

**INVISIBLE INSTITUTION:  
THE MILITARY, WAR, AND PEACE  
IN PRE-9/11 INTRODUCTORY  
SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS**

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*War, peace, and the military are relatively invisible in introductory sociology textbooks immediately prior to September 11, 2001. Assuming a civilian knowledge gap on matters military, this study reports on the content of introductory textbooks for core sociological knowledge on war, peace, and the military. A content analysis exposes a variety of common concepts (N=167), primary and secondary references (N=385), and photographs (N=146) in 31 introductory sociology texts. Four thematic findings are discussed — marginalization of peace, war, and military topics in textbooks; lack of conceptual and reference continuity across textbooks; prominence of photographs of peace, war, and the military themes; and perpetuation of a civil-military knowledge gap in American society through undergraduate sociology.*

**INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>**

Sociology is one source of knowledge about peace, war, and the military institution. The earliest sociologists documented the sociological significance of the military (Lasswell, 1941; Sorokin, 1937; Spencer, 1883; Weber, 1947); however, the subfield discipline commonly known as “Military Sociology” emerged in the aftermath of World War II but never quite thrived (Caforio, 2003; Siebold, 2001) or captured the mainstream of sociology. Some of the first significant studies included *The American Soldier* (Stouffer, Lumsdaine, Lumsdaine, Williams, Smith, Star, and Cottrell, 1949), “The Small

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Warship" (Homans, 1946), "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," (Shils & Janowitz, 1948), and a July 1946 special issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* dedicated to "Human Behavior in Military Society." Later classics would include *The Soldier and the State* (Huntington, 1957), *The Power Elite* (Mills, 1956), and *The Professional Soldier* (Janowitz, 1960).

Sociological interest in matters military waned until the U.S. military intervention in Vietnam brought renewed attention to the experience of the American soldier with the publication of *The American Enlisted Man* (Moskos, 1970). Subsequent publications addressing the military and society focused on the interaction between the soldier and the institution and addressed issues such as the military as a profession, the military ethos, and civil-military relations (Siebold, 2001). Morris Janowitz spurred discussion on these topics as the catalyst for the formation of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society in 1961. Soon after, the *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* and *Armed Forces & Society* were established in 1973 and 1974, respectively (Siebold, 2001).

Following the 1970s, public and general sociological interest in matters military ebbed and flowed with nuclear disarmament and protests, major military events such as peacekeeping missions, mass military casualties, military scandals, and military interventions in the Persian Gulf, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and especially in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 and U.S. invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Today, while few in number relative to the larger discipline of sociology, military sociologists around the world usually focus on two substantive and different areas: the military as an institution and the military in relationship to the larger society—armed forces and society. For example, the first area may include studies on forms of social cohesion in the military; the second may include race, gender, and sexual orientation in the military issues (Ouellet, 2005). Similarly, members of the Peace and Justice Studies Association have long focused on peace, conflict, justice, and global security. Given the trends, post-9/11 introduction to sociology textbooks will likely represent the military, peace, war, and terrorism in greater quantity and perhaps, depth, than in previous years.

### THE CIVIL-MILITARY GAP

During the 1990s, a fresh literature emerged among scholars studying the intersection of the armed forces and society. Spurred by popular attention in articles and books, both the fictional and scholarly accounts asserted that the military and the larger society were growing apart at all levels of society (e.g., values and fewer current members of congress are veterans). The working

research question was whether a gap was developing and widening between the military and larger society (Feaver & Kohn, 2001b).

Social scientists examined the civil-military gap concerned about social issues such as values, professionalism, and knowledge about the military and the mission of the military at the intersection of armed forces and society (Feaver & Kohn, 2001a; 2001b). A major conclusion holds that differences between (and perhaps within) the military and the larger society are "...notable, and perhaps problematic" (Feaver & Kohn, 2001b). Additionally, the gap appears more likely to be one of a lack of "understanding" among and between groups rather than of specified "values" differences (Feaver & Kohn, 2001b).

