felt free to discontinue the therapy. According to Morris' account, however, he was not informed of the potential adverse reactions some individuals experience with PE and given his recounting of the final fight between himself and his therapist, it is evident that he did not feel supported when he exercised his "option to discontinue" prolonged exposure therapy.

Individual treatment options for PTSD are vast and many are effective. It is not my contention here that prolonged exposure therapy is not a well-established method of therapy with proven results for veterans who suffer with PTSD. Nor is it my claim that alternative therapeutic approaches such as cognitive processing therapy—an approach that Morris eventually began and subsequently found relief from his PTSD symptoms— fails to meet "narrative" standards of therapeutic care. My argument here, however, is the practice of rhetorically defining therapy—as exhibited by powerful institutions (such as the VA healthcare system or the nation's overall individual insurance system)—has a drastic impact on how individuals view the act of storytelling. In the case of Morris, specifically, the responses to his treatment once again worked to position Morris as a rare case, an enigma, or a bad apple in the barrel representing other cases where prolonged exposure has worked. The rhetoric deployed against Morris by individuals and systems

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of power ultimately dissuade and discount the power of storytelling, as Morris' story did not reflect the "good story" those organizations preferred to circulate in the press. Instead Morris' story calls into question the success rate of prolonged exposure's prescribed eight-week timeframe allowed by the VA and our networked insurance systems and heralded as a benefit of the treatment itself, and that is a story that powerful organizations would rather not be told.

Prolonged Exposure's ability to assist some veterans—perhaps even a majority of veterans—cannot preclude the emergence of narratives that do not support established research. Nor should stories, such as Morris's, be marginalized when they do not support the master narrative that the VA (or the government itself) is doing all they can to help our wounded soldiers. In order to foster the continued development of engagement opportunities between civilians and veterans, it is critical that stories such as the one told by Morris are fostered and provided a platform for consideration. The time must end where the stories of the nation's veterans can be quickly dismissed and the attention diverted simply because the story told was not the "good" war story. Morris's story serves as a reminder, that requiring the act of storytelling can also be harmful in and of itself, and as such, it is critical that due diligence is afforded through listening to the veteran to ensure that stories—be they told in a therapeutic setting or in public national news discourses—be told with the health and comfort of the veteran in mind. The demand for a "good story" must be weighed against the presence of a story at all.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Over 2.5 million soldiers have deployed in service during the wars of Iraq and Afghanistan. The shear number of soldiers has created an influx in the number of veterans not seen since the end of the Vietnam era.[394] As the United States continues to export war and remains an active participant in global foreign policy affairs, the moments of war seem to be interrupted by brief moments of "peace" around the globe. At the time of writing, the conflicts in the Middle East continue to escalate in the war torn countries of Syria and Yemen to name just two. With the current state of global affairs, it would be naïve to imagine that the perpetual war state will cease in its production, and that the number of veterans would not continue on in exponential escalation. Instead, the current status of foreign policy points toward the continued presence of military "boots on the ground" across the globe.

At the end of this project I am left with more questions than those that arose from the gnawing curiosity with which I started the project. Would our foreign policy decisions be impacted if more veterans were given a space to tell their experiences of wartime? Would Congressional representatives be less eager to deploy the nation's sons and daughters if more of them had family members among the military ranks? If the nation's representatives were faced with the agonizing stories of veterans who live with PTSD, would they continue to vote to authorize the use of force in incursions on foreign soil, consequently subjecting more soldiers to traumatizing experiences? The answers to these and other future lines of inquiry lay outside of the scope of this project, however, it

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[394] Gwen Ifill, "Majority of Veterans Say they Would Join Military Again, Despite Scars of War," *PBS New Hour*, March 31, 2014, accessed April 15, 2014, *http*://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/state-veterans/.

is due to the work of the dissertation that further exploration and inquiry into these areas is illuminated and made possible.

Although the dissertation spurned new research questions and inquiries, based on the findings here, I want to provide some guidelines for civilians, journalists, and mental health professionals. First for civilians:

1. Think twice about thanking a veteran for their service. As I illustrated above, some veterans welcome the gratitude, but that is not always the case. Instead, consider engaging with a veteran through every day topics to gauge how the conversation is progressing. Perhaps begin by discussing topics found in pop culture, sports, or current events. Keep in mind that veterans are the same as other new individuals you meet every day. Beginning with a sense of common ground before progressing to the automatic "thank you for your service" will go far in developing a new relationship with the veterans in your community.

