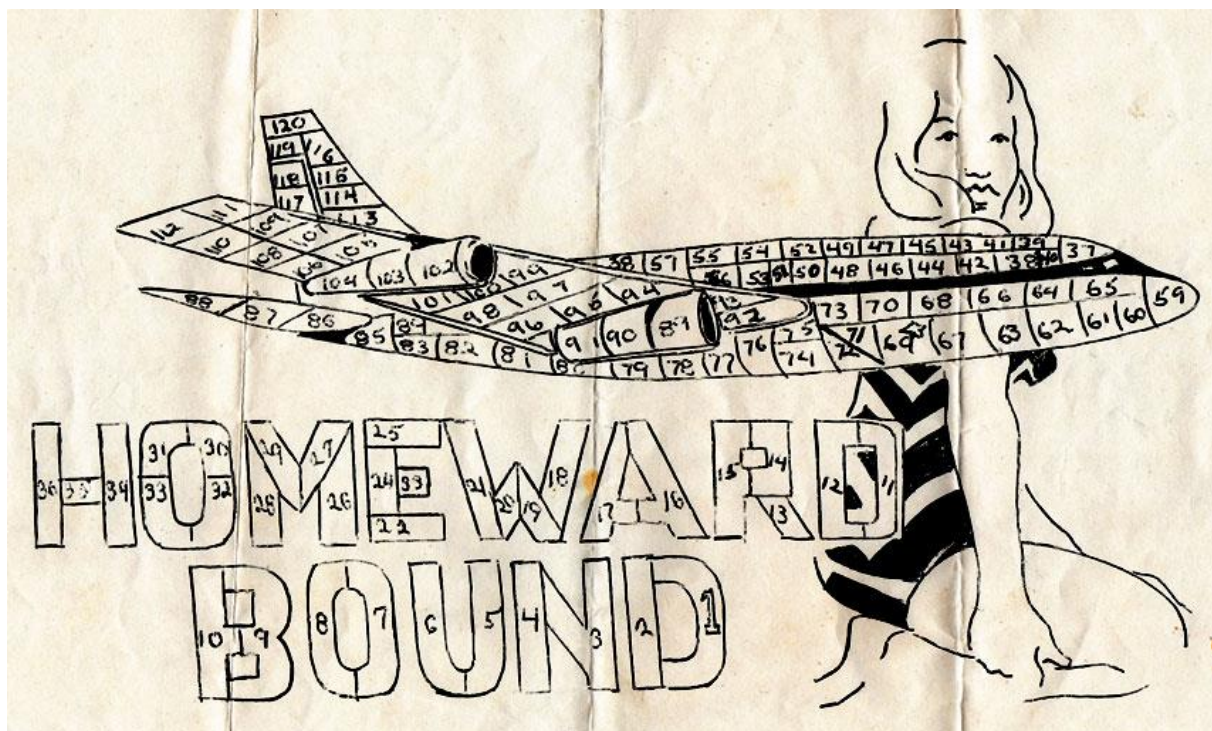


# Temporal Worldings:

An exploration of how time was implicated in the experiences of American Soldiers during the Vietnam War



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## Abstract

Responding to concerns raised regarding non-representational theory's spatial preoccupation (Hill, 2013; Jones 2011) and failure to engage with archival methods (Merriman, 2012b, 2013), this dissertation experiments with taking a non-representational approach to methods typically employed by historical geographers. It explores the ways in which time is implicated in the worldings of American soldiers in Vietnam. The Vietnam War provides a particularly interesting case in this regard as combatants' tours were fixed at 12 month periods in an attempt to foster hope and morale among soldiers. The policy has since been criticised for the detrimental effects it had on unit cohesion. This dissertation looks at how the virtual and the present past composes bodies in timespace. It draws upon Stewart's (2010) concept of worldings, Deleuze and Guattari's (1987:236) refrain, Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalysis and Ash's (2012ab, 2014ab) recent work on temporal sensitivity, to conceptualise temporal experience and suggest areas for future enquiry.

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# CONTENTS

Introduction .....	1
Literature Review .....	5
An introduction to non-representational theories .....	5
Conceptualising affect .....	6
Morale, Vietnam and the rotation policy .....	7
Philosophical ontologies of time: duration, rhythm analysis and refrains .....	10
Engaging with the past: the virtual, habit, memory and expectation .....	13
Methodology .....	15
Data Analysis .....	18
Short timers .....	18
Counting down the days: the performative calendar .....	23
‘Fucking New Guys’ .....	27
Out on the field and after the firefight .....	30
Conclusion .....	35
Bibliography .....	39
Appendix 1. Details of Vietnam Veterans referenced within the dissertation .....	51
Appendix 2. Sample questions provided to interviewers by the Library of Congress .....	54

## INTRODUCTION

Reacting to discontents with geography's 'spatial turn' (Thrift and May 2001:1) in the mid 1980's, a number of geographers have been instrumental in bringing time back into the lens of geographical enquiry (Thrift, 1996; Thrift and May, 2001; Massey 2005). However some theorists have raised concerns that non-representational theory remains preoccupied with space (Hill, 2013; Jones 2011). In a similar vein, Merriman (2012a, 2014) argues that fears of methodological conservatism within the sub-discipline creates the risk of researchers abandoning methods such as archival research and neglecting to attend to historic events. In an attempt to address these concerns, this dissertation experiments with methods commonly employed in historical geography to explore how time was implicated in the 'worldings' (Stewart, 2010:447) of American Soldiers in Vietnam, through non-representational modes of enquiry.

Since the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, non-representational theorists have paid greater attention to the ways in which affect is implicated in wartime politics (Carter and McCormack, 2014). In particular Anderson (2014) and Massumi (2010) have provided insights into how the indeterminacy of life that affect affords, becomes a target of power through the manipulation of morale and threat respectively. A broader temporal focus is provided by O'Tuathail (2003) who argues that affectively imbued memories of 9/11 and the cultivation of threat were capitalised by the Bush Administration to initiate a pre-emptive 'war on terror'. Time is implicit in these analyses through the discussion of memory and possibility. The concept of the virtual is central here: a pastness and relational potential that selectively actualises in the present (Massumi, 2002, 2007, 2010; McCormack, 2010).

With new knowledges and technologies aimed at understanding and manipulating affective beings and atmospheres (Clough, 2007), affect is arguably becoming more important than ideology to the state apparatus (Massumi, 2002). However the affective manipulation of bodies is not a new phenomenon (Anderson, 2014). Over centuries military organisations have employed increasingly sophisticated techniques to the manipulation of bodies. For example, drills have been used in the formation of somatic memory, and certain forms of

sociality encouraged to promote unit cohesiveness (Thrift, 2008). Anderson (2006, 2014) has spoken at length of the ways in which morale is cultivated and destroyed through the affectivity of the virtual.

Non-representational geopolitics has yet to turn its attention to 20<sup>th</sup> Century wars. Furthermore, dominant analytic approaches to soldiers in academia have largely taken a structuralist form, neglecting the everyday lives of military personnel (Woodward and Jenkins, 2014). The Vietnam War has been described as a unique example of when 'American power was once flanked' (Ullman, 1996), and is largely absent from geographical enquiry. For the first time in American history, the lengths of soldiers' tours were fixed at 12 months and new arrivals in Vietnam were issued with a Date Eligible for Return from Overseas (DEROS). This was introduced by General Johnson who expected it to foster hope and morale among soldiers (Gabriel and Savage, 1979).

A rotation policy was employed in which units in combat were maintained by a constant stream of replacement soldiers, such that each soldier within a single unit had been serving in Vietnam for different periods of time (Hackworth and Sherman, 1989). Some military scholars fleetingly observe that fixed DEROS may have been partially responsible for 'short timers fever' in which soldiers reaching the end of their tour (short-timers) disengaged from combat (Bicknell and Brengle, 1971:96). Gabriel and Savage (1976) hold this policy accountable for frequent instances of mutiny, fragging<sup>1</sup>, desertion and the ultimate disintegration of order amongst the US military. Unlike more recent wars however, there is a vast wealth of soldiers' personal narratives accessible through the Library of Congress. This provides a unique opportunity to explore the temporal constituents of experience.

I attempt to animate traditional methods by taking a vitalist approach to archival materials made available by the Veterans History Project, focusing on the 'complexity and indeterminacy of things' (Greenhough, 2010:39) and the more-than-human character of world making (Anderson and Harrison, 2010). In the words of Latham (2003:2000) 'if pushed

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<sup>1</sup> The term fragging was coined during the Vietnam War and refers to the murder of members of the military, particularly commanders of a fighting unit

in the appropriate direction there is no reason why [traditional] methods cannot be made to dance a little’.

Throughout the analysis I draw upon Stewart’s (2007, 2010, 2012, 2014) concept of worlding and Deleuze and Guattari’s ‘refrain’ (1987:236) to understand how emergent capacities to affect and be affected enacted in tendencies of action and reaction, can cross into a ‘threshold of consistency’ such that soldiers may be subject to ‘individuation’ (McCormack 2002:477) in the form of ‘short timing’ and ‘arriving’.

My research questions are as follows:

- 1) Is there a divergence in the performative tendencies of soldiers approaching the end of their tour and new arrivals and how did this impact upon the social organisation within units?
- 2) How might time be thought of as being implicated in the affective composition of short timers and new arrivals?
- 3) What do the soldiers’ accounts suggest about how temporality is experienced?

These research questions are addressed across four sections in the data analysis. In ‘Short timers’ my discussion of time emphasises how the potential ‘future’ and compositional ‘past’ are implicated in the experience of waiting to return home. I examine how memories of home and expectations of fixed DEROS were productive of hopeful becomings. I consider how these becomings motioned changes in short-timer’s capacities to affect and be affected, and the effects this had on the social organisation within units. The following section ‘Counting down the days: the performative calendar’ highlights the affectivity of time-consciousness and examines how time was apprehended in Vietnam through relations between bodies and the calendars used by soldiers to track the duration of their tour.

‘Fucking New Guys’ examines how expectation and anticipation impact upon the affective intensity of encounters and how the development of somatic memory are implicated in bodily attunements to novel environments. This section also reflects on how the performative tendencies of new arrivals impacted upon unit cohesion. Earlier discussions of anticipation



and expectation are expanded on in the final section 'Out on the field and after the firefight' through a focus on rhythm and temporal sensitivity to examine how timespace slows down and speeds up.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This section contextualises the emergence of non-representational theories in geography, introduces the concept of affect and draws connections between the Vietnam War and recent non-representational approaches to geopolitics. It addresses the concepts of duration, rhythm and refrains as philosophical roots from which time has been conceptualised within the discipline. It also notes gaps in the literature with regards to temporality and signposts areas that have been identified as potential foci for future enquiry.