Civil-military gap research concomitantly can account for the absence or presence of knowledge differences between civilians and service members on matters military. Snider and his colleagues (2001) compare the attitudes of three groups of students — U.S. Military Academy cadets, Reserved Officer Training Corp cadets, and civilian college students and conclude that the three groups are markedly similar regarding their knowledge of the military, yet all three groups are similarly uninformed on what should constitute knowledge about "proper civil-military relations." In other words, the gap in knowledge lies in cohorts of youth and what this particular cohort should and does know about the role of the military in U.S. society. A similar study examining the curricula at the six U.S. war colleges educating senior military officers supports the Snider et al findings (Stiehm, 2001). No studies to date have examined the content of the resources that are available and used to educate American students about the institution of the military and matters of peace and war. Who educates students about the military as an organization and at the intersection of the military and the larger society? Introductory sociology should play a role in this education, but certainly, other courses in academia are culpable.

The exclusion or inclusion of particular topical areas in sociology textbooks is an area of special interest (Zinn & Eitzen, 1996). Some 43 studies have addressed textbooks published in *Teaching Sociology* between 1986 and 2000 (Keith & Ender, 2004). Although war and peace are of topical concern in the *Introduction to Contemporary Social Problems*, there is a disparate treatment here as well (Hannon & Marullo, 1988; Lauer, 1976; Nusbaumer, Kelley, & DiIorio 1989). Likewise, there is a paucity of peace and war coverage in general sociology journals (Ahmad & Wilke, 1973) and peace in primary school U.S. history textbooks (Finley, 2003). This present paper assesses the representation of a topical area — peace, war, and the military institution — in introductory sociology textbook editions used in the latter part of the 1990s and early 2000s but prior to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.

## METHODS

SAMPLE OF PRE-9/11 INTRODUCTORY  
SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS

The key methodological consideration for the analysis of the textbooks is the selection of those written in the late 1990s, but as important, those written immediately prior to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent U.S. and coalition forces invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Examination copies of the top selling introductory sociology textbooks had previously been obtained from book vendors at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association in Chicago, Illinois. Requests were followed-up with electronic mail. Top sellers (n=17) were supplemented with a convenience sample from our departmental collections (n=14). In all, 31 introductory sociology textbooks were studied (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

**PRE-9/11 INTRODUCTORY  
SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS STUDIED**

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1. Anderson, Margaret L., and Howard F. Taylor  
2000 *Sociology: Understanding a Diverse Society*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
2. Applebaum, Richard P., and William J. Chambliss  
1997 *Sociology* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). NY: Longman.
3. Bradshaw, York W., Joseph F. Healey, and Rebecca Smith  
2001 *Sociology for a New Century*. Boston, MA: Pine Forge Press.
4. Brinkerhoff, David B., Lynn K. White, and Suzanne T. Orgega  
1999 *Essentials of Sociology*. (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
5. Browne, Ken  
1998 *An Introduction to Sociology* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
6. Doob, Christopher Bates  
2000 *Sociology: An Introduction*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
7. Eitzen, D. Stanley, and Maxine Baca Zinn  
1995 *In Conflict and Order: Understanding Society*. (7<sup>th</sup> Edition). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
8. Farley, John E.  
1998 *Sociology*. (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

9. Ferrante, Joan  
2000 *Sociology: The United States in a Global Community* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomas Learning.
10. Gelles, Richard J., and Ann Levine  
1999 *Sociology: An Introduction*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill College.
11. Giddens, Anthony  
1996 *Introduction to Sociology*. (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). NY: W.W. Norton & Company.
12. Henslin, James M.  
1997 *Sociology: A Down-to-Earth Approach*. (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
13. Hughes, Michael, Carolyn J. Kroehler, and James W. Vander Zander  
1999 *Sociology: The Core*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
14. Johnson, Allen G.  
1996 *Human Arrangements: An Introduction to Sociology*. Madison, WI: Brown and Benchmark Publishers.
15. Kendall, Diana  
2000 *Sociology in Our Times*. (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomas Learning.
16. Kornblum, William  
2000 *Sociology in a Changing World*. (5<sup>th</sup> Edition). Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt College Publishers.
17. Lindsey, Linda L., and Stephen Beach  
2000 *Sociology: Social Life and Social Issues*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
18. Macionis, John J.  
1996 *Society: The Basics*. (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
19. Newman, David M.  
2000 *Sociology: Exploring the Architecture of Everyday Life* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
20. Orum, Anthony M., John W.C. Johnstone, and Stephanie Riger  
1999 *Changing Societies: Essential Sociology for Our Times*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
21. Popenoe, David  
2000 *Sociology*. (11<sup>th</sup> Edition). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
22. Renzetti, Claire, and Daniel J. Curran  
1998 *Living Sociology*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
23. Schaefer, Richard, and Robert P. Lamm  
1998 *Sociology*. (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). NY: McGraw-Hill.