2. When, or if, a veteran does chose to tell you a story or multiple stories of their military experiences, make sure that engaging through actively listening is your first priority. It is not a good idea to probe veterans with intensely personal or detailed questions concerning their service. Veterans will tell you what they feel comfortable telling you, and this will occur on their own determined timeline. As a civilian, the most beneficial approach you can take is being the best listener possible for a storytelling veteran.

3. Finally, make sure that as with other individuals, you approach veterans differently from one another. Each veteran who returned home from war did not bring back the wounds of PTSD, nor did each veteran have the same war experiences. Stereotyping, or carrying a perception that all veterans harbor potentially violent outrages of PTSD is problematic. Treating veterans as individuals with discrete and different experiences is the best way to alert them that you, as a civilian, understand their culture or their experiences and are willing to learn more. Many war veterans will quickly shut you out of their lives if you treat them as if they are all representatives of the same type of military culture.

As a civilian who operates in the veteran community, the above recommendations are easier for me to make. Although I am not a journalist myself, my findings here point to guidelines for journalistic practices as well. For journalists:

1. Focus less on the individual veteran, and more on the structural problems that continue to individualize veterans suffering from PTSD. Several other mental health issues face a similar individualization of their symptoms and people who are affected by mental health disorders. Journalists could assist efforts to destigmatize mental illness if they focused more on structural, societal, and cultural causes and less on the individuals themselves.

2. Journalists should continue seeking out additional veterans and veteran organizations to participate as sources in the news media coverage of veteran issues. The presence of military officials will continue to be important to

provide context for an array of issues that impact the veteran community. As journalists, however, include a more diverse and varied pool of source identities, the elite's power to shape the narrative diminishes.

3. Journalists, along with their editors, should continue to cover the actions taken by veteran service organizations. As the results here indicate, the growing collective voice of veteran advocates and veteran led organizations is having a direct impact on policy initiatives within Congress and at the Executive levels of government. By providing veterans a platform for their advocacy, journalists and editors play a pivotal role in shifts of policy for the nation's veteran community.

Finally, I recognize I am not credentialed to make mental health recommendations to professionals. Based on my research and analysis, however, I do think that the following guidelines would be helpful for establishing therapeutic programs and government policies:

1. It is critical to recognize not all forms of therapy fit all veterans. A diverse approach to treating PTSD is needed based on the stories and narratives discussed in the dissertation.

2. Government policies must be revised in order to provide health care professionals the necessary funding opportunities to explore new therapy techniques, in addition to allowing a timeline for previously established techniques used in psychoanalysis. Addressing the growing diagnosis of PTSD through therapeutic methods such as Cognitive Processing Therapy and

Prolonged Exposure is shown to be lacking in key areas of treatment for *some*

veterans. Allowing the Department of Veterans Affairs and other health care

entities to explore treatment options that fit the needs of the individual

veteran, as opposed to the funding and timeline needs of organizations, would

drastically increase the opportunities and therapeutic options for veterans

suffering from PTSD.

Finally, I issue a call to civilians, journalists, and mental health care professionals alike,

and it is this: we must join together to advocate for the veteran community. Changing

elite governing structures is difficult, and the work of doing so can be frustrating. In

order for changes to occur within the Department of Veterans Affairs—as well as an

array of other government agencies whose policies impact the veteran community—an

organized collective voice is required. Civilians can add their voices through

engagement, journalists and editors can assist efforts through covering the stories of

structural mistreatment, and health care professionals can continue to testify for

Congressional committees while adding their voices to the collective call for better

treatment for all veterans, especially those suffering with PTSD.

As I come to a close, I am reminded of a passage from the iconic war novel *The

Things They Carried* in which Tim O'Brien provides cautionary guidelines to the

audience that is present for a war story. O'Brien warns:

A true war story is never moral. It does not instruct, nor encourage virtue, nor
suggest models of proper human behavior, nor restrain men from doing the things
men have always done. If a story seems moral, do not believe it. If at the end of
a war story you feel uplifted, or if you feel that some small bit of rectitude has
been salvaged from the larger waste, then you have been made the victim of a