### **An introduction to non-representational theories**

Geography's 'New Cultural Turn' (Nayak et al 2013:111) gained momentum in the late 1980s and 1990s. New cultural geography adopted a radically constructivist view of life, focused primarily on representation and how power is legitimated and facilitated by the symbolic production and reproduction of meaning (Duncan, 1993; Cosgrove, 1985; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988). The move was key to historicising, and thereby denaturalising, concepts like race and gender. The turn drew upon diverse theoretic traditions such as Feminist theory, Marxism and Postcolonial theory, conceptualising landscapes as 'ways of seeing' (see Wylie, 2007a).

There are a number of problems with this approach. Reality cannot be reduced to its socio-linguistic construction and subjects do not relate to the world simply by processes of interpretation and representation (Anderson and Harrison 2010). Furthermore agency is distributed across a multiplicity of bodies as opposed to being exclusively human (Whatmore, 2002; Latour, 2005). Things happen before and beyond reflective consciousness (Thrift, 2008). As Ingold (1995:58) observed 'something must be wrong somewhere, if the only way to understand our own creative involvement in the world is by first taking ourselves out of it'.

In response to a systemic privileging of the visual, a number of geographers began to emphasise the importance of multisensory embodiment, drawing upon phenomenologists such as Maurice Merleau-Ponty (Wylie, 2007a). Geography's engagement with embodiment

became gradually post-phenomenological, emphasising the autonomy of non-human bodies and conceptualising intentionality as relational and always emergent as opposed to an essential condition of experience (Ash and Simpson, 2014). Rather than subjects 'being in the world' (Merleau-Ponty, 1945:99) they are part of it, constitutive of and constituted by the multiplicity of changing assemblages (Anderson et al, 2012) that compose the world in its continual emergence.

Non-representational theories (NRT) (Thrift, 1996) have roots in Actor Network Theory (Latour, 2005; Law, 1999) and Deleuze and Guattari's heterodox post-structuralism (Gregory et al, 2009). These theories recognise that our knowledge of the world is lived, embodied and entangled with how we do things (Warterton, Forthcoming). These theories have a renewed emphasis on the processual (see Bergson 1911 and Whitehead 1978) and conceptualise subjects and space as always becoming. Non-representational theories (or 'more-than-representational theories' see Lorrimer, 2005) do not dismiss the significance of representation but treat representations as performances rather than 'codes to be broken' (Dewsbury et al, 2002:438).

## **Conceptualising affect**

'Affect rises in the midst of in betweenness....an impingement or extrusion of a momentary or sometimes more sustained state of relation as well as a passage (and the duration of passage) of forces and intensities' (Seigworth and Gregg, 2010:1).

While affect is key to understanding non-representational theory's epistemological and ontological realignment, there is 'no stable definition' of this complex term (Thrift, 2008:175). In a discussion of Spinoza's ethics, Brown and Stenner (2001:86) describe affect as 'an emergent property of the encounter...emergent orderings of the relational field' that act in bodies as accumulative dispositions for action. Affects increase or decrease powers to act (euphoric and dysphoric affects respectively) (Brown and Stenner, 2001, Deleuze 1997). It rises out of encounters or relations, reconfiguring these relations such that affects arise from these new arrangements. Affect is therefore in constant generation and flux, always already there as a transhuman, preconscious, autonomous field (Masumi, 1995).

Affect is felt within bodies as feeling and expressed and registered as emotion. Each are distinct and their interrelations are far more complex than the linear triad would suggest (Carter and McCormack, 2014). Perhaps a better way of understanding affect is that it can be felt within bodies, but cannot be reduced to what is felt. These feelings may or may not be registered as emotion. There are complex feedback loops between these affective/emotional realms such as 'affectively imbued thoughts' and 'thought imbued intensities' (Connolly, 2002 cited in Anderson, 2006:737). Affects transcend as well as flow beneath and parallel to signification (or conscious sense making), circulating around as well as between and within bodies (Warterton, forthcoming).

### **Morale, Vietnam and the rotation policy**

The Vietnam War uniquely serves as a reminder that American 'power was once flanked' in a 20<sup>th</sup> century conflict (Ullman, 1996). Anderson (2006:220) observes that 'power is doomed to be a secondary capture or control of affect. Affect names the aleatory dynamics of an indefinite life'. In the case of Vietnam, the dynamic affective qualities of the war undermined American state objectives. Morale is often cited as a reason for the unsatisfying outcome of the Vietnam War (from the perspective of the US Government). After the War, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Maxwell Taylor, stated 'we still find no plausible explanation for the strength of the Vietcong...they have the recuperative power of the phoenix...an amazing ability to maintain morale' (Record, 1998:30).

Morale cannot be targeted or measured directly, it is vague and elusive, distributed throughout bodies, collectives and events. Therefore in wartime 'all life' becomes a proxy for morale (Anderson, 2006). Morale is a collective affect that is an 'object-target' of power: a 'hinge' between desired outcomes and actions that are obstacles to modalities of power (Anderson, 2014:24). 'Morale wins wars' (Pope, 1941:195). It has an indefinite potentiality for mass mobilisation as a means of destruction and security. Pope (1942:195) cites the Napoleon dictum that 'in war morale forces are to physical as three to one'. Morale has been described as an 'intense fellow feeling' and 'infectious gaiety' (Landis 1941:332 cited in Anderson, 2014), co-constitutive of 'esprit de corps' (Hocking, 1941:311) that allows bodies to invest trust in

the future in spite of an uncertain present. It is thereby intimately linked with, but not reducible to, hope. For combatants it manifests itself as a will to fight or combat readiness (Estorick, 1941). Morale is a virtual predictability (Arendt, 1958) in the dense 'not yet' (Bloch, 1986). It is the aleatory nature of affect that enables modalities of power that are future orientated.

With new knowledges and technologies aimed at understanding and manipulating affective beings and atmospheres (Clough, 2007), affect is becoming more important than ideology to the state apparatus (Massumi, 2002). Affect and war has primarily been discussed in the context of the war on terror (Massumi, 2010; O'Tuathail, 2003; McCormack and Carter, 2014; Anderson 2006, 2010b, 2014). The affective manipulation of bodies is not new however (Anderson, 2014). Over centuries morale has featured as an object of power associated with increasingly sophisticated military knowledges. A number of techniques were employed by the American Military in Vietnam that are suggestive of the ways in which affect became a target of power.

The first of these regards a number of technique's used to damage the enemy's morale and the other refers to the design of the rotation policy and fixed DEROS to foster hope among American soldiers. In a memorandum to the President's special assistant for national security affairs in March 1965, Chester L. Cooper of the National Security Council Staff proposed to:

'begin small scale VNAFF [Vietnam Air Force] air strikes against the DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] under 34A operations... If the North Vietnamese were subject to surprise air attack around the clock...this should sap their zeal for the war by building anxiety'

These military operations are not aimed at the destruction of a palpable entity: their object is indeterminacy itself, to affectively imbue horizons with a virtual threat and to dissipate hopes of victory. These tactics, though used extensively in bombing campaigns in World War II (in Dresden, for example), become especially important in guerrilla warfare. In the Vietnam War and the 'war on terror', the imagined enemy is obscure and distributed through space.

The second way the American military attempted to modulate affective forces was through the fostering of morale among combat troops. These techniques aimed to instil a confidence, enthusiasm and hope that can be mobilised for death. Lyndon Johnson's choice to limit soldiers' tours in Vietnam to 12 months was made partly on the assumption that fixed DEROS would give soldiers' 'something to look forward to' and 'be good for morale' (Gabriel and Savage, 1979:28). The policy remained unchanged throughout the war, despite warnings from prominent military psychologists about the damaging effects of rotation. The rotation policy was introduced for the hope it might generate. Hope was misunderstood as having an unproblematic relationship with morale. I explore the relationship between expectations of fixed DEROS and hope in my data analysis.

The greatest criticisms levied at the rotational policy was its assumed impacts on primary cohesion (Griffith, 1988). Morale is both the effect and result of 'Esprit de corps' (Hocking, 1941:311) that allows bodies to go on in spite of the present. The emergence of extra-kin relations among military units have continued to mystify academics across disciplines. Swann et al (2012:1) names the phenomenon as 'identity fusion', a 'visceral feeling of oneness' where boundaries between bodies become more porous. These visceral feelings of oneness are not simply a product of discursive processes and imaginative geographies of the nation. They are introduced and amplified by shared, embodied experiences. This unity is not 'the subject's expansion or multiplication but its exposure to what ...turns it inside out: a dizziness, a syncope, a spasm in the continuity of the subject.' (Esposito 1998 17).

The rotation policy was such that units in combat were maintained by a constant stream of replacement soldiers. Famously, the army officer John Paul Vann described the American army as not having been 'in Vietnam for nine years, but for one year nine times' (Gentry, 2011:87). In earlier wars armies rotated units out of battle when their numbers were low for the reconstruction of primary groups (Gabriel and Savage, 1967). Hackworth and Sherman (1989:601) argued that the rotation policy generated units of strangers and military isolates. Gabriel and Savage (1976:341) are unconvinced of arguments that accelerated disintegration toward the end of the war was a consequence of ideology: 'an awakening to the immorality of the war and the stirring of true consciousness'. Instead the authors argue that higher rates

of desertion, mutiny, fragging and the army's eventual disintegration resulted from a lack of primary group cohesion. Bey (1972) and Bicknell and Brengle (1971) demonstrate rare yet fleeting insights into the divergent characters of soldiers at the beginning and end of their tour. I will attend to the relationship between the fixed DEROS policy, the performative tendencies of soldiers and their impacts upon group cohesion.

### **Philosophical ontologies of time: duration, rhythm analysis and refrains**

There is no overarching concept of time in human geography and coherently presenting the diverse debate is challenging (Dodgshon, 2008a). Hagerstrand's time-geography (1975, 1982) was arguably the first notable departure from the discipline's spatial preoccupation. Hagerstrand saw time as a finite resource that shaped individuals' everyday routines. Though Hagerstrand has been criticised for his structuralist approach (Merriman, 2012a) and for failing to problematize clock time (Dodgshon, 2008a), his work sparked an interest in how time is experienced in everyday life (Thrift and May 2001).