24. Scott, Barbara Marliene, and Mary Ann Schwartz  
2000 *Sociology: Making Sense of the Social World*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
25. Shepard, Jon M.  
1999 *Sociology*. (7<sup>th</sup> edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
26. Stockard, Jean  
2000 *Sociology: Discovering Sociology*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
27. Sullivan, Thomas J.  
1998 *Sociology: Concepts and Applications in a Diverse World*. (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
28. Thio, Alex  
1998 *Sociology*. (5<sup>th</sup> Edition). NY: Longman.
29. Thompson, William E., and Joseph V. Hickey  
1999 *Society in Focus: An Introduction to Sociology*. (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). NY: Longman.
30. Tischler, Henry L.  
1999 *Introduction to Sociology*. (6<sup>th</sup> Edition). Fort Worth, TX: The Harcourt Press.
31. Ward, David A., and Lorene H. Stone  
1998 *Sociology for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

## VARIABLES OF INTEREST

The following variables of analysis were coded for each book: (1) title of book; (2) total number pages of book; (3) peace, war, and military concepts/key terms; (4) chapter location of peace, war, and military concepts/key terms; (5) total number of peace, war, and military related concepts/key terms; (6) total number of peace, war, and military primary and secondary references; and (7) the total numbers of pages covering peace, war, and military topics. In addition, the following elements were coded: (8) the total number of peace, war, and military photographs; (9) type of photo; (10) chapter location of photo; (11) size of photo; (12) caption content; (13) peace, war, and military chart or graph; (14) type of chart or graph; (15) chapter locations of chart or graph; (16) size of chart of graph; and (17) caption content.

## PROCEDURES

Four raters covered the initial sub-sample of 17 top-selling textbooks and a single rater covered a supplemental sample of 14 textbooks. In the first sub-sample, each book had two raters — an initial rater and a second rater. An

initial rater coded each book using a standard coding sheet systematically examining the Table of Contents for any chapters or subchapters relating to military, peace, or war. Next, the initial rater systematically scanned and recorded the index for words relating to peace, war, and the military. Finally, the initial rater exhausted the textbook by scanning each page of the textbook for any extraneous material related to peace, war, or the military. The second rater followed the same three-step approach as the initial rater. Next, the second compared both rating sheets for reliability and consulted with the initial rater regarding any inconsistencies — yielding high agreement between the raters. Differences were resolved through consensus via the search criteria. In the second sub-sample, the same coding strategy was used but no inter-rater reliability check was administered.

## MEASURES

The total number of pages of each book included “Page 1” to the very last page of the book including the references and indexes. A “concept” refers to a key term or set of terms that may be bolded, italicized, or set-apart on a page or in a textbook in any manner by the author(s) or located in a glossary somewhere in the textbook (Keith & Ender, 2004). For the peace, war, and military concepts, a combination of a descriptor analysis and grounded theoretical approach was used. The descriptor analysis is based on specific words related to peace, war, and the military taken from previous work involving journal analysis (Ender, 1999). The descriptors are used to sensitize and guide the search for concepts in the textbooks using the three procedures to analyze the textbooks described above. Oft appearing descriptors represent the core of the subfield. Examples are “Vietnam” or “non-violent resistance.”

During the descriptor search, a grounded approach is considered as well (Charmaz, 2000). Here, concepts are uncovered or serendipitously emerge during the procedures phase of the project and may or may not occur again. For example, the concept “typewriter soldiers,” found in only one textbook, is absent in the sociological research literature.

The two categories of reference for concepts include primary and secondary sources. Scholarly, refereed journal articles, books, monographs, and conference paper presentations are coded as primary and newspaper and popular magazine type articles are considered secondary sources.