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very old and terrible lie. There is no rectitude whatsoever. There is no virtue. As a first rule of thumb, therefore, you can tell a true war story by its absolute and uncompromising allegiance to obscenity and evil…You can tell a true war story if it embarrasses you. If you don't care for obscenity, you don't care for the truth…You can tell a true war story by the way it never seems to end…And in the end, really there's nothing much to say about a true war story except maybe "Oh."[395]

It is my hope that this project has provided opportunities to engage with and encounter true war stories. War stories told by veterans who are eager to be heard, but are often overshadowed. I continue to be encouraged by the resilience of the veterans in my life, and strive to also remain attentive to the needs of veterans who suffer from PTSD. It is true that not all veterans who deploy to battles during war return home with the scars of PTSD. Yet, the presence of those who do return with mental wounds cannot be set aside as we praise their resilient counterparts. As the nation continues to produce more veterans, it is my greatest hope that our returning veterans are welcomed home on behalf of a grateful nation who is ready, willing, and prepared to hear their stories. May this project, then, serve as the first of many "Oh" moments to come.

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[395] Tim O'Brien, *The Things They Carried* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1990): 84-91. Excerpts were taken to form the block quote above across the seven pages provided. I note here that this assemblage of the above quotation is a common representation of Tim O'Brien's work in his book. Many other scholars, critiques, and authors of publications have presented the assembled quote in this way as well, but I returned to the origin of the quotation found across the pages of O'Brien's book as the citation source. For another example of the quotation's use see also, Daniel Hallock, *Hell, Healing, and Resistance: Veterans Speak* (Farmington, PA: The Plough Publishing Home, 1998).

Appendix: Codebook for Indexing Content Analysis of News Texts

News Segment #: _____

Direct Quotation
      0= No, 1 = Yes
Paraphrase
      0= No, 1 = Yes
Active Duty Military
1. Officer
      0= No, 1 = Yes, 2=Unknown
      Example: "LtCol Jones says many veterans suffer from PTSD."

Army	Marine Corps	Navy	Air Force	Coast Guard
Second Lieutenant (2LT)	Second Lieutenant (2ndLt)	Ensign (ENS)	Second Lieutenant (2d Lt)	Ensign (ENS)
First Lieutenant (1LT)	First Lieutenant (1stLt)	Lieutenant (Jr. Grade) (LTJG)	First Lieutenant (1st Lt)	Lieutenant (Jr. Grade) (LTJG)
Captain (CPT)	Captain (Capt.)	Lieutenant (LT)	Captain (Capt.)	Lieutenant (LT)
Major (MAJ)	Major (Maj)	Lieutenant Commander (LTC)	Major (Maj)	Lieutenant Commander (LTC)
Lieutenant Colonel (LTC)	Lieutenant Colonel (LtCol)	Commander (CDT)	Lieutenant Colonel (LtCol)	Commander (CDR)
Colonel (COL)	Colonel (Col)	Captain (CAPT)	Colonel (Col)	Captain (CPT)
Brigadier General (BG)	Brigadier General (BGen)	Rear Admiral (lower half) (RDML)	Brigadier General (BrigGen)	Commodore (COMO)
Major General (MG)	Major General (MajGen)	Rear Admiral (RADM)	Major General (MajGen)	Rear Admiral (RADM)
Lieutenant General (LTG)	Lieutenant General (LtGen)	Vice Admiral (VADM)	Lieutenant General (LtGen)	Vice Admiral (VADM)
General (GEN)	General (Gen)	Admiral (ADM)	General (Gen)	Admiral (ADM)
General of the Army	N/A	Fleet Admiral (FADM)	General of the Air Force	N/A

2. Enlisted

0= No, 1 = Yes, 2=Unknown

Example: "SSgt Heart told reports, 'he knew his former roommate suffered from nightmares.'"