Since the 1960s an abundance of research has revealed the ways in which social time<sup>2</sup> differs between individuals and societies (Adam, 1995; Mills, 2000; Glennie and Thrift, 2009). Much of this work has addressed how the use of chronometered time was fashioned through natural rhythms, technologies, institutions, the cultivation of cognitive and embodied knowledges (Glennie and Thrift, 2009) and dominant social systems (Harvey, 1989, 1990) and how clock-time has shaped peoples' perceptions of time through the lens of cost (Thrift, 1980). These 'linear times' are criticised by Lefebvre (2004) and Thompson (1967) for serving the needs of capitalist production. Regrettably, exploring geography's broad engagement with time is beyond the scope of this dissertation. This section instead outlines a number of

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<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that there is a wealth of geographical research concerning social time. For example the implications of the mapping of linear time onto social life in the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries is explored at great lengths by Jeffrey (2010), Yian (2004) and Argenti (2005). Following Said (1995) there are countless studies exploring the symbolic violence associated with conceptions of linear time and progress.

temporal philosophies that have been drawn upon by non-representational theorists and have influenced my analysis. These include: duration, rhythm analysis, and refrains.

Radically divergent from Hagerstrand's time-geography, the emergence of 'New Bergsonism' within the discipline has followed on from a growing emphasis on processuality and non-representational theory (Thrift and May, 2001; Watson, 1998). Processual philosophies adopted by non-representational theorists are arguably inspired by Bergson's concept of duration (1911). Duration is self-differentiation of internal singularities comprising things. This process creates differences between bodies that renders them amenable to comparison. Becomings are 'contingent only on their capacity to link with, to utilize, and transform' in unbecoming (Grosz 2005:10). As such, life emerges through different stratum of temporal scales. Things are mapped temporally relative to each other, divisible into different fluxes but participating in a single flow.

Game (1997) criticises Bergson's emphasis on flow, arguing that understanding change must take into account moments of rupture. Bergson has also been criticised on the grounds that space is articulated as 'a sort of screen that denotes duration' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1998:485; Thrift and May, 2001; Thrift 2000). Time does not have a monopoly on change (McCormack, 2008): instead time and space are mutually implicated in becomings and unbecomings. If time is multifarious movement – an open-ended force of change and the dynamism of overlapping rhythms – space is the fluid assemblage of these elements in relation to one another. Space is not passive but feeds back into motion. As Latour (1997:178) argues, time's motion is 'dependent on its alignment with other entities'. Neither space nor time can exist in isolation: rather timespace is an expression of 'relations between the entities themselves' (Thrift, 2000:214).

Though Bergson has been criticised for his conception of space, geographers have been equally criticised for their neglect of time. Thrift and May (2001:3) and Massey (2005:3) criticised geography's 'spatial turn' of the 1990s, arguing that geographical enquiry must attend to the spatio-temporal configurations of experience as opposed to privileging space over time. These theorists challenge the dichotomies of space and time instead employing the terms 'timespace' and 'space-time' respectively and have undertaken important steps to



move beyond the guise of Newtonian and Euclidean concepts of space and time (Merriman, 2012ab).

Rhythmic conceptions of time, and research into the temporality of spaces (through speeds and slowness), have gained more traction in geography both through mobilities studies (Edensor, 2010; Adey et al 2014) and non-representational theory (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Simpson, 2008). This work draws upon Lefebvre's (2004) 'rhythmanalysis' which attends to the way in which interlocking rhythms populate spaces.

Though rhythmanalysis claims to foreground the body (Lefebvre 2004), Simonsen argues that (2008:824) 'we need to make explicit our conception of the body rather than simply saying that the body is significant'. Time and motion are always relational (Adey, 2009). To understand slowness and speed we need to take account the position from which they are practiced and experienced (Vannini, 2014). The final section of the data analysis, 'Out of the field and after the firefight', will bring the body back into focus, drawing upon rhythmanalysis, Deleuzes' (1994) conception of expectation and more recent work by Ash (2012ab, 2013ab). Following Lefebvre (2004) this dissertation integrates an understanding of how the experience of time is impacted by how it is represented (Crang, 2001) and grasped chronometrically (Elden, 2004).

Though Lefebvre found Bergson's philosophies problematic (McCormack 2008), Deleuze and Guattari (1987) draw upon both duration and rhythm in their concept of the refrain to provide a useful tool from which to view the interactions of emergent timespace. A refrain is a rhythm, a dynamic mode of being held together by repetition (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). When assemblages of refrains cross into a threshold of consistency they may result in 'individuation' (McCormack 2002:476) or rather a tentative stabilisation of capacities to affect and be affected. Stewart's concept of worlding (2007, 2010, 2012, 2013) is useful here as modes of being, bodily attunements and world-making that arise with performative tendencies. She combines her work with that of Deleuze and Guattari in 'worlding refrains' (2010:339). The concept of the refrain has also been appropriated by other contemporary theorists such as McCormack (2013, 2010, 2002) and Bertelsen and Murphie (2010). These concepts feature highly in my analysis of soldiers becoming 'short' and 'arriving'.

## **Engaging with the past: the virtual, habit, memory and expectation**

Despite geography's growing efforts to engage with time, Hill (2013) observes that non-representational theory has largely been thought out spatially. Similarly, concerns have been raised that non-representational theories creep towards a form of 'presentism', neglecting the ways in which the present synthesises the past within itself at various levels of contraction (Jones, 2011; Dodgshon, 2008b; Hill, 2013). Merriman (2012a, 2014) argues that a lack of engagement with past practices stem from the challenges associated with using performative methods for historic enquiry and from fears of methodological conservatism that bind theorists to these novel methods.

The present is laden with a wealth of temporalities (Dogshon, 2008b). Time for Deleuze does not move from one actual to another but from the 'virtual manifold to its actualised synthesis' (Williams, 2013:73): It is an auto-affective entity that distributes and gathers the past and future unevenly into the present (Voss, 2013). Discussions of the virtual often centre on the indeterminacy of the present (Massumi, 1995), though it is also used to denote the totality of the temporal spectrum (Osborne, 1995:49). As Jones (2011:877) argues, 'potentialities of the present rest upon creative forces flowing through time and not simply on the indeterminacy of the present moment'.

Repetition produces difference in the form of expectation and anticipation. Expectant becomings synthesise an orientation towards a future through the contraction of the past into the present (Deleuze, 1994). Events are necessarily inspired by states of anticipation and happenings that shatter expectation (Vannini, forthcoming). Bissell (2007) affirms the importance of considering expectation and anticipation, expanding his analysis to highlight the importance of how we perceive time and calculate the temporality of events-to-come.

The virtual past, repetition and expectation are important considerations when understanding the experiences of Soldiers in Vietnam. This is revealed both in the experiences of waiting for DEROS and in the way in which the bodies of new arrivals attune to radically divergent modes of being. These worldings were necessarily mediated through habit and memory.

The body is a site of a plurality of temporal retentions and expectations. Describing the 'first synthesis of time' Deleuze (1994), following David Hume, describes habit as contractions of the past which constitute a living present in the body. Anderson (2004), Ravisson (2008) and Bissell (2014) provide insight into how habit involves changes in bodies' capacities to affect and be affected. Taking a post-phenomenological approach to habit, Dewsbury (2000) and Ash (2012ab, 2013ab) illustrate how non-human agents solicit in situ habits, such that somatic memory is enacted through relations between the body, the present actual and the virtual.

Memory makes up fundamental components of the performative moment (Jones, 2011). Jones (2011: 875) describes memories as 'embers: traces of lifeworlds that can be disturbed or fanned to burst back into life'. Memory does not simply concern the relations between bodies and time, but involves complex interactions between bodies and manifold timespaces in which they are implicated. Recently emergent 'spectral geographies' (Wylie, 2007b) have highlighted the importance of absences to the experience of landscape. Hill (2013) and Jones (2011) are two notable examples of theorists that attend to the non-representational nature of memory as both embodied and haunted by the spectral: the 'ceaseless becoming past of the present in all its inescapable resonance' (Hill 2013:1).

Soldiers in Vietnam waiting to return home were composed by a number of temporal forces. I shall explore the significance of memories of home, somatic memory and expectation to their constitution, attending to how the virtual actualises in the present. Drawing upon Bissell (2007) and Ash (2012ab, 2013ab) in particular, I will attend to the ways in which time-consciousness and non-human agents are implicated in these experiences.

## METHODOLOGY

To produce my research material I spent 3 weeks in the Library of Congress transcribing oral histories, tracing refrains across the accounts and selecting specific narratives to integrate into my analysis. In the following section I make use of 36 accounts. This selection amounts to 15 hours and 15 minutes of video, 6 hours and 32 minutes of audio, 6 transcripts, 2 memoirs and 3 images. To access non-digitalised archives I obtained a Reader Identification Card and contacted the Veterans History Project. I reviewed these collections in the American Folklife Center and accessed the virtual archives in the Library of Congress public research areas. Under the fair use doctrine of the U.S. copyright statute (Title 17 of the U.S. Code) the use of portions of these accounts for the production of scholarly material is permitted.

These collections form part of the Veterans History Project which aims to preserve the personal narratives of American war veterans and civilian workers who supported them. The project was founded in 2000 and has collected over 65000 items in the form video and audio-taped interviews, memoirs, correspondence and photographs. Many of the interviews were undertaken by high school students in their final years of study who have been trained by the project on how to conduct interviews. Sample questions provided by the project to structure interviews can be found in Appendix 2. Whilst ideally I would have conducted these interviews myself, from an ethical perspective I have not received the appropriate training and am therefore not qualified to subvert the psychological damage that the recollection of trauma may provoke (Morin, 2013).

The majority of soldiers whose accounts were used in the analysis were drafted. Those that were enlisted often reported enlisting because they believed they would inevitably be drafted and thought enlisting would make their commanding officers look upon them favourably. This limits the scope of enquiry to those who were waiting to return home as opposed to the soldiers hoping to further their career in the Army. An exception is Bain Hobson for his insights into the delinquent behaviours of short timers from the perspective of a commanding officer. Basic facts about the individual soldiers are available in Appendix 1.

The methods employed privilege those aspects of experience that are recollected then translated into verbal speech patterns. This obscures some phenomena over others. For example, it is easier to talk about activity than passivity such that reviewing personal narratives to understand performativity has a tendency to privilege the body-in-action (Bissell 2007). The pronouncements of soldiers themselves reminded me of all those things left unsaid 'I left a few things out just because I don't want to talk about them' (Darwin Edwards) and all those things unsayable 'the ferocity of the experience...you can't recreate that' (Larry Miller). Furthermore the analysis was shaped by the ways in which I was affected by the material, those who caught my attention, the charismatic, the great storytellers like Arthur Wiknik, those who elicited strong emotions (Robert Alekna for example) and those able and willing to discuss their experiences. Similarly reading transcripts and memoirs kept me attentive to fleeting mentions whilst listening to audio and video recordings made it easier to slip in and out of attention, engaging more with the material when those voices oozed emotion or gathered speed. To combat this I transcribed all audio and video recordings.