Visual representations of peace, war, and the military such as photographs, tables, and graphs were coded for each textbook. Military photos included people in military uniforms (including models and children) and military equipment such as tanks, nuclear warheads, and military airplanes. Peace photographs included any movements or protests against the war or people (e.g., Gandhi) who advocated peace in relation to war or conflict. War

illustrations included any connections to organized violent strife including its aftermath (e.g., a city destroyed by bombs), the effects, and the toll it had on a region and the peoples.

For the references, primary or secondary source status was coded. We quantitatively measured most variables by noting the number of pages the material covered in the text. By adding the number of concepts, photographs, graphs/charts and their respective pages, the chapters containing the bulk of peace, war, and military subject matter easily emerged. Finally, to meet our requirement of textual "data," our definition of a theme or concept needed to be accompanied by at least a paragraph of text relating to the military, peace, or war theme. Text refers to the amount of space the material covered, excluding photographs and charts/graphs.

## RESULTS

The textbooks are represented by years of publication: one book published in 1995, two each in 1996 and 1997, seven each in 1998 and 1999, eleven in 2000, and one in 2001. The latter two books are outliers but pre-date September 11 of that year. Both hard ( $n=12$ ) and soft back ( $n=19$ ) are included in the study. The books range in pages from 439 to 793 (a difference of 354 pages of text) with a mean of 614.32 pages per book. A total of 19,044 pages were content analyzed.

The data in Table 2 provides a distribution of the peace, war, and military representations in introductory sociology textbooks ( $N=31$ ) by a generalized table of contents representing most textbooks. The representations include the number of peace, war, and military concepts, the number of primary and secondary references, and the number of photographs associated with peace, war, or the military. The left column of the table is a generalized table of contents framework for analyzing the structure of introductory textbooks as initially suggested by Hall (1988), and later by Stone (1996), and further developed by Keith and Ender (2004), who list major chapter headings as subject-matter domains. The seven chapter titles located under the "Other Chapters" heading at the bottom of the table (e.g., Applying Sociology and The Changing Face of War) are atypical chapters found in an introductory text that emerged from the content analysis of the present study.

The four columns, moving from left to right, indicate the number of concepts, primary references, secondary references, and number of photographs, respectively. The columns include 129 concepts with 267 primary and 118 secondary references. There are 146 photographs identified. The majority of the material relating to peace, war, and the military institution is subsumed in the "Politics" or "Political Economy" chapter. The Politics/Political Economy

TABLE 2

**PRE-9/11 INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS (N=31)  
BY GENERALIZED TABLE OF CONTENTS, AND CONCEPTS,  
REFERENCES, AND PHOTOGRAPHS ASSOCIATED  
WITH PEACE, WAR, AND THE MILITARY INSTITUTION**

	Number of Concepts	Primary References	Secondary References	Number of Photographs
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>				
Overview	--	1	6	--
Theory	--	--	--	--
Methods	3	1	--	1
<b>SOCIAL PROCESSES</b>				
Culture	3	1	1	9
Socialization	9	12	7	16
Structure	--	2	--	2
Interaction	1	--	1	2
Groups & Formal Organizations	13	34	4	8
Deviance & Social Control	--	1	1	6
Sexuality	--	--	--	--
<b>STRATIFICATION</b>				
General/Global Stratification	3	8	7	5
Class	--	4	--	--
Race	5	15	3	11
Gender	2	16	19	10
Age	--	--	--	--
<b>INSTITUTIONS</b>				
Family	1	--	--	2
Education	1	2	--	1
Politics/Political Economy	57	100	50	34
Religion	--	--	--	4
Economy (& Politics)	8	20	7	6
Health	--	--	--	--
<b>CHANGING SOCIETY</b>				
Collective Behavior & Social Movements	6	3	5	4

Population	--	--	--	1
Urbanization	--	--	--	--
Social Change	14	25	5	7
Development	--	--	--	--
Environment	--	--	--	--
<b>OTHER CHAPTERS</b>				
Applying Sociology	1	6	--	--
Communities	--	--	--	1
Forms of Domination	--	--	--	1
Mass Communications & Mass Media	--	--	--	3
Order & Conflict	1	5	--	1
Society	1	--	--	--
The Changing Face of War	--	11	2	11
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>267</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>146</b>

chapter consists of just over half of the concepts ( $n=57$ ) and the references ( $n=150$  references at 100 primary and 50 secondary), and one third of the photographs ( $n=34$ ).