Army	Marine Corps	Navy	Air Force	Coast Guard
Private (PVT)	Private (Pvt)	Seaman Recruit (SR)	Airman Basic (AB)	Seaman Recruit (SR)
Private (PV2)	Private First Class (PFC)	Seaman Apprentice (SA)	Airman (Amn)	Seaman Apprentice (SA0
Private First Class (PFC)	Lance Corporal (LCpl)	Seaman (SN)	Airman First Class (A1C)	Seaman (SN)
Specialist Corporal (SPC)	Corporal (Cpl)	Petty Officer Third Class (PO3)	Senior Airman (SrA)	Petty Officer Third Class (PO3)
Sergeant (SGT)	Sergeant (Sgt)	Petty Officer Second Class (PO2)	Staff Sergeant (SSgt)	Petty Officer Second Class (PO2)
Staff Sergeant (SSG)	Staff Sergeant (SSgt)	Petty Officer First Class (PO1)	Technical Sergeant (TSgt)	Petty Officer First Class (PO1)
Sergeant First Class (SFC)	Gunnery Sergeant (GySgt)	Chief Petty Officer (CPO)	Master Sergeant (MSgt)	Chief Petty Officer (CPO)
Master Sergeant (MSG) First Sergeant (1SGT)	Master Sergeant (MSgt) First Sergeant (1stSgt)	Senior Chief Petty Officer (SCPO)	Senior Master Sergeant (SMSgt)	Senior Chief Petty Officer (SCPO)
Sergeant Major (SGM) Command Sergeant Major (CSM) Sergeant Major of the Army (SMA)	Master Gunnery Sergeant (MGySgt) Sergeant Major (SgtMaj) Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps (SgtMajMC)	Master Chief Petty Officer (MCPO) Master Chief Petty Officer of the Navy (MCPON)	Chief Mast Sergeant (CMSgt) Command Chief Master Sergeant (CCMSgt) Chief Master Sergeant of the Air Force (CMSAF)	Master Chief Petty Officer (MCPO) Command Master Chief Petty Officer (MCPOC) Master Chief Petty Officer of the Coast Guard (MPCO-CG)

3. Branch of Service
       0= Army
       1= Navy
       2= Marines Corps
       3= Air Force
       4= Coast Guard
       5= National Guard Reserves

4. Top Military Leadership
       0= No
       1= Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
       2= Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
       3= Chief of Staff of the Army
       4= Chief of Naval Operations
       5= Commandant of the Marine Corps
       6= Chief of Staff of the Air Force
       7= Chief of the National Guard Bureau
       8= Military Spokesperson

Political Affiliation (Politician or Political Candidate)
5. Democrat (Liberal)
       0= No, 1= Yes

6. Republican (Conservative)
       0= No, 1= Yes

7. Independent
       0= No, 1= Yes

Branch of Government
8. Executive Branch
       0= No
       1= President of the United States
       2= Vice President of the United States
       3= First Lady of the United States
       4= Second Lady of the United States
       5= Whitehouse Press Secretary
       6= Whitehouse Spokesperson
       7= Presidential Cabinet Member

9. Legislative Branch
       0= No

1=U.S. Senate
Example: But U.S. Sen. Rob Portman, R-Ohio, said more changes are needed. "It is also critical that the new secretary have the necessary tools to effect change and enforce accountability, including the ability to hire and fire top VA personnel," Portman said.

2= U.S. House of Representatives
Example: U.S. Rep. Bill Flores, R-Waco, said he will visit the Waco regional office this month in hopes of getting a better idea of what is causing the backlog. "We may have a cultural problem and not a systems problem," he said.

3= State Senate (Any individual who is elected to a state Senate office)

4= State House of Representatives (Any individual who is elected to a state House of Representatives office)

10. Judicial Branch
    0= No

    1= Judge
    Example: Judge Smith wrote in his briefing of the case, "Veterans suffer from PTSD, and I find that this veteran's PTSD had an impact in this case.

    2= Lawyer
    Example: Rob Ford, the lawyer for Robert Bales believes his client is innocent. "There are more layers to the case than we can speak about at this time"

    3= Lawyer consultant quoted in interviews
    Example: We go now to Sally Rome, who is a lawyer for individuals facing similar charges. Sally, what do you make of this case? "Well I feel this is a clear cut case for the defense and PTSD will play a role in the juries decision."

Veterans

    0= No, 1= Yes
    Example: "He served this country with extreme honor, but came home and was a servant leader in helping his brothers and sisters dealing with post-traumatic stress disorder," said Mr. Cox, also a former military sniper. "Everyone has their own inner struggles, but he was very proactive about the things he was dealing with."

11. Branch of Service
    0= Army
    1= Navy
    2= Marines Corps

3= Air Force
4= Coast Guard
5= National Guard Reserves

12. Combat Designation
　　0= Did not deploy
　　Example: James did not deploy to a forward operating area, but understands the stress. "PTSD affects people who deployed and those of us who stayed home too."