As referred to previously, remembrance is not a contraction of a perfectly preserved past into the present but are events that are transformed and transformative as they enter into novel assemblages of timespace (Vannini, 2002). I do not consider these acts of remembrance as representations of what once occurred but neither do I want to treat them as veils laden with intentions to be exposed. Considering how to treat these performances reveals the inherent difficulty in taking a non-representational approach to a historic case. Even the ontologies of time I employ to understand the experiences of soldiers seem to jar with my focus on historic events. If the 'past' can only exist in its becoming present a more appropriate approach to the material would be to try and understand what it does in the present as opposed to what it suggests about the past.

These challenges however, should not discourage non-representational theorists from experimenting with historical geographies (Merriman 2012b). As Bissell (2007:127) argues, performative methods 'focus the reader's attention on certain kinds of presences and practices at the expense of others'. The past is difficult to trace when we are limited to the use of novel methods (Merriman 2012a, 2014). In accounting for the non-representational,

one faces an impossible task. Our tasks as non-representational theorists will always be to fail, but to fail better (Dewsbury 2009, Vannini Forthcoming).

Following on from Stewart (2010) I traced refrains throughout the material. As opposed to beginning with firm research questions I tried to stay flexible, attuning to the surprising and listening to absences. Though morale featured heavily in my initial interest to study Vietnam it was not mentioned in any material I encountered so does not feature explicitly in my data analysis.

I take a vitalist approach to these archival materials (Dwyer and Davies 2010). Instead of portraying experience through rational behaviour, cognitive planning and determinism I want to emphasise the hybridity and relationality of life. I pay attention to sensuous practices and the affective dimensions of experience. Subjects will be viewed through the lens of transformation, attending to what bodies do as opposed to what they are. I will not neglect the conscious reflection of soldiers in my analysis but treat them as emerging from a background of non-cognitive knowing (Anderson and Harrison 2010) and examine how these thoughts and are affectively-imbued (Connolly 2002).

I do not want to pass judgments on the causes of American losses nor the relative importance of factors that contributed to poor unit cohesion. Instead I focus on how temporal factors bore upon the worldings of soldiers given the unique military policy employed. I am not concerned with the dynamics of the Vietnam War but with the unique opportunity these archives provide to furthering our understanding of how temporality is experienced.

## DATA ANALYSIS

### Short timers

The analysis focuses on soldiers in Vietnam who described waiting to return home. Non-representational accounts of waiting are largely absent from geographical inquiry (Bissell, 2007). Heightened suspense and surplus time are two forms of waiting identified by Jeffrey (2008) that were frequently articulated in soldiers' accounts. James Baumbarger described the war as a 'jungle war...guerrilla warfare. There was very little frontline if there was any at all, and you never knew what was gonna happen'. Guerrilla warfare was formative of heightened suspense associated with the uncertainty of waiting punctuated by ambushes, patrols and booby traps. Most of the fighting took place at night where a 'terrible dark' and 'dead quiet...automatically makes you pretty nervous' (Darwin Edwards), the air so 'full of anticipation you could hear a pin drop' (Bruce Fosburgh). The reduced visibility and 'eerie silences' (Arthur Wiknik) tied to diurnal rhythms modulated affective atmospheres such that soldiers felt 'constant stress at night never knowing what was going to happen' (Isaac Holmes.) or 'where the enemy's at' (Lawrence Eder).

Waiting for the unknown involves attuning to an 'unforeclosed experience' (Stewart, 2013:447; Berlant, 2010). This is a worlding on the fringe of an event-to-be (Bissell, 2007) in which the senses are brought to attention both passively and intentionally: 'waiting for an ambush you had to be very vigilant' (Milton Harmon). Soldiers also referred to having 'an awful lot of down time' (Bruce Fosburgh), the everyday rhythms of life characterised by 'boredom' interspersed with 'chaos' (Don Webber). A number of strategies were employed by soldiers to speed up the perceived duration of 'dead time' (Moran, 2004:218): 'we played a lot of basketball, which helped kill time' (Kent Decker). This section however does not focus on experiences of suspense or boredom, but instead the worldings co-constitutive of waiting to return home. This involves an analysis of how the virtual bears upon hopeful becomings, anxious dispositions and effects the social organisation within military units.

McCormack (2010:203) describes the virtual as the 'necessarily more than actual real excess of the world' and experience as leaning into 'a chromatic fringe where the actual and virtual mix'. The present is characterised by a projection into the unknown that is as affective and as real as what we may consider to be the material, actual constituents of the now. The virtual 'not yet', anticipation and unknowing, bears upon worldings that co-constitute 'scenes of a life' (Stewart, 2014:556). These wordings are partial stabilisations of practices, tendencies, capacities and affective conditions in a recursive patterning (Stewart, 2014). Temporal facets are compositional elements in the accrual of modes of existing, of sensual world-making and associated refrains.

For soldiers in Vietnam, spaces of home and freedom loom on the horizon, growing more vivid with proximity to the DEROS. Hope does not emerge from within subjects; rather the perceptual progression of linear time was generative of hopeful becomings. Becoming hopeful involves disrupting circulations of dysphoric affects. An exposure to the *almost* but not yet ruptures 'diminishing organisations of spacetime' (Anderson, 2006:746) from which hopefulness emerge. When soldiers felt the end of their tour was approaching, they self-identified as 'short timers'. The broaching of this threshold implied a reconstitution of relations that motioned changes in soldiers' capacities to affect and be affected that were potentially 'life enhancing' (Nietzsche, 1986, cited in Anderson 2006:749). 'Short timing' can be thought of as the everyday work of attuning to this reworlding.

However hope is inevitably precarious (Bloch, 1998) and intimately allied to tragedy. For the soldiers, returning home implied evading death. Hope moves here into a multiplicity of intensities, amplifying a sense of mortality and vulnerability. The transition across the threshold into short-timers territory gave new gravity to the immanent. Hope can catalyse the intensification of additional figurations of excess, creating tensions and anxieties, adding a new weight to embodied experience.

Hope was enacted through affirmations of short timer status: the repetitive colouring of a calendar, the wielding of short-timer sticks and short-timers jokes for example. These hopeful expressions have been described as a 'prophylactic' to debilitating corporeal afflictions of acute combat reaction (Goodwin, 1987). However 'short timers syndrome' was also



associated with 'psychosis' (Longely, 2008) and violent outbursts, such as the fragging of officers.

'With short timers...you run the risk of the guy shooting you...putting a hand grenade in a bush next to where you were standing and saying "Oh, Geeze he hit a booby trap"' (Dave Powell)

'As you got close to getting out guys would take on a new personality, we had something called short timers syndrome...now you become super nervous, especially when you get down to two months or less, now you're really close to going home and you didn't want be around new guys, you didn't want to be around people, you didn't want anybody to screw up your chances of going home in one piece.' (Arthur Wiknik)

This worlding can be linked to discursive and prediscursive time (Gilbert-Walsh, 2010). Wiknik imagined he was temporally 'close' to home. This comprehension of time as an accumulation of discrete homogenous units sketched out spatially acted as an affectively charged imaginative proximity that is repetitively apprehended (see Connolly 2002 on affectively imbued thoughts). Memories of home and this chronological time-consciousness are overlapping refrains that function as a catalytic trigger for an 'affective-complex' (McCormack, 2010:213) generative of other refrains that circulate in this worlding attunement. Discursive time however, has roots in prediscursive time (Gilbert-Walsh, 2010) in that it is associated with 'chance' and 'risk' (see above quotes from Powell and Wiknik). Though we cannot apprehend 'prediscursive' time, for as soon as we do it becomes discursive, time theorists as divergent as Heidegger and Bergson refer to temporality itself as the necessary condition of possibility (Gilbert-Walsh 2010). The indeterminacy of life, often the focus of non-representational modes of thought, intrinsically has a temporal dimension.

The Deleuzo-Guattarian refrain is associated with the expressive making or unmaking of a territory according to the functionality of rhythms (Simonsen, 2010). As the territory becomes secured, so the refrain is 'picked up' or reiterated by others who come to occupy the same space[time]' (Brown and Capdevila, 1999:37). As Bertelsen and Murphie (2010) postulate, after a territory has expressive basis, aggression will follow. The worlding refrains co-

productive of becoming 'short' involved a process of territorialising: a mounting entitlement to return home the 'shorter' a soldier became. This entitlement was defended through aggression towards soldiers who represented a threat to their safety. This is reminiscent of research by Katz (2002) which suggests that being held in suspense can be generative of impatient performances, involving fleeting expressions of aggression and anger.

The partial stabilisation of tendencies, practices and capacities that emerge through both immanence, resonance, affectively imbued memories (Wylie, 2010) and affectively charged thoughts (Conolloy 2002, 2011) impact upon the social organisation in timespace. These extracts suggest that short timers have both the capacity to incite fear (as a 'risk') creating orientations of bodies away from 'short timers' as well as orientating their own bodies away from others due to their bodies' affective condition of 'nervousness'. The asymmetric temporal relations between DEROS and different bodies had disruptive effects on military units. The physical and emotional distancing of 'short timers' from their units disrupted visceral feelings of oneness, which are assumed to propel a unit into action. The DEROS generated hope as General Johnson expected, but hope and morale do not have an unproblematic relationship:

'Once you became considered short...now you got something to look forward to...the bulk of my tour is over... as you get closer to being home you change...you're not really paying attention to what's going on - no you're paying more attention but that's cuz you want to stay alive...but it's about getting home.' (Arthur Wiknik)

Anderson points out that 'hopefulness... exemplifies a disposition that provides a dynamic imperative to action in that it enables bodies to go on' (2006:744). The imperative to 'go on' can be constitutive of and constituted by very different affective intensities. Morale in battle is enacted as a will to go on within which hope (to live) is implicit, but not consciously experienced. However during times of conflict the intrusion of the DEROS involved transitions in which 'dispositions of hopefulness' (Anderson, 2006:746) translate this imperative into a distancing from hazards. The tragedy inherent in hope is felt impeding the body's capacity to be affected by euphoric affects associated with morale. Wiknik articulates how hope instils an affectively imbued orientation of 'attention' into the rhythms of life, directed at the

vulnerability of the body as opposed to the task at hand and making short timers 'useless to people out in the field' (Arthur Wiknik).