Both the "Change" and "Groups and Formal Organizations" chapters are a numerical distance with the next number of concepts. "Social Change" has concepts ( $n=14$ ), primary references ( $n=25$ ), and photographs ( $n=7$ ) associated with the military, peace, and war. "Groups and Formal Organizations" has 13 concepts, with 34 primary and six secondary references. The fourth most frequent section is "Socialization" containing nine concepts, 12 primary references, seven secondary references, and 16 photographs.

## CONCEPTS

Again, we employed a concept to mean a construct created from human perceptions—a common language used to represent subject matter (Keith & Ender, 2004). The most prevalent concepts are "war" and types of war such as "total war," "netwars," "civil war," "limited war," and "Cold War" ( $n=25$ ), followed by "military-industrial complex" ( $n=6$ ), "revolution" ( $n=5$ ), and "total institution," and "genocide" with four each. The remaining concepts occurred three times or less with most occurring once. For example, the term "peace" appears three times in 31 textbooks. Examples of concepts appearing once include "hyperreality," "typewriter soldiers," "don't ask, don't tell," "nuclear proliferation," and "nonviolent resistance." These concepts represent the core concepts of peace, war, and the military institution in the introductory sociology text.

There appears to be little to no consistency between types and frequency of concepts in the introductory sociology textbooks. On the other hand, when dealing with peace, war, and social conflict, the books are focused far more on war as a social issue than on the institutional features of the military. The topics of peace and types of peace occur infrequently to never. This partially supports the paucity of coverage of peace and war topics noted by Gleditsch (1989) and Kurtz (1992).

## REFERENCES

In the present study, primary references (i.e., refereed journal articles, books, and technical reports) outweigh secondary sources 2.5 to 1. The more prevalent scholar references are of Charles Moskos (n=10), Morris Janowitz (n=6), and Samuel Stouffer, the Department of Defense, C. Wright Mills, and the Associated Press with five references each. Erving Goffman, Gwynne Dyer, and Irving Janis are referenced four times each. Social Scientists Michael Kimmel, Pitirim Sorokin, Charles Tilly, Edward Shils, and Cynthia Enloe appear three times each. Sorokin's (1937) *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Dyer's (1985) *War*, Mills' (1956) *The Power Elite*, and Shils and Janowitz's (1948) classic article, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the German Wehrmacht" are referenced three or more times. No other single primary source is referenced more than three times. As for secondary sources, with a diversity of authors, a number of textbooks frequently cite the *New York Times* in their discussions of themes, concepts, and key terms. Indeed, the *New York Times* is the most cited single reference on peace, war, and military sociology in the introductory sociology textbook.

The "Gender" and "Change" chapters both have a large number of primary and secondary references (n=35 and 30 respectfully). For gender, there are few sociological concepts referenced (n=2). In addition, secondary references (n=19) slightly outnumber primary references (n=16). This is a statistical anomaly compared to the other chapters. Notably, the theory, family, age, health sexuality, population, urbanization, development, and environment chapters have no references to matters of peace, war, and the military.

## PHOTOGRAPHS

The fifth column in Table 2 provides a distribution of the number of photographs depicting peace, war, and military themes. Collectively, the textbooks have 146 photographs in total requiring 56.04 pages—comprising .3 percent of the 19,044 pages of textbooks. Again, "Politics" chapters feature the most photographs (n = 34) followed by "Socialization" with 16 and "Race and Ethnicity" with 11. The other chapter titled "The Changing Face of War" by

Bradshaw, Healey, and Smith (2001) contains eleven photographs in a single chapter (but no concepts). Ten of the 34 chapters in the Table of Contents do not include a photograph of peace, war, and the military.

A content analysis of the photographs reveals two distinct themes: people and implements of war. People are represented in 101 of the images. Images of people include service members of many social types—women/men, young/old, black/white, gay/lesbian/straight, veterans, all branches of service, disabled service members, and even dead people. A handful of photographs depict families and children associated with peace, war, and the military institution. Images of people also feature peace and anti-war protestors, victims of war, and children and adult models wearing military clothing. Some images include service members on or with implements of war, such as soldiers sitting on tanks. Images of implements of war include aerial views of fighter planes, a stealth bomber, a wartime naval harbor, and the Pentagon. Photographic images of a row of tanks, some nuclear warheads, a single tank, and a bomber bombing appear once. Two photographs feature still images of CNN video news footage of the 1990-1991 Persian Gulf War battlefield. A variety of activities show images of war propaganda, war recruiting posters, anti-war graffiti, paintings, and cartoons. No single image in this group occurs more than once.