　　1= Mission deployed
　　Example: Brett Jones, who deployed to Iraq in 2004, says he understands the toll of deployments. "It is hard to leave your family for over a year at a time."

　　2= Unknown

Associated Organizations
13. Civilian Organization (Any organization without a veteran affiliation, or NGO status.)
　　0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown

14. Veteran Service Organization
　　0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown
　　Example: Paul Rieckhoff of Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America works to help veterans everyday. He says, "PTSD is the invisible wound of this war."

15. Non-governmental Organization (Any organization labeled as an NGO helping veterans.)
　　0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown

16. Think Tank Organization
　　0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown
　　Example: Terri Tanielan, senior research analyst at the RAND Corporation, noted the VA has evolved from a network of inpatient care facilities for veterans with service-connected injuries, "I think we need rigorous studies to look at the design of the system, to really assess the best ways to meet the needs of the veteran population, especially as the demographics of the veteran population will change in coming years," she said.

17. Department of Veterans Affairs
　　0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown
　　Example: The VA also faces the "unfinished business" of previous wars - new diseases linked to Agent Orange exposure and Gulf War illness, as well as PTSD treatment from all wars. "More troops are surviving combat today," said Nicole

Alberico, a VA spokeswoman.

<u>Support Roles</u>
18. Family Member
     0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown
     Example: "God knew it would take the toughest and softest-hearted man on earth
     to get a hardheaded, cynical, hard-loving woman like me to see what God needed
     me to see, and he chose you for the job," Mr. Kyle's wife, Taya Kyle, told the
     audience. "He chose well."

19. Friend/Neighbor
     0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown
     Example: "Chad and Chris had taken a veteran out to shoot to try to help him,"
     said Travis Cox, a friend of Mr. Kyle's. "And they were killed."

20. Civilian
     0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown
     Example: At a book signing in Kerrville, Tex., last year, Barbie Bible, a local
     resident, said Mr. Kyle took a break from signing autographs to share a hug and
     comforting words with her husband, "Chris, just in that short meeting, was a very
     strong and compassionate person," Ms. Bible said. "You felt a warmth and a
     special energy."

21. Medical Professional
     0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown
     Example: DR. PAUL RAGAN, SPECIALIZES IN POST-TRAUMATIC
     SYNDROME: I think actually that's fairly unlikely. Dr. Hasan just finished a two-
     year fellowship at the Center for the Study of Traumatic Stress and he had only
     been an independent Army psychiatrist for about four months. That is at an
     operational base. So for him to have been suffering from PTSD I think is highly
     unlikely. "There is typically a significant delay (in manifestation of PTSD
     symptoms) in survivors," said Dr. Raymond Scurfield , a Mississippi-based
     psychiatrist who served in Vietnam and has written several books about PTSD in
     war veterans. "People can have things so buried, they separate themselves
     emotionally from experiences to protect themselves from being overwhelmed. ...
     But after a period of time, you get tired, you get exhausted, and there is an in-
     rushing of re-experiencing."

22. Local Law Enforcement
     0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown
     Example: In a news conference, the sheriff said: "They all went out there together
     in the same vehicle. The suspect may have been suffering from some kind of
     mental illness from being in the military."

23. Journalist Correspondents
    0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown
    MARK BENJAMIN, NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT, "SALON.COM":
    Thanks for having me, Rachel. Oh, absolutely. And I think that the military is still
    struggling in a major way with that stigma issue. I mean, you know, they still
    have not really incorporated - you know, a soldier learns how to clean his weapon
    and work on his weapon and handle the whole weapon system. But they haven`t
    really - the military haven`t gotten around to making sure that the brain is
    incorporated about weapon system. How do you recognize that problem? It is a
    normal reaction, post-traumatic stress disorder, a normal reaction to combat
    stress.

24. Journalist/Correspondent
    0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown

25. Academic/Professor, Researcher
    0= No, 1= Yes, 2= Unknown

26. News Source
    0= The New York Times
    1= Washington Post
    2= Wall St. Journal
    3= NBC Nightly News
    4= CBS Evening News
    5= ABC World News Tonight
    6= MSNBC
    7= CNN
    8= Fox News

27. News Media Event
    0= Veterans Day 2014
    1= Walter Reed Hospital Scandal
    2= Veteran Affairs Backlog Scandal
    3= Cluster of Crimes- Robert Bales
    4= Cluster of Crimes- Chris Kyle

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