Hope brings new configurations of excess enacted in inaction as opposed to action (in the context of fighting the enemy). The uneven synthesis of timespaces in the bodily compositions of soldiers modulates affective excesses resulting in unanticipated effects like refusals to fight, abandonment and aggression: 'Short timing...kicked in about three months to go...things that kick in are refusals to go out on patrol' (David Powell). Incoming DEROS may be consciously apprehended, but as Ahmed (2004) illustrates, what is experienced consciously has bearing upon what is unconsciously felt. As suggested by Jeffrey (2008:956) prolonged periods of waiting for 'an object of fear or longing can erode a sense of the present'. Soldiers were described as 'withdrawing from Nam reality...at the 30-day mark' (Chris Woelek), demonstrating a multitude of performative tendencies such as becoming 'cautious' (Chris Woelek) and 'agitated easily' (Arthur Wiknik) that extended beyond the periods in which returning home was consciously apprehended. Ralph Brown described a 'complete total fear, and it wouldn't dissipate...there was never a safe place after that'. Emergent spatio-temporal relations between Brown and 'home' were co-productive of his short timer's status and transformed the affective qualities of timespace - or rather affective relations between his body, home and Vietnam – such that he became inescapably fearful.

But is this not simply a discussion of imaginative dynamics between spaces of home juxtaposed against those of the battlefield? The evidence for the corporeal, compositional role of affects like hope in this context lies in the temporal dimensions of the soldiers' accounts. There are numerous indications in the interviews that the performances of short-timers in the battlefield demonstrated a radically heightened and often debilitating 'nervousness', 'aggression', 'fear', 'attention' or even 'shock' despite inability to contemplate 'home' during battle:

'just start to looking forward to coming home ... now if you were out in the field you didn't have the luxury of even thinking of that but um like I say again I was back far enough that I could start thinking about one less day when I got up in the morning' (Jeffrey Ballman)

The significance of contrasting temporal dimensions (or rhythms) to the 'how' of performance and the constitution of spaces on the 'field' verses the 'back', will be discussed in greater depth in the section titled 'On the field and after the firefight'.

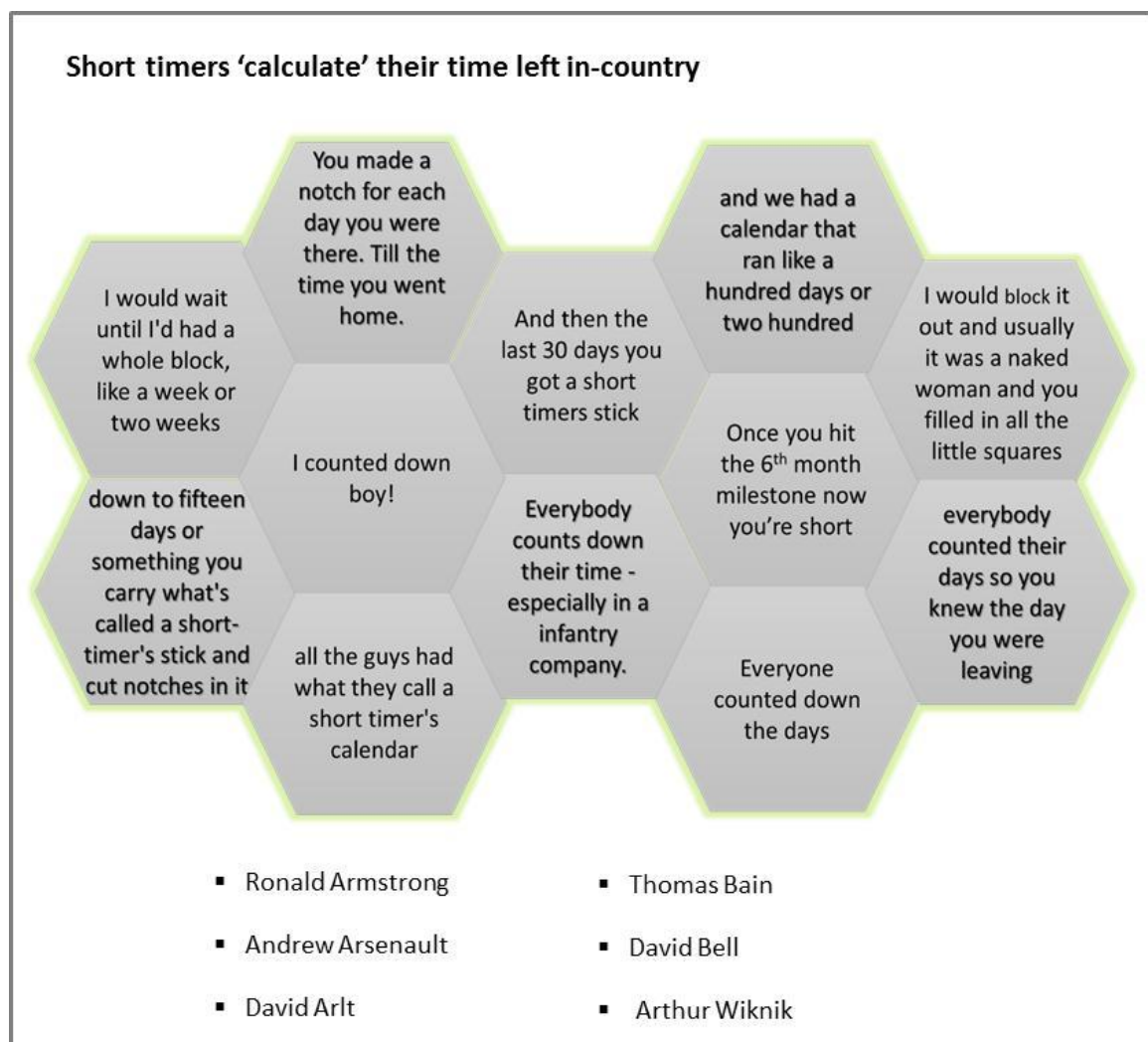
Becoming a short timer involved a bodily transition. The possibility of home becomes a worlding. Affectively imbued thoughts of a closeness to 'home' resonate in bodies such that though 'home' might not be consciously thought about during conflict, they cultivate affective conditions and 'stressed states'. Short timers were described as 'jumpy' and as paying 'more attention'. The capacities of short timers to be affected are increased: they become more receptive to affective stimuli. As such the experience of waiting 'transcends the surface categories of common sense experience' (Picarts, 1997:69).

### **Counting down the days: the performative calendar**

A refrain is a repetition that marks 'both a distance and a rhythm' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:260). There are certain dynamic interlocking refrains associated with short-timers. Their faster heart beats, physical outbursts, nervousness that vibrates through their bodies and makes them 'easily agitated' and 'aggressive' (Michael Buchanan) and their movements relative to the other soldiers within their unit. In the face of the changing spatio-temporal dimensions in which short timers are implicated the body 'learns to play itself like a musical instrument' (Stewart, 2010:341), a serial immersion in this new world on the brink of transformation.

To attune to this new mode of being, short timers repeatedly made references to their 'short' status with the use of humour: 'Yeah, you could tell when you were a short-timer, or not. You know, like some of 'em said, I'm so short I could walk under a snake and scratch his belly' (David Bell), 'When a guy had less than 100 days now you call yourselves two digit midgets...when you got down to less than 10 days people make jokes "I'm so short I can't see up"' (Michael Buchanan). Edward Allen articulated the need for 'black humour' as a way of 'surviving': 'I don't think a human can live in terror for a whole time...I can't imagine... sitting dwelling on –like in that environment –sitting and dwelling on the negatives and go on'. Short timers were constantly in flux, stricken by a heightened terror interspersed with 'relief'

(Michael Buchanan). The affective condition of nervousness was productive of hopeful performances that ruptured the circulation of dysphoric affects and enabled bodies to 'go on'. The most common performances of short timers referred to by interviewees was the practice of counting down the days left of their tour. In no previous conflict involving the US military had a soldier's tour of duty been fixed for a certain period of time. Each soldier was given an expected date of return (DePu, 2006). Every soldier interviewed counted down using a calendar and some with a 'short timers stick' later in their tour.



The body-subject undergoes 'affectual composition' in and through its relations with a material-agential world (Seigworth and Gregg, 2010). The production of the short timer's calendar is formative of an object which is performative itself. Post-phenomenology emphasises the importance of recognising the autonomy of objects (Ash and Simpson, 2014;

James, 2012; Lea, 2009; Harman, 2002). The production of the short-timers calendar is a co-performative refrain. The repetition, correlated to the cyclical rhythms of the diurnal cycle,



<https://www.pinterest.com/mrtierhistory/the-vietnam-war/>

creates the beginnings of order out of chaos, a calculation of the soldier's chance of survival. Stiegler (1998) introduces the idea that various tools and the material changes of timespace enabled something like time to be apprehended. Time-space mappings (Casasanto and Boroditsky, 2008) are commonly observed in the soldiers language 'close to going home' (Arthur Wlknik), but is also practiced through the calendar. This material structure is a blended space - an anchor that facilitates the projection of spatial concepts onto chronological time conception (Williams, 2004; Hutchins, 2005). The calendar allows for the approaching DEROS to be conceptualised and acts as a platform for the

inscription of memories of home.

As argued by Glennie and Thrift (2009) Ash (2012b) and Anderson (2004), time appears in various ways through bodily and material interactions. Becoming 'short' is, in part, enabled by a chronological time-consciousness. As Bissell (2007:199) argues, the experience of waiting for thresholds necessarily involves 'calculations of the temporality of the event-to-come'.

The perception of changes in the temporal relations between bodies and home, enabled by the calendar, modulates affective intensities which are 'cycled back' (Bertelsen and Murphie, 2010) such that performative tendencies manifest in bodies. The calendar spatializes time to produce a time consciousness. This chronometric grasping produces an orientation in time (Steigler 1998) which modulates the affective potential of the event-to-be and the contraction of the past:



present in these timespace blocks. Jermone Taddy's blocks increase in size slightly as the numbers decrease until the last 6 'stretch' across the page. This may well be indicative of the changing character of everyday life as new rhythms populate timespace with this experiential time progression. 'The Stretch' is an expression of this 'flux' Bergson describes, the way temporal experience is not homogenous, but the pace of life is variable. This 'stretch' resonates with accounts that describe the painstakingly slow rhythms that characterise everyday life for the soldiers as the promise of home weighs upon them. Arthur Wiknik opined that, ironically, 'counting down the days makes time drag'. This is reminiscent of Anderson's (2004) account of how the slowing of time emerges through the relations between bodies, practices and objects.