Twenty one photographs depict famous and infamous people, places, and things impacted by or associated with peace, war, or the military institution. Examples of places include Northern Ireland, the former Berlin Wall, Yugoslavia, Albania, Tiananmen Square in China, and Sarajevo. Two photos do not identify the place. The most frequently occurring photograph ( $n=3$ ) is the popular lone man in white shirt and dark slacks standing down four tanks during the Tiananmen Square Massacre in June 1989 (the photograph is by Reuters/Bettmann News photos). Otherwise, images include photographs of charismatic leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi, and Napoleon Bonaparte including a statue of Saddam Hussein in a military uniform and multiple images of Adolph Hitler.

Finally, in the 31 textbooks, 17 charts, figures, or tables are incorporated. Thirteen deal with war and peace and four with the socio-demographics of the U.S. military. Three spotlight the political economy of the military or war; two present a model of social conflict and violence, and two provide a timeline or chronicle of wars. Others deal with such features as the language of war or explain the rank structure of the military, while others discuss the deaths of Americans in ten wars involving the United States.

## VARIABILITY BETWEEN TEXTBOOKS

If core knowledge of peace, war, and the military exists, we should expect some level of consistency across books. This is not the case. First, the

distributions of the concepts are tabulated by textbook. The 31 textbooks included 129 concepts. The numbers of concepts per book ranged from none in Popenoe (2000) to 22 in Thompson and Hickey (1999). The mean number of concepts for all 31 textbooks is 4.7. Concepts, in general, appeared sprinkled throughout each textbook. Exceptions are found in Giddens (1996) with six concepts located in a "Government, Power Politics, and War" chapter; Sullivan (1998) with six concepts in an "Intergroup Relations" chapter; and Thompson and Hickey (1999) with six concepts in a "Politics and War" chapter.

Primary references (n=267) range from none to 31 and follow the pattern of concepts in number and location. Bradshaw et al (2001) feature 11 references in one chapter titled "The Changing Face of War." Henslin (1997) referenced the next most primary sources (n=10) in a Politics chapter section titled "War and Dehumanization." Kornblum (2000) references nine primary sources in a Social Change chapter section titled "War and Conquest." Overall, textbooks have a mean of 12.4 references. Similar, secondary references (n=118) ranged from five textbooks using no secondary sources to Thompson and Hickey (1999) citing 20 secondary sources. Renzetti and Curran (1998) cite 11 secondary sources of 16 in a Politics chapter section titled "Warfare and the Military." Thompson and Hickey cite ten secondary sources, mostly *Associated Press* reports, in a "Sex and Gender" chapter.

Finally, the photographs (n=146) of peace, war, and the military ranged from none in Stockard (2000) and Newman (2000) to thirteen in Bradshaw et al (2001). The mean number of photographs is 4.7 per book. In other words, a typical introductory sociology textbook in the years prior to 9/11 had roughly five photographs relating something to war, peace, or the military, taking up about a third of a typical textbook page each. Moreover, it contained a single chart or graph, and seven concepts with 11 references resting four pages of text.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Four general themes emerge from the study. First, military sociology, peace studies, and the sociology of war exist in select introductory sociology textbooks, but at the margins in most cases. In no textbook is the military institution or the peace movement treated as a significant social institution in American society similar to how religion, medicine, the family, the economy, or education might be. The military is sociologically an invisible institution to students. The exception is the most recent textbook we studied—Bradshaw et al (2001). Further, the military, and to a lesser degree war and peace, are ghettoized in the "Politics" institution chapters of most textbooks, usually coming at the end of the chapter. This gives a date to Carl von Clausewitz's

famous pronouncement that war is a "mere continuation of policy [politics] by other means" (1968:119).