### **'Fucking New Guys'**

New arrivals (referred to as 'Fucking New Guys' or FNGs or Cherries) were not kinaesthetically attuned to novel environments in Vietnam:

'In combat you fall flat without thinking when you hear a gunshot. Newbies stand'  
(Donald Bennett)

'You're clumsy, you don't know the terrain, you don't know how to act, you've never been in combat before so, and guys kinda keep away from you' (Arthur Wiknik)

'New guys were dangerous, that's why you didn't associate with them. They'd trip, they'd stand...if you're near the new guy you're at greater risk... they're awfully clumsy. They're scared but they're scared for the first time so they're increasingly clumsier'  
(David Powell)

The terrain overwhelms the sensorium of 'newbies' because their encounters with the terrain are novel. Repetitive encounters compose bodies such that corporeal responses to reiterative stimuli are automatic (Ravissou 2008). The sporadic, clumsy movements of short timer's bodies jar with the sinuous rhythms of bodies that have had a longer duration in space. As in the case of the short timer, these disharmonious rhythms orientate other bodies away from FNGs. These new bodies are thus formative of a reorganisation of bodies in space.



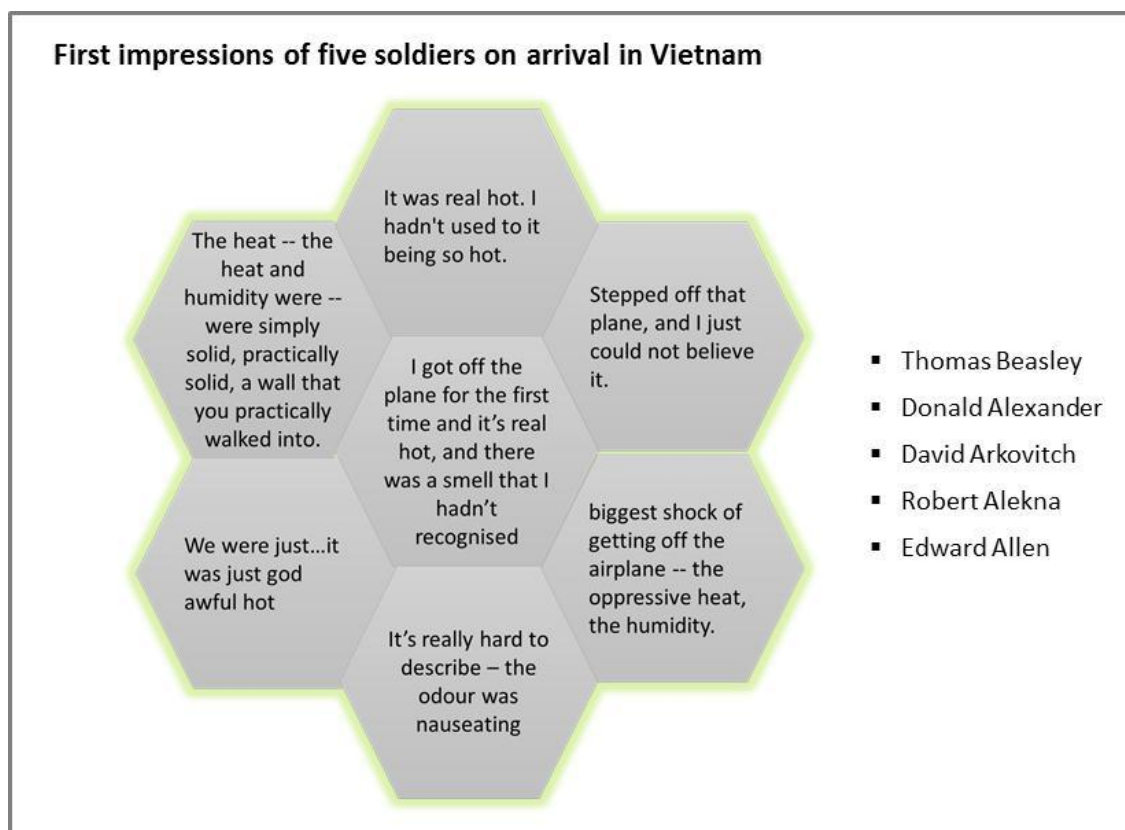
The above quotes from Bennett and Powell illustrate an experience of expectancy. Some ways in which bodies experience expectancy is through 'shock', 'tripping' or 'clumsiness' that occurs when something expected does not occur (Williams, 2008). Deleuze describes repetition as an experience when 'previous instances' (Williams 2008:94) are contracted into the living present as an orientation toward a future. Repetition produces difference as expectation. This is a passive synthesis of time in which bodies form certain unconscious relations with a future. These unconscious relations are generative of habits or rather tacit knowledge (Hinchliffe, 2000; Polanyi, 1966). Bissell (2014:128) describes the 'virtual infrastructures of habit' as potentially supportive of graceful as opposed to clumsy movement.

These concepts are helpful for understanding both why FNGs demonstrate 'clumsiness' and how this disposition subsides over time. The refrains of moving bodies prior to their service in Vietnam and throughout it, changes the capacities of bodies to move and sense such that repetition produces difference. The difference between home and Vietnam is enacted in clumsiness and the affective receptivity of the olfactory and haptic senses when bodies are out of place. The refrains in which bodies are implicated throughout their tour are productive of a worlding in which bodies become kinaesthetically attuned to their environment and less receptive to the affects that debilitate new arrivals.

The affective potential of an event is amplified when it is unexpected. This does not apply to only human elements. Deleuze (1994) uses the example of the sun rising: bodies are attuned to the repetitive patterns of the suns rising in the morning such that the rhythms of life -these embodied knowledges- are grounded in expectation. If the sun does not rise the affective potential of the event will be great because bodies and spaces were assembled in such a way to anticipate its rising. If bodies are somewhat composed by the anticipation (consciously or non-consciously) of a future event, an unexpected disruption is disorientating because bodies must attune to an event that their bodies were not composed by. Timespace is ruptured when the effects of an event (virtual or actual) create a dramatic disequilibrium such that space must be radically reconfigured. The generation of radically new relations and the transformation/deconstruction of others creates affective excesses. In the context of human

experience, encounters with events/other bodies that are novel are described as 'disorientating' and 'overwhelming' as the body must attune to a radically differentiated spatio-temporal assemblage.

Due to the different compositions of bodies in timespace their capacities to affect be affected by certain events/bodies is highly differentiated. The affective modality of association is such that bodies become attuned to their co-presence with other bodies in timespace: the repetition of these relations creates tacit knowledge resulting in a reduced capacity to be affected by these relations (Ravison, 2008). For example, soldiers arriving in Vietnam were intensely affected by novel encounters:



'I think the atmosphere, the stress that you felt, you felt a lot of when you came in because you had no idea what you were coming into' (Jeffrey Ballmann)

'The hot hits you, the smells. But one thing I've always reflected back on is how quickly you adjust...after a while you don't notice most of the smells that offend you when

you first get there...all of a sudden what offended your eyes you don't notice (Edward Allen)

The atmospheres the soldier encounters are described as 'oppressive' and 'solid'. The senses are overwhelmed by the novel. However as the body is comported by new spatial relations, certain sensuous experiences are diminished as the bodies capacity to be affected by 'odours', 'heat' and 'stress' decrease. Edward Allen describes this process as the body adjusting. The body unconsciously apprehends these encounters through association, attuning to the environment to decrease attention and receptiveness to stimuli (see Wilson and Sullivan, 1992) and equilibrium is reached. As Edensor (2010:5) argues, for bodies that are 'out of place', presence is reconfigured and spatio-temporal patterns 'reinstalled' through unreflexive, sensual and rhythmic attunements. This resonates with Ravisson's (2008) discussion of habit as cultivating modes of reflective freedom. Deleuze has expanded upon Ravisson's ideas with his concept of 'impersonality', which conceives habit not as coincident with bodies, but as implicated with the synthesis of time that brings bodies into being (Bissell, 2014).

In Anderson's (2004:739) discussion of boredom he cites an 'incapacity in habit', reiterative action and the fabrics of association as diminishing capacities to affect and be affected. In this context, a reduction of bodies' capacities to be intensely affected by certain stimuli prevents bodies from becoming overwhelmed, impeding inaction (standing still in conflict). Habits are thereby enabling as a 'sets of techniques for on-going coping of and within given forms of life' (Wittgenstein and Heidegger in Harrison, 2000:512).

### **Out on the field and after the firefight**

Shaw (2012) describes the changing nature of assemblages as the reshuffling of objects in and out of existence. As mentioned previously the affective potential of an event is amplified when it cannot be anticipated: when the reshuffling of assemblages necessitates a radically different constitution of bodies. Bodies attune to these new assemblages and the senses 'sharpen on the surfaces of things taking form' (Stewart, 2012:448). Timespace is experienced as 'fast' or 'slow' depending on the rhythms that populate the space (Edensor, 2010). However

these rhythms cannot be considered independently from their relations to the human body and senses when theorising temporal experience. As Lefebvre (2004) argues, the body forms the basis against which rhythms are sensed. Timespace and bodies are continuously emerging, but the reconstitution of timespace relative to the body has variable magnitudes or rather bodily attunements are variably dramatic. If the surfaces upon which the senses sharpen transform before the body has attuned to these changes, sensory (re)calibration and the rhythms that populate space exist disharmoniously (Lefebvre, 2004). This disharmony is productive of a certain tempo or pace in which time is experienced as speeding up.

This temporality is often experienced when the body is stilled during battle. Some soldiers described their attempts to register what was occurring around them but that things were 'happening too fast to keep track of' (James Mayer). Describing similar experiences many soldiers mentioned the soundscape, an affective 'temporal aesthetic' (Wunderlich, 2010:45), as particularly productive of this sense of pace 'shots...mortar rounds, rockets...you couldn't single out one instance' (Ralph Brown). This is supportive of Lefebvre (2004) and Ingold's (1993; 2000) conception of experiences of temporality as privileging the aural sense.

When bodies were in motion however, fast tempos were not experienced consciously but instead bodies were corporeally immersed in these rhythms. This unreflexive temporal immersion was embodied through the performance of somatic memory and creativity: 'then the training kicks in...my adrenaline just vaulted me forward' (Arthur Wiknik); 'you act first think later' (Chris Woelk); 'Adrenaline kicks in and you do it without thinking' (Steven Bobb); 'I hit the deck so fast...it's natural instinct' (Kent Decker).

The corporeal experience of pace described above suggests a differential calibration of certain bodily elements to different 'temporal resolutions'. Young (1988:41) describes the body as an array of 'interlocking cycles, with their own spheres of partial independence'. It is not simply the various elements of the body that are implicated in encounters, but the interface of these rhythms and the temporal sensitivity it affords the senses. The 'adrenaline' (Steven Bobb and Arthur Wiknik), faster heartbeats, and the performance of somatic memory all form part of a 'polyrhythmic ensemble' of refrains (Crang, 2000; Lefebvre, 2004; Edensor, 2010: XX) in timespace. Reflection appears somewhat impaired, a sensuous mode of being repressed by

this temporal immersion. Alternatively a lack of 'conscious' input is co-productive of this temporal experience:

'Someone is injured or killed you don't have the time or the capacity to grieve ... when it's over is when everything hits you. The adrenaline starts to wear off and the reality sets in of the pain that you've seen on your fellow marines' face or the vision of the Vietnamese head exploding because you just shot him in the eye. No time during the firefight but afterwards much reflection' (Larry Miller)

The nature of the body's motion in timespace and the tempi in which bodies are immersed shapes the potential for affects to become interpreted as particular emotions or translate into conscious reflection. Miller's account highlights an often overlooked facet of temporal experience: how 'fast' and 'slow' timespaces are differentially generative of certain types of memory and co-productive of different affective modes of expression.

When the body's motion forms part of a polyrhythm in 'fast paced' environments, memory tends to act in a dispositional as opposed to recollective manner. Similarly affects tend to be expressed as muscular engagements as opposed to being translated into emotions (grief in Miller's case). New affective possibilities enlist a body stilled or slowed (McCormack, 2002, 2005). When 'the adrenaline wears off' the events of the firefight become affective in a profoundly different way. As argued by Buetow (2004:22) when time is slowed one becomes 'highly conscious of themselves and their situation'. This tendency was also reflected in Jeffrey Ballman's observations discussed in the 'Short timers' section, in which he contrasts his ability to reflect on returning home out on the 'field' and in 'the back'. This tells us something about what Lefebvre (2004) describes as the rhythm of history

In the context of temporal sensitivity, Ash (2013a:192) discusses the way in which bodies have the capacity to act and react to events occurring within 'units of time far below conscious awareness':

'the first time I had to fire my weapon in anger....well- at the time that I—it was so automatic that I felt nothing. I just did it. And it was – in the heat –heat of the moment.

I mean enemy troops are running and you fire...“I just shot a kid”. He was crying. The kid runs out and he said it surprised him... at this time there’s –we’re fighting...just saw some movement in front of him and fired...I found they were too easy to use... I fired a number of times ...no second thoughts... Maybe the smells of the cordite and the sounds. That was enough’ (Robert Alekna)

The body is the site of a plurality of temporal relations (Williams, 2012). The affective encounter between the soldier’s body and the motion of the child has multiple layers of interrelation that develop at different speeds relative to one another. The affective encounter is generative of a muscular contraction before the process of sense-making has ‘time’ to occur. The performance of shooting occurred before the sight had attuned to the body in motion.

Many of the soldiers refer to their ‘training kicking in’ (Arthur Wiknik) on the battlefield. The drills described in soldiers’ accounts of their training are suggestive of how the repetitive action of shooting in response to ‘gunfire’, ‘movement’ and ‘cordite’ generate an affective amplification (Ash, 2012a). This affective amplification speeds the translation of affect such that the effects of these encounters materialise at a faster pace (Ravison, 2008). This is an example of how enmeshing bodies within assemblages reproduce an ‘automatism of repetitions’ (Lefebvre, 2004:40) used by the military to direct the actions of bodies. In addition to the development of somatic memory, the gun acts as a tertiary retention (Ash, 2012b; Steigler, 1998; Protevi, 2011). Tertiary retentions are the inscription of memory into arterial forms such that they carry the potential for ‘the transmission of affect across time and space’ (Ash, 2012a:18). In addition the cyborg subject (Cote, 2010; Merriman, 2012b) that emerges from relations between the gun and the body form new capacities to affect and be affected. Through these relations, parts of the sensorium become recalibrated to different time sensitivities.

Different internal elements that constitute the human body may be probabilistically calibrated to different time sensitivities, or rather able to harmonise with different rhythms. However, in the words of Spinoza ‘we do not even know what a body is capable of [and] of what affections we are capable’ (Deleuze, 1990:226). There is no ‘a priori’ configuration of

the human sensorium: rather sensory perception is only ever calibrated through relations (Cote, 2010). These recalibrations do not simply occur through the body's relations with technologies or repetitive action, but by the senses being brought to attention through heightened suspense. In these instances 'time stands still sort of ... and it's like, click, click, click, click, like that almost...anybody that's been in any kind of an accident, you have that slow motion feeling' (Steven Bobb)

'We're all standing there with our hands in our pockets looking up in the air, wondering if we were going to get hit by a mortar. One landed about 20 yards away. That was the closest one. It blew sand and stones and stuff all over us, but that was it. That lasted probably five minutes, if that. Seemed like a long time' (John Bates)

Clock time here acts as an anchor against which John Bates' experience has been gauged. Common sense notions of time produce the assumption that events have occurred quickly. However the senses have been brought to attention and recalibrated through the experience of waiting. This recalibration is co-productive of a temporal suspension. This supports Lefebvre's analysis that processes only speed or slow in relation to our time and our body (Lefebvre, 2004:20).

## CONCLUSION

**What performances and affective conditions were associated with short timing and arriving and how did they impact upon the social organisation within units?**

The affective-territorial complexes of short timing were associated with heightened suspense, generated by the affective resonances of temporal perception and memories of home, mediated through the virtual 'not yet'. These worldings are directly connected to fixed DEROS, amplifying the affective intensity of hopeful becomings. Attuning to this expectancy was associated with affective conditions of nervousness and aggression. This resulted in a physical and emotional distancing of short timers away from other soldiers in their unit.

This heightened fear and aggression jarred with the presence of new arrivals. 'Arriving' is an event made possible by the refrains that composed bodies through timespaces of home, generating an expectancy to be shattered. New arrivals exhibited clumsy movements and slow reaction times that amplified a sense of threat among their unit, augmenting the affectivity of the virtual and creating tensions among soldiers.

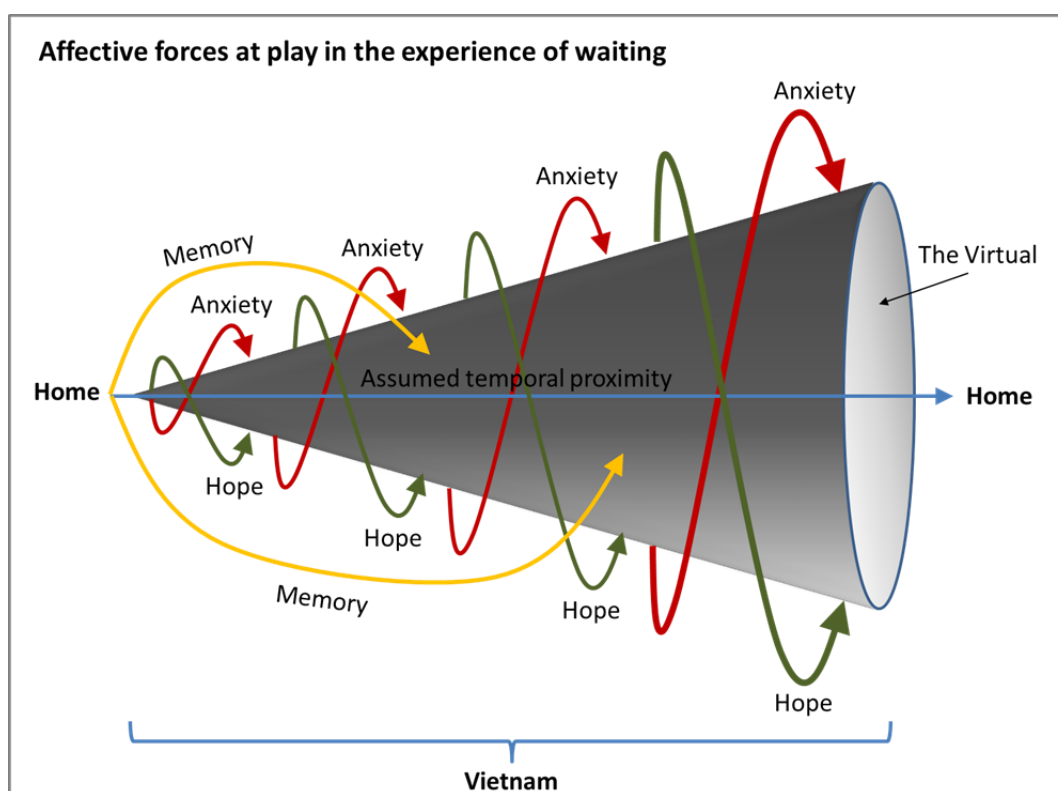
One refrain that materialised through this research was the importance of vulnerability. Harrison (2008) suggests non-representational theorists should give more attention to a body's passive exposures. The body's finitude cannot be experienced (Nancy 2004), but the body has temporal limits as a 'vulnerable, decomposable substance' (Abrahamsson and Simpson, 2011). For combatants during the Vietnam War, the cyclical life rhythms of the human body burden the virtual with this incumbent vulnerability.

**How might time be thought of as being implicated in the affective composition of short timers and new arrivals?**

Diagrammatic representations inevitably run the risk of doing a gross disservice to the dynamism and irreducibility of affective life. However, the diagram below does not attempt to represent these temporal worldings, but is intended as a conceptual tool to help illustrate my conclusions.



To clarify, the diagram does not represent the passage of time. It is not a temporal continuum that the soldiers follow throughout their tour. Instead it denotes probabilistic relations between numbers of refrains that assemble into modes of being. Any point along the horizontal line denotes the soldiers' assumed temporal proximity to his DEROS. This chronometric time consciousness is enabled by interactions between cyclical rhythms (the diurnal cycle) and social time. These repeated thoughts of temporal proximity are refrains that take on a consistency through the co-performative calendar. This time conception modulates affects to produce hopeful becomings which act as catalytic triggers for various affective territorial complexes.



Any point along the horizontal line is a present moment that corresponds to a cross section: this cross-section denotes the potential affectivity of the virtual. Hope is a suspended condition (Bloch, 1998). Hope's object (home) grew more tangible with assumed temporal proximity. The intensification of these hopes, therefore, tended to follow not a linear, but a general upward trajectory. Soldiers became more hopeful in a space where hope's object (home) could not actualise until the DEROS. This created an increasing gap between hope

and reality, a border 'upon which fear rests' (Altheide, 2002:26). With the growing void came both an intensification of affects like anxiety and an expansion of the potential for disappointment. Thus the affective potential of the virtual indeterminacy of the present is impacted upon by temporal abstractions. As Bissell (2007:199) argues, the way in which temporality is experienced often involves 'calculations of the temporality of the event-to-come'.

Time was implicated in the worldings of new arrivals initially through novel encounters and subsequently in the ways in which the past is contracted into the lived body through habits which become enabling as a 'sets of techniques for on-going, coping of and within given forms of life' (Wittgenstein and Heidegger in Harrison, 2000:512).