Second, there is no evidence of continuity within or between the different books in the utilization of the military, peace, and/or war. Babchuck and Keith (1995) state: "Textbooks should distill the knowledge and theories held widely in the discipline ... as derived from current reliable, exemplary research reports." Keith and Ender (2004) reinforce this argument with a recent content analysis of textbooks from both the 1990s and 1940s. This study reveals that each introductory sociology textbook selectively represents key concepts related to peace, war, and the military taken seemingly out of popular air (secondary sources). While core scholars such as Mills, Janowitz, and Moskos make for cameo references, significant others are not represented in any systematic manner. Further, the diffusion of references shows a misrepresentation of the core knowledge in the field. We found very little consistency across books and from book to book on what peace, war, and military material is presented. In essence, salient concepts of war and types of war, revolutions, and genocide represent some attempt at commonality—in particular around the issue of radical socio-political change—yet, there is little commonality. Likewise, the only oft occurring concept addressing the military institution is "military industrial complex"—a core concept. However, it appears in less than a third of the textbooks.

Further, the citing of a number of primary books written by sociologists such as Mills, Stouffer, and Moskos and Butler suggests some appreciation of the seminal works in the field and more importantly, a slight validation that a modest core knowledge base of military sociology exists. Again, secondary sources such as popular magazines and newspapers are noticeably present ( $n=118$ ) but never cited more than once resulting in 33 percent of all cites related to peace, war, and the military coming from non-scientific sources. Thus textbook authors regard peace, war, and military issues more as contemporary and popular issues—what we refer to as "frontier knowledge" (Keith & Ender, 2005)—rather than as core knowledge.

Third, a serendipitous finding in this study is the unusually large number of photographs depicting peace, war, and the military. Again, we found just over 56 pages of photographs throughout the 31 textbooks—a per-book, page and a half, of images. Few books contained more than three pages of text concerning the military, peace, and war. While we recognize the powerful impacts of the visual image and the lack of author control over photo selection and placement, the reader is not being well educated if peace, war, and military images have little to no explanatory caption. The images stand alone, literally. For example, while the Tiananmen Square image of presumably a lone student standing down a line of tanks is clearly inspirational, the sociological significance is perhaps unclear. To be sure, the image may have a counter effect

and suggest to students that individuals make differences and social structures are insignificant (assuming our undergraduates identify with the student and not the drivers of the tanks!). However, since the texts merely substitute images for concepts and scholarly views, the reader is rarely challenged to think along substantive new lines or to develop a sociologically sound viewpoint concerning war, peace, or the military. As Hall (1988) notes referring to images of women in the introductory text, "pictures can transmit visual messages which are lies or distortions that undermine the sociologically accurate ... information of the text."

Finally, the results contribute to the literature on the civil-military knowledge gap. The knowledge gap appears to be generational and exists between the subfield and textbooks. In other words, despite the availability of at least four scholarly journal outlets for peace, war, and military sociology scholarship and a long-standing peace and war section in the American Sociological Association, the introductory sociology textbook fails to provide representative knowledge on the subject. Snider et al (2001) put forth three areas where attitudinal and perception gaps may exist: knowledge of American society and culture, perspectives on military professionalism, and civil-military relationships within the U.S. government. Comparing ROTC, West Point cadets, and civilian college students, Snider et al (2001) found similarity between the three groups and further noted, "As to the proper understanding of civil-military relations, we found ... serious misunderstandings on the part of both sets of students as to what constitutes proper civil-military relations." The present study buttresses this finding by implicating the resources by which such students learn about society—particularly the military.

Our findings suggest the introductory sociology textbooks are culpable in not transmitting pertinent and core knowledge to undergraduates. Students are not adequately informed about issues related to causes and consequences of war and peace, to alternatives to war and types of peace, and the structure, culture, and organization of the military. The present study concludes that the majority of introductory sociology textbooks contributes indirectly to widening the knowledge gap about matters military to civilian groups and perpetuate the gap between the military and the larger civilian society. While upper level sociology courses certainly might offer more substantive discussion of these topics, thousands of college students receive a liberal education about society, social institutions, and human interaction at the introductory level each semester. Comparative studies are warranted in other disciplines such as Political Science, History, and International Relations that further identify the knowledge gap identified in the present analysis. We are left to conclude and ponder, if not sociology, which disciplines, other than print and televised media, will inform students about the critical matters of war, peace, and the military.

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