### **What do the soldiers accounts suggest about how temporality is experienced?**

A soldier is still and the landscape is changing dramatically. The events occurring are events because expectancy has been ruptured (Vannini, 2014). He cannot anticipate all these happenings on the battlefield because sensual attunements have duration. As the visual and aural senses sharpen on one thing taking form, they are affected by the next. This disorientation translates into speed: a sensual composition, a worlding that lags behind those other things taking form because these senses have not accounted for the event-to-be. Then something happens. The soldier is in danger and begins to attune to living on the fringe. Bodily rhythms quicken and the senses come to attention. It is brought into sync with those other rhythms in timespace. Temporal suspension is experienced as the body waits.

Then the body begins to move and engages with things through muscles and nerves, 'instinct' and habit. This motion produces a temporal immersion in rhythmic space. The body can attune to the event-to-be. It has done this before. This immersion involves changes in the body's capacities to affect and be affected, such that the body appears free from reflection (Ravison, 2008). The battle subsides. This deceleration increases the body's capacity to cultivate reflexive awareness (Vannini, 2014). Memories surface: things seemed to have moved so fast back then. Those events are affective in a different way now and

emotions begin to seethe. As such 'time and space are both the context for movement ...and a product of movement' (Cresswell, 2006:41).

Perhaps these tendencies of relation tell us something about how 'the spatio-temporal limits of sense are organised' (Ash, 2012a:188). The body has been described as a site of interlocking rhythms (Young, 1988) that can exist eurythmically or arrhythmically (Lefebvre, 2004). However the body tends to be treated as a whole when it is situated within timespace as opposed to attending to its compositional parts, whose relations within assemblages are partially independent.

The data analysis suggests that stilled bodies can have differential capacities to sense events. This supports Ash's (2012a) argument that the limits of sense can shift. However, different rhythms and components internal to the body appear to have varied capacities to sense and anticipate events at different temporal resolutions. To put it differently, the affects implicated in encounters between the muscles and objects have a shorter duration than those relations formative of subjectivity. As non-representational theorists contend, affect makes claims on our 'sensual attention before interpretation' (Read, 2008:109): that 'half second delay' between action and reaction (Thrift, 2008).

These observations are by no means unique, but are rarely explicitly attended to despite their profound impacts on the temporalities of everyday life. Following Simonsen (2008:824), non-representational theorists 'need to make explicit our conception of the body, rather than simply saying that the body is significant'. This dissertation has highlighted how Deleuze's ideas on expectation are useful to understand pace. It has also illustrated how temporalities may bear upon memory's compositional role in the present and demonstrated the importance of attending to the body's constituents. I hope these brief insights may provide an agenda for future research.

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## Appendix 1. Details of Vietnam Veterans referenced within the dissertation

Soldier	Rank upon departure	Unit	Form of entry	Form of archive	Collection reference
Alekna, Anthony	Captain	A Company, 1st Battalion, 5th Cavalry Regiment, 1st Cavalry Division	Enlisted 1965	Text Transcript	AFC/2001/001/81876
Allen, Edward	E-4	A Battery, 4th Battalion	Drafted 1970	Video: 95 min	AFC/2001/001/01613
Alexander, Donald	Specialist Four	Company B, 2nd Battalion	1968 N/A	Video: 44 min.	AFC/2001/001/09667
Arkovitch, David	Captain	1st Battalion, 13th Armor Regiment	1968	Text Transcript	AFC/2001/001/09667
Arlt, David	Specialist 4	4th Infantry division	Drafted 1967	Audio: 65 min	AFC/2001/001/62920
Armstrong, Ronald	Sergeant	1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry, 1st Cavalry Division	Drafted 1966	Audio: 99 min	AFC/2001/001/68984
Arsenault, Andrew	E-4	85th Evacuation Hospital	Drafted 1965	Text Transcript	AFC/2001/001/84548
Bain, Hobson	First Lieutenant	7th Squadron, 1st Cavalry Division	Commissioned 1967	Text Transcript	AFC/2001/001/73718
Ballman, Jeffrey	Specialist Five	Company A	Drafted	Video: 34 min	AFC/2001/001/52921
Bates, John	Captain	1st Tank Battalion; 2nd Battalion,	Enlisted N/A	Text Transcript	AFC/2001/001/84644
Baumbarger, James	Sergeant	687th Land Clearing Company, 87th Engineers	Enlisted 1966	Video: 42 min	AFC/2001/001/21632
Beasley, Thomas	First Lieutenant	Signal Corps	Drafted 1969	Audio: 45 min	AFC/2001/001/02666
Bell, David	Sergeant	1st Battalion, 18th Infantry, 1st Infantry Division	Drafted 1965	Video: 77 min	AFC/2001/001/06009
Bennett, Donald	Corporal	3rd Battalion	Drafted 1969	Audio: 48 min	AFC/2001/001/47951
Bobb, Steven	Corporal	Force Logistics Command	N/A 1968	Audio: 63	AFC/2001/001/09818



Brown, Ralph	First Lieutenant	1st Infantry Division	Enlisted 1966	Video: 76 min	AFC/2001/001/20365
Buchanan, Michael	Sergeant, E 5	B Company, 588th Combat Engineers Battalion	N/A 1969	Video: 105 min	AFC/2001/001/67423
Woelek, Chris	N/A	25th Division	Drafted N/A	Memoir	Accessable from: <a href="http://www.vietnamsoldier.com/about-us/">http://www.vietnamsoldier.com/about-us/</a>
Cox, Randy	N/A	22nd Infantry	Drafted 1969	Image	<a href="http://1-22infantry.org/pics2/coxpagefive.htm">http://1-22infantry.org/pics2/coxpagefive.htm</a>
Decker, Kent	Specialist 5	39th Combat Engineer Battalion	Drafted 1966	Image	AFC/2001/001/76676
DeVore, Wesley	E-5	1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry Regiment, 1st Cavalry Division	Drafted 1969	Video: 38 min	AFC/2001/001/39164
Dexter, Walter, James	E-4	Company E, 2nd Battalion, 502nd Regiment	Enlisted 1966	Video: 86 min	AFC/2001/001/80420
Eder, Lawrence	Specialist Four	A Company, 2nd Battalion, 16th Infantry Regiment, 1st Infantry Division	Drafted 1966	Video: 43 min	AFC/2001/001/66695
Edwards, Darwin	Specialist Four	2nd and 12th 25th Infantry	N/A 1970	Audio:44 min	AFC/2001/001/00794
Filippini, Vincent	Specialist Four	101st Division	N/A 1969	video 23 min	AFC/2001/001/20987
Fosburgh, Bruce	Staff Sergeant	3rd Battalion, 197th Field	Enlisted 1965	Video:82 min	AFC/2001/001/61297
Harmon, Milton	Corporal	4th Infantry Division	Drafted 1969	Video 65	AFC/2001/001/52390
Holmes, Isaac	E-5	4th Infantry Division	Drafted 1966	Audio:28	AFC/2001/001/03515
Mayer, James	Specialist Four	25th Infantry Division	Drafted 1968	Video: 84 min	AFC/2001/001/19266
Miller, Larry	Corporal	3rd Division		Text Transcript	AFC/2001/001/1986

Powell, Dave	Corporal	N/A	Drafted 1966	Memoir	Powell (2006) 'My tour in hell: a battle with combat trauma' Ann Arbor Modern History Press
Spehar, Mike	N/A	2nd Battalian, 8th Cavalry Regiment	Drafted 1967	Image	<a href="http://www.eagerarms.com/gallery-mikespehar.html">http://www.eagerarms.com/gallery-mikespehar.html</a>
Taddy, Jerome	Chaplain	4th Division		Image	<a href="http://1-22infantry.org/pics2/coxpagefive.htm">http://1-22infantry.org/pics2/coxpagefive.htm</a>
Webber, Don	N/A	4th marine division 1967	Drafted 1967	Text Transcript	AFC/2001/001/67445
Wiknik, Arthur	Staff Sergeant	Company A, 2nd Battalion, 506th Infantry Regiment, 3rd Brigade	Drafted 1968	Video: 64 mins	AFC/2001/001/67726
Woelek, Chris	N/A	25th Division	Drafted N/A	Memoir	Accessable from: <a href="http://www.vietnamsoldier.com/about-us/">http://www.vietnamsoldier.com/about-us/</a>

## **Appendix 2. Sample questions provided to interviewers by the Library of Congress**

### **Segment 1: For the Record:**

State at the beginning of the interview:

- Date and place of the interview
- Name of the person being interviewed
- Interviewee's birth date
- Names of the people attending the interview (including the interviewer and camera operators)
- The organization you're working with, if any
- **If interviewing a veteran:**
  - War and branch of service
  - What his or her rank was
  - Where he or she served

### **Segment 2: Jogging Memory:**

Were you drafted or did you enlist?

Where were you living at the time?

Why did you join?

Why did you pick the service branch you joined?

Do you recall your first days in service?

What did it feel like?

Tell me about your boot camp/training experience(s).

Do you remember your instructors?

How did you get through it?

### **Segment 3: Experiences:**

Which war(s) did you serve in (WWI, WWII, Korea, Vietnam, the Persian Gulf)?

Where exactly did you go?

Do you remember arriving and what it was like?

What was your job/assignment?

Did you see combat?

Were there many casualties in your unit?

Tell me about a couple of your most memorable experiences.

Were you a prisoner of war?

Tell me about your experiences in captivity and when freed.

Were you awarded any medals or citations?

How did you get them?

Higher ranks may be asked about battle planning. Those who sustained injuries may be asked about the circumstances.

### **Segment 4: Life:**

Ask questions about life in the service and/or at the front or under fire.

How did you stay in touch with your family?

What was the food like?

Did you have plenty of supplies?

Did you feel pressure or stress?

Was there something special you did for "good luck"?

How did people entertain themselves?

Were there entertainers?

What did you do when on leave?

Where did you travel while in the service?

Do you recall any particularly humorous or unusual event?

What were some of the pranks that you or others would pull?

Do you have photographs?

Who are the people in the photographs?

What did you think of officers or fellow soldiers?

Did you keep a personal diary?

### **Segment 5: After Service:**

Appropriateness of questions will vary if the veteran had a military career.

Do you recall the day your service ended?

Where were you?

What did you do in the days and weeks afterward?

Did you work or go back to school?

Was your education supported by the G.I. Bill?

Did you make any close friendships while in the service?

Did you continue any of those relationships?

For how long?

Did you join a veterans organization?

### **Segment 6: Later Years and Closing:**

What did you go on to do as a career after the war?

Did your military experience influence your thinking about war or about the military in general?

If in a veterans organization, what kinds of activities does your post or association have?

Do you attend reunions?

How did your service and experiences affect your life?

Is there anything you would like to add that we have not covered in this interview?

<http://www.loc.gov/vets/vetquestions.html>

